

The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great)
A Universal History from the Creation

Translation and Introduction by
Matti Moosa

A publication of the Archdiocese of the
Syriac Orthodox Church for the Eastern United States



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Dedicated to:

His Eminence Mor Cyril Aphrem Karim, Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch of the Eastern Part of the United States of America, for his most commendable effort in promoting and perpetuating the legacy of the Syrian Orthodox Church

And

In loving memory of my father Ishaq Moosa (d. 1960), deacon and malphono (teacher), who for decades served the Syrian Orthodox Church and the School of Mor Tuma (St. Thomas) in Mosul, Iraq

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In Memory of their parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, uncles and aunts. Elias and Jamila Johar Yunan Khbaiz Id Dayr, Rose, Yunan, Yacoub, Marcos and Mary who toiled to give their children the best available education.

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Maps:

From *Atlas Antiquus* (Berlin, 1869) by Heinrich Kiepert:

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BOOK SEVEN

BY THE POWER OF GOD WHO IN THE SPACE OF SEVEN DAYS REGULATED THE CYCLE OF TIME, I BEGIN TO WRITE BOOK SEVEN THAT COMMENCES WITH THE YEAR 5871 OF THE CREATION.

Chapter One: On the beginning of the kingdom of Constantine the Victorious

Know well, O reader, who cherishes the truth and diligently seeks what is right, that many historians dated their writings from the time that Constantine, the believing emperor, assumed power. Of these was Socrates (Scholasticus); John, bishop of Asia; Theodoret who is outside our fold; and Ignatius, bishop of Melitene. We, however, dated this book from the beginning of the world. We gathered the information from ancient historians like Eusebius and others and incorporated it into this book until our own time. From now on, we will gather information from the books of those who established the origin of historical events. We shall then begin with this time asking the Lord's guidance. Amen.

Theodoret begins his history in the form of portraits, or drawings, on walls for the viewers to behold. Other historians portrayed their books with words instead of colors, etc. For example, when the tyrants were eradicated, Constantine reigned, and the church enjoyed peace, Satan stirred up a new evil error. While in the past people worshipped the creature and not the creator, Satan, out of sheer envy, seduced wicked men to say that the creator is created. In a letter to Eusebius ...lacuna... to ratify his doctrine ...lacuna... of Caesarea ...lacuna... Theodotus ...lacuna... Paulinus of Tyre, ...lacuna... Gregory of Anazarba ...lacuna... Gregory of Berytus and Aetus of Lydda.⁶⁰⁵

John of Asia (d. 587, also called John, bishop of Ephesus), asserted this (what Theodoret had written) in the introduction to his book. He said, "The devil, who could not endure peace in the church, used Arius as a crooked instrument to deceive the people like a serpent. He seduced them to say that the Son of the Eternal Father is created like the rest of the creation. However, when Arius was condemned by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, and severed from the church, he corrupted the minds of those whose hearts had become blinded by error. These included Mari of Chalcedon and Eusebius of Nicomedia and others."⁶⁰⁶

In this time, a severe earthquake took place in Alexandria and other regions that destroyed many houses.

⁶⁰⁵ The names of these bishops are drawn from the letter of Arius to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. See Theodoret, *History of the Church*, printed together with the *History of Evagrius* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), Book One, Chapter 5, pp. 27-28 of the English translation. In order to make sense of what Michael Rabo is saying, I have interpolated this rather lengthy passage from the history of Theodoret that the reader might understand the heresy of Arius. Theodoret says, "After the death of the wicked tyrants Maxentius, Maximianus, and Licinius, the storm abated while their atrocity had, like a furious whirlwind, excited against the church. The hostile winds were hushed, and tranquility ensued. This was affected by Constantine, a prince deserving of the highest praise, who, like the divine apostle, was not called by man or through man, but by God. He enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols, and commanded churches to be erected. He appointed believers to be the governors of the provinces, ordered that honor should be shown to the priests and threatened death to those who dared to insult them. Hence, the concerns of the church were happy and prosperous, while those of her opponents were involved in disgrace and ruin...But the devil, the enemy of mankind, although conscious that the church was upheld by the Creator and Ruler of the universe, could not see her sailing on her course in prosperity without devising plans for overwhelming her. When he perceived that his former artifices had been detected, that the error of idolatry was recognized, and that the greater number of men worshipped the creator instead of adoring, as heretofore, the creature, he did not dare to declare open war against our God and Savior. However, having found some who, though bearing the name of Christians, were yet slaves by ambition and vainglory, he thought them fit instruments for the execution of his designs. He accordingly used them as means of drawing others back into error, and indeed using the former artifice of setting up the worship of the creature, but by attempting to bring down the creator to a level with the creature." See Theodoret, *History of the Church*, Book One, Chapter I, p. 12, of the English translation.

⁶⁰⁶ No reference is given to the book of John of Asia (Ephesus). It must be his *Ecclesiastical History* in Three Parts of which only Part Three survived and was translated into English by R. Payne Smith under the title of *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1860), hereafter John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*.

BOOK SEVEN

When many wretched folk adhered to the heresy of Arius, Satan, through them, began to fight the Christians. For Arius, he located wicked ministers like Meletius, who was a Christian bishop, and his supporters who were corrupted during the persecution of Diocletian. Meletius was deposed from his dignity and fell. Many followed him and he became a chief heretic. Then, he and his adherents joined the Arians.

Another plague spread through the church. This time it was the controversy over Easter. The easterners celebrated Easter at the same time with the Jews. The westerners disagreed.

Arius, being an eloquent orator, well versed in education and philosophy, began to prate saying, "If the Father begat the Son, the Son, then, should have a beginning. This means that there was a time when the Son was not."⁶⁰⁷ From this small spark, a fire kindled. Not only did it spread into Alexandria but also throughout Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Syria and other regions. The bishop of Alexandria convened a council, condemned Arius and sent letters to all the countries of his condemnation. Still, the heresy of Arius did not fade away completely. The Emperor (Constantine) was grieved over this disturbance. He addressed letters to both Alexander (Bishop of Alexandria) and Arius telling them, "It would have been better for you not to discuss such matters from the beginning. Resort to mutual charity and let the congregation enjoy grace. Adhere to one another with the kiss of peace. After all, happiness comes from charity and not from conflict. Restore to me tranquil days, and nights free from care."⁶⁰⁸ This is what the emperor wrote to these men to extinguish the evil. However, when the just emperor saw that evil was spreading among his servants, he convoked a universal council. He fixed a date for the bishops to proceed to Nicaea, Bithynia.

In the previous book, we showed that the Victorious Constantine ruled jointly with his father for three years. After his father's death, he reigned in the year 623 of the Greeks/312 A.D., which is the year 5817 of Adam, or the year 5813 according to the opinion of others.

John of Asia (Ephesus) says in the introduction to his book that, "Constantine was recently converted to Christianity from paganism. His father, however, had been led to God's worship for a while as Sylvester, bishop of Rome explained in his story."

Ignatius of Melitene, says, "The Emperors Maximian, Diocletian, Severus and Maxentius who preceded Constantine, persecuted the Christians. Upon the death of Severus, however, the Romans honored Constantine the Great declaring him a Caesar and made Licinius, husband of his sister Constantia, a joint Caesar with him. However, Licinius, who became a joint Caesar in the seventh year, began to persecute the Christians secretly. Later, he openly revolted against Constantine who killed him. After Licinius, Martinus rose to power and he too was killed."

In the second year of Constantine, Sapur son of Hormizd, ruled over the Persians 3 years.

Constantine went to fight Maxentius in Rome. After deliberation, he said that the worship of idols did not bring any benefit to the clan of Diocletian. He decided to worship a Deity who would give him victory in war. Raising his eyes to heaven, he saw in midday something like a pillar of light written on it, "By this Conquer."⁶⁰⁹ Those with him also saw this spectacle. At night, Christ appeared to him saying, "Make for yourself a standard like the one which appeared to you." On the next day, he made the standard. Since then it was customary that the Cross was raised in the vanguard of the army. During the war, Maxentius the tyrant was defeated and was drowned in the River Tiber.⁶¹⁰

In the third year of Constantine, his wife Diocletia, daughter of Diocletian, believed in Christ and was baptized. The Victorious Constantine renovated Byzantium. He added to it four square miles and adorned it with the most exquisite buildings and artifacts. He moved to it the capital from Rome and called it Constantinople after his name. The new capital was held with great honor and its citizens were called

⁶⁰⁷ See *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus*, reprinted Nu Vision Publications, LLC, 2007), Book One, Chapter 5, p. 10 of the English translation. No name of the translation is given. This source shall be referred to as Socrates throughout.

⁶⁰⁸ The entire letter of Constantine is in Socrates, Book One, Chapter 7, pp. 14-17 of the English translation. The reader should know that our author, Michael Rabo, usually paraphrases the original texts.

⁶⁰⁹ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 2, p. 8 of the English translation.

⁶¹⁰ Socrates, *Ibid.* For a controversial opinion of this matter see Jacob Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great*, translated by Moses Hadas, 1967, pp. 292-296.

“The Free.” Constantine built in it the Church of Irene and another church in the name of the Apostles. When he became absolute Autocrat, Constantine concentrated on the religious issues. He demolished the temples of idols and built churches everywhere. He issued a law to prevent pagans from serving in the army.

In this period Sylvester, bishop of Rome, gave new names to the weekdays, which the heathens named after the planets. He called the Sun or Zeus, Sunday; the moon, Monday; Mars, Tuesday; Mercury, Wednesday; Jupiter, Thursday; Venus, Friday and Saturn, Saturday. He dropped the names of the planets in order to keep the believers away from paganism ...lacuna...

Constantius I (Chlorus), father of the Victorious Constantine, was a heathen and a leper. Sylvester, bishop of Rome, evangelized him, but he showed only an outward charity to the Christians. He only resorted to Christ by means of medicine and physicians in order to obtain healing. God showed him in a vision the Apostles Peter and Paul who said to him, “Send for Sylvester, the chief priest, who is hiding in the mountain and he will heal you.” When he woke up, he heard the wailing of the mothers whose children were driven to slaughter. Apparently, the pagans told him that he would never be healed except by the blood of children. Constantius felt sorry and stopped killing the children. God showed mercy unto him and, leading him to Sylvester, he informed him of the vision he has seen. Sylvester took him to the church and showed him the portraits of the Apostles. When he saw them he realized that they were the same persons who appeared to him in a dream. He believed and was baptized. Something like fish scales fell off his body. Twelve thousand pagan men were also baptized with him, not to mention women and children.

This Constantine, the leper, is not the same Constantine who saw the sign in the sky, but his father.⁶¹¹ Helena was the wife of Constantine (Constantius) the leper, who was healed and mother of Constantine who saw the sign of the Cross. Both, however, were converted by the sign of the Cross.

To avoid confusion of names, we shall identify these men. In this period, three emperors with the name of Constantine rose to power in succession. The first is one who was healed from leprosy by baptism.⁶¹² The second is his son Constantine, who saw the sign of the Cross in the sky, founded Constantinople and convened the Council of Nicaea. The third is the son and namesake of Constantine.

The life of Sylvester, bishop of Rome, extended from the time of Diocletian, the persecutor, until the time of Constantine the third.⁶¹³

During the persecution, famine took place in Rome that caused Diocletian to issue an order to expel people coming from Palestine. At the behest of Sylvester, the remains of the Apostles Peter and Paul were taken out, because they were considered as coming from Palestine. The same thing happened as in the time of Trajan. The city trembled when men tried to move the remains of the Apostles. The tremor recurred seven times, and each time they tried to remove them. It did not quiet down until they returned them to their place. When the emperor and the people saw this, the remains were left in their place of rest and the expulsion of strangers stopped.

At the beginning of Constantine's reign, in Armenia there flourished Gregory, who made miracles like those of the apostles. He led the Armenians from paganism to Christianity. They were baptized and accepted the priesthood by the laying on of hands (ordination).

This account is ended by the power of Jesus.

Chapter Two: On the time of the Great Ecumenical Council of Nicaea

The Victorious Constantine was greatly concerned with principal festivals (of our Lord) which he honored. Having learned that there was disagreement concerning the observation of the Passion of the Lord and Savior, he ordered a meeting at Nicaea in Bithynia to settle it and to examine the ideas of Arius. Three hundred and eighteen bishops gathered from Europe, Egypt, Palestine, Cilicia, Arabian Syria, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Persia and Libya. According to Eusebius, first to arrive were the delegates of Rome followed by Alexander, of Alexandria, with his disciple Athanasius, Jacob of Nisibin, and Eustathius of

⁶¹¹ Evidently, the author has confused Constantius whom he erroneously calls Constantine with Constantine the Great.

⁶¹² This was Constantius Chlorus.

⁶¹³ Constantine II, 337-340.

BOOK SEVEN

Antioch. The emperor made ready for them a spacious hall and seats. He was last to enter with his attendants. He was of imposing, charming and admirable stature. They placed a seat for him in the middle of the hall but he refused to sit down. The bishops requested him to be seated and he did. Then all of them took their seats.

Although the emperor had engaged in many wars, he maintained a serene composure, tranquility, humility, tenderness of speech, compassion, keen intelligence, mercy, swift understanding and fairness. Before the bishops began to speak, he asked them to make peace with each other. He addressed them with tender, sweet and comforting words. Thousands of monks and deacons accompanied the bishops. The emperor provided their needs from May 20 to June 9.

As the bishops began discoursing using logic and eloquent speech, a young man confessor interrupted saying, "Neither Christ nor his Apostles taught us the rules of logic, or idle subtleties, but the truth which is preserved by faith and good works." Having said this, the speakers held their peace. The emperor, however, was steering them to the right course and praising those rich in the worship of God. He also praised those who deliberated within the frame of the Scriptures, pointing to their oneness in the faith. He urged them to celebrate Easter on Sunday. He sat down and the bishops and the rest of the clergy sat down too. Then, the memorials containing complaints were opened in succession. The emperor effected an agreement among the bishops and the memorials were thrown into the fire. He pledged to cover with his imperial mantle the bishops and archbishops who were caught in sin (adultery).

Beside Arius, who was deposed by Peter and condemned by Alexander before him, many bishops at the Great Council of Nicaea did not profess that the Word of God is eternal. They were Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Mari of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmariqa and Secundus of Acre (Akka). These men maintained that the eternal is generated from nothing.

Zenosius (Acesius according to Socrates) the Novatian was also present at the Council. The emperor asked him, "Do you agree with the formula of the Creed and of Easter?" He answered, "Yes." The emperor said, "Why then you and others are split from the church? Zenosius said, "Because we do not accept those who commit mortal sins after baptism." The emperor said, "In that case, make a ladder for yourself and climb up to heaven alone."⁶¹⁴

Paphnutius, bishop of Upper Thebes, was a pious man who had performed miracles like the Holy Disciples. In the time of the persecution, his was deprived of one eye. The emperor loved him dearly and kissed his gouged eye. When the assembled bishops wanted to assert the canons purporting that no clergyman should marry, Paphnutius stood in the middle and said, "Don't issue a canon which no one can bear. Sufficient for the clergy not to marry again as ancient fathers have decreed. And do not injure the church of God by too stringent restrictions." This what the saint said who had not been tempted by marriage. The bishops agreed with him. Eventually, Eusebius and Theognis repented and were accepted by the Council. This is what Socrates wrote in his book.⁶¹⁵

The Council formulated the Creed of Faith that is recited in the churches until this day. In addition, it issued several canons. It was agreed that the celebration of Easter should be on Sunday following the ancient Passover. Arius and his partisans were condemned. The emperor banished those who did not profess that the Word is of the substance of God and replaced them with others. The saintly bishops signed the copy of the faith and addressed an ecumenical letter to all the countries declaring what was done. The emperor also addressed letters to Alexandria and Egypt concerning the condemnation of Arius in order that he should not be accepted by the church of God. With such grandeur did the Holy Council convene by the intimation of the Holy Spirit.

In the year 20 of the Victorious Constantine, which is the year 64 of the Greeks/331 A.D., the third year of the 276 Olympiad, and the year 5833 of Adam, Helena, mother of the victorious Constantine, journeyed to Jerusalem after having seen a dream. However, she found that the city had been ruined for a long while. She was hardly able to find the Cross of the Savior because the Jews had set on the site a statue

⁶¹⁴ Socrates, Book One, Chapter, X, pp. 31-32.

⁶¹⁵ Socrates, Book One, Chapter XI, pp. 32-33 of the English translation.

of Aphrodite, lest the Christians would find it. She entered Jerusalem on May 25 accompanied by Sylvester, bishop of Rome. She inquired from some Jews about the place of the Cross. She threw their leader Judah into prison. Seven days later, Judah was converted, became a bishop and showed her the place of the Cross. The abominable statute of Aphrodite was removed, and they found three crosses and the tablet written by Pilate. However, they could not recognize which was the true cross. The bishop brought a dying woman on whom the crosses of the two thieves were placed but she did not move. When they placed on her the Cross of the Savior, she rose up. Queen Helena built a church over the Sepulcher (of the Savior) and placed a piece of the Cross in it. She sent the rest (of the Cross) to the emperor who fixed it on a grand imperial column. He fixed the nails of the cross in his crown and the bridle-bits of his horse. Thus, the prophecy was fulfilled.⁶¹⁶ Helena also built a church in Bethlehem and another one on the Mount of Olives. She treated the women with great humility. She personally prepared food for the nuns and the poor.⁶¹⁷ At this date, ends the account of Eusebius who was overtaken by death.

Along with Arius, who was condemned by Peter, and before him expelled by Alexander, there were those bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea but did not maintain that the Word was the eternal Son of God. Of these were, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Mari of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmariqa and Secundus of Akka. They believed that the eternal exists from nothing.

In Edessa the bishop was Ith Alaha.⁶¹⁸ In this time too, flourished Jacob, bishop of Nisibin, a man renowned for piety and adherence to the teachings of the blessed Apostles. These two dignitaries, who were well known in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), were among those who attended the Council of Nicaea. Accompanying them was St. Ephraim the blessed and eminent Malphono.⁶¹⁹

Names of the bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea

From Rome:

The two priests Eusebius and Cordous delegates of the Pope.

From Alexandria in Egypt:

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria and Egypt

From Egypt:

Teos Bar Ibion

Youspanis

Arpoqratis, bishop of Pisidia

Adamantos, bishop of Qyno

Tiberianus, bishop of Tamounin

Gaius, bishop of Sa'an

Potamon (Heraclius) of Sertroit

Dorotheos, bishop of Pelusios

Arkation, bishop of Pharatos

Arpoqras, bishop of Paraginia

Philip, bishop of Phanophyson

Antiochus, bishop of Memphis

Peter, bishop of Heraclea

⁶¹⁶ This is an allusion to Zechariah 14:20. The prophet says, "On that day Holy to The Lord will be inscribed on the bells of the horse."

⁶¹⁷ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 17, pp. 38-39 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book One, Chapter 18, pp. 54-55 of the English translation.

⁶¹⁸ A Syriac name meaning, "God exists."

⁶¹⁹ Syriac for supreme teacher.

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Tyranos, bishop of Antino
Plusios, bishop of Lyqo
Dios, bishop of Antios
Alpoqraton, bishop of Alophoqrion

From Libya:

Serapion
Titus
Secondus
Zophyros
Saqowa
Qays

From Palestine:

Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem
Germanus, bishop of Neapolis
Marinos, bishop of Sebastea
Gaius, bishop of Casarea
Eusebius, bishop of Susa
Sabinos, bishop of Gadara
Longinos, bishop of Asqalan
Peter, bishop of Nicopolis
Marqianos, bishop of Yamina (Yaman)
Maximus, bishop of Beth Gubrin which is Eleutheropolis
Peter, bishop of Maximianopolis
Onorios, bishop of Jerco
Eliodoros, bishop of Zebalon
Aetos, bishop of Lydda
Silvanus, bishop of Ashdud
Patrophilos, bishop of Squatopolis
Asklepios, bishop of Gazza
Peter, bishop of Ailion
Anatolios, bishop of Kapitolias

From Phoenicia:

Zenon, bishop of Tyre
Aeneas, bishop of Akka which is Ptolemaeus
Magnus, bishop of Damascus
Theodore, bishop of Sidon
Elinikos, bishop of Tripoly
Gregorius, bishop of Beirut
Marinos, bishop of Tadmur (Palmyra)
Theodonas, bishop of Alason
Anatolius, bishop of Homs
Philohalos, bishop of Banyas
Barlaha (Barlos), bishop of Tesi
Ksenodorus, bishop of Antarados
Eustathius, bishop of Antioch
Zenobius, bishop of Seleucea

Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea
Alphius, bishop of Euphemia
Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug
Salamanes, bishop Germanicia (Mar'ash)
Phephrios, bishop of Samosat
Archelaus, bishop of Dolik
Euphration, bishop of Balaneas
The Chorepiscopus Palladius
Eubolius, bishop of Gabala
Basus, bishop of Zeugma
Bassianus, bishop of Raphane
Gremotius, bishop of Shayzar
Eustathus, bishop of Rastan
Paul, bishop of Neocasarea
Serjis, bishop of Cyrus
Seleucus, bishop of Gindaros
Phegas, bishop of Harba Qadam
Bassuni, bishop of Gamla
Masikinujs, bishop of Hama
Salikonis, bishop Yabla of Arabia

From Arabia:

Nikomakus, bishop of Bostra
Quron, bishop of Philadelphia⁶²⁰
Gennadius, bishop of Heshbon
Severus, bishop of Sodom
Sopateos, bishop of Berintanis
Severus, bishop of Ramot Gil'ad

From Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia):

Ith Alaha, bishop of Edessa
Jacob, bishop of Nisibin
Antiochus, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
Mora, bishop of Macedonopolis
Yuhanon (John), bishop of Perskia

Fom Cilicia:

Theodosius, bishop of Tarsus
Amphion, bishop of Epiphania
Narkisos, bishop of Naronias
Musa, bishop of Qastabula
Nikitos, bishop of Phlabias
The Chorepiscopus Eudemon
Paulinos, bishop of Adana
Macedonius, bishop of Mopsuestia
Tarkodemintos, bishop of Aegos
Eusonius Alexandrous

⁶²⁰ Present day Amman in Jordan.

Narcus, bishop of Irenopolis⁶²¹

From Cappadocia:

Leontius, bishop of Caesarea
 Euty chius, bishop of Tyana
 Erytrios, bishop of Kolonia
 Timothy, bishop of Qubastra
 Ambrosius, bishop of Kumana
 The Chorepiscopus Stephen
 The Chorepiscopus Rodon
 The Chorepiscopus Gorgonius

From Lesser Armenia:

Eulius, bishop of Sebastea
 Avitios, bishop of Selatela
 The Chorepiscopus Eudromius
 The Chorepiscopus Theophanes

From Greater Armenia:

Aristos, bishop of Armenia
 Arkritos, bishop of Diospontos

From Pontus:

Euty chius, bishop of Amasia
 Euloksius, bishop of Oumaka
 Heraclius, bishop of Zalon
 Popolamniakos, bishop of Pontus
 Longinus, bishop of Neo-Caesarea
 Domanus, bishop of Trepezon
 Stratophulos, bishop of Pontus

From Paphlagonia:

Petronius, bishop of Diopolis
 Philadelphus, bishop of Pompeopolis
 Euty chus, bishop of Amastris

From Galatia:

Oankaros, bishop of Ankora
 Diosius, bishop of Tekana
 Erektios, bishop of Amosa
 Orogonius, bishop of Kinon
 Philadephus, bishop of Asia
 Theonas, bishop of Cyzicus
 Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus
 Orion, bishop of Ailon
 Euty chus, bishop of Smyrna
 Mitros, bishop of Hypaipon

⁶²¹ Hierapolis?

From the Hellespont:

Paulos, bishop of Aeana

From Lydia:

Artamidoros, bishop of Sarde

Seros, bishop of Theatira

Stimakios, bishop of Philadephia

Philon, bishop of Barisimou

Accacius, bishop of Tripoli

Plastikos, bishop of Antoura

Antiochus, bishop of Aurelianopolis

Marcus, bishop of Astidon

From Phrygia:

Magikos, bishop of Damascus

Nunbios, bishop of Laodicea

Phlabius, bishop of Sanas

Procopius, bishop of Senana

Pistos, bishop of Azenon

Athenodorus, bishop of Doryius

Eugenius, bishop of Eukarapia

Prakus, bishop of Arapolis

From Isauria:

Stephen, bishop of Araton

Athanasius, bishop of Qarqisoun

Eudesius, bishop of Klodianopolis

Agapus, bishop of Seleucia

Silvanus, bishop of Metropolis

Faustus, bishop of Panemotikos

Antonius, bishop of Antioch

Nestor, bishop of Surdaon

Cyril, bishop of Nomadon

The Chorepiscopus Esokiros

Theodore, bishop of Aosadon

The Chorepiscopus Anatolius

Tiberias, bishop of Alsitron

Paul, bishop of Karandon

The Chorepiscopus Koutus

The Chorepiscopus Appolos

Eusebius, bishop of Isauria

From Bithynia:

Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia

Theognis, bishop of Nicaea

Maris, bishop of Chalcedon

Qorion, bishop of Cyrus

Esykios, bishop of Prisa

Gorgonios, bishop of Appolonia

Gorgios, bishop of Pelosias
Eustios, bishop of Adrianopolis
The Chorepiscopus Theophanes
Rufus, bishop of Caesarea
The Chorepiscopus Eulios

From Cyprus:

Cyrl, bishop of Paphos
Galasius, bishop of Salamina

From Lycaonia:

Eulius, bishop of Ikonion
Telemachus, bishop of Adrianopolis
Esykios, bishop of Neopolis (Nablus)
Geranios, bishop of Lemaon
Tromicous, bishop of Euphemia
Akademus, bishop of Myritini
Polycarp, bishop of Metropolis
Patrikios, bishop of Anladia
Akademus, bishop of Papon
Heraclius, Beorea (Aleppo)
Theodore, bishop of Aklasadon

From Lycia:

Adon, bishop of Lycia
Eudemos, bishop of Patara

From Pamphylia:

Kaliklis, bishop of Perge
Eurisius, bishop of Telmisos
Euksios, bishop of Eurekaon
Kontinos, bishop of Seleucia
Patrikios, bishop of Maximianopolis
Aphrodius, bishop of Megedon

From the Isles:

Euphrosinus, bishop of Rhodes
Alaparon, bishop of Qo
Strategos, bishop of Lemnos
Letarodaros, bishop of Apollonias

From Caria:

Eusebius, bishop of Antioch
Ammonius bishop of Aphrodisias
Eugenius, bishop of Apollonias
Letodoros, bishop of Kubirton
Eusebius, bishop of Militon

From Thrace:

Pedrso, bishop of Heraclea

From Dacia:

Protgenus, bishop of Sardica

Marcus, bishop of Kumeon

From Moesia:

Pestus, bishop of Marcianopolis

From Achaea:

Pestus, bishop of Athena

Marsus, bishop of Byzantium

Strategos, bishop of Ephesia

From Macedonia:

Alexander, bishop of Thessalonika

From Thesalia:

Claudianus, bishop of Thesalia

Callinicus, bishop of Thebes

From Carthage:

Cilicinos, bishop of Strabon

Bodanus, bishop of Pannonia

Domanos

Nicasios, bishop of Dousia

Theophilus, bishop of Bosphorus

-----, bishop of Ghotia

Qadmos

These are the names which we were able to find of the fathers who attended the Council and fixed them here. May their prayers be with us. Amen.

After Eusebius, Mor Jacob of Edessa fixed the table of years. He said in the introduction of his book, "Eusebius Pamphilius, bishop of Caesarea Palestine, wrote down an authentic, comprehensive and famous history with great concern and meticulousness. He made it available to people in order to know about past historical events. He included in it with exact chronology of years, epochs and events beginning with Adam, the principal generator of our race, the first year of Abraham, father of the Hebrews, Ninos, second king of the Assyrians who built Nineveh, and Europus, the second king of the Sicyonians in the region of Hellas in Greece. He collected his information from the Books of Moses preserved by the Hebrews and the chronicles of the Chaldeans, Assyrians and Egyptians. He added to them a lengthy history from Abraham, the chief Patriarch, Ninos son of Belus, king of the Assyrians and Europus, king of Sicyonians until the year twenty of the victorious Constantine, Emperor of the Romans. He mentioned several empires which emerged in Europe, Libya and Greater Asia including those of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Sicyonians, Argienians (Argives), Athenians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Latins later called Romans, Medes, Babylonians, Lydians and Persians, followed by kingdoms dominated by the Macedonian Greeks, Corinthians and Lacedaemonians along the kingdoms which followed Alexander, Julius Caesar, the Augustus *Sebastos*, up to the victorious Constantine."⁶²²

⁶²² Cf. Eusebius's preface in St Jerome's *Chronicle*, Latin translation of Eusebius's Chronological Tables/Canons translated from

Furthermore, Jacob of Edessa marked the durations of epochs according to years. He marked the commencement and cessation of each of them. He wrote in detail the sporadic events and actions of some kings and military leaders, and the epochs in which flourished Greek learned men, philosophers and poets. He also mentioned the stories of mighty men and their outstanding deeds, and the warfare and victories of men in history. Moreover, he included in his history the establishment of cities and the appearance of peoples and many other anecdotes. As it is known, Eusebius concluded his history at the twentieth year of Constantine. Afterwards, he added nothing to what he had already written down.

As to the following epochs, I found it appropriate not to leave the events without recording as much as the Lord helps me and according to my ability. Like Eusebius, who recorded with brevity those epochs and the number of years of each kingdom separately, in order that the reader may distinguish kings from the military leaders and other renowned men, I, personally following his method, have fixed the dates beginning with the year ten of Constantine. I have given the dates of each one of them and those that came after them successively. This is based on the information that has reached us of each one since their commencement, and the succession of their times and their flourishing and achievement. It is necessary to set these things before our eyes in order to complete the calculation of Eusebius, to know the succession of the epochs, what happened to each one and their accomplishment. If we set this procedure in perspective, it will be easy to establish the Canon (dates) with certitude.⁶²³

Furthermore, Jacob of Edessa wrote about the epoch from Adam to Constantine mentioning with exactness the successive names of kings. He carried the narrative from Constantine to Abd Allah, king of the Arabs.⁶²⁴

A commentary of Theodosius of Edessa

You should know that Eusebius began his history in terms of years up to the year 20 of Constantine. Jacob of Edessa translated this history from Greek into Syriac. Eusebius, however, did not confine himself to the events from Adam until Abraham, but related events from Constantine to the period when Justinian ruled the Romans and Abd Allah ruled the Tayoye (Arabs). Concerning the kingdoms overlooked by Eusebius, Jacob of Edessa relegated them to the year 11 instead of 20 of Constantine. We, however, have written down this calculation after that of Jacob of Edessa in order to avoid confusion.

Chapter Three: The introduction of the calculation of years added by Jacob of Edessa after that of Eusebius. The conversion of the Iberians and the Ethiopians that took place in the time of the Victorious Emperor Constantine

Roman Emperors:

Alexander Mamaea, 7 years
 Gordian, 6 years
 Philip, 7 years
 Maximinus, 3 years
 Decius, 1 year
 Gallus, 1 year
 Volusianos, 15 years
 Claudius, 1 year
 Valerian, 15 years
 Tacitus, 6 months

Latin into English by Roger Pearse on the Internet, under R. Pearse *Jerome's Chronicle*.

⁶²³ See previous note. The Chronological Tables of Eusebius translated from Jerome's Latin into English by Roger Pearse, cover 187 pages on the Internet.

⁶²⁴ The author does not identify who this Abd Allah is. However, since Jacob of Edessa died in 708, this king (caliph) must be the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (685-705).

Claudius, 1 year
Aurelian, 6 years
Florian, 80 days
Probus, 6 years
Carus, 2 years
Diocletian, 21 years
Constantine, 20 years

Persian Kings:

Ardashir, 15 years
Sapur, 31 years
Hormizd, 2 years
Varahran, 17 months
Varahran Shahanshah, 4 months
Narses, 7 years and 1 month
Hormizd, 7 years
Sapur, 69 years

It is evident from the names of the Roman emperors and the Persian kings, that the year 20 of Constantine is the year 19 of Sapur. From the year 7 of Alexander Mamaea to the year 20 of Constantine, and from the first year of Ardashir to the year 19 of Sapur, there are 98 years. Because Sapur reigned 70 years, and that his twentieth year is the first in the calculation of years fixed by Mor Jacob (of Edessa) in which he mentioned only 50 years of Sapur's reign, it follows that the year 21 of Constantine is considered the year 7 of Sapur and the year 3 of the reign of his son Constantine II Caesar. Regarding the Persian years, it is the year 20 of Sapur who is the ninth king of the Second Persian kingdom known as the Sassanid kingdom.

After destroying the tyrants by the help of God, Emperor Constantine purged the church from the leprosy of heresy. He enhanced the position of the Christians and liberated them. He became engaged in the works of building and renovation. He allocated money for the monasteries, churches, for the widows and all those who served God. He ordered Eusebius and other bishops to organize the books of the Old and the New Testaments. He also commanded them to fix the solar and lunar months in order to have precise times of festivals. He designated his three sons as Caesars. One was to reign in the East, the other in the West and the third in the South. The name of the elder son was his namesake, Constantine, and the middle one was Constantius. Both maintained the pure and strong faith of their father. However, the young son, Constans, deviated to Arianism for reasons to be discussed later.

Sapur, king of Persia, stirred up severe persecution against the Christians living within his domain. Emperor Constantine sent him envoys with letters. By God's help and by his determination, he succeeded in stopping the persecution in Persia during which the holy martyrs fought the good fight.

In this period, a philosopher from Tyre named Meropius journeyed to India and Cush (Ethiopia). He was accompanied by two young men, Eudosius and Frumentius in order to get acquainted with those countries and write about them. However, the truce between the Romans and the Indians had ended. The Indians seized the philosopher and those with him in the sea and killed them. His two companions who survived were delivered to the king and were brought up by him. He released them before his death and they came under the charge of his son who succeeded him. They attained influence in India same as that of Joseph in Egypt. They built two churches for the Christians who travel to that region. They converted the king and others. Frumentius returned to Alexandria and informed Athanasius that the Indians longed for the faith and baptism. He asked Athanasius to send along with him a bishop. Athanasius said, "No one is

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more able than you to rescue these people from error.” He ordained him a bishop and sent him to India. Through him, God made remarkable miracles.⁶²⁵

The India mentioned here is India Interior. The Apostle Thomas preached in India Exterior and in Parthia. The Apostle Matthew preached in the land of the Cushites (Yaman, Ethiopia). The people of India Interior were converted in the time of the victorious Constantine.⁶²⁶

In addition, in the time of Constantine, the people of Interior Iberia believed in Christ through a chaste woman from Exterior Iberia close to the Euxine Sea who has been taken captive. These Iberians are not those who live in Spain. It happened that the son of their king became sick. His mother treated him with the usual methods according to their customs but to no avail. She asked the captive woman to treat him because she believed that she was righteous and of good deeds. The captive woman placed the son of the king in her woolen bed and said, “The child Christ will heal you as he healed many.” The child was healed immediately. Afterwards, the queen became sick. She called the captive woman to come and see her. She was also healed by her. The news spread and the captive woman began to preach the God, Christ. The king sent her a present but she refused it saying, “My present is that the king should believe in Christ.” The king refused to do so. A few days later, he went out hunting. He and his men were hit suddenly by stormy weather. They were enveloped by clouds and fog and were close to death. He appealed to his god but without avail. However, when he appealed to the God of the captive woman, the storm calmed down and everything was quiet. Upon his return, he called the people and instructed them to believe in Christ. They built a temple in the form the holy woman had showed them. It happened that a huge pillar was bound by Satan and they could not lift it up straight. The saintly woman prayed and the pillar was raised. Astonished to see it standing erect, they glorified God. However, the column moved and stood erect on its base. This miracle is known until this day. The Iberians sent an embassy to Emperor Constantine who provided them with a bishop and clergymen. Thus, they believed and were baptized.⁶²⁷

As to the Sarmatians and the Goths, they believed in Christ when they were defeated in war by the victorious Constantine.⁶²⁸

Constantine built a church next to the Oaks of Mamre where Abraham saw a vision. He also built another church in Heliopolis (Ba'lbak) in Phoenicia because its people were steeped in error. Their women were shared in common and no one knew who his father was. They even offered their virgins to passersby to defile them. After bishops were appointed for them, their affairs were corrected slowly.⁶²⁹

In addition, the emperor built a movable church made of embroidered linen.⁶³⁰ In Antioch, he built an octagonal church. He built a bridge over the River Danube over which his armies crossed. They subdued the Scythians and brought them into faith.

During the famine that plagued the east, Constantine commanded the distribution of provisions from his own money to the poor, the deacons and clergymen. He donated to the church of Antioch 36,000 measures of wheat.

The heathens slandered the Christians to Sapur their king (saying) that they were spying for the Roman emperor. Sapur was angry and tightened security against them and destroyed their churches. The victorious Constantine wrote to him saying, “Since I embraced the religion of God, I have been walking in the light of the truth, and thus can recognize the true faith.” Not only Sapur did reject the emperor’s words, he marched against Nisibin. However, he retreated with failure through the prayers of St. Jacob of Nisibin and St. Ephraim. In fact, out of malice, he invaded Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). Constantine went out to fight the Persians. When he reached Nicomedia, he fell sick. He was baptized there. The reason he was not baptized earlier was that he wanted to be baptized in the River Jordan. He wrote a will decreeing the

⁶²⁵ Socrates, Book One, Chapter Nineteen, pp. 41-42 of the English translation.

⁶²⁶ Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁶²⁷ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 20, pp. 43-44 of the English translation.

⁶²⁸ Socrates, Book One, chapter 18, p. 40 of the English translation.

⁶²⁹ Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁶³⁰ Socrates, *Ibid.*

kingdom to his three sons. He handed it to the Arian presbyter whom he added to his retinue by the request of his sister. He passed away on Sunday of Pentecost May 22 in the first year of the 279 Olympiad, which is the year 654 of the Greeks. He lived sixty-five years, twenty-two of which were spent in governing the empire. His body was transferred to Constantinople and interred in the Church of the Apostles.⁶³¹ *Here ends the account of the victorious Emperor Constantine.*

After Arius was condemned and expelled from the church, he went on working secretly, and by the instigation of Satan, propagated his despicable ideas with the help of his supporters who came to be known as Arians. However, Eusebius (of Nicomedia), Mari of Chalcedon and others who were inclined toward Arius, expressed repentance and were admitted to the Council (of Nicaea). They appealed to the emperor to summon Arius to his presence, and Constantine agreed. When he appeared before the emperor, Arius had with him two documents. One document containing his wicked heresy, which he concealed under his armpit, the second document containing orthodox faith, which he carried in his hand. When the emperor asked him about his faith, Arius placing his hand on the concealed document swore saying, "I know no faith except what is in this document." Thus, he deceived the emperor. The emperor ordered that letters should be addressed to the bishop of Constantinople and the bishop of Alexandria to accept Arius. Upon receiving the emperor's letter, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, entered the church. He prostrated himself before the Table of Life (the altar) and prayed saying, "O Lord who knows the secrets of the hearts. If Arius's hypocrisy is entrenched in him and he is trying to enter your church, I ask you to take my soul."⁶³² Arius left the presence of the emperor to meet Alexander. When he reached the canopy of the emperor, he asked for the compartment to relieve himself. When he entered it, his bowels spilled out and died. His supporters were gripped by fear and were followed by shame and disgrace. Upon hearing the news, Alexander went again to the altar and spreading his hands to heaven, he thanked God for exposing the hypocrite. This Alexander is not the Alexander who also received a letter from the emperor to accept Arius, but he refused to do so.

Then, the emperor forced Athanasius to accept Arius but he refused. The emperor was angry with him. When Arius's supporters learned that the emperor had become angry, they slandered Athanasius to him until he banished him.⁶³³

Socrates explains in his history how Arius managed to appear in the presence of the emperor after he had been condemned. He says, "Constantia, Constantine's sister, became sick. Her presbyter was an Arian who kept telling her that Arius was wronged and that the supporters of Athanasius had accused him falsely. Constantia believed him. When she was near death, she introduced the presbyter to the emperor saying that he was truthful and virtuous. Thus, Arius was able to appear before the emperor and join his retinue. The priest succeeded in convincing the emperor that Arius was truly wronged. This is how he was able to appear before the emperor as said above."⁶³⁴

The slandering of Athanasius to the emperor intensified after he rejected the emperor's order to accept Arius. The emperor addressed a letter to the Alexandrians saying that, "He who does not know the truth does not also know God. The barbarians have come to worship God through me. Everywhere they have realized that God stood by me and helped me. Today, however, they are ashamed when they behold us worship God in this manner. As for you who carry the mysteries within you, and I do not say that you are their protectors, think of nothing except the division and the perdition of people. You should come to the capital to discuss what you have and what Athanasius has."⁶³⁵

⁶³¹ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book One, Chapter 40, 62 of the English translation.

⁶³² Cf. Theodoret, Book One Chapter 14, p. 50 of the English translation. According to Theodoret who produced the story of Arius by St. Athanasius, as related to him by the presbyter Macarius who was praying with Alexander, Alexander said, "If Arius is to be joined to the church tomorrow, dismiss me thy servant, and do not destroy the pious with the impious."

⁶³³ Athanasius was banished to Treves a city of Gaul. See Theodoret, Book One, Chapter 31, p. 71 of the English translation; Socrates, Book One, Chapter 35, pp. 58-59 of the English translation.

⁶³⁴ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 25, pp. 49-50 of the English translation.

⁶³⁵ The reader may see some difference in the wording between this passage and the original in Socrates, Book One, Chapter 34, p. 58 of the English translation.

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When the bishops went to the capital, most of them fled from fear to their sees. Others connived against Athanasius. Satan can have a great influence if his agent is influential in a given region. For this reason, the emperor banished Athanasius with the pretext of keeping church unity because he emphatically rejected Arius.

At this time, the Arian sophist philosopher Asterius supported the Arians greatly. But when he failed to fulfill his desire of becoming a bishop, he propounded a heresy purporting that Christ was the Power of God, just the same as the locust and the palmer-worm are also of the power of God as said in the Old Testament.⁶³⁶ Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, refuted this heresy. Later, he espoused the heresy of Paul of Samosata. When he was condemned, he repented and felt sorry that his book was not burned. Soon, however, he was condemned for the second time because his repentance was not genuine and that his book was not burned. He was replaced by another bishop named Basilus.⁶³⁷ However, Marcellus burned his book before the Council of Sardica and restored his Episcopal position. In addition, Eusebius and Theognis were restored to their positions, and those who had replaced them were ousted.⁶³⁸ As the emperor was desirous of achieving peace in the church, he accepted them after they swore to submit to the decisions of the Council of Nicaea. On his part, Eusebius addressed a letter to Alexandria admitting that he has formulated the Creed of Nicaea and added nothing to it except the term "Consubstantial."⁶³⁹

The emperor, deceived by Arius's oaths, believed him. He admitted him to the communion of the church because of his desire for its unity. However, Arius was struck to death because of his impudence and in response to the prayer of St. Alexander, as previously said. However, when the emperor discovered the deception of the Arians, he ordered, while on his deathbed, Athanasius brought back from exile and restored him to his see.

Finished with the help of Jesus, the God of all that is seen and unseen, as it is written. I ask you fathers and masters, as I bow my head down at your feet, to pray for me whenever you read (this account).

Five months after the Council of Nicaea convened, Alexander passed away. Athanasius the Great was chosen by God and the people to replace him. In the meantime, Eusebius and Theognis kept slandering him to the emperor, (saying) that he was not worthy of the chief priesthood, but they failed. They could not hide the lamp under a bowl because it was put on a stand to give light to those in the house.⁶⁴⁰

Rufinus said about Athanasius that, "While a child, he played with the children in the alleys. One time, they chose him as their bishop and he began to ordain priests, deacons, and other clerical ranks. One day, the chief priest Peter surprised those children and saw what they were doing. He ordered their names to be registered and become educated by the school."⁶⁴¹

Alexander ordained Athanasius a deacon and took him along with him to the Council of Nicaea, where he vigorously defended the orthodox faith. After accomplishing his strife, Alexander departed this life and Athanasius occupied the See (of Alexandria) by the will of God. With great ardor, he withstood the empty claims of the Arians and overcame satanic obstacles by the power of the Holy Spirit. His words were like sharp arrows struck against Eusebius, Theognis and all the Arians who were burned by the fire of hatred and envy. However, their evil did not subside, but went on fabricating charges against Athanasius. They accused him saying that the gift of linen which was usually presented to the emperor, should in fact, be presented to the Church of Alexandria. They also claimed that he delivered a chest full of gold to a certain Philumenus who had rebelled against the emperor. However, when the emperor was sure that these two charges were not true, he sent Athanasius to Alexandria with great honor. Furthermore, Eusebius and

⁶³⁶ Exodus 8:21-24. See Socrates, Book One, Chapter 36, p. 59 of the English translation.

⁶³⁷ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 26, p. 93 of the English translation.

⁶³⁸ In order to obtain full understanding of these events, especially what happened at the Council of Sardica, the reader is directed to Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 20 and 21, pp. 81-84 of the English translation and Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 7, pp. 88 of the English translation.

⁶³⁹ Socrates, Book One Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 17-27 of the English translation and Book Two, Chapter 21, pp. 82-84 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁰ Mark 4:21, Luke 8:16

⁶⁴¹ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 15, pp. 36-37 of the English translation.

Theognis instigated a presbyter named Isychoras, who had offered the sacrifice (the Eucharist) before he was ordained a priest and then fled to Nicomedia, to say that Athanasius sent men to destroy the altar, poured the chalice and burned the books.⁶⁴²

Again, when, in the 3rd year of Constantine's reign, the Arians attempted to convene a council in a certain village of Palestine, Athanasius refused to attend. Therefore, they moved the council to Tyre. They cut off the hand of a dead man and claimed that Athanasius has killed Arsenius, bishop of Melitene and cut off his hand. They claimed that he bestowed the priesthood by this hand and concealed it in order to use it for magical works.⁶⁴³

The emperor summoned Athanasius to Tyre to investigate the charges against him, and Athanasius responded. Macarius too was summoned in chains. However, Arsenius arrived secretly by divine dispensation, and when he was recognized, he denied that he was Arsenius. Later, however, he could not cover up his lie, and the partisans of Athanasius snatched him and took him into hiding. When Athanasius entered the hall of judgment (court) those iniquitous (Arians) exhibited Arsenius' hand. Athanasius asked them "Which of you knows Arsenius?" Many of them said, "We know him." Athanasius ordered Arsenius to enter the hall with his two whole hands. They said, "This is Arsenius whose hand was cut off." Arsenius showed them his right hand but they said it could be the other hand that is cut off. Arsenius showed them his left hand. Athanasius said. "Here is Arsenius with two hands. Let them show us where his third hand is." Thus, was exposed their iniquity against Macarius. Meantime, Athanasius went to a place of hiding but was honored by the emperor. Nevertheless, the Arians condemned Athanasius, and his condemnation was signed by the bishop who was thought killed by Athanasius.⁶⁴⁴

The Arians convened a council to which they summoned a harlot who had given birth to a bastard by Eustathius the goldsmith. They enticed her to claim that the father was Eustathius of Antioch. They announced that this Eustathius was deposed and replaced by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. They accused Eustathius of dividing the congregation. However, the woman harlot, who was inflicted by incurable disease confessed, and Eustathius of Antioch triumphed.⁶⁴⁵

The See of Antioch became vacant for 8 years. Then it was occupied by Eulalius for one year. He was succeeded by Euphronius for 6 years.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea presided over the Council of Antioch. He charged Athanasius with holding the heresy of Sabellius. Meantime, Qura (Cyrus), bishop of Aleppo, and George, bishop of Laodicea accused him of other matters. Then Qura was also deposed. A conflict was provoked within the congregation. Some demanded the restoration of Eustathius to his see; others wanted the restoration of Eusebius of Caesarea to his see. The conflict led to the use of the sword against each other. Finally, Eustathius was restored and the conflict ended.⁶⁴⁶

In this period, Habsai was the 20th bishop of Edessa, Marcus the 32nd bishop of Rome and Julius the 33rd bishop for 5 years. In Jerusalem Maximius was a bishop. The heathens gouged his eyes. In Edessa, Barnai who succeeded Babsai, was the 21st bishop.

In this period, Spyridon was a shepherd, but he was chosen to be the shepherd of men. He tended the sheep with great humility. He lived on them in order to sustain his physical needs but never neglected to offer spiritual nourishment to the people. One night thieves seized his sheep, but he bound them by his prayer. On the next day, he saw them, released them by the power of prayer, and advised them to steal no more. He gave them a ram and they repented. He had a chaste sister who was a nun. A man left a trust with her, which she buried in the ground. The man returned asking for the trust but she had already died. He began searching for the trust. The bishop who had no knowledge of the trust accompanied him to

⁶⁴² Socrates, Book One, Chapter 27, p. 52 of the English translation.

⁶⁴³ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 29, pp. 54-55 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁴ Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁵ Theodoret, Book One, Chapter 21, pp. 58-59 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁶ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 24, pp. 48-49 of the English translation.

her grave. He cried out, "Sister Irene! Tell me where the trust is (buried). She answered from the grave, "It is in a such and such place." The trust was found and they praised God.⁶⁴⁷

The following councils were convened in the time of the victorious Constantine prior to his order to convene the great Council of Nicaea.

Fourteen bishops met at Galatia and issued twenty canons.

Then was convened the great Council of Nicaea.

A council met at Laodicea and issued nineteen canons.

Ninety bishops met at Antioch and issued fourteen canons.

These councils met in the time of Constantine. May their memory be a blessing (to us).

Chapter Four: The time of Constantine's Sons

The Victorious Constantine proclaimed his son Constantine (II) a Caesar in Constantinople.⁶⁴⁸ He made his middle son Constantius a Caesar of Antioch and the East, and his third son Constans a Caesar over Rome.⁶⁴⁹

When Constantine died in Nicomedia, his middle son Constantius was first to arrive because he was in the proximity of the city. He received the covenant from the Arian priest. He placed his father's body in a gold coffin and brought it into the capital.⁶⁵⁰

Upon hearing of Constantine's death, Sapur (the king of Persia) marched the second time against Nisibin situated on the Persian-Roman borders. It was known as the Antioch of Macedonia. Sapur marshaled an army and attacked it. At the same time, Constantine's son marched to Antioch. Sapur laid siege against Nisibin for seventy days. He set up towers against it and dug trenches. He dammed the course of the River Mygdonius that flowed in the middle of it and filled it up on both sides. Then he enlarged the dam, and the waters rose and flowed over the wall. The wall could not resist the pressure and collapsed. He then demolished the other side through which the waters were flowing. Sapur thought that since the wall had collapsed, he would be able to occupy the city. However, he was surprised to see that on the next day another wall was built on both sides of the city. Apparently, Jacob, bishop of Nisibin, by his prayers, urged the fighting men and the people to rebuild the wall. They did and propped it with buttresses and set up on it mangonels (engines of war) while Jacob continued to pray. Sapur was flabbergasted not only by the rebuilding of the wall, but because a person appeared to him on the wall wearing a garment and a miter from which light shone forth. Sapur thought it was the Roman emperor. He became very angry when he was told that it was not the emperor. However, when he learned that Constantius was in Antioch, he thought that that person was the God of the Romans fighting for them. The wretched (Sapur) hurled an arrow into the sky knowing that he could not harm him. Meantime, the blessed Ephraim (St. Ephraim the Syrian d. 373) asked Bishop Jacob to let him climb the wall and curse the barbarians. When he (St. Ephraim) saw that they were many, he asked God and he sent against them swarms of pests and mosquitoes. The elephants (of the Persians) were immensely disturbed because they had no hair. The pests attacked the horses' nostrils and ears sending them into stampede. They got loose of their bridles, threw off their riders and fled. Sapur retreated in shame. Ignatius of Melitene says, "God also sent heavy rain against the Persians. The plague inflicted them and they fled."

Constantine II, the eldest brother, was killed in war by the soldiers of Constans when he came to the region of his brother Constantius.⁶⁵¹ Constantius proclaimed Gallus, one of his relatives, a Caesar and sent him to Antioch. As he was about to enter the city, he saw toward the east a cross that looked like a pillar of fire.⁶⁵² Constantius was in control of the East and the capital when Constantine was killed by the soldiers of

⁶⁴⁷ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 12, pp. 33-34 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁸ Constantine II (337-340) was the second son of Constantine the Great. His father in Sirmium made him Caesar.

⁶⁴⁹ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 38, pp. 61-62 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁰ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 39-40, p. 62 of the English translation.

⁶⁵¹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 5, p. 66 of the English translation.

⁶⁵² Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 28, pp. 95-96 of the English translation.

Dalmatius Caesar. Gallus and Julian, sons of Constantine the eldest brother, were almost killed. However, illness saved Gallus from being killed, and Julian was saved because of his young age. Constantius ordered that they be educated in the village of Maqali near Caesarea Cappadocia. Both were ordained psalters (readers).⁶⁵³ They built a church after St. Mammias because the wing, which had been built by Julian, collapsed. Its fall had been known earlier.

After Constantius made Gallus a Caesar, he rebelled against him and Constantius had him killed. Julian was dragged into the fray, but the Empress Eusebia asked the emperor to hand him over to her. She sent him to Athens to study philosophy with Basil and his brother Gregory the theologian (Nazianzen).⁶⁵⁴ When Basil noticed the bad behavior of Julian, he predicted that he would revert to paganism.

In this period, the emperor built a city in Seleucia and called it Constantina of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). He enlarged the city of Amid and called it Augusta. He also called Tella, which was formerly known as Antipolis, Constantina.

Having reigned eight years in Rome, Constans was opposed by the tyrant Magnentius, who controlled Italy, Africa and was proclaimed emperor in Sirmium. Constans was killed treacherously. Along with him was his young nephew, Constantine. When Constantius learned what had happened, he became angry and marched against Magnentius. He killed him and Nepotian of the royal line who was with him. These two tyrants were killed on the same day.⁶⁵⁵

A cross was seen in the sky toward the east in May, 663 of the Greeks/352 A.D. Constantius entered Rome with pomp. Upon returning to Constantinople, he appointed Julian (to the position of) Caesar and married him to his sister Helen, who came to be known as Constantina.⁶⁵⁶

Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, wanted to transfer the remains of Constantine the Great from the Church of the Apostles to another church. However, the people revolted and many were killed. When Constantius learned of the incident, he deposed Macedonius and appointed Eudoxius in his place. Thus, he exchanged evil with evil.

In this period, the Jews of Neo-Caesarea killed some Romans. An army marched against them and killed them. It is reported that Gallus, Julian's brother, is the one who destroyed the Jews. But he became tyrannical and a rebel. He fled to the island of Phlanon where he was killed.

When Julian became Caesar and triumphed over the barbarians of Gaul, he became extremely powerful. His army proclaimed him Augustus. Learning that Julian had been victorious and was proclaimed Augustus, Constantius feared him. He hastened to receive baptism by Euzoius of Antioch. He assembled an army and marched against the treasonous Julian. Reaching Cilicia, Cappadocia, he died at Mopsucrene.⁶⁵⁷

Although Constantius did not admit the term "consubstantial" he, however, admitted its essence. He confessed that the Word of God, the Son, existed before all ages. He condemned openly those who affirmed that he was a creature. In fact, he introduced an innovation worthy of praise. He ordered his troops to take the communion while fighting against Magnentius, saying that, "Life is uncertain especially during battle; for it is endangered by arrows, and a multitude of other weapons. Therefore, everyone should be dressed with a shield for protection, which he needs even more in the world to come. I myself cannot bear to be counted among the heathens."⁶⁵⁸ He died in November 3, 678 of the Greeks having lived forty-five years. He assumed power at the age of seven and was co-emperor with his father for thirteen years. He was sole ruler for twenty-five years. He regretted giving a covenant to Eusebius, the Arian presbyter, and injecting skepticism into the faith.

After the death of Constantine the Victorious, the said Arian presbyter did not hand the covenant to his elder son, but to the middle son after receiving from him a pledge to persecute those who maintained

⁶⁵³ Cf. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, pp. 129-133 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 3, pp. 129-131 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁵ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 25, p. 92 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁶ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, p. 130 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁷ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 47, p. 126 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁸ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 3, pp. 130-131 of the English translation. The author took much liberty with the text.

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that Christ is eternal. He frequently visited the emperor to show him how his teaching flowed in every direction like the waters. He succeeded in winning one of the prominent men to the Arian heresy. In addition, the queen and her entourage accepted this heresy. Thus, conflict resulted in the east. In the west, however, things were calm because the eldest son of Constantine was ruling there and was a supporter of the faith. He brought Athanasius back from exile. He said, "Our Lord Constantine would have brought him back if it were not that he succumbed to death." Alexandria welcomed Athanasius with great honor. The Arians objected saying, "Athanasius has no right to enter the church without a council's decision." When Athanasius returned to his see, Eusebius had already died and was succeeded by his disciple Acacius who wrote about his master.

In this period Jacob of Nisibin died and was succeeded by Babouy and then by Walgash (Vologese).

In Rome, Julius who was bishop for 15 years was succeeded by Liberius for 8 years.

In Antioch, some Arian bishops occupied that see of whom are Euphronius Placitus for 4 years; Stephen, 5 years; Leontius, 6 years; Eudoxius, 3 years. All of them were Arians. Then, Meletius became a bishop of Antioch and was banished. He was followed by Eunomius.

In Constantinople, Phula (Paul) was bishop after Alexander, but he was expelled.

Eusebius of Nicomedia was a bishop for 5 years and was sent into exile ...lacuna of one line...

Phula (Paul) returned for 2 years.

Macedonius the heretic was a bishop for 5 years.

In Jerusalem, Cyril became a bishop after Maximus for 2 years and was then deposed.

In Edessa, after Habsai and Barnai, Abraham and Barsai were bishops. In this period were found the teachers of the truth Athanasius of Alexandria, Ephraim of Nisibin in Edessa, Eusebius of Homs, the blessed Julian the aged and Abraham Qaidonoyo. Also, prominent was the Persian (Aphrahat), the orthodox sage who wrote the *Book of Demonstrations*.

Socrates says, "Antonius the great who combated evil spirits, says that he was still living in this period. Athanasius the great wrote about him in details. To Antonius God revealed the corruption which has taken too long in the church because of Arius and the Meletians."

St. Antony said that the sons of the church would go through monumental temptations. When his disciples asked him what they were he replied, "I dreamed that the table of the Lord was hedged round by mules who spurned it with their hoofs." Afterwards, the Arians instigated the emperor against Athanasius who left his see and made his way to Rome. When Constans learned of what happened, he ordered a council to convene at Sardica. The council confirmed Athanasius as the lawful occupant of the See of Alexandria and reaffirmed the Nicæan Creed. The Arians, who were still recalcitrant, did not attend the council.⁶⁵⁹

Constans immensely grieved for his brother's deviation (from the orthodox faith). He delegated to him two bishops who had attended the Council of Sardica with letters advising him to submit to the truth, move away from the Arians and restore Athanasius to his see, especially that the charges against him were proven false. When the emissaries reached Antioch, and Stephen who was in charge of its see learned about their mission, he contrived a stratagem against them. He ordered a young man to find a courtesan and tell her that these men desired her. Meanwhile, he called fifteen soldiers and hid them in a nearby place. He bribed one of the servants to open the door at night and usher the courtesan in. He showed her the place where the two honorable emissaries were staying. Then he went out to call the soldiers. One of them, named Euphrates, was sleeping in the outer chamber and Vencintius was sleeping in the inner chamber. When the courtesan entered, Euphrates shouted, "Who are you?" and she responded. Recognizing that it was the voice of a woman, he was scared thinking that it was an evil spirit. He called the young men who arrested her and the soldiers also, and threw them into prison. However, the young man escaped. In the morning, the courtesan appeared before the emperor. She confessed and pointed to the young man, named

⁶⁵⁹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 20-22, pp. 81-85.

Evagrius, who had arranged her invitation. He was arrested and flogged. The soldiers confessed that Stephen was the one who had concocted this plan and, he was expelled from the church.

When the emperor was assured of the Arians' stratagem against Athanasius, he accepted his brother's intercession on his behalf and sent men to bring him unto himself. He asked him to hand over to the Arians only a single church in Alexandria. Apparently, the emperor's mind was still tarnished by the Arian heresy. Athanasius replied, "I also ask you to give a single church to those of our faith in Antioch to pray." The emperor almost agreed. However, the Arians retorted, "No church shall either be given to them or to us." Athanasius returned for the second time to Alexandria and was received with utmost honor.

After the death of Constans, the Arians instigated Constantius against Athanasius. They told him that he was the main reason of conflict between him and his brother. The emperor ordered Athanasius' banishment for the second time and even sent Sebastian and some other Romans to kill him.

Athanasius, narrating the story of this escape says, "The Arians provoked the Romans against me. They conducted them to me because they did not know me. Darkness set in and some people remained vigilant. Almost five thousand soldiers and Romans surrounded the church to insure that no one escaped. I said that, 'It was not fit to leave the church under such commotion, but rather endure torment more than the rest.' I took my seat and beckoned to a deacon to chant the Psalms with the people's response, 'May his mercy be forever.' The governor and the soldiers went up to the Holy of Holies to arrest me. The clergy and the congregation asked me to move somewhere else but I determined not to do so before the sons of the church had left first. I concluded with a prayer and beseeched them to leave saying, 'I prefer to suffer torture alone than cause harm to any one of you.' When the people, monks and other clergymen intended to make their way out, they forced me out of my seat in order to leave with them. I say this for nothing but the truth. At the same time when some soldiers had hedged the Holy of Holies and others roamed around in the church, we slipped through them protected by the Lord, and thus were safe. I thanked God because I did not betray the congregation to them." This was the third banishment of Athanasius.⁶⁶⁰

The emperor consulted with Liberius (bishop of Rome) to depose Athanasius calling him wicked and a troublemaker. However, Liberius would not agree. The emperor sent him five hundred dinars but he refused them. So he was banished to Beroe and then to Thrace. Two years later when the emperor came to Rome, women asked their husbands to beseech him to bring Liberius back from exile. But the husbands feared the emperor's wrath. The women decided to ask the emperor themselves whether he agreed or not. Some prominent women among them approached the emperor with utmost esteem and presented their case. He answered that the church had a shepherd, Philip, who succeeded Liberius. The emperor (Constantius) feigned true faith but secretly endorsed the Arians. Nevertheless, he accepted the women's appeal because no one supported Philip. He ordered Liberius to come back and administer the church with Philip. For this, the people shouted, "God is One, Christ is One, and we have one bishop."

Liberius, bishop of Rome, was banished together with Paulinus, bishop of Gaul, Dionysius, bishop of Italy, Lucifer, bishop of Sardinia and Eusebius, bishop of Italy. This latter might have been the uncle of Julian.

To Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, was handed the document containing the decision of the people. But he learned that the iniquitous men reneged on their promise, deposed him and set up Meletius in his place. The Arians appealed to the emperor to have Eusebius hand back the document fearing that their deeds might be exposed, but Eusebius refused to hand back the document. This enraged the emperor. He sent a messenger to Eusebius for the second time saying, "The hand of the one who will not surrender the document will be cut off." Meantime, he secretly ordered the messenger not to execute his order. When Eusebius read the emperor's letters, he stretched out his right and left hands saying, "I will never submit the document which contains a censure of the Arians' iniquity." Upon learning what happened, the emperor was astonished for this situation. How amazing it is that the persecutors (Arians) were astonished when their opponents resisted (exposed) their actions?

⁶⁶⁰ For a vivid exposé of the life of St. Athanasius, his multiple predicaments and banishments, see Frederic W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers: Sketches of Church History in Biography* 1 (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Blake, 1889), 445-571.

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Damasus was the 35th bishop of Rome for 19 years.

In this period, St. Ephraim was famous in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia).

Abraham Qaidonoyo and the elderly Julian were known for their asceticism.

In Edessa, Bishop Abraham died and the Edessan took Barsa, bishop of Harran, and set him up a leader of his church.

In this period Vologese, bishop of Nisibin, died *End of the narrative*.

Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, was inclined toward the Arian heresy. The reason was the covenant his father granted the Arian presbyter. The presbyter began to seize the churches of the orthodox and hand them to the Arians. Constantius lamented the trouble within the church ascribing it to those who maintained the term "Consubstantial with his Father," which is not in the Scriptures. This caused dissension among the clergy. The emperor blamed Athanasius and his supporters for this trouble. Constantius, the emperor in Rome, was, like his father, of sound faith. He called Athanasius back from exile at a time when the Arians were betraying him to Constantius. When Athanasius felt that Constantius intended to banish him, he fled to Rome and was received by Julius who summoned the Arians to Rome but they refused to show up. Ninety bishops and presbyters met in Antioch. They issued canons, deposed Athanasius and set up Eusebius of Edessa, bishop of Emessa (Homs) in his place.⁶⁶¹ Later, Eusebius was exposed for this inclination toward the Sabellinas and the magical practices of the Chaldeans. They (the bishops) deposed him and set up Gregory the Arian in his place. They addressed a harsh letter to Julius for accepting Athanasius and Paul.⁶⁶²

The easterners met at Philippopolis and condemned the term "Consubstantial."

Some members of the family of Constantine the Great had a rotunda church built in Antioch and Arian bishops gathered to consecrate it. Suddenly, a severe earthquake demolished it. About this earthquake, John of Asia said, "It demolished many areas. The church of Salamina in Cyprus was destroyed. The city of Caesarea Pontus, with the exception of its church building, sank into the sea. Only few people were saved."

In the ninth year of the reign of the sons of Constantine, another earthquake took place, and Rome was in great turbulence because of it. Twelve cities were destroyed in Campania.

Socrates says that when Gregory entered Alexandria, Athanasius of Alexandria fled. In their fury, the Alexandrians set the church of Dionysius on fire.⁶⁶³

Upon the death of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople who lived 89 years, Paul succeeded him. However, the emperor deposed Paul because he was installed without his order. The emperor appointed Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia in his place. The people, however, rejected Eusebius and reinstated Paul. Then Paul was ousted and Macedonius, the Arians' favorite, was reinstated. His reinstatement caused three thousand victims.⁶⁶⁴

In this period emerged the heresy of Photinus, who held power in Sirmium of Illyricum. His disciple, the condemned Marcellus, held that Christ was a mere man. The emperor convened a meeting in Sirmium to discuss his idea. Gregory the Cappadocian, bishop of Alexandria, who succeeded Gregory, discovered that Photinus' belief was the same as that of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. The Arians deposed him and issued rules not only affirming the faith but also serving as a reproach for those who preceded these heretics. In addition, they instituted three statutes contradicting each other.⁶⁶⁵

The term *ousia* in Greek and Latin means *substance*, in Syriac, *ithotho*.

Following the Council of Nicaea, the Arians instituted eight statutes of faith, two in Antioch, one in Gaul, another fixed by Eusebius and sent to Italy, three in Sirmium and one in Seleucia. Other Arians in

⁶⁶¹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 8, pp. 67-68 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 4, pp. 75-76 of the English translation.

⁶⁶² Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 9, pp. 68-69 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 4, pp. 75-76 of the English translation.

⁶⁶³ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 11, p. 71 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁴ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 6 and 7, pp. 66-67 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁵ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 18, pp. 77-78 and 29, p. 96 of the English translation.

Constantinople added to them something else. The purpose was to distance them gradually from the Creed of Nicaea.⁶⁶⁶

The Arian Leontius, who blamed Athanasius for running away, frequently visited a sorceress harlot named Eustolia (Eustolium). To avoid suspicion, he castrated himself but kept visiting her.⁶⁶⁷

The Arians set up a bishop for Antioch during the turmoil in the church. In Constantinople, Macedonius seized the churches by order of the emperor. He persecuted anyone who professed the term “consubstantial,” because he held the same belief of Arius. He even had the audacity to blaspheme the Holy Spirit.⁶⁶⁸

In Alexandria, the Arian George disgraced the virgins and killed old men. He had no mercy on the young and the women. He banished the bishops and presbyters for rejecting Arius.⁶⁶⁹

In Antioch, the deacon Aetius harbored the beliefs of Arius. He received his education in Alexandria but returned to his native city Antioch where Leontius ordained him a deacon. He forged fallacious ideas taken from Aristotle’s *Categories* and explained them in a rational and diabolical manner in his letters. Thus, he was surnamed Atheus (Atheist).⁶⁷⁰

At this time, a council convened in Milan by order of the emperor. Three hundred bishops attended it from the West; only a few attended from the East because of far distances. When the Eastern bishops intended to condemn Athanasius, the Western bishops voiced their disagreement saying, “If Athanasius is condemned, the whole faith will perish.” The council was then dissolved. The emperor ordered the Westerners to meet in Rimini. Instead, they met in Seleucia because at that time an earthquake destroyed Nicomedia, which was situated between these cities. The Arians presented a copy of the faith, which was composed at Rimini, but was rejected by the bishops. The emperor ordered the bishops not to leave their seats, but they left. The emperor became furious and issued an order in favor of the Arians. Soon afterwards, Liberius, bishop of Rome, also left. Later, Leontius of Antioch died and was succeeded by Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia (Mar’ash) by order of the emperor.⁶⁷¹

The emperor convoked another council in Seleucia attended by one hundred-fifty bishops. Eusebius, Eudoxius and Aetius objected against its meeting to the emperor. Eudoxius handed the emperor a memorandum explaining the issues of changeable nature. In it, he stated that the Son is not the Father. However, when it became known that Aetius had written the memorandum, he was banished to Phrygia. Eudoxius condemned anyone who proclaimed that the Son was born of the Father not in an ineffable manner, or that he is simply a “son”. Meantime, the emperor asked the bishops to condemn the term “consubstantial,” but they refused to do so. Therefore, he banished them. In addition, he banished Cyril who was bishop of Jerusalem for twelve years and replaced him with Herennius.⁶⁷² Likewise, Macedonius, who was a bishop of Constantinople for five years, was banished and replaced by Eudoxius who was in Antioch. As to Meletius, bishop of Sebastea in Armenia, he was at the beginning loved by all for avoiding discussion of the creed. One day, however, he produced three fingers saying, “This is how we know them (Father, Son and Holy Spirit) as one.” The Arians recognized that he was holding the Nicean Creed. Three years later, they deposed him and replaced him with Euzoius. Then, the presbyter Paulinus administered the affairs of the people.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁶ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 41, pp. 120-121 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁷ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 26, p. 93 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 24, p. 112 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁸ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 27, pp. 93-94 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 6, pp. of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁹ Socrates Book Two, Chapter 28, pp. 94-96 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter, 14, pp. 93-95 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁰ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 35, pp. 102-103 of the English translation.

⁶⁷¹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 36 and 37, pp. 103-111 of the English translation.

⁶⁷² Errenius, Arrenius. See Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 45, p. 125 of the English translation.

⁶⁷³ For this narrative, the reader should read Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 40-45, pp. 116-125 of the English translation.

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In this period appeared a heretic in Alexandria named Apollinaris. He was educated in profane sciences. He came to teach in Beirut. However, when he reached Laodicea, he married and had a son with his namesake. Bishop Theodotus ordained him a presbyter and his son a psalter. They became acquaintances of Epiphanius the pagan Sophist, which caused Theodotus to suspend them from service. George, who succeeded Theodotus after his death, wanted them to stop seeing Epiphanius. They objected and he expelled them from the church. The young man Apollinaris resorted to some condemned bishops who ordained him a bishop for an unknown location. He and his father contrived a heresy about the positions (of the persons of the Trinity). They claimed that, "The Holy Spirit is great, the Son is greater and the Father is greatest. The Son did not receive a rational but a vegetative soul and a reason." They composed some psalms.⁶⁷⁴

In this time, Eunomius, who instructed him not to reveal his faith, ordained Eudoxius but the people induced him to tell the truth. When he told the truth in writing, they reported him to the emperor. Eudoxius was forced to depose him. He urged him to flee, blaming him for divulging his faith. Meantime, Eunomius lost his trust in Eudoxius and repaired to Theodotus. Both of them contrived a heresy and were called "Eunomians."⁶⁷⁵

One hundred-sixty Arian bishops met in Seleucia but could not agree with each other and split into two parties. George and thirty-two bishops formed a party while Georgias, bishop of Alexandria, and the rest of the bishops formed an opposite party. They changed the term "consubstantial with the Father" to "of like the Father." When asked, "In what sense he (the Son, Christ) was like the Father?" they answered, "He was like him only in will but not in substance." One bishop asked, "Why do you then call the Antiochenes 'Fathers' while you reject their teaching? Now those who assembled in Nicaea and instituted the term 'consubstantial' should be more worthy to be called 'Fathers' for they were the forerunners from whom the Antiochenes received the priesthood. If the Antiochenes had debased the right of their 'Fathers,' those who follow the murderers of their fathers deceive themselves, for they unjustly confess that their creed was false since they received from them unlawful ordinations. Consequently, if those did not receive the Holy Spirit which is granted at the time of ordination, then, those and they themselves have not received the priestly dignity."⁶⁷⁶

At this time appeared in Edessa a young man who was ordained an archdeacon. He followed the teachings of the Daysanis (Followers of Bar Daysan, d. 222) who practiced astronomy, sorcery and denied the resurrection. They also maintained that angels had been stained by rebellion, and that seven Directors created the world.⁶⁷⁷

In this period, George the Arian maltreated the Alexandrians. Driven by zeal, they set him on fire. Others say that the Alexandrians tied him up to a frantic camel and was split into two halves. Still, others maintained that the partisans of Athanasius killed him. When Julian rose to power, he addressed a letter to the Alexandrians saying, "Fury has driven you astray, and usual hatred blinded you from recognizing the truth."⁶⁷⁸ *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Five: On the reign of Julian the Apostate and Sapur

Julian the Apostate was made Caesar by Constantius⁶⁷⁹ and ruled jointly with him for 5 years. He ruled 2 years after the death of the emperor. His reign began on Konon (December) 3 of the year 679 of the Greeks.⁶⁸⁰ In some copies, he is said to be the nephew of Constantine the Great. The Victorious

⁶⁷⁴ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 46, pp. 125-126 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁵ Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 29, pp. 121-123 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁶ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 39-40, pp. 114-120 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁷ Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, Syriac text translated into Latin by Johannes Baptista Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy, 1, Lovanii, 1872), 101-102.

⁶⁷⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 133-136. Chapter 3, pp. 134-136 contains the lengthy letter of Emperor Julian to the Alexandrians.

⁶⁷⁹ See John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 87.

⁶⁸⁰ Julian ruled from 371 to 363.

Constantine, who built Constantinople, had two brothers: Dalmatius and Constantius.⁶⁸¹ Dalmatius called his son after his own name. Constantius had two sons: Gallus and Julian. When Gallus rebelled and was killed, Julian was sent to Athens as its governor by the mediation of the empress. Then, the emperor designated him a Caesar, and gave him his sister (Helena) to wed and sent him to fight the barbarians.⁶⁸² It is said while he entered a street of a city; a suspended crown descended upon his head. When he triumphed against the barbarians, he began to think that the emperor had only sent him to fight the barbarians in order to have him and those with him perish. He harbored evil toward the emperor but he also dreaded him. Therefore, he stayed away from the emperor and went to Athens and had his hair cut. In secret, however, he learned magic pretending he was studying rhetoric. When he triumphed in war, it was said that the crown that descended upon his head was a sign of his dominion. Influenced by this incident, Julian agreed to have his followers proclaim him an emperor. He placed a crown over his head to signify his rise to power. He mocked Constantius, annulled his decrees and altered the acts of the Christian emperors. He opened the temples of idols and sacrificed to them in order to attract the heathens. He prepared to fight against the emperor, but due to the incomprehensible ways of God, Constantius died. And yet, the divided Roman kingdom became united. Despite its unity, however, this monster tyrant relied on his sentiments believing that the demons had glorified him. Thus, he exercised cajolement and cunning to patronize the pagans. He perverted what was considered by the emperor as evil into what he thought was good. He even assumed the characteristic of a philosopher. He expelled cooks and barbers on the pretext that he acted in a manner befitting a philosopher but not an Emperor. As to jest and derision, they are befitting emperors and not philosophers. The tyrant Julian composed a treatise deriding the emperors who were before him. He said that philosophers and emperors should rise above calumny and jealousy.⁶⁸³

This tyrant Julian polluted water springs with the blood of sacrifices so that anyone who drank from them would share in his impiety. He sprinkled food and market places with their waters in every city he entered.⁶⁸⁴ When he entered Constantinople, he was proclaimed an Autocrat. In Antioch, he depressed the prices of commodities, but the swift-acting citizens of the city could not stand him. In fact, they held him in contempt and mocked his long beard saying, "Shave off your beard and make a rope out of it." He ordered the impression of a bull and altar be made on his coin. He had bullocks sacrificed to the idols. He was outraged against the citizens of Antioch who scoffed at him. However, the sophist Libanius interceded with him on behalf of them for describing him as "He of the repulsive beard," and "He of excessive scorn." Julian insulted them and his outrage calmed down.⁶⁸⁵

When he tried to find out about his fortune from the oracle, Apollo Pythien of Daphne, the oracle did not answer him for fear of Babylas, whose coffin containing his remains was placed there.⁶⁸⁶ Upon learning the reason, Julian ordered immediately that the coffin be removed. The Christians transported the coffin of St. Babylas (from Daphne) to the city with a great celebration.⁶⁸⁷ Only then, the oracle told Julian his fortune.⁶⁸⁸

The Apostate (Julian) set up two altars. On one of them he placed gold, and on the other, frankincense and fire, so that he who wanted gold threw frankincense in the fire and ate from the sacrifice.

⁶⁸¹ Julius Constantius was half-brother of Constantine the Great.

⁶⁸² *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 86.

⁶⁸³ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, pp. 129-133 of the English translation. Evidently, the author took much liberty with the text.

⁶⁸⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 15, p. 141 of the English translation.

⁶⁸⁵ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 17, p. 149 of the English translation. According to Socrates, instead of punishing the inhabitants of Antioch, he wrote a pamphlet entitled "Antiochichus; or Misopogon that is Beard-Hater" thinking that he would leave on them an indelible stigma. Socrates. p. 149-150, and *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 409-410. From this source, we gather that Julian wrote the pamphlet *Misopogon* to shame the inhabitants of Antioch and to justify his handling of the food crisis, which they protested.

⁶⁸⁶ Babylas' remains were installed by Gaius Caesar.

⁶⁸⁷ When the Christians conveyed Babylas's remains to their new resting place, they kept citing against Julian the Psalm 97:7 "All who worship images are put to shame, those who boast in idols-- worship with him, all you gods." See *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 439-440.

⁶⁸⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 18, p. 150 of the English translation.

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However, a Christian threw frankincense into the fire, took gold and, as he was about to partake of the sacrifice, he signed the cross over the chalice. His companion told him that he was doing the opposite of what was required. When he realized that what he did was an infidelity, he and others rose up and shouted, "We are Christians." Julian wanted to kill them. But realizing that they may be counted as martyrs, he sent them into exile.⁶⁸⁹ He also banned from his palace eunuchs, mules, camels and donkeys leaving only horses.⁶⁹⁰ He changed the name of Caesarea into the old name of Mazaqa. This he did also with Byzantium.

Julian enacted a law forbidding the Christians from studying the books of heathens and philosophers. He opened houses for the care of orphans, widows and the poor just to deceive the gullible. He ordered the people to read the exploits of Zeus, Mars, Jupiter and demons, and threatened with torture those who did not worship them. He ordered the commissioners to sacrifice to the idols before receiving their stipends. He was outraged against Antioch for insulting him. He was also outraged against Caesarea and Cappadocia and swore by his gods to cast their stones into the sea just because he was rebuked by Basil the Great. He sent a message to the citizens of Edessa to welcome him, but they refused. His counselors advised him to leave them alone, and he did. He entered Harran (Carrhae), sacrificed to the idols and honored the Jews.⁶⁹¹ When the Jews of Edessa heard what he did, they antagonized the Christians. Moved by zeal, the Christians turned and annihilated the Jews.

Julian was prostrating before the idol Sin in Harran, and his crown fell off his head. His garment became entangled with the harness of the horse, was torn and the horse died. His magicians told him "The Christians in your company have planned these things against you." Julian suspended 22,000 Christian soldiers from service but did not remove the symbol of the cross. The reason was that in case he was defeated by the Persians, he would make the cross the cause of his defeat.

Julian always consulted soothsayers and interpreters of oracles. An astronomer told him, "We have all gathered at the Tigris River asking the gods to grant you victory. Mars will make you triumph." The wretched man believed him and marched against the Persians confident, like Alexander, of victory.⁶⁹² He also learned that the Persians were weaker in wintertime. Therefore, he marched through their territory at the head of 395,000 fighting men not including horsemen, porters and artisans. He reached Ctesiphon-Seleucia pillaging and killing. Sapur fled. Julian entered the treasuries of the kings and seized considerable riches. Sapur begged him to leave some of his land, but he refused. He forgot the adage, "It is good for man to conquer. But when his conquests increase, the number of his enviers also increases." Thus, over the banks of the Tigris, the Persians assembled against the Romans and sent emissaries to Julian. One day, he went out on his horse wearing no armor. He bragged about his achievement and urged the troops to fight. Suddenly, a stray arrow struck him in his side and he fell down. He scooped some of his blood and hurling it toward heaven, said, "Galilean! You have conquered me. Yours is divinity and dominion."⁶⁹³ It is said that the one who shot the arrow was an angel. Others say he was one of the Forty Martyrs (of Sebastea). Others say that he was one of the Tayoye (Arabs) in his company. Still, others say he was a Persian whose nose Julian had cut off; he is the one who deceived him and took him out to the wilderness and had the people

⁶⁸⁹ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 17, pp. 143-144 of the English translation.

⁶⁹⁰ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, pp. 129-133 especially p. 132 of the English translation.

⁶⁹¹ At Harran Julian sacrificed to the Moon, who was devoutly worshipped in those parts. See *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 177.

⁶⁹² Cf. *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R. H. Charles (London: William Norgate, 1916), 77.

⁶⁹³ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 25, pp. 150-151; Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 21, pp. 152-153 with some differences. John Malalas says that Julian was severely wounded in the armpit and was carried to his tent. He asked his soldiers, "What is the town in which my tent is." They told him that it was called Asia. Immediately, he cried out, "O Helios (Sun), you have destroyed Julian." He bled profusely and died. See *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Elizabeth Jeffrys, 181, and *The Chronicle of John Malalas Books VIII-XVIII*, translated by Matthew Spinka, 76-77, where he gives his age as 36 at his death, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 78-79.

perish from hunger. However, Callistus, one of Julian's relatives,⁶⁹⁴ who wrote his biography, says that Julian fell off the back of a demon and died on Saturday.⁶⁹⁵

Julian lived 31 years,⁶⁹⁶ five of them as a Caesar. He was sole emperor for 2 years and 7 months. May his memory be accursed. Amen.

The death of Julian was foretold by a venerable old man in Sinai, by the Cappadocian Basil the Great and by Didymus and other saints. It is said that one month before Julian was killed, a warm water spring gushed out in Baghdad.⁶⁹⁷ One day after he was killed, the spring resumed its former nature. At Harran, Julian entered a temple of idols to worship. When he finished, he had the gate of the temple shut off and sealed in order that no one else would open it. After he was killed, it was opened. Inside, a woman was found chained and suspended by her hair.

The apostasy of Julian and his deviation from the faith is attributed to a woman from his clan named Partica. She prompted him to seek soothsayers and diviners and thus he fell into the trap of apostasy and became a heathen. If one desires to know the authenticity of this account, he will find it in *Against Foreigners*, said to have been written by St. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of Basil the Great under whom Julian studied in Athens. It is also said that when these dignitaries discovered his queer behavior and his inclination toward heathenism, they said "Woe to Rome which has produced him."⁶⁹⁸ When he became Caesar and came to Hellas (Greece), he (Julian) asked a sorcerer to help him. The sorcerer evoked a demon and Julian trembled. However, he made the sign of the cross and the demon vanished. The sorcerer said that, "The demons feared the cross."⁶⁹⁹ Later, when he triumphed in warfare, he believed that the demons had granted him sovereignty. For this, he extended aid to the heathens and publically worshiped idols and persecuted the Christians. He allowed the Jews to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. However, when they began the reconstruction, fire fell down from heaven upon them and angels were seen dragging the Jews and annihilating them. Because of this incident, the Jews were unable to continue the work.

The pagans became extremely audacious in their actions. In Gaza, Ascalon and other cities of Palestine, they tore up the stomachs of presbyters and virgins, filled them with barley, and threw them to the pigs to be devoured. In Sebastea, they opened the coffin of St. John the Baptist and burned his bones. They seized a deacon named Cyril, who, during the time of Emperor Constantius destroyed the idols of Ba'lbak. They ripped up his stomach and ate his liver. Instantly, they lost their teeth and their tongues decayed in their mouths. They also lost their eyes.⁷⁰⁰ Much against their will, they roamed through the marketplace proclaiming the power of God. Another believer, Marcus,⁷⁰¹ had destroyed the idols in the time of the Christian emperors (Constantius). He fled when the pagans dominated. He returned when he learned that the pagans had seized another person instead of him, but the pagans arrested him. They had no mercy on him although he was an old man. They stripped him naked and dragged him breaking his bones. They thrust him into a bad smelling cage of lions. Then, they took him out and delivered him to playing youth to trample on him with their feet. They thrust him in a cage and anointed his body with musk and honey, and suspending him where the heat was most excessive, left him to the attacks of wasps and bees. They said, "Either you apologize for destroying the temple of the idols or pay for its reconstruction." They bargained

⁶⁹⁴ He was one of his bodyguards.

⁶⁹⁵ According to Socrates, Callistus, one of Julian's bodyguards, says that the wound of which Julian died was afflicted by a demon. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 21, p. 153 of the English translation. A full description of Julian's death is in *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 180-183 without any mention of scooping and hurling his blood and shouting that the Galilean had overwhelmed him. Evidently, Ammianus was a partisan of Julian.

⁶⁹⁶ According to *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Elizabeth Jeffry, 181, he was 31 years old when he died. However, according to the translation of Matthew Spinka, 77, he was 36 years old.

⁶⁹⁷ The mentioning of Baghdad here is historically anomalous. As a city, Baghdad was built in 762 A.D. by the second Abbasid Caliph Abu Jafar al-Mansur (754-755.) Most likely, Michael Rabo meant a place where the future city of Baghdad stood.

⁶⁹⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 23. pp. 155-156, especially p. 156, which provides a sketch of the life and character of Emperor Julian by Gregory of Nazianzus. Gregory says, "Ah! How great a mischief to itself is the Roman Empire fostering?"

⁶⁹⁹ Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 3, pp. 129-131.

⁷⁰⁰ As a divine punishment.

⁷⁰¹ He was a Bishop of Arethusa.

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with him asking him to pay them an inconsiderable sum of money, but he refused. He kept telling them, "You are earthly-bound and care about earthly things, but I am heavenly-bound and care about heavenly things." Finally, they released him and were astonished by his endurance. He became the cause of their drastic change. Through him, they believed and were converted (to Christianity).⁷⁰²

In this time, a thunderbolt destroyed the temple of Phythian Apollo (of Daphne) and reduced it to ashes, for the statue was only made of wood with a gilded surface. Julian, the emperor's uncle, (he was governor of the East) hastened to assist Apollo. The guardians beat the Christians suspecting that they had burned the temple. He was told that fire like a thunderbolt fell down from heaven and destroyed it.⁷⁰³ The emperor's uncle took off his garment and urinated on the Holy Table. Falling on his face, Bishop Euzoius tried to prevent him from doing so. Instantly, the emperor's uncle was afflicted by pain in the bowels and excrement and urine poured out of his mouth. When his wife, who was Christian, saw him in this condition, she rebuked him for his cruelty. He repented and beseeched the emperor to allow the Christians a church, but the emperor refused. Julian died tormented.⁷⁰⁴

Count Felix was entrusted with the emperor's treasury. He was termed by the Romans as the count or treasurer of the private estate of the emperor. Seeing precious holy vessels in the churches, he exclaimed, "Behold, in what kind of vessels the Son of Mary is ministered unto."⁷⁰⁵ Immediately, he fell down and started bleeding from the mouth. He died and went to (the punishment of) eternal fire. The tyrant Julian ordered the holy vessels transferred from his treasury.

A prominent man of Aleppo had a son who reverted to paganism, and he (the father) expelled him. The son complained against his father to the emperor. When Emperor Julian came to Aleppo, he told the father, "Don't antagonize your son because he no longer follows your religion, neither will I force you to embrace my religion." The man said with avid Christian enthusiasm, "Is this what you want to tell me about this impious impudent creature, who has forsaken the truth and hated and loved falsehood?" The miscreant (Julian) realized that this believing man was ready for martyrdom. He, putting on the form of philosophers, said, "Man! Enough insults." Turning to the son he said, "I will take care of you since I could not convince your father to care for you."⁷⁰⁶

When General Valentinian entered the temple in the company of the emperor, the priests sprinkled those who entered with blood in hyssop to purify them. A drop of blood fell on the emperor. He turned to the priest saying, "You have defiled me instead of purifying me." Then, the tyrant banished the priest to the desert. A year later, the confessor Valentinian became emperor as a result of his confession.⁷⁰⁷

In Egypt, the tyrant (Julian) killed the commander Artemius because he had destroyed the idols.⁷⁰⁸

Two soldiers (guards), Juvenitus and Maximus, were at a certain dinner party. They lamented saying, "We have been delivered to a wicked government." One of those present related to the emperor what these two had said. The two men told the emperor that they deplored the abominable sacrifices offered to the idols. The emperor had them flogged and killed, claiming that they had insulted him. He did this in order to offer them the dignity of dying as martyrs. Thus, while pretending to be humble, he was indeed impious.⁷⁰⁹

Emperor Julian forbade the Christians to be educated in the sciences of the Greeks. However, Apollinaris and his son were competent men. Apollinaris, well versed in grammar and in the science of engineering called (horan?), translated the books of Moses into rhetorical verse and paraphrased the rest of the historical books of the Old Testament partly in dialectic measure, and partly reducing them to the form of dramatic tragedy. His son expounded the gospels and the Epistles in the way of dialogue, following Plato among the Greeks as his model. It should be understood that the Scriptures are not books of science and

⁷⁰² This whole story is in Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter Seven, pp. 133-135 of the English translation.

⁷⁰³ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 135-136 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapters, 12-13, pp. 138-139 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁵ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 12, pp. 138-139 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁶ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 22, pp. 148-149 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁷ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 16, pp. 142-143 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁸ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 18, pp. 144-145 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁹ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 15, pp. 141-142 of the English translation.

dialectics, but are weapons to defeat the enemies especially that we are armed with the admirable things and the truth they contain. In fact, the Apostle (Paul) used them for this purpose. It is evident from the testimonies we have already cited that the people of Crete were liars.⁷¹⁰ Their learned men used these books for the sake of controversy.⁷¹¹

Julian entered Antioch leaning on General Jovian. The priest sprinkled him with blood. Jovian spurned and struck the priest who fell down. Julian became angry and banished Jovian. Later, as he was in need of his abilities, he restored him as an army general.⁷¹²

At Caesarea Philippi, a woman with a blood issue made a statue of Christ and worshiped it in order to be healed. She also used the statue for the healing of many maladies. The tyrant (Julian) begrudged her and, smashing the statue, fixed his own statue in its place. However, fire descended from heaven and burned it.⁷¹³

In Nicopolis of Palestine, there was a fountain used for healing. It is said that Christ washed in it. The tyrant (Julian) filled it up with dirt. It was also reported that once when Julian entered Antioch, the philosopher Libanius asked a Christian sarcastically, "Where is the son of your Carpenter?" The Christian said enthusiastically, "He is preparing a coffin for your emperor." This was like a prophecy, because the body of Julian was transported back from Persia in a coffin.⁷¹⁴ *End of the narrative.*

When Julian began to reign, he ordered that bishops return to their sees, and Athanasius returned to Alexandria.⁷¹⁵ His order, however, was not made with good intentions, but for accomplishing two malicious aims. The first aim was to abrogate the decrees of previous Christian emperors; the second was to cajole the bishops graciously to comport with his will. Then, he declared his apostasy, persecuted, and killed the Christians. As a result, many were martyred. Athanasius fled and wrote down an *Apology for his Flight*. He said, "Flight is not admirable but he who kills and persecutes shall be exposed. It is written that we should flee, but murder is a violation of the law. He who is oppressed would flee from Saul to seek refuge with David. I wonder what would they say when they see Jacob flee from Esau, Moses from Pharaoh and David from Saul? Those who revile us for our flight should recall that Elijah fled from Jezebel, the sons of the prophets hid in the cave, the disciples who moved from one place to another for fear of the Jews, and Paul who was laid down in a hamper from the wall of the city. Indeed, the Word of God (Christ) himself says, "But when they persecute you in this city, flee into another,"⁷¹⁶ and "Then let them who are in Judea flee into the mountains."⁷¹⁷ Christ himself thirsted and hungered for our sake, and when they wanted to stone him, he disappeared. But when the hour of his suffering was at hand, he did not hide. Likewise, the martyrs flee during persecution. However, when arrested, they cherished martyrdom. St Athanasius said such things in his *Apology*.⁷¹⁸

Athanasius returned to Alexandria and the people received him with exultation. He expelled the Arians from the church.

Also, recalled from exile was Lucifer Cagliari and Eusebius, bishop of Verhlon (sic).⁷¹⁹ Lucifer came to Antioch and constituted Pulinus, a bishop for the Orthodox.⁷²⁰ Eusebius went to Alexandria where Athanasius was stationed and magnified the Trinity, which is of one nature (essence). At the council

⁷¹⁰ Titus 1:12.

⁷¹¹ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 16, pp. 147-149 of the English translation.

⁷¹² Cf. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 13, 144-145 of the English translations especially Julian's bad treatment of the Christians.

⁷¹³ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 288-289 of the English translation by Christian Frederick Cruse.

⁷¹⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 23, p. 149 of the English translation. For detailed information about Julian the Apostate, see Rev. John Wordsworth, "Julianus, Flavius Claudius, in *A dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, Vol. III (London: John Murray, 1882), 484-525. On p. 515, the author gives the different ideas about Julian's last words before he died.

⁷¹⁵ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 4, pp. 131-132 of the English translation.

⁷¹⁶ Matthew 10:23.

⁷¹⁷ Matthew 24:16.

⁷¹⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 8, pp. 138-141 which includes quotations from Athanasius' defense of his flight.

⁷¹⁹ For their return from exile, see Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 5, p. 136 of the English translation.

⁷²⁰ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 6, pp. 136-137 of the English translation.

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convened in that city, the bishops discussed the subject of “nature” and “hypostasis that is person, substance, and essence.” They said that these terms should not be used when discussing God because the term “*osia*” is not mentioned in the Scriptures. They also said that the Apostles used only literal criteria necessary to express dogmas. They indicated that these terms are understood differently for the purpose of refuting the ideas of Sabellius, and the Trinity should not be considered One Person in Three Names. They reasoned, that if the “essence” is limited, how could it be applied to God the unlimited? Evagrius says, “God is simple; either he is original or a copy; either he is a transmutation or accident, or a compound term of all these things. As to the Trinity, none of these things is applicable. He who is indescribable should be worshiped with serenity. It is related of Menander who said, “He is like the sediments at the bottom of the cask.”⁷²¹

In this time, Meletius returned from exile. He ordained Basil the Great, a bishop for Caesarea Cappadocia, whose excellences surpassed those described by Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus.) Other saints have related his prodigies.⁷²²

Eusebius remained in the lesser church of Antioch and Meletius outside the city. Euzoius the Arian seized the churches.⁷²³

Maris, bishop of Chalcedon, was advanced in age and his eyes were dimmed. He censured the Emperor Julian. The emperor said to him sarcastically, “O blind man, let the Galilean heal you.” (This is how Julian described the Lord Christ). Maris replied, “Thank God who has made me blind lest I behold your face, O apostate who knows no God.”⁷²⁴

Ecebolius, a sophist of Constantinople, became a Christian in the time of Constantine, but apostatized under Julian. Then he returned to Christianity. He threw himself before the church door shouting, “Trample on me, for I am the salt which has lost its savor.”⁷²⁵

The heathens calumniated Athanasius to Julian who had him arrested, and Athanasius was banished for the fourth time. He told his companions, “The commotion will quickly terminate; it is a cloud which appears and then vanishes away.” When he embarked the boat, his persecutors chased after him. However, he asked them to go back and behave with wisdom. Asking his companions “Where is Athanasius?” They said, “He is not too far from you. You may hasten a little to catch up with him.” Thus, Athanasius was safe. He sailed to Alexandria and kept in hiding with a nun during the entire reign of Julian.⁷²⁶

When the Christians complained to Julian about their oppression, he said to them, “It is your fault. After all you say that your God has commanded you to bear suffering.”⁷²⁷

In this time, they (pagans) were digging a temple of idols in the city of Merun in Phrygia, which inflamed the Christians with zeal. Macedonius, Theodolus and Tatian went to the forum and smashed the idols. The governor was infuriated and commanded them to offer sacrifices (to the idols.) When they refused, he had them tortured and thrown into irons. They said to him, “You wicked man. If you wish to eat broiled human flesh, Amachus, (governor of Phrygia) turn us on the other side also lest we should appear but half cooked to your taste.” Thus, they received the crown of martyrdom.⁷²⁸

The high priest of Daphne had a son whose mother entrusted him to the care of a loving instructress. When the mother died, the young man kept visiting the instructress who inculcated him with piety. She promised to have him baptized. When Julian came to Daphne, the son who was also there saw his

⁷²¹ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 7, pp. 137-138 of the English translation.

⁷²² See the discourse of Gregory of Nazianzus in praise of Basil in *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 26. pp. 494.

⁷²³ In fact, Lucifer not only laid hands on the churches but those who attached themselves to him formed a new sect called “the Luciferians.” See Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 9, pp. 141-142 of the English translation.

⁷²⁴ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 12. p. 144 of the English translation. Here, as usual, the author takes liberty with the text.

⁷²⁵ This in reference to Matthew 5:13. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 13, pp. 144-145 of the English translation.

⁷²⁶ The whole episode is taken from Theodoret, Book III, Chapter 9, pp. 135-136 and Socrates, Book III, Chapter 14, pp. 145-145 of the English translations. As usual, Michael Rabo takes much liberty with the original text, especially the chronological sequence of facts.

⁷²⁷ Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 146.

⁷²⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 15, p. 146 of the English translation.

brother and father sprinkle the sacrifices and the food of the emperor with water. The festival celebrated at Daphne usually lasted seven days. Seeing the abomination of the worship of pagans, the young man repaired to his instructress begging her to do something for his deliverance. She took him to Meletius who asked him to wait. The young man's father began searching for him in the city (Antioch). Finally, he found him in the house of Meletius peeping through the rail. He took him home and beat him severely. He then took a pointed instrument, made it red hot, and forced it into his hands, feet and back. After that, he shut him up in a room and returned to Daphne. The young man called upon Christ to assist him. Immediately, his bolts fell down and the doors burst open and he went to his instructress. She disguised him in a dress of a female and took him to St. Meletius. Meletius baptized him and gave him to the care of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem. After the death of Julian, the tyrant, the young man returned to Antioch and led his father to the faith.⁷²⁹

Theodore was another young Christian (who was tortured). Julian delivered him to Salustius who had him tortured. When he became weak, he left him thinking that he would not live much longer. However, God assisted him and was animated. The Roman chronicler Rufinus asked him whether he felt his torture. He said, "At first I suffered few pangs. Afterwards, there appeared one who wiped my sweat and gave me courage."⁷³⁰

At that time, the Jews received an order to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem in order to offer sacrifices. They prepared three thousand measures of lime for the project. At night, a strong wind blew and destroyed what they did. The earth quaked and the stones of the ancient foundation were exposed. In addition, fire fell down from heaven and melted the spades, mattocks and other building tools. This miracle was repeated for three nights. On that very night, the garments of the Jews were covered with crosses. At daytime, they tried to wash them away by water, but failed. The crosses not only appeared on the garments of the Jews, but also on the garments of the Christians and the pagans. In addition, they did not appear in Jerusalem alone, but also in Antioch and its environs. Indeed, the cross appeared surrounded by a halo of light covering a distance from Golgotha to the Mount of Olives. It was more radiant than the cross that appeared in the time of Constantine the Great.⁷³¹

In this time, the pagans killed Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, who was 110 years old. He had written a book on ecclesiastical history and made prodigious acts in the time of Diocletian and Licinus.⁷³²

The presbyter Theotecnus apostatized and offered sacrifices to the idols. Instantly, he succumbed and his body and tongue were eaten by worms.⁷³³

The Arians set up Heraclius from their own party as the 45th bishop of Jerusalem. He was followed by Hilary as the 46th bishop.⁷³⁴

Chapter Six: On the reign of Jovian and Sapur

Upon the death of Julian, the Roman soldiers who were fighting in the wilderness suffered severe hunger. They chose Jovian, the Commander of Thousands (the élite officers' cadet corps) and a Christian by confession, as their emperor. (Jovian was emperor from 363 to 364.) The Roman army was unanimous in choosing him, and so he was supported by the king of Persia, who believed that the blow against Julian had come from God. The king sought peace with the Romans. Jovian, however, said, "Being a Christian myself, I cannot assume authority over pagans (like you)." On hearing this, the soldiers shouted, "We are all Christians."⁷³⁵ Joy, then, was mingled with tears. They raised a cross in the middle and placed a crown on it.

⁷²⁹ Theodoret, Book III, Chapter 14, pp. 139-141 of the English translation.

⁷³⁰ Theodoret, Book III, Chapter 11, pp. 137-138 and Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 19, pp. 150-151 of the English translation.

⁷³¹ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 20, pp. 146-147 and Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 20, pp. 151-152 of the English translations.

⁷³² See Pseudo-Dorotheus, *Patrologia Graeca*, 92, p. 1053, and Theophanes, *Patrologia Graeca*, 108, p. 159, and J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien*, 1 (Paris, 1899), p. 289, notes 5 and 6.

⁷³³ Theophanes, *Patrologia Graeca*, 108, p. 160, and J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien*, 1 (Paris, 1899), p. 289, note 7.

⁷³⁴ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 45, p. 125 of the English translation.

⁷³⁵ Theodoret, Book IV, Chapter 1, pp. 152-153 of the English translation.

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After prostrating before it, they removed it and placed it on Jovian's head, and he ruled over the Romans.⁷³⁶ With his wisdom, he made peace with Sapur who had seized most of the Roman territories and besieged them economically. Meantime, Sapur said that, "War will never stop even if the Romans surrendered to us their territories up to the banks of the Euphrates." Jovian, with all humility, went to see him and gave him Nisibin, empty of inhabitants. He signed a peace agreement with him for thirty years.⁷³⁷ Thus, peace prevailed and concord was established in the two camps.⁷³⁸

Jovian was made emperor in August amidst universal joy, especially among the Christians. He recalled the Roman troops from Persian territory and saved them from dying of starvation. He went to Antioch and then to Ancyra, Galatia, where he designated his son Varronian a consul. He exalted him greatly and offered him everything except the purple. On his way to Constantinople, he traversed Cilicia and reached the Bosphorus. In the winter, when he arrived in the village of Dadastana situated between Bithynia and Galatia, he died from kidney illness.⁷³⁹ His death caused immense grief for those who had cherished the taste of peace during his reign. When the Lord of all wants to reproach our evil acts, he shows us all that is good, and then takes it away from us. He teaches us that everything is possible with him, and he blesses what he wills. He convicts us of our unworthiness in order to receive his grace, and urges us to use every means to attain virtue.

Jovian died on February 17.⁷⁴⁰ He lived thirty-two years. Jacob of Edessa says that Jovian reigned only one year. Others say he reigned one year and seven months. *End of the narrative.*

When Jovian assumed power, he recalled the bishops from exile to their sees.⁷⁴¹ He ordered the temples of idols closed and churches opened. The Christians were overwhelmed with joy. St. Athanasius returned to Alexandria and remained in his see for six years.⁷⁴² Jovian asked him to write the creed of faith for him, but Athanasius said that the Creed of Nicaea, inspired by the Holy Spirit, was sufficient.⁷⁴³

At Antioch, Meletius, bishop of the city, Eusebius of Samosata, and Rusticus, bishop of Armenia, met along with the partisans of Macedonius and confirmed the term "consubstantial" in the Creed.⁷⁴⁴ The ousting of Eusebius caused a rift between the partisans of Eunomius and the Arians.⁷⁴⁵ Emperor Jovian, however, ordered the confirmation of the faith established by Constantine the Great. He honored those who confessed the "consubstantiation of the Word of God," and exempted them from tribute.

In this time there flourished the Roman chronicler Rufinus.

Callistus wrote the life story of Jovian. Themistius the philosopher composed a discourse in praise of this Christian emperor who granted freedom of belief to all people. Jovian had said, "I do not persecute anyone for the religion he embraces. I immensely respect those who were the foundation of the unity of the church."⁷⁴⁶ Jovian offered due respect to Julian. He took his coffin and had him buried in Tarsus as said by Socrates. Others say that he transported the remains of Julian to Constantinople. The philosopher Themistius says, "The agitators deserve to be rebuked because they do not honor God, but they offer respect to the purple. They do not understand how Euripus naturally flows backward or forward." *End of the Chapter.*

⁷³⁶ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 22, p. 153 of the English translation.

⁷³⁷ John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 185-187.

⁷³⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 22, pp. 153-154 of the English translation.

⁷³⁹ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 26, p. 161 of the English translation says that Jovian died from disease caused by some obstruction.

⁷⁴⁰ Socrates, *Ibid.* According to Ammianus, Jovian most likely died from carbon monoxide poisoning caused by fumes from a charcoal brazier. See *The Roman Empire of the Ammianus*, 188.

⁷⁴¹ The bishops were banished by Constantius.

⁷⁴² Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 2, pp. 153-154 of the English translation.

⁷⁴³ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 24, p. 159 and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 2, p. 154 and Chapter 3, pp. 154-157 of the English translation where he gives the entire letter of Athanasius to Emperor Jovian.

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 25, pp. 159-160 of the English translation.

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 23, p. 175 of the English translation.

⁷⁴⁶ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 25, p. 159 of the English translation.

Chapter Seven: On the reign of Valentinian and his brothers

Upon the death of Jovian, the Romans proclaimed Valentinian an emperor in Nicaea.⁷⁴⁷ A short time earlier he had struck a pagan priest for sprinkling him with polluted blood. Valentinian came from the city of Cibales in Pannonia. He was prudent and courageous. When the commanders proposed to associate a colleague with him in the government, he said, "When there was no emperor, it was incumbent upon you to place in my hand the reins of the empire. Now that I have received them, it is my office and not yours to direct public affairs."⁷⁴⁸ Everyone admired his prudence and submitted to his authority.

Valentinian made his brother Valens his associate in government, and an emperor of the East.⁷⁴⁹ But since Eudoxius baptized Valens, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, he assisted the Arians and persecuted the orthodox.⁷⁵⁰ However, Valentinian in Rome observed the faith of Nicaea.⁷⁵¹ He was loved by the army for being a true Christian. He conferred upon his son Gratian the title of Augustus and appointed him a consul.

The Arian Valens ruled in the East. He banished the orthodox bishops and handed their churches in Constantinople to the Arians, and they were without a church or a shepherd.⁷⁵²

In this time, Procopius rebelled against Valens in Constantinople.⁷⁵³ He was seized and, following the order of the emperor, was tied between two trees and torn into two parts.⁷⁵⁴ Then Valens set out for Egypt. While he was in that country a severe earthquake, such as the world had never seen before, took place in Marcianopolis. The sea raged and tossed some ships over the city walls and into the squares. The sea parted, the dry land appeared and the anchorages of ships were destroyed. People rushed to loot but the waters returned and drowned them. Some sailors mentioned that the same thing happened in the Adriatic Sea. The seawaters spread for a few miles, inundating several villages and their inhabitants. They swept the ships and those inside them onto dry land. Suddenly, the seawaters returned and the ships were afloat. No one was harmed.⁷⁵⁵

Valentinian transgressed the law by marrying Justina, mother of his son Gratian, as a second wife for her beauty. Therefore, he issued a decree allowing men to combine between two wives.⁷⁵⁶ He had a son, Valentinian the young. Four years later, King (Emperor) Valentinian died in Gaul. Before his death, he censured his brother Valens for being deceived by Arius. Valens did not listen to him. Outraged, Valentinian refused to assist him in his war with the Goths saying, "We should not assist a man who has taken up arms against God."⁷⁵⁷

When Valentinian marched against the Sarmatians, they feared him and sued for peace. When he beheld their humiliation, he inquired about their leaders. They assured him that they were the leaders. He yelled, "How miserable is the Roman Empire if such wretched people dare fight against it?" Because he was so angry, his throat's veins broke up and blood poured out of it. He died at the age of eighty-four, eleven years of which were spent in governing.⁷⁵⁸

The second wife of Valentinian was the daughter of Justus (Justinus). In the time of Constantine, Justus had seen a vision, which he related to many people. He saw purple pouring out of his right side. On hearing this, the emperor became furious. He said, "Maybe he (Justus) will become father of an emperor." He had him killed. His infant daughter, Justina, became an orphan. Valentinian's wife, Severa, loved Justina

⁷⁴⁷ Valentinian was emperor from 364 to 375.

⁷⁴⁸ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 6, p. 158 of the English translation.

⁷⁴⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 136-164 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁰ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 13, p. 168 of the English translation.

⁷⁵¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 2, p. 164 of the English translation.

⁷⁵² Socrates, Book Four Chapter 2, p. 164 and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter, 13, pp. 168-169 of the English translation.

⁷⁵³ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 3, p. 165 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁴ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 5, p. 166 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter, 3, p. 165 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁶ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, pp. 193-194 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁷ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 195 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁸ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 193 of the English translation.

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and introduced her to the emperor. Valentinian fell in love with her and married her. She presented him with four children: Valentinian the young and three daughters. One daughter, Galla, was given to Theodosius the Great as wife. She bore him Arcadius, Honorius and a daughter named Placidia.⁷⁵⁹

Valens hated the letter *theta*. Told by a woman oracle that he would be succeeded by someone with a name beginning with that letter, he ordered everyone whose name began with it such as Theodota, Theodore or the like, be killed.⁷⁶⁰

Gratian was not present at his father's death, but Justina was at his side. The generals assembled and proclaimed Valentinian the Young, who was four years old, an emperor.⁷⁶¹

Valens appointed Gratian a commander and commissioned him to fight the Goths. When he was defeated the emperor replaced him. Gratian said to the emperor, "I am not the one who was defeated. If there is any cause for the defeat it is you because you fight against Christ."⁷⁶² Valens added more to his follies by permitting the pagans to sacrifice in Antioch. He also allowed the Jews to observe religious services according to their traditions.

In this period, Mavia (Mawiya) queen of the Tayoye (Arabs) caused many evil things for the Romans.⁷⁶³ However, she promised peace if the emperor agreed to have the ascetic Musa (Moses) in the wilderness ordained a bishop for the Tayoye (Arabs) in her domain. The emperor agreed. However, Musa refused to be ordained by the Arian bishops. He wanted to be ordained by the orthodox bishops who were then in exile. The emperor agreed. After he was ordained, Musa converted many Tayoye (Arabs) to Christianity. Queen Mavia was of Roman origin and a war captive. Because she was beautiful, the king of the Tayoye (Arabs) married her, but she retained her Christian faith. When she took hold of the government, she guided many people to the Christian faith.⁷⁶⁴

In this time, Valens built a prison (*demosion*) in Antioch to lock up the orthodox. He also restored the circus.

In this time, heavily armed figures were seen in the clouds.

In Antioch, a child was born with one eye in the forehead. He had four hands, four legs and a beard.

In this time, the Goths marched against the Romans ravaging the provinces of Scythia, Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, Achia and even Hellas (Greece). As Valens, who was in Constantinople, was lax fighting them, the people (of Constantinople) appealed with one voice, "Give us arms and we will fight." Using this as an insult, Valens became outraged and threatened to destroy the city and have it plowed under. He then marched to fight the Goths, but was defeated. He took shelter in a village. The barbarians surrounded the place, but he was hiding in a sack filled with straw. Failing to find him, the barbarians set the village on fire and the tyrant was burned and went to hell.⁷⁶⁵

Valens lived fifty years, fifteen of which spent in governing, thirteen as an associate emperor with his brother and two years as sole emperor.⁷⁶⁶

At the beginning of Valens's reign, a Council of bishops convened at Lampsacus in Laodicea and deposed Bishop Pelagius.⁷⁶⁷ Pelagius had been betrothed to a woman. At the betrothal ceremony, he asked the bride to honor the state of virginity. He directed her to spiritual rather than conjugal love. She agreed to

⁷⁵⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, pp. 193-194 of the English translation.

⁷⁶⁰ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 19, p. 179 of the English translation.

⁷⁶¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 193 of the English translation.

⁷⁶² According to Theodoret, Valens sent the army general Trajan with some troops against the barbarians. Trajan was defeated and the emperor reproached him severely and accused him of weakness and cowardice. Trajan replied with boldness, "It is not I, O emperor, who have been defeated; for you, by fighting against God, have thrown the barbarians upon his protection, and surrendered the victory to them." See Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 33, p. 196 of the English translation."

⁷⁶³ This must be Mawiyah of the Manadhira or Lakhmids who ruled in al-Hira, Iraq. She was surnamed Ma' al-Sama' (the water of heaven). See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, (Tenth edition. Macmillan, 1970), 83.

⁷⁶⁴ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 23, pp. 188-189 and Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 34, 197-198 of the English translations.

⁷⁶⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 38, pp. 198-199 of the English translation.

⁷⁶⁶ Valens reigned from 364 to 378.

⁷⁶⁷ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 6, pp. 166-167 of the English translation.

retain the state of chastity, and he, in turn, became adorned with several virtues, which made him shine like the sun. This is why he agreed to become a bishop at the demand of the people.⁷⁶⁸

When Valens became emperor, this man who had been baptized by the Arians through the effort of his Arian wife who had trapped him into becoming an associate of Eudoxius, swore to banish the orthodox bishops. He banished Pelagius to Arabia, Meletius to Armenia and Eusebius to Thrace. At sunset, an officer arrived at Eusebius' residence to inform him of his banishment and to take him out of the city. Eusebius asked him to tell no one lest the people learn of his banishment and stone him. At night, Eusebius told the story to one of his domestics who carried his pillow and a book. At the Euphrates River, they boarded a boat bound for Zeugma. The people of Samosata grieved when they learned of his departure. They went to Zeugma asking him to come back, but he refused saying that the apostle said that, "Everyone must submit to the governing authorities."⁷⁶⁹ They offered him some gold for his sustenance but he refused to take except very little of it.⁷⁷⁰ He went through the streets disguised like a Roman soldier mounting a horse and wearing a helmet in order that Valens would not recognize him. He went through the cities ordaining priests, bishops and deacons for the orthodox.

Likewise, Athanasius the Great was hiding for four months in the cemetery of his forefathers for fear of Valens. The citizens of Alexandria were outraged against Valens because of Athanasius. Then, according to Valens's order, Athanasius was called back from his fifth exile until his death.⁷⁷¹

In this period there excelled in knowledge Athanasius, St. Ephraim and his two disciples Zenobius and Abba. In the wilderness, there flourished Macarius who healed a woman who was transformed into a horse. There also flourished Macarius of Alexandria, who went to the garden of Jannes and Jambres and a hyena brought him a fur vestment. He never spat on the ground since he was clothed with the priesthood.

Palladius, a disciple of Evagrius, went around collecting stories about the hermits. He became the bishop of Heliopolis for two years. He said that the first person he visited was Machus, the anchorite who lived near Antioch, and who was kidnapped by the Arabs. Then, he went to Egypt and settled in the Nitra Mountain and saw two thousand hermits in it.

In the fourth year of Valens, Abraham Qaidonoyo died on December 12. In this same year, the aged Julian died on February 15. On June 6, 682 of the Greeks/373 A.D., St. Ephraim died. A year later St. Athanasius died on April 1, having served 46 years. He ordained 284 bishops and was banished five times. He was succeeded by Peter the twentieth bishop of Alexandria for 7 years.

Euzoius, the Arian, went to Egypt by order of Valens and cast Peter into prison. Shortly afterwards, Peter escaped to Bishop Damasus of Rome and informed him about everything that had happened.⁷⁷²

Ursinus, who was elected simultaneously with Damasus, accepted the laying on of hands in secret. However, the prefect deposed him and the trouble ceased.⁷⁷³

In this time, Valens made the Arian Demophilus a bishop of Constantinople instead of Eudoxius, who had ministered for 19 years before his death. However, those who professed the term "consubstantial" installed Evagrius as their bishop. On learning this, Valens banished Evagrius and Eustathius who had ordained him. Eighty clerics went to see the emperor concerning church peace. As they were sailing, fire broke out in the ship by the machination of the emperor and the clerics perished.⁷⁷⁴

In this time, St. Gregory of Nazianzus was ordained by the orthodox bishops to minister to the faithful in Constantinople. He became famous for his writings. Also achieving prominence was Basil the

⁷⁶⁸ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 13, pp. 168-169 of the English translation.

⁷⁶⁹ Romans 13:1.

⁷⁷⁰ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 14, pp. 169-170 of the English translation.

⁷⁷¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 13, p. 175 of the English translation.

⁷⁷² Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 21, pp. 178-179 of the English translation and Socrates Book Four, chapter 22, p. 180 of the English translation.

⁷⁷³ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 29, p. 192 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁴ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 14-16, pp. 175-177 of the English translation.

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Great, bishop of Cappadocia, Gregory of Nyssa and Peter, bishop of Sebastea, a man adorned with virtues.⁷⁷⁵

Valens summoned Basil the Great to Antioch. He tested him saying, "If your faith is true, then pray over my son Galates so that he will be healed." St. Basil said, "If your son believes as I believe and receives baptism from the Orthodox, he will be healed." Later, Galates was baptized by the Arians and died.⁷⁷⁶

As Valens was disputing with Basil the Great, Demosthenes launched charges against him. However, being a fast speaker, he stumbled in his speech and erred. Basil laughed saying, "It seems that Demosthenes lacks propriety." But Demosthenes continued to threaten St. Basil. The saint went on saying, "You ought to engage in cooking and not in correcting divine doctrines since your ears are closed to the word of the truth."⁷⁷⁷ Valens tried to banish St. Basil, but the pen in his hand broke up three times. On arriving in Caesarea, he tried to hand the churches over to the Arians but did not because of the great miracles done by Basil the Great. He was ashamed to see the purity and compassion of this saint. He entrusted him to take charge of the needs of the villagers. Thus, Gregory and Basil became exemplary in the faith. Because of their virtues, Valens did not banish them. Indeed, since childhood they had been sent to Athens because of persecution. At Athens, they received a part of general knowledge, and in Antioch, they became proficient in philosophy under Libanius. They shunned the world and adhered to a life of solitude. They learned commentary from the books of Origen.⁷⁷⁸

Meletius of Antioch ordained Basil a deacon, who later became a bishop of Caesarea. He expelled Eunomius and the Arians from Pontus. Gregory frequently visited Constantinople in the company of his father, who was a bishop, and endeavored to confirm the believers in the faith. Later, he became a bishop of the city for 10 years. This caused Valens to hate him and the bishops who ordained him. The prefect asked Basil the Great the reason he rejected the doctrine (of the Arians) held by the emperor, and Basil denounced it. The prefect threatened him with death. Basil said, "I wish to be released from the bonds of the body for the sake of the truth." The prefect rejoined, "Consider this matter carefully." Basil said, "Whether today or tomorrow, I am what I am." Basil was thrown into prison. Dominica, the emperor's mother, told her son that she suffered immensely in a dream for the bishops being abused.⁷⁷⁹

Rufinus translated the works of St. Basil and St. Gregory into Latin. Peter, Basil's brother, adhered to asceticism, and Gregory of Nyssa to writing. He completed the *Hexameron* (Six Days) of Basil after his death. He also composed a discourse on the death of Meletius in Constantinople. Gregory of Caesarea was older than these dignitaries and a disciple of Origen. He was proficient in the general sciences and in church sciences as well. He performed prodigious works and miracles. In Alexandria, there was another Gregory, but he was an Arian.⁷⁸⁰

Damasus succeeded Libarius as bishop of Rome. He ordained Ursinus a deacon secretly which caused a schism among the people. Ursinus abandoned his position voluntarily after many were killed.⁷⁸¹

Upon the death of the bishop of Milan, schism took place. The governor of the province, Ambrose, feared that the people might choose him as a bishop because he was a God-fearing man. They did ask him to become their bishop but he declined. He expostulated with them but they did not hearken to his pleas. Finally, the people shouted, "Ambrose is worthy of the dignity of a bishop." They seized him and had him baptized against his will. When he refused to be ordained, they referred his case to the Emperor Valentinian.

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 26, pp. 188-189 and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 30, pp. 194-195 of the English translations.

⁷⁷⁶ According to Socrates, the emperor said to Basil, "If the doctrine you maintain is the truth, pray that my son may not die." Basil said, "If your majesty should believe as I do, and the church should be unified, the child shall live." Socrates Book Four, Chapter 26, p. 189 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁷ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 19, p. 177 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁸ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 26, p. 188 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 26, pp. 188-189 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁰ Socrates, Book Four, Chapters 26 and 27, pp. 188-190 of the English translation.

⁷⁸¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 29, p. 192 of the English translation.

Realizing that the whole matter was disposed by divine providence, Ambrose accepted ordination and the quarreling factions reconciled with each other.⁷⁸²

In this period in Antioch, the philosopher Themistius composed a discourse, which abated the wrath of Valens. He said, "No one should wonder about the division of the Christians regarding dogma. This division is nothing compared with the dogmatic division of pagans which amounted to three hundred parties. Every one of them espoused a dogma suitable to them. Perhaps God wants to be glorified in different ways in order that everyone will be awed by his majesty? It is not easy to fathom the depth of his intentions."⁷⁸³

In this period, the Goths embraced Christianity, and Ulfilas was ordained their bishop. He discovered Gothic writings, commented on them and translated some books into Gothic.⁷⁸⁴

The anchorite Musa (Moses) was ordained a bishop by the intercession and help of Mavia (Mawiya), queen of the Tayoye (Arabs). He converted many Tayoye (Arabs) to Christianity.⁷⁸⁵

In this period, Peter returned to Alexandria through the influence of the letters of Damasus, bishop of Rome. Lucius was ousted. Upon Peter's death, Timothy succeeded him.⁷⁸⁶

In this time, some virtuous men flourished; one of them was Ammon who was forced to accept betrothal. At the wedding ceremony, he recited the saying of St. Paul about marriage in his letter to the Corinthians⁷⁸⁷ and added to it other things concerning the trauma of pregnancy and labor. He convinced the woman (his bride) of the (preferable) state of virginity. Both went to the Nitra Mountain to worship as separate individuals. They lived on bread and water alone. Upon Ammon's death, St. Anthony saw the angels carry his soul to heaven. He became an example for many who went to worship in the wilderness. Ammon never desired to see his body. However, when he reached the river and was forced to cross it, he had to find his body and was transported to the other bank.

Didymus lived with no one for 90 years.

Arsenius never allowed boys to join a monastery because they could not endure monastic living. He ordered that at mealtime no one should be watching him lest he sensually cherish food or relish it.

Isodore said that he never sensed a sin until he was forty years old. He also said that he never succumbed to sensuality or anger.

Phamco (Pambo) proceeded to learn the Psalms. On reaching the place where it is written, "I said, I will watch my ways and keep my tongue from sin," "He stopped and never went further."⁷⁸⁸ Asked why he did not go further, he said, "This is sufficient for me to know whether I could accomplish it (keep his tongue from sin)." He rejoined, "I hardly accomplished it in nineteen years."

A man was given gold and told how much it was worth. He said that it was not the quantity that counts but good intention. He saw a woman dancing on the stage and he began to cry. When asked about the cause of his crying he said, "First, I wept for her perdition; second, I wept for my soul because I don't please God as this woman pleases the wicked." People told another one that his father had died. He thought a little and then said, "My father is not dead." Another one had no possession but a copy of the Gospels. He sold it and distributed the cost to the poor saying, "He (Christ) ordered me to sell it."

In this period, Evagrius was ordained a deacon by the hand of Gregory of Nazianzus. He wrote there are four virtues he had learned from Gregory the Great: they are knowledge, bravery, chastity and justice. He used to say that the function of knowledge is a spiritual contemplation; power is more wisdom than words; bravery is when man stands firm in the truth under persecution and avoids discussing things

⁷⁸² Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 30, pp. 192-193 of the English translation.

⁷⁸³ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 32, pp. 194-195 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁴ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 33, p. 195 of the English translation, and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 37, pp. 197-198 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 36, pp. 197-198 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁶ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 37, p. 198 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. 1 Corinthians 7:35-40.

⁷⁸⁸ Psalm 39:1.

that do not exist; chastity is to receive the corn of the first crop and reject the tares; and justice is equality and worth given to every word.

Macarius was asked "Why, when we harbor malice against people we corrupt the power of the memory? But when we do the same to the demons we do not?" He replied, "Because the first passion is outside nature, while the second is done according to the wrathful nature."

Macarius, the Egyptian and Macarius the Alexandrian, were banished to a pagan island. One day, a demon possessed the daughter of their priest. She kept shouting, "Why did you come here? Is it because to cast us out?" The two saints drove the demon out of the girl by prayer. The priest and the inhabitants of the island were converted and turned their temple into a church.⁷⁸⁹

During his studying as a young man, Didymus was afflicted with an eye disease and lost his sight. However, God compensated him with spiritual eyes. He learned by heart grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic and music. He discussed with ease the Scriptures and their commentaries. Anthony saw him and said to him, "Don't despair, Didymus, because you lost your eyes which could be irritated by bugs, but rather rejoice because you have eyes which can behold the angels and come to know God." With outstanding courage, Didymus answered the Arians and other heretics and refuted them.⁷⁹⁰

At this time, Alexandria suffered a violent revolt. In this period too, a hailstorm afflicted Constantinople coupled with a dreadful earth tremor that destroyed many places on October 11.

In this period, an Arian was set up as a bishop of Samosata by order of Valens. However, no one followed him and no one attended the church although he seemed humble. One day when he was taking a bath, his attendants were guarding the door, as was the custom. He ordered the door open for anyone who desired to enter. The people came in but stood at a distance. The bishop thought they stood back out of reverence. He finished his bath quickly and went out. The people poured out the waters out of the urns into the ground because they were polluted. It was then that the bishop, who was called Eunomius, realized that the congregation did not like him. Therefore, he left Samosata. The Arians replaced him with the wolf Lucius who was also detested by the congregation. One day, Lucius passed by children who were playing ball. Suddenly the ball fell between his feet and he stepped on it. The children yelled, "Our ball has become contaminated." Lucius asked one of his men to find out what the children were intending to do. The children brought fire and passed the ball through it thinking that it would be cleansed.

After Eusebius's death, his cousin Antiochus occupied his see. Learning that Jovian, bishop of Perga, would offer him ordination, he refused, saying, "God forbid that I should receive the laying on of hands from a person who has received the mysteries from a blasphemer."

Barses of Edessa was banished to Egypt. A great crowd surrounded him because he accomplished many miracles. Valens, the city's governor, heard of him and sent him away to the city of Oxyrynchon in Egypt, and then expelled him to the city of Philea. His bed in the isle of Radus was still revered. Sick people lay down on it and were healed.⁷⁹¹ After Barses left Edessa, wolves (wicked men) came and devastated it. Finding nothing more to spoil, they seized eighty clerics and sent them to Thrace. However, the inhabitants treated them with honor. The emperor, who heard from the prefect that they were being honored, ordered them to be dispersed every two of them to a direction.

Eulogius and Protogenes were sent to Antiones, a town of Thebes. Eulogius continued to serve while locked up in a cell. Protogenes, who possessed great erudition, and who had been accustomed to write with rapidity, was engaged in teaching the children the Psalms of David. One of the children was attacked by a disease. Protogenes went to see him, and on holding him by the hand, the sufferer was healed. On hearing this deed, the people brought their sick to him to be healed, but he did not fulfill their desire because they were pagans. If they believed, he would conduct them to Eulogius who prayed for them and sealed them with the sign of the cross. Sometimes Protogenes complained whenever his service was disturbed. Nevertheless, he baptized those seeking him and healed them from their physical and spiritual

⁷⁸⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 24, pp. 185-186 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁰ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 25, p. 187 of the English translation.

⁷⁹¹ Theodoret, Book 4, Chapter 16, p. 172 of the English translation.

infirmities. They were astonished at the gift of healing given to Protogenes, who offered principal honor to Eulogius, which made the people believe that Eulogius was more honorable than his companion. When the tempest calmed down, the two holy men wanted to return to their own country. All the people lamented their departure.⁷⁹²

About this time, the heresy of the Messalians sprang up in Edessa by the hands of a man named Eusebius and his disciples, Saba, David, Adelphius, Hermes and Simon. They were known as *Euchites* and *Enthusiasts*. They believed that the agitating influence of demons was an indication of the presence of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁹³

In this time, Deodore and Theodore embraced the doctrine of Paul of Samosata.⁷⁹⁴

] The Emperor Valens made Eunomius a bishop of Cyzicus. He became a secretary to Aetius the atheist. He perfected the arguments of the sophists, but had no knowledge of the Scriptures. Eudoxius ordained him a bishop of Constantinople. Then Eunomius began to blaspheme saying that "God knows no more of his substance than we do; no more is this known to him, and less to us. However, whatever we know about the Divine substance is precisely known to God. Whatever he knows, the same also you will find without any difference in us." Then his teaching was exposed as defiled and repugnant, the people of Cyzicus expelled him.⁷⁹⁵

Emperor Valens continued to persecute the orthodox. This resulted in a severe famine in Phrygia. He came to Antioch and cast the orthodox into the Orontes River.⁷⁹⁶ Then, he went to Edessa to visit the martyrdom at the church of the Apostle St. Thomas. A great crowd gathered but Valens could not find one among them who adhered to his dogma, and struck the prefect with his hand. The prefect felt he was humiliated. To redeem the situation, Valens sent someone to tell the people not to come to the temple lest they be killed. On the next day, the prefect and the Romans went out to carry out the command of the emperor. The prefect saw a woman dragging her son behind her and pressing her way through the crowds. He asked her where she was going. He went on saying, "Didn't you know that the prefect and the Romans were coming to kill people?" She said, "I am hastening so that my child and I may receive the honor of martyrdom." The prefect told the emperor that these people were ready to die for the creed of Nicaea. Thus, he pacified him. Many good acts were attributed to this prefect, Modestus, who saved the Edessan citizens after Valens had ordered their annihilation.⁷⁹⁷

At this time, there was found in Phrygia a group of Novatians, Sabbatarians and Collyrians who observed Easter with the Jews (with the Jewish Passover). They were condemned by Damasus, bishop of Rome and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. These two dignitaries also condemned Eunomius, the heretic, who added to his iniquity his saying that baptism should be performed by one immersion. Also, that it should not be performed in the name of the Trinity, but by the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.⁷⁹⁸ They also condemned the Messalians mentioned above. The Messalians were fought against with ferocity by Amphilocius, bishop of Iconium and Meletius, bishop of Melitene.

At the time, Peter of Alexandria was expelled and replaced by Lucius the Arian, who had been expelled from Samosata; Peter wrote a letter exposing the impiety of Lucius. In this letter he said, "The tyrant called Palladius, who was a heathen and idolater, assembled a multitude in the church and committed atrocious crimes, as if he were attempting to subjugate the hordes of barbarians. But when I tried to allude to them, their very remembrance overcame me, and drew tears from my eyes. These feelings of

⁷⁹² Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 18, pp. 173-174 of the English translation.

⁷⁹³ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 11, pp. 165-166 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁴ Deodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. See Rowan A. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian* (London: The Faith Press, 1961), especially Chapter 3, pp. 48-66 on Theodore's Christology. On p. 164, footnote 2, the author says "In point of fact, Theodore's Christology has great affinity with that of Deodore of Tarsus (his teacher), and perhaps with other theologians such as Eustathios, Lucian, Paul of Samosata, and Theophilus.

⁷⁹⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 7, pp. 167-168 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁶ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 17, p. 177 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁷ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 17, pp. 172-173 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁸ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 28, pp. 190-191 of the English translation.

despondency would have become permanent, had not my grief been assuaged by the words of God. The people entered the church of Theonas singing praises of the idols instead of reciting words suitable to the place. Instead of reading the Holy Scriptures, they clapped their hands, shouting obscene words, and uttering insults against the Christian virgins and tore their garments. They dragged them in a complete state of nudity about the city and treated them in the utmost wanton and insulting manner and with unheard of cruelty. When anyone wanted to intercede on their behalf, they would immediately attack and wound him. Many of them were killed. They even set a tent in the sanctuary for adulterant young men who have abjured their own sex and put on the dresses of females. They wore red on their faces as idolaters and females do. They danced upon the holy altar where we invoke the Holy Spirit, making various gestures and grimaces and laughed immoderately, and uttered many impious exclamations. As if they thought that what they did was commendable, one of them, noted for his perversion, stripped naked and seated himself in the episcopal chair and began to discourse against Christ. When I saw these acts of impiety, I left the place.”⁷⁹⁹

When Valens expelled the Christians from the church, they met at the foot of the mountain enduring rain, cold and the heat of the sun. Flavian and Theodore kept teaching during the time Meletius was in exile. Upon hearing these things, Aphrahat the anchorite abandoned his hermitage to assist the holy shepherds. Arriving at the great stylite on the Orontes River, Emperor Valens saw him from the portico. He said to him, “Where are you going?” Aphrahat said, “To pray for your kingdom.” The emperor said, “You could have done this in your hermitage like other solitaries.” Aphrahat replied, “I could have done this when the church was still at peace. Now tell me emperor, if I were a bride in her chamber and saw a fire kindle in my father’s house, what should I do? Should I keep quiet and never move, or should I bring water to extinguish it? I think you would say that I should have put out the fire done. This is exactly what I have done since fire is kindled in my father’s house.” The emperor got angry, but one of his adjutants insulted the anchorite with wounding words, and then went to prepare the bath for the emperor. Immediately, he was afflicted with insanity and fell in the cauldron of boiling water and died. The emperor was sure that what happened was because of the prayer of Aphrahat.⁸⁰⁰

The Arians claimed that Julian Saba (the aged) was one of them. They sent to him Flavian, Aphrahat and Didodore to investigate the issue,⁸⁰¹ but he shamed them and sent them back. Because of him, the number of believers increased. In his time, Anthony went to Alexandria proclaiming that Athanasius was teacher of the true faith.⁸⁰²

St. Ephraim (d. 373) was endowed with divine learning. He received no knowledge from the Greeks. Harmonius, son of Bar Daysan, composed melodies containing his impious teaching. He led many to perdition by the charm of his melodies. On the contrary, St. Ephraim composed similar melodies replete with the love of God and his righteousness.

In this time, General Terentius, reproached the impious Emperor Valens. Valens determined that upon his return, he would eliminate his challengers, but God destroyed him and he never came back. Valens was also rebuked by Anthony, bishop of the Scythians, for corrupting the faith. However, Valens would not desist.⁸⁰³

The Goths, who were recently converted to the true faith, were deceived by Valens and were inclined to the corrupt doctrine of Arius. Until this day, they maintain that the Father is greater than the Son, but he is not created. Although they have deviated from the true faith, they never abandoned the doctrine of Nicaea, which they had first embraced.⁸⁰⁴ *The Chapter is ended. Glory to God who became a sacrifice for*

⁷⁹⁹ This letter, in Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 22, is very long. It covers pp. 180-188 of the English translation. The author has given only excerpts of it.

⁸⁰⁰ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapters 25-26, pp. 190-192 of the English translation.

⁸⁰¹ Theodoret says that these men, who were defenders of the faith, sent Acacius to Julian beseeching him to refute the falsehood of the enemy, who were the Arians. See Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 27, p. 192 of the English translation.

⁸⁰² Theodoret, Chapter 27, pp. 192-193 of the English translation.

⁸⁰³ According to Theodoret, the bishop was Vetranton. See Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 35, p. 197 of the English translation.

⁸⁰⁴ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 38, pp. 197-198 of the English translation.

our humankind and by his affection and love saved Adam from his transgression. The sinner who has transcribed this, asks the readers fervently for their intercession.

Chapter Eight: On the reign of Gratian, Theodosius and Valentinian. Here four years have been added to the Greek calendar. Therefore, we begin with the year 690, which should be noted by the reader

Gratian, son of Valentinian, was made a joint emperor in the time of his father. Therefore, he succeeded Valens and put an end to his follies.⁸⁰⁵ He was just, pious and orthodox.⁸⁰⁶ He appointed as his associate in the empire, Theodosius the Spanish, who was of Iberian ethnic origin. Also, because Theodosius proclaimed Gratian an emperor before Valens perished, Gratian established him in Constantinople and the entire East. Theodosius was brave, wise and an expert in military matters. He had defeated the barbarians in Thrace with astonishing rapidity.⁸⁰⁷

In this period Ardasher king of Persia passed away. He was succeeded by his son Sapor.

In this same period, a certain man named Maximus assassinated Gratian in Rome in the third year of Theodosius. He was succeeded by his brother, Valentinian II. Maximus rebelled against the emperor, but Theodosius and Valentinian overwhelmed him, captured him and he and his men were killed. Theodosius and Valentinian entered Rome with great pomp.⁸⁰⁸ Upon returning to Constantinople, Emperor Theodosius⁸⁰⁹ dispatched Saporus as an army commander of the East. When he came to Antioch and beheld the conflict within it, he expelled those who were quarreling over the See of Antioch.⁸¹⁰

In this period, Theodosius who was at Thessalonica fell ill. He desired to be baptized. He discussed the case with Bishop Ascholius. Having learned that he was not Arian, he received baptism from him and was healed. Then, he returned to Constantinople. He built the church of Anastasia by the efforts of the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) who was then in the city.⁸¹¹

Theodosius had a son from Flacilla named Honorius.⁸¹² Flacilla was a pious woman. She taught her husband to worship God, and personally ministered unto the poor and the needy. She went through the porticos of the churches offering food and water to the sick.⁸¹³

The frequent wars in which Emperor Theodosius was engaged compelled him to impose fresh taxes on the cities, including Antioch. The citizens of Antioch became indignant. In this year, Flacilla died and the citizens of Antioch threw down the statute of Theodosius and dragged it about the streets.⁸¹⁴ The emperor became furious. He deprived the city of the privileges, which it had thus far enjoyed and bestowed them on the city of Laodicea. The magistrates issued severe death sentences, but they were reproached by the blessed Macedonius although he was ignorant of civil matters and jurisprudence.⁸¹⁵ He asked them to say to the emperor, "Consider that you are only a man who rules over people. Man was made in the image of God and you have no right to destroy this image. If you are offended on account of the destruction of a statue made of bronze, how much more precious is the image of the living than something lifeless. It is easy for us to

⁸⁰⁵ Gratian was emperor between 367 and 383.

⁸⁰⁶ Orthodox means he adhered to the Creed of Nicaea.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 1, p. 198 and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 2, p. 202 of the English translations.

⁸⁰⁸ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 12, p. 216 of the English translation and Socrates, Book Five, Chapters 11-14, pp. 210-213 of the English translations.

⁸⁰⁹ Theodosius I the Great, emperor from 379 to 395.

⁸¹⁰ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 3, p. 200 of the English translation.

⁸¹¹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 6, pp. 204-205 of the English translation.

⁸¹² Aelia Flavia Flacilla, Theodosius's wife from 376 to 386. See Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 194 and Book Five, Chapter 12, p. 211 of the English translation.

⁸¹³ Theodoret, Book V, Chapter 19, pp. 223-224 of the English translation.

⁸¹⁴ According to Theodoret, the statue of Empress Flacilla was thrown down and dragged about the streets. See Theodoret, Book V, Chapter 20, p. 224 of the English translation.

⁸¹⁵ According to Theodoret, the order was issued by the emperor and not by the magistrates several of whom had been sacrificed in the tumult before the emperor had received any intelligence about the sedition. Theodoret, *Ibid.* pp. 224-225 of the English translation.

make many images of bronze, but you are not able to replace as much as one hair of the heads of those who are killed.”⁸¹⁶ When the judges related these words of the old man to the emperor, he repented and sent a letter of apology and condolences to the people.

In this time, sedition broke out in Thessalonica, capital of Italy and some of the magistrates were stoned.⁸¹⁷ The emperor was very angry, and behaving erratically and much against reason, had about seven thousand persons killed. When he came to Milan, Bishop Ambrose, who witnessed the massacre he perpetrated, met him outside the gate of church but did not let him in. He said to him, “You do not seem to comprehend the enormity of the massacre you have caused. It may be that the greatness of your empire prevented you from discerning your attitude. How could you look upon the temple of the Lord? How could you walk upon such holy ground? How could you lift up in prayers hands from which blood is still dripping? How could you with such hands presume to receive the most sacred body of our Lord? How could you carry his precious blood to mouth while you have shed so much innocent blood? Depart, and do not, by a second sin, add more guilt to the first. You are offending God in the name of prayer. Submit to the wholesome bonds which God will deliver to you from heaven for your healing.” The emperor accepted this remonstrance without objection and returned to his court. Eight months later, the festival of the Lord’s birth occurred. The emperor was seen shedding tears. Rufinus (controller of the palace) asked him the reason he was weeping. The emperor, sighing, said, “You do not seem to feel the evils under which I groan. The church of God is open to servants and mendicants and I am prevented from entering it. I am suspended between heaven and earth.” Rufinus said, “I will ask the bishop to let you in.” The emperor said, “You will not be able to persuade him. I know the justice of Ambrose. He will never shy away from, nor fear the emperor’s authority, at the expense of the law of God.” Nevertheless, Rufinus went to the bishop and the emperor followed him with awe. Ambrose said to Rufinus, “You imitate the impudence of dogs. You were the adviser of this cruel massacre, and now you have divested yourself of shame.” Rufinus persisted in his supplication and said, “The emperor is coming to you.” Ambrose, inspired by zeal said, “If he ever comes, I will prevent him from entering the church. But if he desists from tyranny, I will then accept his sacrifice with ease.”

On hearing this, Rufinus informed the emperor not to come. The emperor had then reached the middle of the market place. He said, “I shall go and accept the humiliation with justice.” He came and stood outside the church pleading to be let in. Bishop (Ambrose) considered his presence an act of tyranny. He said to him, “You have insanely opposed the law of God.” The emperor said, “I do not oppose the law and neither enter the church without permission. However, I beseech you not to shut the doors to me.” The bishop asked, “What repentance have you then offered and what remedy have you applied to so severe an iniquity?” The emperor replied, “It is your offices to point out the remedy for my iniquity.” The bishop said, “Since you have committed this atrocity by the impulse of passion and not by the dictates of reason, you should draw up a law to cancel all your past decrees. You should also decree that that when a sentence of death has been signed against anyone, thirty days should elapse before the sentence is carried into execution and that on the expiration of this period the case is to be brought before you for examination. Your resentment will by then have abated. If the case proved to be unjust it should be revoked, but if it proved to be just, it ought to be confirmed.” The emperor immediately ordered the law to be committed to writing. The bishop then unloosed his bonds. The emperor entered the church. He did not pray standing but prostrated himself saying, “My soul cleaves unto the dust; quicken me according to your word.”⁸¹⁸ He tore his hair, struck his forehead, and shed torrents of tears. When time came to offer communion, the bishop sent someone (a deacon) to tell him that, “The priests alone, and not emperors are permitted to enter the palisade of the altar.” The emperor said, “This was the custom at Constantinople.” When the emperor returned to Constantinople, he observed this regulation and stood outside the palisade of the altar during

⁸¹⁶ Theodoret, *Ibid.* pp. 225-226 of the English translation.

⁸¹⁷ Thessalonica is situated in the province of Macedonia and is the metropolis of Thessaly, Achia.

⁸¹⁸ Psalm 119:25.

the offering of the mysteries. The bishop of the church (Nectarius) asked him to step into the altar, the emperor said, "What Ambrose said is right."⁸¹⁹

When Gratian and his brother Valentinian began to reign, the exiled bishops returned, each one to his own church.⁸²⁰ This also gave opportunity to Gregory of Nazianzus, bishop of the orthodox in Constantinople, to bring back those who deviated from the faith and confirm the doctrine of "consubstantiality" by the assistance of the believing emperors.⁸²¹ Therefore, the Edessans returned to their churches. As their Bishop Barses was already martyred in exile, Eulogius became twenty-fourth bishop of Edessa.

In Jerusalem, the exiled Cyril was the 47th bishop.⁸²²

In Rome, the orthodox Damasus was succeeded by Siricius for 16 years.⁸²³

In the time of Emperor Theodosius, a council met in Constantinople attended by 150 bishops. It confirmed Theodosius as Autocrat (Emperor) of the entire East. He confirmed the doctrine of "consubstantiality," refuted the heresy of the Arians, and demolished their churches. He expelled from the army those who refused to give up the Arian heresy. Inspired by the Holy Spirit, Theodosius summoned the orthodox bishops from the four quarters of the world. One hundred-fifty bishops met in Constantinople in the fourth year of his reign, which is the year 694 of the Greeks/A.D. 383.⁸²⁴ The period from the Council of Nicaea to this council was 57 years.

The presidents of the council were Meletius of Antioch, Timothy of Alexandria, the Great Cyril of Jerusalem, the Theologian Gregory of Nazianzus, bishop of Constantinople and Gregory of Nyssa. They condemned the teaching of Arius and his partisans. They also condemned Macedonius, who succeeded Alexander as a bishop of Constantinople, who ventured to declare that, "The Holy Spirit is created and not consubstantial with the Father and the Son." Having condemned the heretic, the council confirmed the creed instituted by the 318 bishops at Nicaea, adding to it the passage concerning the Holy Spirit, which the Council of Nicaea did not tackle.

The Council of Constantinople confirmed St. Gregory of Nazianzus in his see in honor of his commendable deeds. Realizing that the Egyptian bishops were jealous and complaining against him, he abandoned his see after occupying it for ten years. He composed forty-one discourses and their amendments. He said, "Take me back to the life of solitude and to God." After leaving Constantinople, the venerable Nectarius was appointed as its bishop.

Upon seeing Meletius of Antioch, Theodosius said, "I saw this man in a dream crowning me an emperor."⁸²⁵ During the meeting of the council, Meletius of Antioch passed away and was eulogized by Gregory of Nyssa. His body was taken to Antioch and interned next to that of St. Babylas.⁸²⁶

The council was not attended by Damasus and Ambrose because each of them wanted to have the council convened in his own province.

The council granted Constantinople a second place of honor after Rome. It determined the regions of jurisdiction. It resolved that bishops should not be transferred from their sees and should not interfere in the affairs of churches outside their jurisdiction; such matters had been freely practiced because of persecution.⁸²⁷

⁸¹⁹ The whole episode is in Theodoret, Book Five Chapter 18, pp. 219-223 of the English translation.

⁸²⁰ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 2, pp. 198-199 of the English translations and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 2, p. 202 of the English translations.

⁸²¹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 206-207 of the English translation and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 7, pp. 204-205 of the English translation.

⁸²² Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 211 and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 3, p. 203 of the English translation.

⁸²³ Socrates *Ibid.* and Book 7, Chapter 9, p. 265 of the English translation.

⁸²⁴ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 205-207 and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 206-207 of the English translation.

⁸²⁵ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 6, p. 204 of the English translation.

⁸²⁶ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 207 of the English translation.

⁸²⁷ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 205-207 of the English translation.

BOOK SEVEN

Nectarius accepted the administration of Thrace. Helladius succeeded Basil, bishop of Pontus Caesarea. Gregory of Nyssa was appointed a bishop of Cappadocia, Otreius a bishop for Melitene and lesser Armenia, Amphilocheus a bishop of Iconium and the administration of Asia, Timothy a bishop for Egypt. The administration of the entire East was entrusted to the bishop of Antioch, provided that each diocese regulated its own affairs.⁸²⁸

The prominent dignitaries in the council were Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Pelagius of Laodicea, Eulogius of Edessa and Amphilocheus of Iconium. Along with Arius, the council anathematized Eusebius of Nicomedia, Euzius, Acacius, Theognis, Euphronius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Eudoxius, Aetius, and other heretics.

The council was attended by Diodore (of Tarsus) and Theodore (of Mopsuestia) who were later found to be heretics.

Names of the holy Fathers (who attended the Council of Constantinople)

1. Nectarius of Constantinople
2. Timothy of Alexandria
3. Meletius of Antioch
4. Dorotheus of Oxyrynchus
5. Cyril of Jerusalem
6. Gelasius of Caesarea
7. Macer of Jericho
8. Dionysius of Diospolis
9. Priscianus of Nicopolis
10. Saturninos of Sebastea
11. Rufus of Baisan
12. Auxentius of Ascalon
13. Elianus of Yamnia
14. Zenon of Tyre
15. Paul of Sidon
16. Nescatos of Acre (Akka)
17. Philippus of Damascus
18. Brachus of Paneas
19. Timothy of Beirut
20. Basilides of Byblos
21. Muqimus of Aradus
22. Alexander of Arqa

Thirteen bishops from Coele Syria

23. Ignatius who is Meletius of Antioch
24. Pelagius of Laodicea
25. Acacius of Beroe which is Aleppo
26. Yuhanon of Apamea
27. Bizus of Seleucia
28. Eusebius of Hama
29. Marcianus of Seleucobele
30. Patrophilus of Shayzar
31. Severus of Paltos
32. Photius and Elphidianus, presbyters of Antioch

⁸²⁸ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 206-207 of the English translation.

33. Eusebius of Qinnésrin
34. Domnus of Gabala
35. Basilius of Raphana

Five bishops from Arabia

36. Agapius and Barganus from Bosra
37. Elpidianus of Dionysias
38. Euranius of Adra
39. Kilos of Constantina
40. Severeus of Neapolis

Three bishops from Osrheone (Edessa)

41. Eulogius of Edessa
42. Abraham of Batnan (Sarug)
43. Bitus of Harran

Three bishops from Mesopotamia

44. Mara of Amid
45. Battis of Thell Mawzalt
46. Jovian of Himerion

Five bishops from Augusta (Euphratesia)

47. Theodotus of Mabug (Manbij)
48. Antiochus of Samosata
49. Jovian of Perreh (Pharin)
50. Ansiodore of Cyrus
51. Maris of Deluche (Duluk)

Eight bishops from Cilicia

52. Diodore of Tarsus
53. Cyriacus of Adana
54. Hessychius of Epiphanea
55. Germanus of Corycus
56. Aerius of Zephyrion
57. Philomusus of Pompeiopolis
58. Olympius of Alexandria
59. Theophilus of Aranna

Six bishops from Cappadocia

60. Helladius of Caesarea
61. Gregory of Nyssa
62. Atherios of Tyane
63. Bosphorius of Colonia
64. Olympius of Parnassus
65. Gregory of Nazianzus

Three bishops from Lesser Armenia

66. Otreius of Melitene
67. Otreius of Arabissus

68. Janus of Zenos

Eleven bishops from Isauria

69. Symposius of Seleucia
 70. Montanus of Caludipolis with the presbyter Paul
 71. Phelotheus of Irenopolis
 72. Himistius of Philadelphia
 73. Musonius of Celandaris
 74. Marinus of Dilassande
 75. Theodore of Antioch
 76. Artemius of Titopholis
 77. Leon of Selinos
 78. Montanus of Neocaesarea
 79. Eusebius of Olbe

Four bishops from Cyprus

80. Julius of Paphos
 81. Theopropopus of Trementhontia
 82. Tichon of Tamasus
 83. Mnemius of Cition

Ten bishops from Pamphylia

84. Torilus of Agion
 85. Longinus of Colybrassus
 86. Theodulus of Coracession
 87. Hesychius of Cotenna
 88. Gaius of Lyrbe
 89. Tucsianus of Cassaea
 90. Midus of Phanmus
 91. Heraclidus of Tichus
 92. Theodolus of Syllion
 93. Pammenius of Ariassus

Thirteen bishops from Lyconia

94. Amphilochius of Iconium
 95. Cyril of Homanada
 96. Aristophanius of Sopatra
 97. Paul of Lystra
 98. Inzus of Corna
 99. Leontius of Perta
 100. Eustrasius of Canna
 101. Daphnus of Derbe
 102. Eugenius of Phosla
 103. Illyrius of Isaura
 104. Severus of Ambladia

Fifteen bishops from Pisidia

105. Optimus of Antioch
 106. Themistius of Adrianopolis

107. Attalus of Prostama
108. Ananius of Alada
109. Faustus of Limeni
110. Iyawannis of Sagalassus
111. Callinicus of Phamadrus
112. Eustathius of Metropolis
113. Patricius of Phricia
114. Lucius of Neapolis
115. Lolliannus of Sozopolis with the presbyter Simplicius
116. Tyrannus of Amorium
117. Auxenon, the presbyter of Apamea
118. Eulalius, a presbyter of Qonana
119. Eusebius of Philomenion with the presbyter Basus

Nine bishops from Lycia

120. Pontos of Polemaniakus
121. Tatkianus of Myra
122. Ponius of Koma
123. Eudimus of Patara
124. Patricius of Enoanda
125. Lupicinius of Limyra
126. Macedon of Xanthus
127. Romanus of Phasilis
128. Hermeus of Bubona
129. Theantimus of Araxa

Three bishops from Phrygia

130. Bitos of Primnessus
131. Phapha of Picatini
132. Euxanianus of Eucarpia

Two bishops from Phrygia II

133. Necarius of Apia
134. Theodorus of Eunemia

Two bishops from Caria

135. Theodosius of Aphrodisias
136. Lontius of Cibyra

Five bishops from Bithynia

137. Euphrasius of Nicomedia
138. Dorotheus of Nicaea
139. Olympius of Neocaesarea
140. Theodolus of Chalcedon
141. Eustathius of Prusa

One bishop from Amasia

142. Panssophius of Iborea

One bishop from Moesia

143. Maryrius of Marcianopolis

Three bishops from Scythia

144. Trentius of Tomma
 145. Etherius of Cherrsonesus
 146. Sebastianus of Anchialus

Two bishops from Spain

147. Agrius of Himinion
 148. Atarbius of Aqyllos, the lecturer.

To the readers: these hundred and fifty bishops met by the Holy Spirit and confirmed the orthodox creed. The partisans of Macedonius were asked to endorse the creed of Nicaea. However, they were dishonest, deceptive, and thus ridiculed by all. Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, originally from Tarsus, was of noble conduct.

After the council, Flavian was ordained a bishop of Antioch to succeed Meletius while Paulinus was still living. This caused a conflict between the partisans of Paulinus and Flavian.⁸²⁹

Timothy of Alexandria passed away and was succeeded by Theophilus for 28 years. Theophilus asked the emperor to demolish the house of idols in Alexandria (The Temple of Serapis). When it was demolished, bodies of crucified persons were found in it and other repulsive things. The pagans, angered when Theophilus exposed their repugnant mysteries, killed many Christians. The emperor ordered that the murderers should be killed. He demolished the houses of idols in Egypt and found in them writing in the form of a cross.⁸³⁰ Therefore, a great number of heathens believed and were baptized. The Emperor Theodosius ordered that all the images of Alexandria be given to the poor. In addition, he issued a law permitting no woman to be ordained a deaconess unless she was seventy years old. He banished Eunomius who organized meetings to deceive the people.⁸³¹ Eunomius died in exile.

Cyril of Jerusalem served 21 years and passed away. He was succeeded by John as the twenty-second bishop.⁸³²

In Edessa, Eulogius the 25th bishop was succeeded by Qura and then Silvanus for 2 years. Phqidha, the 27th bishop was followed by Diogenes. After them was set up Rabula.

In Antioch, Paulinus was not allowed to administer the diocese alone because he did not allow Meletius to administer the diocese alone. This situation created enmity between the Easterners and the Romans on the one hand, and the Egyptians on the other. Before his death, Paulinus ordained Evagrius unlawfully to succeed him. According to canons, no bishops could be ordained without the presence of three bishops. However, Paulinus ordained Evagrius by himself alone. Thus, the Romans and the Egyptians treated Evagrius harshly. They appealed to the emperor to do something. The emperor summoned Evagrius to Constantinople and from there to Rome, but he refused to go using the severity of winter as a pretext. Nevertheless, he promised to go in April. He then returned to Antioch. Again, the people instigated the emperor against him and the emperor summoned him for the second time. Evagrius said to the emperor, "Those who complain against me claim that I am unworthy of this dignity. In order to prove this, they should have appeared here personally to litigate me and I would have abided by their judgment. However, if the See is the source of the conflict, I will then withdraw and cause no problem. You may then offer the See of Antioch to whom you will." The emperor was astonished by his speech and bid him return to his city. When the emperor left for Rome, a great trouble was stirred up because he had not deposed Evagrius.

⁸²⁹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 207 of the English translation.

⁸³⁰ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 17, p. 215 of the English translation.

⁸³¹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 16, pp. 214-215 of the English translation.

⁸³² Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 15, p. 214 of the English translation.

Having learned of the trouble, Paulinus sent Acacius of Aleppo to Rome. Peace was finally restored by the mediation of the emperor, and the Egyptians were also reconciled.⁸³³

In this period, the city of Rish 'Ayna (Ras al-'Ayn) was founded in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) by the command of the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius.

After Valens was killed, the barbarians (Goths) reached the walls of Constantinople, but Theodosius marched against them and defeated them.⁸³⁴

In this period too, trouble prevailed within the empire as well as in the churches.⁸³⁵

Meletius was still in Antioch, but Paulinus, who was unlawfully ordained a bishop by the Arians, refused to have Meletius as an associate. Finally, it was agreed that the cross should be placed in the middle and each would sit, one on the right and the other on the left. It was decided to eliminate the See of the one who died first, so the other would occupy it.⁸³⁶

The Arians controlled the churches in Antioch for forty years from the fifth year of Constantius to the first year of Theodosius.⁸³⁷

The death of Gratian was caused by an accident. It happened that Andragathius, General of the Army of Maximus, concealed himself in a litter on the back of a mule. He then spread the rumor that the wife of Gratian was coming. The emperor, who knew nothing about the treachery, went out to receive his wife. The tyrant (Maximus) attacked him and killed him.⁸³⁸

Justina, Valentinian's mother, received baptism from the Arians. She wanted to expel Ambrose upon her arrival in Milan. But the people refused and thus a great tumult took place. When the report of Gratian's death arrived, the people calmed down.⁸³⁹

In this period, Theodosius ordered the remains of Bishop Paul, who was strangled by the Arians in Cucusus, brought to Constantinople.⁸⁴⁰

When Theodosius marched to fight the tyrant Maximus, the Arians spread the rumor that he had been defeated. Therefore, they burned down the house of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople. However, Theodosius captured the tyrant and killed him, and Andragathius cast himself into the river and was drowned.⁸⁴¹

Symmachus, who had praised Maximus the tyrant in a discourse he had written, sought refuge in the church when he heard that Maximus had been killed. The emperor pardoned him.⁸⁴²

At this time, the emperor discovered two infamous places in Constantinople and shut them down. One of them was situated between the houses where there was a mill and next to it a whorehouse. He ordered that any stranger attending this place should be arrested and forced to work at the mill until old age. One of Theodosius' soldiers was caught; he killed those who tried to arrest him. Upon receiving the news of this incident, the emperor ordered those houses demolished. He also ordered that every woman caught in adultery, should be confined to a narrow brothel and obliged to practice adultery. He also ordered that the house should be marked in order to be distinguishable by passersby, and that the woman would be exposed to the public. Later, he rescinded this order. Instead, he decreed that the adulteress should be tried legally.⁸⁴³

In this time, confession to a priest in a church was suspended. In fact, until then penitence through confession was in the hands of the priest. Therefore, if someone committed a sin after baptism, he confessed to the priest in order to be absolved according to the canons. It happened that a deacon in the

⁸³³ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 23, pp. 229-231 of the English translation.

⁸³⁴ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 1, p. 202 of the English translations.

⁸³⁵ Socrates, Book Five, the Introduction, p. 201 of the English translation.

⁸³⁶ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 5, pp. 203-204 of the English translation.

⁸³⁷ Cf. Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 5, pp. 205-206 of the English translation.

⁸³⁸ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 11, p. 210 of the English translation.

⁸³⁹ Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 211 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁰ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 207 of the English translation.

⁸⁴¹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 14, pp. 212-213 of the English translation.

⁸⁴² Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 213 of the English translation.

⁸⁴³ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 18, p. 216 of the English translation.

time of Nectarius was involved in sin with a prominent woman. Upon confessing her sin to the priest, the priest exposed the deacon and he lost his dignity as a deacon. This caused a great disturbance among the people. The priest Eudaemon counseled Nectarius who forbade confession to a priest from that date on; he only permitted a secret and personal confession followed by the partaking of the communion.⁸⁴⁴

The historian Socrates said to the priest Eudaemon, "Your counsel may be for the benefit of the church. You have become the reason that no one should be punished for the sin of the other in accordance with the apostle who said, "Have nothing to do with the fruitless deeds of darkness, but rather expose them."⁸⁴⁵ It is better for the bishop to lay his hand on thorns than on the heads of the unworthy, even though they were one with him in the faith. Quite often, those who hold the same doctrine differ in practices.⁸⁴⁶ For example, the citizens of Rome fast only three weeks before Easter, which they call *tsarcostas* (sic)⁸⁴⁷ while others fast seven weeks. They differ not only over the number of the days of fasting, but also regarding the kind of food. There are Christians who abstain from the flesh of any animal; others eat fish. Some eat birds because, like fish, birds come from the water. Others eat eggs, milk and fruits; still others eat crumbs for sustenance. Still others fast until the ninth hour. And since there was no law to limit the freedom of man, the Apostles taught that worship should not be done for fear or need.⁸⁴⁸

The Egyptians and the people of Thebes usually ate bread and then received the mysteries. In Alexandria, the Holy Scriptures were read and explained on Wednesdays and Fridays. In Thessaly, a person who desired to become a deacon or a priest and had a wife was not supposed to approach her or he would be rejected.⁸⁴⁹ In the East, the whole thing was left to the person's freedom. Even the bishops were free to abstain without the imposition of the canons. Thus, many of them had children from legitimate wives during their episcopate.

In Thessaly, baptism was performed during fasting days. In fact, some died without being baptized.

In Antioch, the location of the altar was different. In some cases, it pointed westward.

In Caesarea and Cyprus, the bishops and priests expounded the Scriptures on Saturdays and Sundays by the light of lamps.

In Alexandria, the priest never preached in the church. This custom began since the time of Arius who disturbed the church.

In Rome, people fasted on Saturdays.

In Cappadocia, anyone who committed a sin after baptism could not partake in the communion.⁸⁵⁰

The Book of Acts mentions, "It seems good to the Holy Spirit and to us not to burden you with anything beyond the following requirements: You are to abstain from food sacrificed to idols, from blood, from meat of strangled animals and from sexual immorality."⁸⁵¹

The first to destroy the temples of idols in this period was Marcellus, bishop of Apamea. The Christian emperors did not destroy these temples although they forbade the worship of idols. When Marcellus proceeded to demolish the temple of Zeus⁸⁵² he found it firm and of solid structure. (The blocks) were of large size and soldered together with iron and lead. He thought that no strength could disjoin them. He asked God to reveal the means of destroying the edifice. A man who was not adept in any kindred art, but who was merely accustomed to carry stones and wood, came to the bishop voluntarily promising to dismantle the edifice. The bishop offered him a payment awarded to two workmen.

The temple had a portico on each of the four sides. There were also columns which were equal in height to the temple, and each of which was sixteen cubits in circumference. The stone was so hard that it

⁸⁴⁴ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 19, p. 217 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁵ Ephesians 5:11. See Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁶ Socrates Book Five, Chapter 21, p. 219 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁷ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 22.

⁸⁴⁸ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 22, pp. 222-225 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁹ Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 223 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁰ All of these practices are found in Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 22, pp. 221-223 of the English translation.

⁸⁵¹ Acts 15:28-29.

⁸⁵² The temple of Jupiter according to Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 21, p. 227 of the English translation.

would scarcely yield to the iron tools. The man dug deeply around the foundations of these columns. He substituted for the earth-removed wood of an oleaginous nature,⁸⁵³ to which he then set fire. But a black demon appeared who checked the power of the fire. Informed about the demon, the bishop took water, and, placing it under the altar, prayed to God to thwart the power of the demons lest harm was done to the faithful. He made the sign of the cross over the water. A deacon named Equitius sprinkled the fire with this water, and the demon fled wailing and the water devoured the fire. The columns collapsed and the temple fell down. The sound of its fall was heard throughout the whole region. Finally, Marcellus demolished the other temples.⁸⁵⁴

At this time, Theophilus demolished the temples of idols in Alexandria. He found out that the heathens had hollow statues made of wood and bronze with the back fitted against the wall, whence they secured entrance into them. Once they were inside the statues, they issued commands as they pleased to deceive the people. Theophilus went up to the temple of Serapis, said to be the greatest of all their idols. The pagans spread the rumor that if anyone entered the temple, earthquakes would immediately take place and the whole world would be destroyed. Disregarding their words, Theophilus commanded a man who had a hatchet to strike the statue of the demon on the head. It fell to the ground and a troop of mice immediately ran out. Then, the people smashed the statue and dragged its head about the streets.⁸⁵⁵

In this time Telemachus, an Eastern monk, went to Rome. He entered the amphitheater and tried to stop the combat and the bloody spectacle. However, the spectators became indignant and stoned him to death. The Emperor (Honorius, 395-423) numbered him with the victorious martyrs and abolished these iniquitous spectacles.⁸⁵⁶

In this time, the Nile River did not flood as usual. The pagans rejoiced saying that it did not flood because the sacrifices to the gods were abolished, but they were ridiculed by the emperor.

In this time, the bones of the Prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered near Eletheropolis, a city of Palestine, through a vision seen by its bishop.

In Jerusalem, the body of St. Stephen was discovered in the time of Bishop John.

In this time, violent, solid hail hit Constantinople for two days, and a comet was seen for twenty days.

In this time, the solitary John became well known in Egypt. Having heard of the death of Valentinian and the revolt of Eugenius, the emperor asked the counsel of the visionary John. John told him that the first war would end without bloodshed, and that he would be victorious in the second war. He also told him about his death.

Chapter Nine: On the last period of the life of Emperor Theodosius

In the thirteenth year of his reign, Theodosius proclaimed his son Arcadius an emperor of the East. Eugenius and Arbogastes connived with a eunuch of Valentinian, and strangled Arcadius.⁸⁵⁷ Shocked, Theodosius hastened to declare his younger son Honorius emperor of the West. He marched to fight the tyrant, but since his army was small compared to the army of the tyrant, he was advised to wait until all his armies assembled. Theodosius, however, resorted to the Cross. He entered a cavern, spending the whole night crying, and did not sleep until dawn. He saw in a dream John the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle clothed in white and mounted on white horses. They said to him, "We have come to help you. Fear not." The commander of the army also saw the identical vision and informed the emperor. When the combat commenced, the emperor's side began to falter. The emperor threw himself on the ground, praying. Suddenly, a violent wind combined with a sand storm prevented the actions of the shafts of Eugenius' men arrows and blew back their arrows upon them. When the barbarians realized they were defeated, they sued

⁸⁵³ Any kind of wood, like olive, which produces oil.

⁸⁵⁴ The whole episode is in Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 21, pp. 226-228 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁵ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 22, pp. 228-229 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁶ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 26, p. 243 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁷ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 25, pp. 227-228 of the English translation.

BOOK SEVEN

for peace. The emperor ordered the tyrant Eugenius brought in chains and then killed. As to Arbogastus, he hanged himself. These events took place in the third year of the consulates of Arcadius and the second consulate of Honorius.⁸⁵⁸

The emperor returned to Milan. Exhausted by the war, he became very weak. He fell ill and died. He lived 60 years, of which 16 years and 8 months spent in governing. He died on January 8.

In Persia, Varahran son of Sapur the Great, brother of Ardasher and Sapur, ruled the Persians. Varahran reigned 10 years and 11 months.

In this time flourished the learned men Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium; Ambrose, bishop of Milan; Optimus, bishop of Antioch in Pisidia; and Deodore, bishop of Tarsus.

John Chrysostom was still a priest when he composed discourses chiding those who disgraced the portrait of the queen.

Bishop Amphilochius went to the emperor asking him to expel the heretics. The emperor refused saying, "This is uncharitable." One day when Amphilochius went to see the emperor, he genuflected before him only. The emperor thought that he forgot to genuflect before his son, whom he had designated also an emperor. He said to Amphilochius, "Proceed and kiss him." The bishop said, "Honorius' respect is due to you alone." The emperor was furious. Amphilochius revealed what he meant, and said to the emperor, "If you, only a man, became angry for disgracing your son, how much more should God be wrathful against those who blaspheme his Son?" The emperor was convinced of his speech and forbade the gathering of heretics.⁸⁵⁹

Here ends Book Seven covering eighty-four years from the commencement of the reign of Constantine the victorious to the end of the life of Theodosius, which is the year 5901 from Adam.

⁸⁵⁸ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 24, pp. 231-234 of the English translation; Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 15.

⁸⁵⁹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 16, pp. 218-219 of the English translation.

BOOK EIGHT

WE CALL ON OUR LORD CHRIST TO HELP US, HE WHO WILLED TO ACCOMPLISH THE LAW OF THE EIGHTH DAY, AND WHO WILL COME TO RENEW ALL. WE BEGIN THIS EIGHTH BOOK WITH THE REIGN OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS, AND THE REIGN OF THE KING OF PERSIA, YAZDAGIRD, SON OF SAPUR.

Chapter One: Contains the story of John Chrysostom

In the year 708 of the Greeks/392 A.D., the 41st Roman Empire commenced with the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius, who proclaimed them as emperors before his death.⁸⁶⁰ Arcadius ruled in Constantinople and the East. Honorius, who was nine years old, ruled in Rome. Arcadius built the Great Apollon in front of the praetorium. He also built the two cities of Esrolophon and Arcadiopolis in Thrace. His wife, Eudoxia, set up a silver statue next to the tomb of Saint Irene.⁸⁶¹

Gainas revolted against the Emperor Arcadius. He engaged in battle but was defeated and killed during the consulates of Stilicho and Aurelian.⁸⁶²

Arcadius went to pray in the church of Qarkida (Carya) and a great crowd went in to behold him. After praying at the temple of the church of Acacius, Arcadius left and the crowds followed him to the extent that no one of the multitudes remained in the temple, however, the temple suddenly collapsed. The people believed that the multitudes were saved because of the emperor's prayer and his commendable justice and multiple (good) qualities. Beneath the royal purple raiment, he wore a hair tunic because of his inclination toward monastic living. He did not order Gainas killed in his first rebellion, but had him killed in the second rebellion, when the barbarians in his company tried to rob the silver exhibited for sale in the shops, but failed. Therefore, they kindled fire in the city at night. The angels appeared in the guise of Romans with the emperor and fought the barbarians who were sent by Gainas for three nights. Seeing this spectacle, the barbarians fled. On the next night, Gainas returned with them. He witnessed the spectacle and fled. He went to the East and assembled an army. Since his men could not find ships, they built small boats of wood and took passage. However, the Roman ships arrived, and were able to go faster because of a strong west wind. The barbarians and their horses were exhausted. The Roman forces overtook Gainas and killed him. Meanwhile, the Huns crossed the River Ister ravaging and destroying the towns in the province of Thrace, but hail fell on them by the supplication of Emperor Arcadius, destroying most of them, and the rest fled.⁸⁶³

Following these events, Arcadius passed away and was succeeded by his eight-year-old son Theodosius II. Honorius was childless. Since Arcadius had no other son except this child, he was afraid that someone might harm him. Therefore, he wrote a covenant appointing Yazdagird, king of Persia, as guardian of his son and caretaker of his affairs. Yazdagird welcomed this trust and evinced great concern for Theodosius II. With this covenant, the Romans enjoyed lasting peace. Yazdagird sent Antionus, a learned man, to be the guardian of Theodosius. He also addressed a letter to the counselors saying, "Arcadius died and entrusted me with administering his affairs. If you betray Theodosius, you will face a fearsome battle." Theodosius II and his sister Pulcheria lived with their uncle Honorius. Because of this arrangement, Christianity flourished in Persia. Marutha of Miyapharqin, acted as a mediator between the two sides.⁸⁶⁴ *Here ends this account.*

In this time, a child was born in the village of Emmaus in Palestine with two chests and two heads from the navel up. One of them ate food and the other did not. One slept and the other kept awake. Sometimes, the two heads mingled with each other. Together, they became restless or comfortable. They

⁸⁶⁰ Arcadius was proclaimed an emperor in 383. Honorius was promoted to the rank of Augustus at Constantinople in 393.

⁸⁶¹ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter, 18, p. 252 of the English translation.

⁸⁶² Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 6, pp. 237-239 of the English translation.

⁸⁶³ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 6, pp. 237-239 and Theodoret, Book Five, chapter 37, pp. 242-244 of the English translation.

⁸⁶⁴ On Marwtha, see Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 8, pp. 263-265 of the English translation.

remained in this condition for many years until one of them died and was followed four days later by the other.

At this time the Huns invaded Roman territories in July. They pillaged and destroyed Syria and Cappadocia.

In this period flourished Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the commentator on the Scriptures.⁸⁶⁵

From Book Six of Socrates: "We begin to write the events in our time, and what we put down might not be commendable because, according to the proverb 'The truth is bitter.' Perhaps, those zealous for the cause of the churches blame me for not calling the bishops 'the lovers of God' or, the emperors as 'most divine' or 'Lords,' for the books of the ancients show that the slaves called their masters by their names."⁸⁶⁶

In this period, there was in Constantinople a Novatian bishop named Sisinnius. He was eloquent with a natural aptitude of rhetoric. He was criticized for wearing white raiment. However, he justified wearing it saying, "Where is it written that we should wear black vestments, while Solomon says, 'Always be clothed in white.'⁸⁶⁷ Our Lord, in his Transfiguration on Mount Tabor was clothed in dazzling white."⁸⁶⁸ One day, John (Chrysostom), bishop of the city of Constantinople, said to him, "It is not permitted for two bishops to be (administering) simultaneously in one city." Sisinnius said, "Neither you nor I should be the sole bishop of this city." John was offended by this reply and said to Sisinnius, "Apparently you intend to become the sole bishop of this city." Sisinnius said, "You alone do not consider me a bishop, others do not consider you a bishop either." John said, "I will prevent you from delivering the homily at the church." Sisinnius said, "For this, I will pay you for sparing me the effort."⁸⁶⁹ *End of the account.*

At the beginning of the reign of Honorius, Innocent was the 38th bishop of Rome for 16 years.⁸⁷⁰

Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, Acacius, bishop of Aleppo, Antonius, bishop of Akka, Severus, bishop of Gabala and Marwtha of Miyapharqin, were distinguished for their learning and administrative abilities. Marwtha was delegated as envoy to Yazdagird, king of Persia. Through him, miracles were accomplished as is written in the *History of the Eastern Martyrs*.⁸⁷¹

The Story of John Chrysostom

After the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, controversy ensued about who should become a bishop of the capital city. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, wanted his presbyter Isodore to be ordained a bishop. To accomplish his purpose, he sent Isodore with gifts and letters to the emperor who was then fighting the rebels. He instructed him to deliver them to the one who won the victory. However, Isodore's secretary took the letters and fled. Theophilus was afraid, and tried to have Isodore ordained a bishop in order to conceal the secret. But Arcadius and the bishops summoned the celebrated John (Chrysostom) from Antioch.⁸⁷²

John was a native of Antioch. His father was Secundus and his mother was Anthusa, otherwise known as Poplia. It is said that she became a nun and frequently visited the church of one of the monasteries to teach the nuns. As to the Great John, he had achieved fame since childhood. He studied profane sciences under Libanus, a sophist philosopher, and attended the classes of the philosopher Andragathius. He considered becoming a public advocate, but the iniquities within the tribunals plunged him into the study of the Scriptures. He also began to attend church. His schoolmates were Theodore of Mopsuestia, Maximus of Seleucia and Deodore of Tarsus. They were at that time monks who were frequently found in his company. At the age of eighteen, John entered the monastery and studied under

⁸⁶⁵ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 3, p. 234 of the English translation; Henry Barclay Swete, "Theodorus of Mopsuestia," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, Vol. IV (London: John Murry, 1887), 934-948.

⁸⁶⁶ Socrates, the Introduction to Book Six, p. 231 of the English translation.

⁸⁶⁷ Ecclesiastes 9:8.

⁸⁶⁸ Mark 9:3.

⁸⁶⁹ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 22, pp. 255-256 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁰ This bishop was not Innocent but Siricius. See Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 23, p. 230 and Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 9, p. 256 of the English translation.

⁸⁷¹ Cf. Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 8, pp. 263-265 of the English translation.

⁸⁷² Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 2, pp. 232-233.

Deodore and Carterius. He also established friendship with Basil the Great of Caesarea. At the age of twenty-one, he was ordained a reader by Zeno of Jerusalem. He wrote several discourses against Jews and the inhabitants.⁸⁷³ He then moved to the mountain to seek the company of an aged man, under whom he studied four years to combat demons. For the next two years, he resorted to solitary life to avoid temptation, but fell ill and had to leave for the city. At the age of twenty-seven, Meletius ordained him a deacon. At this time, he wrote discourses on the priesthood. Afterwards, Evagrius, the successor of Paulinus, ordained him a priest. At the age of twenty-eight, he wrote commentaries on the Gospels and Acts.⁸⁷⁴

Regarding continence, he was very strict. To him, anger weighed more than temerity. He was very sure of his actions with no concern for the morrow. He was distinguished for simplicity and a sharp tongue, but free from deceit. He was desirous to benefit others by his learning. He may have seemed arrogant to those who did not know him.⁸⁷⁵ At the age of fifty, he was consecrated a bishop of Constantinople. On assuming the administration of his diocese, he abolished the custom of meals at the churches. He penned discourses against gluttony and avarice. His was not only concerned for his own city, but also for entire Thrace, Asia and Pontus. By his determination, what remained of idols was destroyed. He trained monks and sent them to Phoenicia. He succeeded in having the Scythians challenge the Arians. He ordained for them priests, deacons and readers and assigned to them churches to serve in their own language. By this means, he succeeded in winning the Goths. In addition, he frequently visited them and communicated with them through interpreters. Thus, he drew them to the knowledge of the truth.⁸⁷⁶

Oftentimes John was strict in the treatment of his subordinates. He tried to amend the life of the clergy by force. For his strictness, many were displeased with him, and his calumniators were many. They criticized him for reading the books of Origen, which were condemned by Theophilus and Epiphanius.⁸⁷⁷ He was antagonized by Acacius, bishop of Aleppo, Antiochus, bishop of Akka and Severian, bishop of Gabala. For this reason, Antiochus, bishop of Akka, studied rhetoric and went to Constantinople where he taught and accumulated considerable money. Severian became envious and went to Constantinople doing the same thing as Antiochus. Nevertheless, he spoke Greek with a Syrian accent. He composed discourses and won John's favor.

John journeyed to Ephesus and ordained the deacon Heralides a bishop, but the congregation rejected him. John then tarried for a while in the city. Meanwhile, the leaders honored Severian. The deacon Serapion addressed a letter to him that aroused his envy because Serapion was arrogant and contemptuous. One day, Severian passed by him as he was sitting, but Serapion did not show him respect as a bishop. Severian could not endure the maltreatment and said, "If Serapion died a Christian, then Christ did not become incarnate." Serapion related to John that Severian said that, "Christ did not become incarnate," while dropping the first part of what Severian said. John, without investigation, expelled Severian. Queen Eudoxia, however, remonstrated with him and brought back Severian. Still, John refused to reconcile with Severian. The queen went to the Church of the Apostles with her son Theodosius, who had been baptized by John. She took him from the baptistery and placed him on John's knees, and asked John on oath to reconcile with Severian, but she hardly succeeded in affecting outward agreement between the two.⁸⁷⁸

With his impudence, Serapion kept harboring hatred against the Bishop (John). He ousted many from the church. Some rallied and complained to the people against him. They defended their charges with proofs hoping that the people would believe them. Some charged that he did not share meals with others

⁸⁷³ The inhabitants here are most likely the citizens of Antioch who were a mixed population of Greeks, Orientals, Jews, Pagans, heretics and nominal Christians. They were more attracted by the secular life of the circus and the theater than by the church and spiritual matters.

⁸⁷⁴ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 3, pp. 233-234 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁵ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 3, p. 234 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁶ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapters 27-29, pp. 235-237 and Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 4, p. 235 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁷ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 10, pp. 244-245 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁸ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 11, pp. 245-246 of the English translation.

and attended no banquets. Others attributed to him depression and lack of respect for anyone.⁸⁷⁹ Some accused him of gluttony. The queen hated him passionately for upbraiding women severely, and for removing her statue, which stood next to the church. John, on his part, reviled her saying that she was like Jezebel who usurped the widow's vineyard. However, the congregation adhered to him for his teachings. He composed a number of nocturnal hymns and prayers against the hymns of the Arians who asked, "Where are those who say that the Three (Persons of the Trinity) are of the same power?" However, lest the simple people become deceived, John ordered his congregation to participate in chanting the nocturnal hymns. The result was that conflict stirred up between the congregation and the Arians and some on both sides perished. At this point, the Arians quit singing hymns in the market places.⁸⁸⁰

Gainas, the Scythian, requested from the emperor a church building for him in which to pray (Gainas was Arian). The emperor consulted with John, who said that a church building should be given to Gainas for it might dampen his intention of rebelling against the emperor. John further said, "Summon him (Gainas) and I will restrain him." When Gainas appeared before the emperor requesting a church building, John said to him, "The Godly emperor has no power over church matters. All the sacred edifices are open to you. Choose anyone you desire." Gainas said, "I have struggled much for the Romans (and deserve a church building)." John replied, "The recompenses you have received exceed in number the services you have rendered. You had been raised to the command of the troops, but have been invested with the consular robes. It is right that you should consider what you were formerly, and what you are now." Gainas kept silent.⁸⁸¹ Later, however, Gainas revolted and destroyed Thrace, and no one could send an envoy to him. He asked John to go to him, and John yielded while overlooking the controversy with Gainas. When Gainas heard of the approach of John, he traveled a long way to meet him. When he saw him, he placed the right hand of the saint on his eyes, and drew his children round his knees. Thus, does virtue and charm intimidate her very opponents?⁸⁸²

Jealousy was unable to bear the radiance of the philosophy of John. It resorted to its usual artifices to deprive the whole world of his eloquence. If I want to relate the injustice to which this great man had been exposed, I would feel ashamed of relating the virtues of those who have done harm to him. I would endeavor to conceal their names were it not for the fact that the subject requires that we not distort the truth.⁸⁸³

Theophilus' jealousy was rekindled and he behaved like a person stimulated by pain. Jealousy also awakened in Epiphanius of Cyprus, a man of simple mind. When he came to Constantinople, he was ordained a deacon without John's approval. He revised the writings of Origen at the request of Theophilus, Methodius of Olympia and Eustathius of Antioch, who could not fathom their depths. As they intended to condemn the Arian monks and ridicule John, John sent a message to Epiphanius telling him, "You have overstepped the canons. You have ordained a deacon in my church without my permission. I have invited you to live with me, but you refused. Beware of the rise of conflict among the people." On hearing this, Epiphanius was frightened and departed.⁸⁸⁴

Theophilus condemned the books of Origen in an inclement manner. A controversy arose in Alexandria. Some simple folk believed that God had ears and eyes. Others maintained that he transcended forms and figures. This was the teaching of Theophilus. Some monks rallied to kill him. He said to them shrewdly, "I see your faces like the face of God." With this, he dampened their spirit. They said to him, "You should then condemn the books of Origen because he said God has no human image." Thus, he condemned them.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁷⁹ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 4, p. 235 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁰ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 8, pp. 24-243 of the English translation.

⁸⁸¹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 24, pp. 231-232 and Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 6, pp. 237-239 of the English translation.

⁸⁸² Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 32-33, pp. 237-239 of the English translation.

⁸⁸³ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 34, p. 239 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁴ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 12, pp. 246-247 and Chapter 14, pp. 248-249 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁵ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 7, pp. 240-242 of the English translation.

In this time, four brothers were most virtuous monks surnamed "The Tall Monks." One of them called Dioscorus was ordained a bishop by Theophilus. The other three were appointed by Theophilus as stewards. They observed that Theophilus was infatuated with collecting gold and enjoying it. They also thought that it was unpleasant to waste life in the wilderness. Therefore, they asked his permission to leave, and then departed. Theophilus hated them for leaving and told the other monks, "These men do not believe that God has hands, eyes and legs." He also instigated the barbarians against them and they hardly made it to Constantinople. John allowed them to participate in service with him. Learning that John had these monks partake in the mysteries, Theophilus bore a grudge against him. Meanwhile, he expelled the presbyter Isodore who found refuge with John.⁸⁸⁶

As to Epiphanius, he became a friend of Theophilus for disparaging God who, he said, had a human form. These two men convened a council and condemned the books of Origen. They addressed a letter to John asking him to do the same, but he did not pay attention to them or to what Theophilus had written in this regard, for he was busy teaching and composing homilies. They also accused John of composing discourses disparaging women. Theophilus and Epiphanius made a copy of them and handed them to the queen pointing out that he had in fact assailed her. The queen intimated to Theophilus to convene a council and invite to it Severian and Cyrinus, who accused John of arrogance. Cyrinus is the one upon whose foot Marutha of Miyafarqin trampled. He remained in Chalcedon where many people noticed its laceration.⁸⁸⁷

Theophilus attended the council but was ill received by the bishops. John was summoned but did not respond. They summoned him four times asking him to hasten to attend, but did not show up because he did not consider their council to be ecumenical. They used his refusal to attend as a pretext and declared him deposed. The people went into uproar. They were ready to fight to allow him to attend the council. However, Saint (John) took the opportunity and left at noon and no one knew of his departure. Severian composed a discourse attacking John saying, "His deposition is sufficient to destroy his arrogance. All sins could be remitted, but the arrogant, God is his opponent." On hearing this, the people went into uproar. Even John's opponents said that this man had been wronged. In fact, the whole city was convulsed and bloodshed was about to take place. Frightened, the emperor quickly called John back from exile. He returned through Nicomedia but did not enter the city. He waited until his case was investigated, but the people thronged and brought him into the city by force with a spectacular celebration. They obliged him to sit on the patriarchal throne. He addressed them and offered them peace. Theophilus, perplexed, fled. Finally, he resorted to the reading of the books of Origen. Criticized for reading these books, he replied, "I am only plucking flowers and discarding the thorn."⁸⁸⁸

Shortly afterwards, John was infuriated because of the statue of the empress which stood in the neighborhood of the church. He set his sharp tongue against those who suggested the installation of the statue. The empress, believing that his words were a personal attack against her, ordered a council to convene. John, knowing about the empress's order, delivered a homily thus, "Herodia has gone mad. She is dancing and demanding the head of John the Baptist on a platter." The bishops met and used John's sitting on the patriarchal throne before deciding his case as pretext to depose him. John said, "This is the canon which the Arians had instituted in Antioch against Athanasius." The Emperor, however, had him banished. John left his church and was replaced by Nectarius' brother, Arsacius. After his departure, severe hail fell, and fire broke out in the church, burning it down. Meanwhile, the empress died. The people cried out, "This happened because of the illegal deposition of John." Shortly afterwards, Arsacius passed away and was succeeded by the venerable man Atticus.⁸⁸⁹ Also, Epiphanius died as foretold by John who said, "He will never occupy the patriarchal throne alive." It is also reported that Epiphanius said about John that, "He will

⁸⁸⁶ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 9, pp. 243-244 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁷ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 15, pp. 249-250 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁸ Socrates, Book Six, Chapters 16-17, pp. 250-251 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 34, p. 241 of the English translation.

die in exile.” John died amongst our people at the age of fifty. Of these years, he spent five years in the episcopate and three in exile.⁸⁹⁰

It is reported that since he received baptism, John never swore or demanded from others to swear. He never cursed or told a lie. He never calumniated or ridiculed anyone. He absolutely drank no wine or took a meal with anyone. Innocent, bishop of Rome, and Flavian, bishop of Antioch, did not approve of the disposition of John but addressed letters of blame and censure to the clergy.

John produced significant studies and commentaries on the Holy Scriptures. He who describes them as a surging sea is not mistaken. Those who love the truth will recognize the greatness of this learned man. The Eastern chronicler David said that, “Among other writings collected by the Mahdi (775-785), king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) in Baghdad, I found some writings of John.” As he set to go into exile, John wrote on the gate of the church of Antioch in Constantinople, “I have left for the church the talent God bestowed on me: three hundred volumes of commentaries, discourses, translations and other materials.” May his memory and prayers be of help to us in both worlds. Amen.

In the time of Honorius, there was in the city of Synada in Phrygia, a bishop called Theodosius who expelled the partisans of Macedonius. He did this not for his zeal for the faith, but for collecting money. In addition, he persecuted Agapetus, bishop of the city. He went to Constantinople to bring back an army to tighten the grip on them. Agapetus called on his followers and demanded from them adherence to the doctrine of “consubstantiality” He went to church and sat in the chair of Theodosius, thus the two parties were united. Theodosius returned with an army, but the people expelled him. He approached his Metropolitan Atticus to instigate him against Agapetus, but Atticus exhibited calmness. He admonished him to place the opinion of the majority over his own personal opinion. He wrote to Agapetus to trust the bishop in conformity with the faith.⁸⁹¹

At this time, fire broke out in the neighborhood of the great church in Constantinople. It destroyed several monasteries and huge buildings and many people perished.⁸⁹²

At this time, an unprecedented sign appeared in heaven, which was called a comet.

At this time too became well known the priest Absmayya, nephew of Malphono (learned man) St. Ephraim. He composed several odes in the Ephramite (seven-syllabic) meter on who invaded the countries in this period. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Two: On the beginning of the reign of Theodosius the Great

Theodosius ascended the throne at the age of eight. Rebellion was stirred up in the Roman provinces by a certain man named Alaric the African. He assembled an army and came to Italy, but no one welcomed him. He committed many crimes and killed the consul Stilicho.

Emperor Honorius died in Rome. In Constantinople reigned Constantius, father of Valentinian who was killed.⁸⁹³ John, the scribe, usurped the empire and sent envoys to Theodosius asking to transfer the rule of the empire to him. Theodosius imprisoned the envoys and sent general Ardaburius to fight the tyrant. Ardaburius was defeated and captured. Theodosius sent another general, Aspar son of Ardaburius, with another army. By the prayer of the pious emperor, an angel appeared to Aspar in the guise of a shepherd. He led him and his army over a lake as though it were dry land. When they reached the city, they found its gates open. They released Ardaburius and killed the rebel John.⁸⁹⁴

Theodosius proclaimed his aunt’s son Valentinian as Caesar, and sent him to Rome in the company of his mother. Then he sent him the imperial crown. Valentinian ruled 32 years.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹⁰ Socrates, Book Six, Chapters 16-20, pp. 250-254 of the English translation.

⁸⁹¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 3, pp. 260-261 of the English translation.

⁸⁹² Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 18, p. 253 of the English translation states that some of the partisans of John Chrysostom set fire to the church.

⁸⁹³ They are Constantius III and Valentinian III. The first ruled one year 421, and the second, 30 years, 425-455.

⁸⁹⁴ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 23, pp. 278-279 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁵ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 24, pp. 279-280 of the English translation.

Although Theodosius was raised in the imperial court, he adhered to fasting, prayer and fortitude. He fasted Wednesdays and Fridays until evening. He was not seen angry. When asked why he had not punished with death those who had committed crimes, he replied, "I wish those who have died will come back to life." He said to another inquirer, "As long as man is mortal, his death is not significant. Only God can restore life to the dead. He has imposed death on man, and he alone can annul it." When the bishop of Hebron died, the emperor took his dirty garment and put it on for a blessing. Truly, it is said that he was a pious and orthodox Emperor.⁸⁹⁶ *Here ends this narrative.*

We should admit that although Epiphanius of Cyprus had interfered in the affairs of John (Chrysostom), yet he had prominent virtues. He was a Jew who had received baptism at the age of sixteen. He became a monk and was endowed with the ability to accomplish miracles. He exorcised demons. He became a bishop at the age of 60 and served the congregation for 55 years. He died at the age of 115. It is said that he never celebrated the Eucharist or baptized anyone unless it was revealed to him. He is the one who baptized the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius.

In Jerusalem, the 49th bishop was Praylius.⁸⁹⁷ In Antioch, the 34th bishop was Porphyrius. In Constantinople, Atticus was the 7th bishop. In Edessa, the 28th bishop was Diogenes.

Theophilus of Alexandria died from urine retention after serving 28 years. Three days later, he was succeeded by Cyril for 33 years.⁸⁹⁸

In Rome, Innocent who served 16 years, was succeeded by Zosimus for 8 years. He was the 39th bishop. He was succeeded by Boniface for 3 years who was succeeded by Celestine for 9 years.⁸⁹⁹

In Antioch, the 35th bishop after Porphyrius was Alexander for 10 years. He united the orthodox in Antioch after they were divided for 45 years. He also achieved peace between the Easterners and the Westerners on account of Paulinus and Evagrius taking with him his clergy to the place where they assembled. He led them into his own church with spiritual pageant, and the congregation became one. He added John's name to the diptychs as Atticus did in Constantinople. He did this when he saw that the church was divided. With this gesture, many schismatics returned to the fold.⁹⁰⁰

Atticus not only was concerned for the poor in his own city but also for the poor in other cities. In his letter addressed to Calliopius he wrote, "From Atticus to Cleopas, greeting in the Lord. I have learned that there are many poor people in the city in need of the compassion of the believers. It is very difficult to determine their number because they are numerous. While we do not have here who may extend help to them, there are in the meantime those who have bountiful possessions but do not give or even care. Therefore beloved, I am sending you three hundred dinars to spend them the way you see fit. I suggest that you give to those who find it shameful to beg and not to those who use greed a business, and do not keep your hand from those who are not of our persuasion. One thing is important, that you should feed the hungry without discrimination whether they are of our faith or not."⁹⁰¹

After Atticus, Sisinnius became a bishop who cared for the poor. Upon the death of the bishop of Cyzicus, Sisinnius ordained Proclus a bishop, but the people chose Dalmatius to be their bishop. Proclus remained in the capital. Upon the death of Sisinnius, some chose Proclus and the others, Philip. However, the two were rejected and the congregation desired to have a man from Antioch hoping to be like John (Chrysostom). Nestorius of Germanicia (Mar'ash) was invited. He was an orator and of melodious voice. Upon occupying the throne of Constantinople, however, he began to sow the seeds of heresy. He appeared to be against all the holy fathers.⁹⁰² *This narrative is ended by the help of he who is the source of all help.*

⁸⁹⁶ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 22, pp. 276-278 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁷ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 38, p. 244 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁸ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 7, p. 263 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁹ Cf. Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 11, p. 266 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 35, 241-242 of the English translation.

⁹⁰¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 25, p. 280 of the English translation.

⁹⁰² Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 24, p. 282, Chapter 28, pp. 283-284, and Chapter 29, pp. 284-285 of the English translation. Nestorius is discussed in the last Chapter.

BOOK EIGHT

In this time, the affairs of churches in East and West were in turmoil because of the deposition of John (Chrysostom). The earth shook for seven days, and earthquakes rocked the capital constantly day and night for four months. The people attributed it to the vengeance of God, who punished the capital with the rod of wrath because of the unlawful deposition of Saint John. Saint Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, appealed to Emperor Theodosius (II) to transfer the remains of the great John to the capital. The emperor responded and the rest of John's bones were brought from Comana. John's remains were welcomed by the emperor and Pulcheria (the emperor's sister) with a spectacular celebration. They were interned in the Church of the Apostles. Consequently, those who had become opponents over his deposition were reconciled.⁹⁰³

At this time, a group of monks informed Theodosius that Theodore of Mopsuestia was a heretic and that the congregation was complaining against him. However, the Alexandrians felt delighted for this trouble.

Meantime, a man who taught children entered the synagogue of the Jews. The Jews shouted, "This man has come to create trouble." Orestes (the prefect) had Hierax tortured. Cyril called the leaders of the Jews and threatened them not to stir up sedition once more. They made for themselves rings from palm leaves and put them on their fingers as a sign to distinguish them from the rest. At night, they cried out, "The church is on fire." As the Christians hastened to the church, the Jews began to kill them. They recognized each other by the palm rings. For this reason, all the Jews were expelled from Alexandria and their synagogues destroyed.⁹⁰⁴

Hypatia, the Platonic philosopher, was chaste and without reproach, but was a subject of envy. It is said that she did not let Orestes reconcile with Cyril. Some members of the church ambushed her on her way home. They seized her and brought her to the church called Caesareum. They cracked her skull and cast her into the fire.⁹⁰⁵

In this same time, the Jews seized a child in the region of Immestar between Qinnésrin and Antioch. They tied him to a cross, mocked him and killed him. When the incident became known, they were condemned and many of them were executed.⁹⁰⁶

In this same period, a Jew went to the bishop, was baptized and received some money. Then, he went to Paul, bishop of the Novatians, to be baptized by him. Paul placed him among the catechumens for two months and imposed fasting on him. Bishop Paul ordered the baptismal font filled with water, but the water disappeared. People thought that there was a leak in the font. They filled it the second time and the water immediately dried up. Turning to the person who was to be baptized, Bishop Paul said, "Either you harbor evil, or you have been baptized before." Upon investigating his case, they found that he had been baptized by Atticus.⁹⁰⁷

A priest named Philip wrote a history of the church in thirty-six books consisting of thousand treatises. Upon the death of Atticus, he thought that he would be ordained a bishop of Constantinople in his place. However, he was disappointed because Sisinnius, the pious and compassionate, was ordained a bishop. Philip interpolated in his history a medley of irrelevant information, which could not be accepted.⁹⁰⁸
Ended by the power of he who is the helper of all.

⁹⁰³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 45, pp. 297-298 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁴ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 13, pp. 267-269 of the English translation, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 100-102. It is unfortunate that the author, as his usual wont is, has given few disconnected excerpts, which have marred the flow of the whole episode.

⁹⁰⁵ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 15, p. 270 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁶ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 16, pp. 270-271 of the English translation, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 100-101.

⁹⁰⁷ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 17, pp. 271-272 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁸ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 27, p. 283 of the English translation.

Chapter Three: On the period of Theodosius II

At this time Yazdagird, king of the Persians, died and was succeeded by his son Varahran, who reigned for 22 years. He abrogated the peace treaty between Persia and the Romans. Both kingdoms were armed and prepared for war. A fierce battle ensued and the Persians were defeated. The Romans took captive Persians called "immortals," that is, those who never die. Peace followed, but the Persians' persecution of the Christians did not stop during the reign of Varahran. Furthermore, following the peace, the Persians ventured to attack Rish 'Ayna, but were repelled by the prayer of Eunomius, bishop of the city.⁹⁰⁹ The Persians continued to devastate the Eastern regions as far as the sea, but were defeated by the Romans who captured seven thousand in Arzen's district. They were redeemed by Acacius, bishop of Amid and set free.⁹¹⁰

At this time, barbarians known as Burgundians, who were tradesmen and lived in peace, repaired to the God of the Romans to help them against the Huns who had looted them. They went to a city of Galilee and fasted seven days. On the eighth day they were baptized. Afterwards, three thousand of them attacked the Huns killing ten thousand. Then they became true Christians.⁹¹¹

In this period, Nestorius declared his heresy, as the proverb says, "No shortage of wine for those who love it." Thus was the case of Nestorius. He determined to expel others, but he himself was expelled.⁹¹² The Emperor Theodosius ordered an ecumenical council to convene in Ephesus ...lacuna... of about fifteen lines.

In this time Acacius, bishop of Amid, having seen the captives whom the Romans brought from the Arzen district, summoned his clergy and said to them, "Sons, know that Almighty God does not need to be served by cups and dishes of gold and silver. Let us sell the church's vessels and redeem our captive brethren." The clergy agreed. He gave the money to the Romans and ransomed the captives. He fed them and clothed them and sent them back to Persia. The Persian king rejoiced for their repatriation. He admired the effort of the bishop and longed to see him.⁹¹³

Nestorius composed a discourse in Constantinople. Addressing the emperor, he said, "O king! Give me a land purged of heretics and I will give you heaven instead. You should destroy the heretics and I will destroy the Persians." The emperor and many others rejected his proposition. In fact, his wrath and vanity became manifest because he did not utter these words in vain, but as the proverbial phrase goes, "He was determined to persecute the country before tasting its water."⁹¹⁴

One day, the presbyter Anastasius, a disciple of Nestorius, delivered a homily in which he said "Let no one call Mary *Theotokos* (Mother of God), for Mary was but a woman; and that it is impossible for God to be born of a woman."⁹¹⁵ The congregation thought that Nestorius would immediately condemn him for his blasphemy, but he did not. The congregation then perceived that what the presbyter said was with Nestorius' permission. The city (of Constantinople) burst into uproar. Consequently, it became necessary to convene an ecumenical council. Nestorius was eloquent in common language and believed he was a savant. Truthfully though, he was not what he claimed to be. The divinity is united with the humanity in the Lord Christ. Thus, the Lord Jesus is not two but one. Concerning Christ, Nestorius did not say that he was a mere man, as did Photinus and Paul of Samosata. He admitted his hypostasis.⁹¹⁶ Consequently, the Emperor Theodosius II ordered an ecumenical council to assemble ...lacuna...

⁹⁰⁹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 37, p. 244 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁰ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 272-274 and Chapter, 20, pp. 274-275 and Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 37, p. 244 of the English translation.

⁹¹¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 30, pp. 285-286 of the English translation.

⁹¹² Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 31, p. 286 of the English translation.

⁹¹³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 21, pp. 275-276 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁴ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 29, pp. 284-285 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁵ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 32, p. 287 of the English translation; Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, the anonymous English translation printed together in one volume with the *Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), Book One, Chapter 2, p. 258 of the translation.

⁹¹⁶ What the author means in this context is that Nestorius did not deny the hypostasis, or the divine and human persons of

In this time, the remains of the proto-martyr St. Stephen were discovered.

In this period, St. Simon the Stylite flourished in the district of Antioch and Aleppo. Through him, God accomplished many marvelous deeds just as he had done through the chosen, the Apostles and Saints.

About this time, the blessed and distinguished Mor Barsoum became illustrious among the chosen saints in Lesser Armenia, Syria and the district of Samosata in the Claudia Mountain. God wrought great wonders through him. His grave remains a fountain of help for the people.

Praylius became the bishop of Jerusalem for 5 years. He was succeeded by Juvenal for 40 years.

About this time and due to the peace established between Theodosius and Yazdagird king of Persia, the number of Christians increased in Persia. However, Yazdagird's son Varahran who succeeded him, persecuted the Christians of Persia because of that peace, and the number of martyrs multiplied. It is said that a bishop named Abda destroyed a Pyroeam, a temple dedicated to the worship of fire. The king became furious and ordered the destruction of all churches and the killing of all bishops. A great number of chief priests and other clergymen were martyred. Among them were Shahin, Abba Manides and Deacon Benjamin, the *malphono* (teacher), and many others. They dislocated the shoulders of some of them while they flayed the backs and heads of others. They pillaged the possessions of the notables of the cities and the country because they did not recant, thus receiving the crown of martyrdom by the sword. The persecution extended to all the Christians in Persia. They endured severe oppression and hardships. Some of them were tied by pointed reeds thrust into their bodies. They tied them with coarse bands from head to toe. They flogged them and pulled the reeds from under the bands to intensify their agony. Finally, they cast them into wells with huge rats to feed on them.⁹¹⁷

Chapter Four: On the time of the First Council of Ephesus

In the twenty-second year of the reign of Theodosius, which is the year 422 of the Greeks/423 A.D., the First Council of Ephesus assembled.⁹¹⁸ It was attended, as Zachariah Rhetor says, by 193 noteworthy bishops. The others were fathers and teachers who adhered to the orthodox faith. They condemned Nestorius.⁹¹⁹

About this time, Theodosius made his tutor Antiochus a grand chamberlain and patrician who took everything that was in his house. He issued a law forbidding eunuchs to be elevated to the dignity of a patriarch.

In this same period, Cyrus the prefect renovated the wall of Constantinople. He was commended by the citizens who said, "Constantine built and Cyrus renovated." Upon hearing this, the emperor was displeased and removed Cyrus from his position accusing him of holding pagan ideas.

Theodosius gave his daughter Eudoxia to Valentinian as wife. Valentinian came to Constantinople and married her.⁹²⁰

In this time, the conflict between the Romans and the Persians intensified for the following reason. As the Persians were persecuting the Christians in their country because of their faith, many of them fled to Roman territories. The Persians demanded that they should be handed back to them, but the Romans refused. Therefore, the Persians waged war with the Romans and a great number of soldiers on both sides perished.⁹²¹ *End of the narrative.*

Christ; he only could not comprehend how the human can bear the divine. See Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 32, pp. 287-288 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁷ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 39, pp. 245-249 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁸ This council met in 431.

⁹¹⁹ The *Ecclesiastical History* of Zachariah Rhetor or Bishop of Mitylene was translated into English by J. Hamilton E. W. Brooks under the title *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London, 1899).

⁹²⁰ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 44, p. 297 of the English translation.

⁹²¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 272-274 of the English translation.

The Story of the People of the Cave Derived from the History of Zachariah Rhetor⁹²²

In this period, seven young men came back to life in Ephesus. They preserved their faith and did not attend the ceremony of sacrificing to the idols despite the fact that they were forced to attend. Rather, they stayed home. Some entered into their dwelling and found them rolling in dust with their faces downward. The dust had mingled with their tears. People betrayed them to the Emperor (Trajanus Decius 249-251) saying, "At a time when you have compelled distant peoples in your kingdom to offer sacrifices, there exist people who are nearby who disdain the sacrifices and secretly perform Christian ceremonies. Chief among them is their leader Archelides who comes from a family of prefects." The emperor summoned the young men to his presence and they appeared with tears in their eyes. The emperor asked them, "Why didn't you attend the celebration of offering sacrifices? You should offer sacrifices now." Archelides replied, "There is a true God in heaven to which alone we raise the aroma of our faith." The emperor talked to each one of them individually and they unanimously confessed their true faith. The emperor issued an order to divest them of their prominent positions. He gave them a chance to think the matter over. Then, the emperor proceeded to visit other cities. The blessed young men distributed their inheritance to the poor secretly and publicly. They went up to Mount Ankilos where they found a cave and entered into it. They persisted in prayer awaiting the emperor's return. They sent one of them named Dionysius to bring them food. Dionysius, disguised, entered the city (of Ephesus), but he hastily returned with some food upon learning that the emperor had returned to the city. The young men began to pray receiving food mingled with their tears and grief. They rested and by providence fell into deep sleep. The next day, the emperor asked for them and was told that they were hiding in a cave. He ordered its entrance blocked that they may be buried alive. Two Christians, Athenodorus and Domnus who were also in hiding, wrote down the story of these confessors and placed it in a part of the cave. After 188 years, which is in the 18th year of Theodosius, controversy arose over the resurrection of the dead. Some men were of Origen's opinion that after death the bodies are destroyed. That they will not resurrect because they are composed of different elements. They only look corporeal in appearance like the appearance of the Lord at his transfiguration on the mountain, and like Moses and Elijah who appeared to the three apostles.⁹²³ Others proved the reality of the resurrection of the dead from the Prophet Ezekiel⁹²⁴ and by the resurrection of Christ, whose body the apostles touched. They also proved the reality of the resurrection from the letter of Paul to the Corinthians concerning the seed,⁹²⁵ and from the book of Methodius of Olympia, Eustathius of Antioch and Epiphanius of Cyprus.

The emperor was confused by these contradictory opinions. Nevertheless, God wanted to remove the doubt and reveal the truth. He inspired Aladius to build a sheep pen for his cattle. While raising the stones, the entrance of the cave opened in the first part of the night. God breathed the breath of life into those who were sleeping and they woke up from what seemed a deep sleep. They told Dionysius who had brought them food, "Go and investigate what has happened." Carrying with him ancient coins, Dionysius was surprised to see the stones of the edifice had changed. He took a rough road lest anyone would recognize him. Reaching the gate of the city, he was astonished to see that it was topped by a cross. He saw that the city had changed. He moved to the second gate and saw another cross on top of it. He was stunned thinking that he was seeing a vision. He entered the city and heard people down the street swearing by the name of Jesus Christ. He asked someone about the name of the city and was told it was Ephesus. He decided to buy bread and return quickly to his companions. But when people saw the ancient coin they looked at each other whispering that, "It seems this young man has found a treasure." Dionysius suspected

⁹²² The Sleepers of Ephesus. Zachariah only alludes to the seven youth who slept in the cave in the district of Ephesus. See *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, pp. 18-19. The original Greek text of this Chronicle is lost to us. It survived in Syriac. It is most likely that the Syriac translators, who abridged the original, only alluded to the story of the seven youths. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur*, translated into English by Matti Moosa under the title, *The Scattered Pearls* (Gorgias Press, 2003), 294.

⁹²³ See Matthew 17:1-7; Mark 9:1-8; Luke 9:28-36.

⁹²⁴ Ezekiel 37:1-14.

⁹²⁵ 1 Corinthians 15:35-49.

that the people knew who he was and would undoubtedly drag him to Decius. He said to them trembling, "Here is the coin, take it. I don't want bread." However, they held him fast saying, "Show us the treasure you have found and make us your partners. We will never betray you." The crowds rushed to see him saying, "He is a stranger." Meanwhile, Dionysius looked here and there to find someone who knew him, but could find no one. The news reached the prefect who was visiting the bishop of the city. He ordered him to be brought to his presence. Dionysius thought they were taking him to Decius, but he was completely dumbfounded when they brought him into the church. The bishop and the prefect asked him, "Where is the (full) treasure, some parts of which are in your hand?" He said, "I did not discover a treasure." They went on asking, "Then, who are you and where do you come from?" He said, "I am from Ephesus." He went on to tell them the names of his parents, but no one recognized them. They said, "You are lying." Others said he was crazy. Still others believed he was feigning craziness to save himself. The prefect said to him, "How can we consider you crazy or believe you while here is the signet on the coin which was minted two hundred years ago by the Emperor Decius? I should commit you to prison." With his face down, Dionysius said, "Please tell me where is Emperor Decius?" They said that he had died a long time ago. He said, "Maybe I am seeing a vision and that what I am seeing you would not believe. Come along and I will show you my companions in the cave. We have fled from Decius." The bishop believed that the whole thing was but a vision. However, he and the rest accompanied him to the mountain. As they entered the cave, they found a chest written on it the names of the confessors Achelides, Dionysius, Stephen, Probatius, Sebastius and Cyriacus who had fled from the face of Decius. They were astonished. They entered the cave and saw the confessors with glowing faces. They listened to their story. The emperor (Theodosius II) fell at their feet sobbing and with tearful eyes said, "I see in you King Christ calling forth Lazarus from the grave. For a long time, I have been envisioning the glory of Christ when the dead will resurrect to life in the twinkling of an eye to meet him." Achelides said to the emperor, "Know, Emperor, that the Lord has resurrected us before the general Resurrection because of you. We were lying down in utter peace like the living infant in the womb of its mother without knowing honor or dishonor. Remain in peace in the integrity of faith." Having said this, the young men slept and committed their souls while the emperor and the people were watching. The emperor rose up crying and covered their bodies with his royal robe. He ordered seven gold coffins be made for them, but the youth appeared to him in a dream and said, "Our bodies are made of dust and not of gold. You should leave us on the dust of the cave." The emperor ordered gold bricks to be placed underneath their bodies and a church was erected over them. May their memory be a blessing and their prayer a help to us. Amen.

The king (of Persia) asked Hormizd, son of the governor of Hamadan, to deny Christ. The saint replied, "If anyone denies your kingship deserves punishment. How much more should be punished the one who denies God, the creator of everything." The king deprived Hormizd of his possessions and ordered him to run naked with only a loincloth. A few days later, he saw him covered with sand and scorched by the sun. He summoned him and clothed him with linen. He urged him to recant. Hormizd tore up the clothes and said with avid enthusiasm, "Take back what you have given me." The king delivered him and his wife to a wicked servant (to be tormented), but he endured the torment. In the meantime, the king seized the deacon Benjamin and cast him into prison. Two years later, peace was achieved between the Persians and the Romans. The Roman emperor asked the Persian king to release the prisoner Benjamin. The king said, "If he promises not to proselytize the Magi, I will let him go." The blessed Benjamin refused this condition. After much insistence, the king's messenger released him, and Benjamin began instantly to fish the Magi into life. A year later, the king summoned Benjamin and ordered him to recant, but he refused. The king drove split reeds into his nails and toes and even through his penis and a knotted rod into his anus. With these torments, the blessed Benjamin ended his life as an honorable martyr. Indeed, the state of peace makes us cool and listless. However, persecution opens our eyes and makes us despise the glories of the world.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁶ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 39, pp. 246-248 of the English translation.

The First Council of Ephesus met in June by the command of Emperor Theodosius (II).⁹²⁷ It was presided over by Celestine, bishop of Rome through his delegates; Cyril of Alexandria; Memnon, bishop of Ephesus; Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem; Acacius, bishop of Melitene; and Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra. The bishop of Rome was represented by the bishops Arcadius and Philippus. We have not been able to find in any document the rest of the fathers who attended the council. Nestorius had already arrived in Ephesus. Cyril and Juvenal arrived after Easter; John of Antioch tarried behind.

Cyril provoked the question about Nestorius. It was then that Nestorius began to blaspheme against Christ, saying, "I will not call God he who is one or two months old, nor will I attend." He was summoned four times but refused to attend. In fact, he insulted the bishop with obscene words. His blasphemous ideas became public. Thus, based on his own words and his impious discourses, they condemned him justly.⁹²⁸

Nestorius met with his partisans and condemned Saint Cyril and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus. John of Antioch, who did not wish to ratify the condemnation of Nestorius, attended only two days later. He was furious at Cyril. However, when it was discovered that he was a supporter of Nestorius, the council likewise condemned him. John had with him twenty-six bishops in addition to the Eastern bishop, save Rabula of Edessa and Acacius of Aleppo. Witnessing what happened, Nestorius obligingly said, "Let us then call Mary, Mother of God." However, his fanciful repentance was not accepted and he was banished to Oasis (in Egypt) by the command of the victorious Emperor (Theodosius II). In the meantime, John and his partisans convened a false council in which Theodoret, a partisan of Nestorius, refuted the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril. However, the wise Cyril refuted in turn the precepts of Theodoret holding him in contempt. When John and his partisans were summoned to the council three times and did not attend, the council condemned them until they had repented and confessed their fault.⁹²⁹

The Council of Ephesus resolved that no one should create another definition of faith apart from what had been established by the 318 bishops who met at the Council of Nicaea. Anyone who dared to establish another definition of the faith should be deposed and expelled whether or not he was a presbyter or bishop.

As the council dispersed, John and the Easterners returned to Antioch without obtaining any benefit from the council. With the emperor's command, a delegation from both sides went to the capital to examine the case diligently.⁹³⁰ *End of this narrative.*

Chapter Five: On the period of the assembling of the First Council of Ephesus

About this time, the king of Persia seized Christian merchants and looted their merchandise. Also, he did not pay those who manufactured for him gold articles. Therefore, the Romans invaded Armenia and pillaged Persian regions. The Persians declared war on the Romans but were defeated. The Roman generals Ardabrius, Areobindus and Vitianus killed seven Persians generals. Most of the Tayoye (Arabs)⁹³¹ who rushed to support the Persians drowned in the Euphrates River. Afterwards, peace was achieved and the persecution of the Christians in Persia quieted down.⁹³² Then, the barbarians ravaged Thrace and Illyria and carried many captives.⁹³³

In this time, there appeared a comet and swarms of creeping insects. Tribulations were everywhere, which made people believe that the end of the world was at hand because of these signs.

⁹²⁷ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 34, p. 289 of the English translation, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 97.

⁹²⁸ Socrates, *Ibid.* pp. 289-290 of the English translation, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 97-98.

⁹²⁹ See Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History* bound with the *History of Theodoret*, Book I, Chapters 4-7, pp. 258-267.

⁹³⁰ On the Council of Ephesus and the controversy between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius and the rapprochement made between Cyril and John of Antioch, see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), 323-330 of the revised edition and V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined* (Madras, 1977), 4-8.

⁹³¹ Throughout this translation, the term Tayoye is used for Arabs and Muslims. I have used the terms Arab/Arabs and Muslims to mean Tayoye according to the occasion.

⁹³² Socrates Book Seven, Chapter 20, pp. 274-275 of the English translation.

⁹³³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 272-27 of the English translation.

BOOK EIGHT

At this time there flourished the church historians Sabinus, another Eusebius, and the deacon Philip of Constantinople.

On April 7 and July 6, an earthquake took place and dust fell from the sky.

In this period, there emerged the heresy of those who maintained that sin is inherent in the nature of man.⁹³⁴

Fire broke out in Constantinople consuming prisons and houses. Eutyches, abbot of a monastery in Constantinople, appeared in this period. He was known by many for his good conduct. Eutyches held that there is one (divine) Nature in Christ, at the time when Nestorius was condemned for holding Two Natures in Christ after the union, and for claiming that the formation of the fetus (Christ in Mary's womb) preceded the dwelling of the Holy Spirit in him. Nestorius further simply called him a mere "Jesus," as was also maintained by Paul of Samosata, Deodore and Theodore,⁹³⁵ and refused to call the Virgin, "The Mother of," as did the holy fathers.⁹³⁶ Eutyches rejected the truth that the body (of Christ) derives from the Virgin, which God the Word (Christ) took in her and from her. He maintained that the Word became flesh as the atmosphere assumes bodily form and becomes rain or snow under the influence of the wind, or as water due to the cold air becomes ice.⁹³⁷

This is inaccurate teaching. Not having been well instructed, Eutyches generated a new dogma knowing not what he did. When the report of his vile teaching was published abroad, it was investigated by Eusebius of Dorylæum, who happened to be in the city and he informed the chief priest (Flavian). Eutyches was summoned by the bishops to investigate his opinions but refused to show up. At one time, he said that it was his fixed determination to remain in perpetual seclusion; other times he said that he was sick, or had a cough or was old. At last, when he was compelled to appear before the council of bishops, he kept saying, "Just as you teach Two Natures in Christ, so do I hold." After a lengthy deliberation as mentioned in the minutes of the meeting, Eutyches was deposed and his teaching rejected. The teaching of Eusebius (of Dorylæum) who, like Nestorius, held to Two Natures was condemned as well. Flavian's questioning indicated that he held the same dogma.⁹³⁸

After the questioning of Eutyches by Flavian's partisans, Eutyches addressed a letter to Leo of Rome to investigate the things discussed at the council of Flavian. Upon learning this, Flavian's partisans in turn addressed a letter to Leo. Leo addressed a letter to Flavian that came to be known as the *Tome*, which omitted the names of several archpriests.⁹³⁹ He was also criticized by Dioscorus and Timothy the great who succeeded him.⁹⁴⁰

By the decree of Emperor Theodosius II, bishops from both parties assembled at the capital. Because of their deliberation, the party of Cyril triumphed and the Easterners were defeated. The council's procedures were now affirmed. The Easterners submitted to the decision of the council which was endorsed by the emperor, and associated with threats. Peace was finally achieved between Cyril and the Easterners, and the bishops were confirmed each in his own see.⁹⁴¹ However, the peace was shaky because in their hearts, Theodoret of Cyrus, Andreas, bishop of Samosata and Alexander, bishop of Mabug, were Nestorians

⁹³⁴ The Pelagians. See J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 357-361.

⁹³⁵ They were members of the School of Antioch. For the heresy of Paul of Samosata see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 28, 213-216 of the English translation; *The Chronicle of George Synkellos*, 473-478.

⁹³⁶ Meaning Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil and Gregory the Cappadocian fathers and Julius, bishop of Rome.

⁹³⁷ In this context, the author seems to be relying on Zachariah of Mitylene. He tried to paraphrase what Zachariah said but failed to convey the exact wording, which renders his statement confusing. I have followed Zachariah verbatim. See *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, pp. 20-21.

⁹³⁸ For the case and heresy of Eutyches, Evagrius, Book One, Chapter 9, 267-268 of the English translation and Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 330-334.

⁹³⁹ See *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, (with Latin text), translated by E. H. Blakeny (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923), and *The Tome of Leo*, translated by William Bright in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954), 359-370.

⁹⁴⁰ On the case of Eutyches, see V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*, 14-26.

⁹⁴¹ See the Formula of Union of 433 in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. by Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia, 1954), 355-358.

and adversaries of Cyril. Irenæus, bishop of Tyre; John, bishop of Cilicia who was from Egea; Euthérius, bishop of Tyana and other Eastern bishops likewise supported them.

Upon the deposition of Nestorius, the venerable Maximianus was set up in his place by the church (of Constantinople).⁹⁴²

In Rome, Xystus succeeded Celestine for 8 years. Celestine was succeeded by the notorious heretic Leo for 21 year.

In Edessa, the heretic Hiba (Ibas) was the 25th bishop.

The venerable Silvanus was ordained by Atticus as bishop for the church of Philippopolis. Three years later, he left because of cold weather and physical frailty, and settled in Constantinople. He was humble to the point that he walked through the city wearing only sandals. Upon the death of the bishop of Troas, Atticus told him, "You have no reason to avoid the administration of the church's flock, and Troas is not that cold a place." Silvanus went to Troas and found some men launching a ship into the sea but could not because of the power of demons. He prayed, and, touching the ship, some churchmen pushed it and it slid quickly into the sea. Those who saw what had happened praised God.⁹⁴³

As Proclus was chosen to be bishop of Constantinople, envious men cried out, "But he was ordained for another city." Emperor Theodosius consulted with Cyril and Celestine, bishop of Rome, and John, bishop of Antioch. He was told that the transference of a bishop from one city to the other was a usual practice in the church if it was done by agreement.⁹⁴⁴ Proclus entered Constantinople. He was a great teacher. He was the one who brought the remains of John (Chrysostom) to the capital and united the congregation. Since it was permitted to transfer a bishop from one city to another when necessary, the Eighteenth Canon instituted that if a bishop was ordained for a certain church, who did not take up his position due to the demand of the congregation or for personal reasons, he only had the right to serve, but not interfere in the affairs of that church until a local council would meet and resolve his case. Therefore, many bishops were transferred from one city to the other when it became necessary. For example, when the congregation rejected Perigines, bishop of Patras, the bishop of Rome transferred him to Corinth, which had been bereft of a bishop. Gregory, the theologian (of Nazianzus), had been ordained a bishop for Sasimus, but was transferred to Nazianzus, then to Constantinople and then back to Nazianzus. Meletius, bishop of Sebastea was transferred to Antioch. Dositheus, bishop of Seleucia was transferred to Tarsus. Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis was transferred to Spain. Alexander, bishop of Helenopolis was transferred to Adrana. Theosebius, bishop of Apamea was transferred to Eudoxiopolis. Polycarp was transferred from Axita to Nicopolis of Thrace. Hierophilus was transferred from Trapezopolis in Phrygia to Potinopolis in Thrace. Optimus was transferred from Agdamia in Phrygia to Antioch of Pisidia. Silvanus of Philippopolis was transferred to Troas and Anthimus from Troas to Constantinople. Other bishops were transferred legally from one see to the other by the agreement, or by the invitation of the clergy and the congregation. In this case, they were not to blame for their transference. However, the bishops who moved from one diocese to other by machination or force are guilty and deprived of grace.

Chapter Six: On the Second Council of Ephesus which assembled in the time of Theodosius (II)

Having learned of the account of Flavian and Eutyches, the emperor convoked a council in the same city of Ephesus in the year 760 of the Greeks /A.D. 449, the 39th year of his reign and the year 18 since the convocation of the First Council of Ephesus. One hundred and thirty-eight bishops assembled. Saint Barsoum (Barsoum) represented the abbots of the monasteries of the East. The council was presided by Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem and Domnus of Antioch. They deposed Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum and Domnus, bishop of Antioch who held the same

⁹⁴² Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 35, p. 290 of the English translation; Evagrius, Book One, Chapter 8, 267 of the English translation.

⁹⁴³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 37, pp. 292-293 of the English translation.

⁹⁴⁴ CF. Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 40, p. 295 of the English translation.

doctrine as Nestorius, Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus) and Ibas (bishop of Edessa). However, they accepted Eutyches when he endorsed the definition of faith by the Council of 318 (Nicaea).

About this time, there appeared in Crete a person who seduced the Jews into believing that he was Moses, who had come to save them and lead them through the Red Sea. He took many men and women to the seashore and asked them to throw themselves in with heads bowed down saying, "In this manner the sea will receive you and will be split before you." As they threw themselves into the water, they hit the rocks. Some of them were bruised and drowned and their bodies floated over the water. Some Christians saw them, and rushing with their boats pulled out of the water those who were still alive. When the Jews realized that they had been deceived, they searched everywhere for the fraudulent Moses, but could not find him. They thought he was a demon who had deceived them. Therefore, many of them became Christians.

In this period, Gensericus revolted in the province of Carthage in Africa. Great tribulations also occurred.

Emperor Theodosius (II) addressed letters regarding the Second Council of Ephesus. He wrote about a person called Stephen, an impudent person, that he was the root of all evil and did not heed matters of justice. He also addressed a letter to Elpidius, the imperial commissioner, saying:

To the distinguished Count Elpidius, the Victorious and The Holy Council:

We have commanded a second council to convene at Ephesus for the purpose of eradicating the root of evil. And when we have uprooted what disturbs the serenity of the faith, we may guard, by the power of prayer, the purity and the orthodoxy of our intentions for the good conduct and the benefit of the people. For this reason, we have chosen your Excellency and the distinguished Eulogius, Tribune and Pretorian Notary, for the service of the faith, as experienced men who are both upright in other matters and hold religion purely, and are able to execute our commands with efficiency. And you will allow no opportunity to stir up commotion on any side that these and other matters would be done in order.⁹⁴⁵

The libel of Eutyches presented to the Holy Council assembled at Ephesus

From the Archimandrite Eutyches:

I give thanks to God, holy in all things, at the present time in which the true religion, through your means, has received a well-established ground of trust, and I give information to your Holy Council concerning what has been done against me and especially against the Orthodox faith. My main aim and object from my childhood to a ripe old age has been to lead a life of quiet, apart from my business, and to continue to do so without any disturbing causes. I was not, however, permitted to continue in the enjoyment of such an object, but experienced great suffering arising from the intrigues of others. I ask for the verdict of your Blessedness. My witness is Jesus Christ who offered before Pontius Pilate a good confession. I maintain that my faith, and my good opinion of you, is that you should affirm the same magnificent faith established by the holy fathers at Nicaea. It is the faith that was affirmed by the holy fathers of the First Council of Ephesus. Now, if anyone entertains any idea other than this faith, I condemn him in accordance with the anathemas issued by the council. I further anathematize Manes, Valentinus, Apollinaris, Nestorius, and all heretics up to Simon Magus, and others.⁹⁴⁶

⁹⁴⁵ See the *Second Council of Ephesus*, translated into English by the Rev. Samuel Gideon Frederick Perry (Dartford, Kent: The Orient Press, 1881), pp. 407-408 and *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated into English and edited by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, 1 (Liverpool University Press, 2005), 137-138. The author (Michael Rabo) gives only excerpts of this letter. It should be noted that this translations varies in terminology from that of Perry.

⁹⁴⁶ Perry, *Second Council of Ephesus*. The Libel of Eutyches covers pp. 412-417. The author uses only excerpts, which occur on pp. 412-413, 417. The last sentence is on p. 413 and Price and Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, ed., 1, 156-157, and the Arabic translation of the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* by R. P. F. Francis Maria of Salem entitled *Madmun al-Majma' al-Khalcedoni fi Illat Hartaqat Awtakbi al-Munafiq* (Compendium Sacri Ecumeninici Concilii Chalcedonesis), (Rome, 1694), 48-52 The pagination is mine.

Upon the death of St. Cyril, Dioscorus became a bishop of Alexandria for eight years. In Constantinople, St. Proclus was followed by the heretic Flavian. He was the cause for the assembling of the Second Council of Ephesus.

Copy of the royal letters:

The Imperial Caesars, Theodosius and Valentinian, Victors and Illustrious By Victories, the Noble, the Ever Worshipful, the Augusti, to Pope Dioscorus Archbishop of Alexandria:

It is obvious to everyone that the good order (status) of our government and of human affairs generally is established and confirmed by an exalted piety toward God; and so long as God is favorable to us, matters usually advance and are regulated readily, and according to our wishes.

Seeing, then, that we are deemed worthy to reign by Divine Providence, we necessarily take every care of the Religion and the prosperity of those who are under our authority, whereby our true religion and our government may shine forth, being maintained by a true service toward God and the faith.

Seeing that a bitter controversy has lately emerged touching our catholic and apostolic doctrine of the orthodox faith, which caused the disturbance of opinions from every quarter, and corrupted the conscience of men, we thought that such an ugly matter should not be overlooked. Meantime, we are afraid that some might think that such a matter is a disgrace to God. Therefore, we think that by summoning a group of pious and God-loving bishops of much zeal for the orthodox faith to assemble in this place, the truth will be clarified, controversy will be put to rest, and the orthodox and true faith which is so dear to God be consolidated. We then suggest that your piety should take with you ten venerable metropolitans and ten pious bishops from the province under you, distinguished for eloquence and integrity of life and for orthodoxy in the unerring and true faith, and illustrious to all for knowledge and learning, before the first of the month of August, and proceed without delay to Ephesus, the Metropolis of Asia. And no one person beside these mentioned above is allowed to trouble the Holy Council, so that the whole error of deceit may be removed from our midst. It is necessary, and God's will that no bishop should stay away from attending the Council. But Theodoret, the bishop of the city of Cyrus, whom on a former occasion we ordered to confine himself within his own Church, we forbid to attend the Holy Council, unless it should seem fit to the whole Holy Council when it has assembled, that he also should come and participate. However, if, on his account, there should arise any division of opinion, we order that the Holy Council should assemble without him and execute the commands given.⁹⁴⁷

The Bishop Julius, filling the place of Leo, bishop of Rome said, "According to a command similar to this one from the emperors, our holy father of the Church of Rome Leo, was summoned to the Council." John, Presbyter and Prime Notary said, "Another gracious order was forwarded to Dioscorus, which, too, I hold in my hand."

Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "Let it be read and deposited among the accredited documents."

The Autocrat Caesars, Theodosius and Valentinian, Victors and Illustrious by Victories, the Noble, the Worshipful, the Augusti, to Dioscorus:

It has come to the hearing of our Serenity that many venerable Archimandrites of the East, with orthodox people, have been troubled by certain bishops said to be infected with the impiety of Nestorius, and have had a great contest for the catholic faith. For this reason, then, it has seemed fit

⁹⁴⁷ Perry, *The Second Council of Ephesus*, pp. 3-and 401-404; Price and Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 1, 132-134 and the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated into Arabic by P. R F. Francis Maria of Salem, 45-46.

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to our divinity (Serenity) that the God-loving presbyter and Archimandrite Barsoum (Barsoum), who is distinguished for integrity of character and orthodoxy of faith, should proceed to the city of Ephesus, and acting as representative of all the God-loving Archimandrites, should assemble with your piety, and with all the holy fathers who are collected there. Your piety will therefore be induced, bearing in mind our entire anxiety for the catholic faith, joyfully to receive the above-named Archimandrite, and to arrange that he take a part in your Holy Council.⁹⁴⁸

Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "The same was addressed to me respecting the Archimandrite Barsoum, and therefore it is with right and justice that he will assemble with the Holy Council."⁹⁴⁹

Barsoum attended the Second Council of Ephesus. He had been well known for his venerable conduct, orthodox teaching, and for the miracle working he did similar to what was done by the holy Apostles.

About this time, the pious ascetic Jacob the Stylite, who was a teacher of Simon the Stylite, flourished.

The Instruction of Count Elpidius to the Council

Count Elpidius said, "Satan, who is the originator of every evil, never ceases from making war with the holy churches. The God-fearing king (emperor) does not neglect to contend with justice, with him (Satan) who so wars. He rightly considers that he is fighting on his kingdom's behalf, when he arms himself for a struggle on behalf of religion. Nor does the emperor do prejudice to himself, because from the beginning many things have been adjudged in his favor rather by reason than by arms. Moreover, for this cause he has, with you (the assembled bishops), condemned the rebellion of Nestorius, who, although had been appointed for the service of God, became the father and teacher of impious doctrine. Therefore, concerning those matters which the Royal (Divine) Emperor has enjoined upon us, and has written to you, I now clearly make known to you, adding this as being one of them who rightly, under your authority, hold to the true religion.

Today, the Lord of all, God the Word and Savior, submits himself to you for judgment. Moreover, when you are judging, he is present among you, and is honored by the authority of your sentence. So that, seeing you judge rightly matters concerning him, he will here honor you now, and before the Father.⁹⁵⁰

Up to this period, Socrates and Theodoret had written their accounts. Following is the continuation of their histories.

At this point, there commenced the histories of John of Ephesus and Zachariah Rhetor (Bishop of Mitylene).

Extract from the Petition of the Archimandrite Eutyches presented to the Christ-loving Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, and which moved him Theodosius) to convoke the Holy Council of Ephesus.

Eutyches said, "Your piety is illumination to me. You are, too, in no way backward in making investigation of matters concerning the faith and my troubles."⁹⁵¹

When the council convened, Eutyches declared that he was in agreement with Cyril and the definition of faith instituted by the First Council of Ephesus. Thus, he was accepted. Later, however, he was exposed for being untruthful. In fact, the Second Council of Ephesus did not constitute a new definition of the faith, but only affirmed the definition of faith by the First Council of Ephesus. However, the *Tome* of Leo, which was presented by his representatives to the Second Council of Ephesus, was not read in the council. The reason was to avoid the condemnation of its author (Leo) and to forestall any commotion that

⁹⁴⁸ Perry, *Ibid.* p. 405 and Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.* 1, 136-137 and Francis of Salem *The Act of the Council of Chalcedon*, 45-46.

⁹⁴⁹ Perry, *Ibid.* 405 and Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.* 1, 150 and Francis of Salem, 86-87.

⁹⁵⁰ Perry, pp. 406-407 and Price and Gaddis, 1, 150-151.

⁹⁵¹ Francis of Salem, *The Act of the Council of Chalcedon*, 48 and Perry, 411 and Price and Gaddis, 1, 156.

might arise among the people. Because the *Tome* was not read, Leo bore a grudge against Dioscorus. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Seven: The accomplishments of the Second Council of Ephesus

One hundred and thirty eight bishops assembled at the Second Council of Ephesus. Chief among them were Leo, bishop of Rome through his representatives; Dioscorus, Pope of Alexandria; Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem; Domnus, bishop of Antioch; Eustathius, bishop of Beirut; Thalassius, Bishop of Caesarea Cappadocia; Eusebius, bishop of Seleucia and Barsoum (Barsoum)m who represented the ascetics (monks).

The Emperor addressed similar letters that were read by John, the Proto-Notary.

The Autocratic Caesars, Theodosius and Valentinian, Victors and Illustrious by Victories, the Noble, the Worshipful, the Augusti, to the Holy Council at Ephesus:

We hoped that nothing would have disturbed the serenity of the church. We expected you to continue serving your holy churches offering them priestly services, as you were accustomed, without trouble or disturbance. However, the God-loving Flavian tried to disturb the holy faith of the Archimandrite Eutyches, especially when questioning him in a (church) tribune. We wrote to Flavian several times to stop the disturbance, with the knowledge that the faith that was defined by the Council and Nicaea and endorsed by the Council of Ephesus is perfect. We have also asked Bishop Flavian to desist from doing these things lest he becomes the cause of a trouble that will engulf the whole world. However, he did not obey. Issuing a verdict in this case is not our business but it is the business of your council. Your holiness knows that the events that disturbed the church were for the interest of the faith. Therefore, we find it very necessary to convene a council in order to put an end to fraudulence, and keep at bay those who follow the blasphemous Nestorius.⁹⁵²

Dioscorus said, "Our king (emperor) commanded that we should not set up a new faith other than the faith instituted by our fathers in the past. We should examine this faith to see whether it is in agreement or not with the faith of the fathers. However, if you wish, you may revise the faith of the fathers."⁹⁵³

The Council responded, "Condemned is anyone who revises the faith or deviate from it. We should preserve the faith of our fathers. That saves the world, that maintains the faith."⁹⁵⁴

Dioscorus said, "Although two Councils are mentioned, yet only one faith has been delivered."⁹⁵⁵

The Council said, "With perfection did the Fathers determine everything. He who goes beyond them is excommunicated. No man must add to or subtract from them."⁹⁵⁶

Dioscorus said, "Seeing that God accepts your voices and that you yourselves accept what is true and pleasing to God, whoever, as an enquirer, investigator, or teacher, exceeds what was done and what was decreed by the Holy Fathers who assembled at Nicaea and who gathered together in this place, must be excommunicated."⁹⁵⁷

The Council responded, "To the great preserver of the Faith, to Dioscorus the Archbishop, may you have many years."⁹⁵⁸

⁹⁵² Perry, *Ibid.* pp. 409-410 and Price and Gaddis, 1, 139 and Francis of. Salem, *The Act of the Council of Chalcedon*, 47-48 and 83-84.

⁹⁵³ Perry, 418; Price and Gaddis, 1, 154.

⁹⁵⁴ Perry, *Ibid.* Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.* and Francis of. Salem, *Ibid.* 49.

⁹⁵⁵ Perry, *Ibid.* Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁶ Perry, 418-419; Price and Gaddis, 1, 154.

⁹⁵⁷ Perry, *Ibid.* Price and Gaddis, 1, 154-155 and Francis of Salem, *Ibid.* 47-48.

⁹⁵⁸ Perry, pp. 418. Price and Gaddis, 1, 155. The last phrase "To Dioscorus the Archbishop, many years," is not in the present translation.

After prolonged deliberation, the transactions were read which revealed that the partisans of Flavian had transgressed the truth. One of these transactions concerned Basil, bishop of Seleucia, who held Two Natures of Christ.⁹⁵⁹ Other transactions concerned Julius, bishop of Cos, Eudoxius, bishop of Bosphorus, and Seleucia, bishop of Amasia, purporting the same doctrine.

When these things were read, the Council said, "No one proclaims our Lord to be two after the Incarnation; no one divides that which is indivisible." Dioscorus said, "You indeed charge only Nestorius. Lo! There are now many Nestorians."⁹⁶⁰ From the documents of Flavian, we learn that Eutyches was asked whether or not there is a union of the Two Natures (of Christ), in one person and one substance. Eutyches said, "I affirm our Lord to be of Two Natures." Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum said to him, "Do you confess Two Natures, my lord Archimandrite, after the Incarnation? And do you affirm that Christ in the flesh is consubstantial with us?"⁹⁶¹

When this was read, the Council said, "Take and burn Eusebius. This man ought to be burned alive. He ought to be divided into two as he divided (Christ)."⁹⁶²

Dioscorus said, "Is it pleasing to you to affirm, that after the Incarnation, Two Natures?"

The Council responded, "Anathema to him who affirms so."⁹⁶³

After condemning who divided (Christ) into two, Basil and Seleucus repented and anathematized their former statement and confessed the belief in one nature of the Incarnated Word of God.⁹⁶⁴ The entire council including Basil, bishop of Seleucia, and the Archimandrite Barsoum, absolved Eutyches of the anathemas issued against him. They condemned and deposed Flavian and Eusebius, who showed no repentance, like some others. They furthermore deposed Domnus of Antioch and seven others, who were Irenaeus, bishop of Tyre, Aquilnus, bishop of Biblus, Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, Ibas, bishop of Edessa, Sophronius, bishop of Tella and Daniel, bishop of Harran.⁹⁶⁵

We append here with more clarity the bishops from the First Council of Ephesus until the death of Emperor Theodosius and the reign of Emperor Marcian in Rome.⁹⁶⁶

In Rome, Leo was bishop after Celestine for 20 months and 52 days.

In Alexandria, Dioscorus was bishop after Cyril for eight years and three months.

In Constantinople, Flavian was bishop after Proclus for 6 years.

In Antioch, John succeeded Domnus. He was deposed and was followed by Maximus.

In Jerusalem, Juvenal was bishop for 36 years. He attended the three councils. *End of the narrative.*

Copy of the letter addressed by the Council to the Emperor

If anyone should describe your illustrious and Christ-loving kingdom as a source of the true religion, good confession and faith, he would not be surpassing the bounds of the truth. However, it is possible for him to be confused in trying to find the proper and adequate words of the greatness of the Godly love which attaches to you, O Glorious and Victorious Emperors! For every day there flows from you, O Venerable Sirs, a refreshing drink of the true knowledge of God upon those who are under your authority. In continuous descent it comes, as a spiritual and life-giving power, copious upon all the earth, so that the powerful authority of the kingdom will perpetually abide, not as much by the force of arms as by prevailing through service toward God. By this, you will prevail over your enemies, and prevail abidingly, since the King of Kings raises up invisible hosts against them (enemies), because of your watchfulness over the

⁹⁵⁹ After their union in the Incarnation.

⁹⁶⁰ Perry, p. 422; Price and Gaddis, 1, 191, Francis of Salem, 53.

⁹⁶¹ Perry, 424; Price and Gaddis, 1, 219, Francis of Salem, 54.

⁹⁶² Perry, 425; Price and Gaddis, *Ibid*, Francis A. Salem, *Ibid*.

⁹⁶³ Perry, pp. 422-425; Price and Gaddis, 1, 219, Francis of Salem, 55-57.

⁹⁶⁴ Perry, 424; Price and Gaddis, 1, 224.

⁹⁶⁵ For the condemnation and deposition of these bishops, the reader should read the entire translation of the transactions of the Second Council of Ephesus by Perry, *Ibid*.

⁹⁶⁶ Marcian was emperor from 450 to 457.

catholic faith. He will preserve the scepter of your kingdom from destruction and render it terrible to those who set themselves up in opposition to you.

On you lay the responsibility, not only of guarding the human race from the army of the barbarians, but of keeping it completely unmolested and preserved from novelties of language. Such novelties are used by those who, with adverse notions, spread mischief, like some deadly poison upon an arrow. They shoot a destructive volley against the souls of the simple, which, it is true, causes no wound to the body, but lasting death to the soul. Further, it is now known that this formerly faithful and Christ-loving desire continues to move your Venerableness to be zealous for the Lord. It has very rightfully been diligent in serving, in accordance with the expression of the Prophet, spiritual weapons and a shield, and in standing up in defense of your orthodox and spotless faith which people have been caught—and they are not far off—bent on unsettling. They have in doing so unmasked themselves by their deeds, showing that they discuss things other than those discussed by the Disciples of Christ, and preach to them errors strange even to themselves. For this reason, you commanded us by royal and illustrious letters to assemble at the city of Ephesus and to repair to John the Theologian, with whose help the fathers had previously cut off, with the sword of the Spirit, the tongue of Nestorius, who had armed himself against the glory of Christ. Moreover, while in this noble contest, they had the blessed Cyril as their Leader, who was our Father and Bishop.

As soon as the letters of your Serenity, like a loud voice and devout trumpet, summoned us to fight for the faith, we hastened hither. Everyone gathered from a different side, this from afar, and that from near, another out of the midst, and all from all quarters to the city of John and Timothy, where all of us assembled and reached the temple of the Holy Church, named Maria (Mary). So that the place itself might become a monument and a witness of our true and divine belief, we thereupon directed our thoughts to the investigation of the matter.

Now, stood in our midst the venerable Archimandrite Eutyches, who presented to us his complaint. Invoking Christ as a witness of his thoughts and speech, he said at the end that he had learned from his youth the holy confession of faith of the Fathers of Nicaea, and that he had kept that faith intact up to the present time, and had never deviated at all from those principles.

Subsequently, in a similar way, he had adhered to the principles decided on a former occasion at the city of Ephesus by the holy council assembled there. He also adhered to the laws then promulgated to protect the orthodox faith. He persisted in his opposition of those who were deposed by the First Council of Ephesus whose teachings were similar to those of the presbyter Arius, and those who were subject to him.

After the presbyter (Eutyches) had communicated this, and as there were present people who had adjudged him in the royal city (Constantinople), as a matter of obligation, we held an investigation into the matter; the revered words of your Christ-loving authority commanded us to do that.

When the (documentary) Acts were then presented, we ordered them to be read aloud, without leaving out anything whatsoever established therein, so that, by that means, the truth should be elicited and delineated.

We forbear to relate that some of our official brethren at Constantinople charged some of the (determinations) depositions that were put in the Acts as their own personal ones, with being falsely returned, (distinctly) affirming them—"they are fraudulent"—and others, on their part, blamed what was affirmed of them (the latter) as not well done.

We shall not speak too long, but will address briefly the subject lest we being tiresome.

We found that the Archimandrite Eutyches confessed the true faith whether in his words, or in the Libel which he now presents to us. He has held fast to the confession of the orthodox faith. He also confessed that he had not introduced any novelty whatsoever (to the faith), or anything alien from what was defined by the holy Fathers who assembled at Nicaea and Ephesus. For that reason we have expressed respect of his faith, which is orthodox and which does not deviate from the true one on any side. Accordingly we have decided that he should exercise the office of the priesthood, as he has done up to this time. Indeed, he was unjustly condemned, unlike those who condemned him, referring to his astute accusers

and judges. In this, they have not only done wrong, but also committed other mistakes that deserve censure. They endeavored to present the teaching of Nestorius for discussion, while knowing that the First Council of Ephesus resolved that no one has the authority to seek or introduce another faith, or make an effort to revise it. If the bishops will audaciously do so, they should be deprived the dignity of the Episcopate. As to the presbyters of the congregations, they should be denied partaking of the holy mysteries.⁹⁶⁷ The Council knows the truth exactly because it is filled with the Spirit, and by this Spirit, it speaks. There is no benefit from the worthless disputation over the faith that causes those who listen to it to fall. The wise Paul said, "Avoid godless chatter, because those who indulge in it will become more and more ungodly."⁹⁶⁸ To these belong Flavian and Eusebius, who after having erred from the truth, were ejected from the dignity of the priesthood, and deprived of all the honor of the Episcopate. They were pronounced guilty by us all unanimously, and with one voice and tongue have been condemned by the assembly, because they went beyond what was formerly established in Ephesus and Nicaea, and because they stood forth as inventors and teachers of idle subtleties.

Further, since they brought a violent storm on the churches, which has thrown disquiet and alarm into the minds of the faithful, and as they do not well nor skillfully understand how to pasture their flock, it should consequently be said to them, "Go hence in your own fire, and in the flame which you have set ablaze." Now, may these eat the fruit of their own ways, and be satisfied with their own devices, as it is written.⁹⁶⁹ As to us, we have decided to adhere to the Council of Nicaea decrees, and what was resolved by the Council of Ephesus, seeing that we should not change the definition (of faith) established by our fathers according to the Holy Scriptures which say, "Do not move an ancient boundary stone set up by your forefathers."⁹⁷⁰ For it is not allowed us to add anything to them nor to take away anything from them.

Now, we beg your Invincible Power that you would have compassion on the bodies of us who have become old, and through being weary with the journey upon our long way, are sick and cast down, especially in consequence of the old atmosphere in Ephesus. That you will command that we depart from this place somewhat quickly, particularly because of the long delay, so that everyone may get back to his own church and town, and may offer up prayers for the pure and Christ-loving dignity of the Sovereign.

On this, all subscribe.⁹⁷¹

Chapter Eight: On the last period of the life of the victorious Emperor Theodosius (II)

After the Second Council of Ephesus dispersed, Emperor Theodosius went to Asia. He visited the Saints John and Timothy and received their blessings. He visited the churches supplicating God and the saints to reveal to him who would succeed him in the empire. He distributed immense charity to the people and then returned to the capital. One day he mounted his horse and went for a ride as was his custom. The horse tripped and Theodosius fell down breaking his neck. They carried him in a litter but he felt uncomfortable. He thought his end was imminent. He summoned his sister Pulcheria and told her that Marcian would succeed him. He summoned Marcian into his presence and instructed him saying, "See that you administer the Empire with the fear of God." Two days later, he died. He lived only fifty years, forty-six of which were spent in governing. He was eight years old when his father died. The church enjoyed peace and safety under him, as did the Christians who enjoyed plenty of goodness as they did under his father Arcadius and grandfather Theodosius I. May, their memory be a blessing. *Here ends the narrative of the death of the victorious Theodosius (II).*

After the Second Council of Ephesus dispersed, Leo's representatives returned to Rome and told him that his *Tome* had been rejected. Leo became filled with hate and wrath, and harbored even more animosity toward Dioscorus. Meanwhile, the wife of Emperor Theodosius and his sister, Pulcheria, went to

⁹⁶⁷ Combined clergy and laity.

⁹⁶⁸ 2 Timothy 2:16-17.

⁹⁶⁹ Proverbs 1:31.

⁹⁷⁰ Proverbs 22:28.

⁹⁷¹ Perry, pp. 431-436.

Rome to worship. Valentinian was then governor of the city. On visiting the churches accompanied by Valentinian and his mother, they came to the Church of the Apostles. The attendant who was guarding the church refused⁹⁷² to open the door. The royal members were astonished. They ordered him to open the door, but he would not. Meanwhile they heard from the inside the voice of Leo (bishop of Rome) crying. As they entered, they found him prostrated and weeping. They raised him up and asked him the reason he was crying. He said, "The Apostolic See (of Rome) has been dishonored in your time, and the apostolic canons have been trampled upon by the Council of Ephesus and what took place in it."⁹⁷³ Realizing what his intention was, each of them addressed a letter to Emperor Theodosius appealing to him to renounce the Council of Ephesus and to convene an ecumenical council. The emperor responded saying. "The Second Council of Ephesus acted with the fear of God and in conformity with the orthodox faith. No harm has been done to the canons of the Fathers. I have become sure of all what took place. You would do better if you did not interfere in this matter." Although they received this response, Leo continued to bear a grudge against Dioscorus.⁹⁷⁴

Upon the death of Theodosius II (450), Marcian, who was chosen by Pulcheria, reigned.⁹⁷⁵ Leo (bishop of Rome) took this as an opportunity to have his *Tome* accepted. He also tried to find supporters in his effort to antagonize Dioscorus. He addressed a letter to Marcian and Pulcheria to convoke a council to invalidate the Second Council of Ephesus, and to transport the remains of Flavian from exile to Constantinople. All of this was accomplished and Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, endorsed the *Tome* of Leo. The formula of faith of Flavian was read to the clergy and the monks, together with those who were assembled at the bishopric and to those who were sent by Rome to transport the remains of Flavian. Anatolius had, in fact, written this formula of faith deceptively and handed it to Theodosius. It contained (the formulation) that "Christ is of Two Natures and that one is the Incarnated Word and absolutely not Two Natures." From this statement, it was clear that this man's doctrine had not yet crystallized, especially as it concerned the formula of Two Natures after the Union. Consequently, they drew up an Act of their deliberation and added to it the doctrine of Leo and his *Tome*.

Chapter Nine: The beginning of Marcian's reign and how this impious ruled

Upon the death of Theodosius the Victorious, Marcian the old man reigned with the approval of Pulcheria (Marcian was emperor from 450 to 457). He was a simpleton and deficient of knowledge. He ruled for six years and seven months. It is said that he had suspicious relations with Pulcheria and for this reason married her unashamedly.⁹⁷⁶

In the first year of his reign, Marcian ordered the convocation of a council. In November, the second year of his reign, the year 765 of the Greeks (451 A.D.), a council met at Chalcedon attended by seven hundred and forty bishops⁹⁷⁷ most of whom adhered to the orthodox faith tenaciously. Those who had no fear of God, changed the truth with a lie either from fear or to please the emperor. They set up strange formulations and trampled on the canons of the former Holy Councils.

About this time, three stones fell from the sky, a phenomenon completely unnatural. Many interpreted it as a sign of the impiety that took place in the church by suppressing the orthodox faith and introducing the heresy of Two Natures through the wicked Council of Chalcedon. This was done by the efforts of Pulcheria and her husband Marcian, who wanted to cajole Leo of Rome in order to solidify their

⁹⁷² *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, II (Walter de Gruyter, 1933):65.

⁹⁷³ See Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798, reprinted, Graz; Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt), 6:49, and Francis Maria of Salem, 64.

⁹⁷⁴ Mansi, 6, 67-68 and Francis of Salem, 64-66.

⁹⁷⁵ *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 107.

⁹⁷⁶ According to John, Bishop of Nikiu, Pulcheria married Marcian and sacrificed her virginity. See *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 107, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 67-68, and by the same author, *Tarikh Mukhbar al-Duwal* (Compendium of the History of Dynasties), (ed. Anton Salihani (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1958), 85.

⁹⁷⁷ Six hundred and forty-five bishops according to John, Bishop of Nikiu. See *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 108.

rule. Leo had secretly embraced the ideas of Nestorius under the influence of Satan, the root of all evil. *End of the narrative.*

In Edessa, Nonus was the 31st bishop. There was also a poet and archimandrite by the name of Isaac. However, he fell into heresy and changed his allegiance according to the circumstances.

We append below an account of the impiety introduced by the Council of Chalcedon and how it began. We have divided the subject into sections within Book Eight in order to make it understandable to the reader. The First Chapter is taken from Book Three of Zachariah Rhetor (of Mitylene) derived from what had been written in Greek by a believing man named Eupraxius, a minister of the emperors. He related what had occurred at Chalcedon through the influence of Marcian, following the death of Theodosius in the year 764 of the Greeks.⁹⁷⁸

Section One

Since it is acceptable and desired by you, Christ-loving Eupraxius, dwelling in the royal palace and occupied in the service of kings, to learn what happened in the reign of Marcian to the holy Church of God, from the time of the Council of Chalcedon—that Council which ostensibly was convened about the matter of Eutyches—(know that it) introduced and increased the heresy of Nestorius. It shook the whole world, adding evil upon evil and set the two heresies one against the other. It filled the world with divisions, confounded the faith delivered by the apostles and the good order of the Church, and completely tore asunder the seamless Robe of Christ. Therefore, we anathematize these two heresies and every wicked teaching of doctrine. We only accept the orthodox faith of those three Councils that skillfully maintain the true doctrine, and to that end, we employ this history, which you urged us to undertake.⁹⁷⁹

After the death of the holy Cyril of Alexandria, Dioscorus succeeded him. He was a holy man and a champion, but did not have the same speed and boldness as Cyril.

At that time, Theodoret and Hiba (Ibas), who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus along with Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius, met there because they upheld the doctrine of Nestorius. Theodoret (Bishop of Cyrus) went up to Leo of Rome, and, with the bribe that blinds the eye of the soul and with false words, he got the better of him. He filled him with anger against Dioscorus and other truthful bishops. Whereupon Leo composed that letter which is called the *Tome*, which was ostensibly written against Eutyches, and had him carry it to Marcian and his wife Pulcheria. Marcian favored the doctrine of Nestorius and was well disposed toward him, but was under the influence of his wife. When Pulcheria received the letter, she circulated a memorandum to the bishops containing, beside other things, the following: “Our Serenity received a letter from the God-loving blessed Father Leo, archbishop of the Roman Church, concerning the blessed Flavian, bishop of the capital. Your holiness should order that his name be inserted into the divine Diptychs⁹⁸⁰ along with the names of all the blessed saints. His honorable remains should be brought and laid in the private place of the venerable Fathers as well. It should be known that if you decided to do this, we, by our authority, shall oblige all the God-loving bishops to subscribe to your decision. No one who disobeys our command will escape punishment pertaining to what is desired by the archpriest of Rome.”

Following the reading of the memorandum, the remains of the above-mentioned person (Flavian) were brought to Constantinople) and everything with the memorandum and the *Tome* were recorded in the Acts. They were delivered, according to Pulcheria’s promise, with a high official to those who had carried the *Tome*. Leo, in turn, sent it everywhere to the bishops with some of his Nestorian associates. Anyone who

⁹⁷⁸ Eupraxius was one of the eunuchs of the royal bedchambers. Evidently, Zachariah wrote to him the account of this history. See *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, translated by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, Book Three Chapter One, p. 41.

⁹⁷⁹ Zachariah of Mitylene, Book Three Chapter One, 41 of the English translation.

⁹⁸⁰ The Diptychs are the tablets, which contain the names of the saints, bishops, and archbishops of the church usually read by a deacon during the celebration of the holy Eucharist. Thus, it was a great honor to have the names of distinguished churchmen mentioned in the Diptychs.

presented himself to him was supposed to do two things: either subscribe to it, or be deposed. With such a stratagem, Leo operated in order to ensnare the bishops one by one. Indeed, he was able to denigrate four hundred and forty-six bishops. After this catch, the Council (of Chalcedon) convened as intended by Marcian and Pulcheria, and after Leo had accomplished his objective.

Section Two

The reasons Marcian and Pulcheria wanted to fulfill the wishes of Leo with the intention to undo what the late Emperor Theodosius had done (are provided below).

Two factors drove Marcian and Pulcheria to the brink of insanity. One was that they had committed a shameful act⁹⁸¹ in the lifetime of Theodosius, which enraged the emperor to the point of killing Marcian if he came to the capital. This is why Marcian and Pulcheria bore enmity towards the emperor. The other factor was that Marcian feared Valentinian because he ruled without his assent. The custom was that when the emperor of the East in Constantinople died, the emperor of the West in Rome would install someone in his place. Since Marcian and Pulcheria reigned without Valentinian's consent but by their own authority, they feared the emperor. They tried, however, to delude the emperor into believing that they were of good conduct in order to insure their authority and have him make peace with them. Nevertheless, when they learned about the conflict between Theodosius and Valentinian, who wanted to execute the will of Leo, and the refusal of Theodosius as said earlier, they tried to win Valentinian's favor and convene a council to rescind the acts of the Second Council of Ephesus and affirm the ideas of Leo. Ostensibly, the council was to meet in order to investigate the ideas of Eutyches. Actually, it was intended to introduce and affirm the ideas of Nestorius. This is why Marcian sent John the Tribune to recall Nestorius back from Oasis (in Egypt). Nestorius gleefully returned (to Constantinople). He mocked the Virgin Mary loudly saying, "What is Mary? And why she should be called *Theotokos* (Mother of God)?" The righteous judgment of God speedily overtook him, as had been the case formerly with Arius. Accordingly, he fell from his mule, his tongue was cut off, his mouth was eaten by worms, and he died on the roadway. His companion, Dorotheus, died receiving similar punishment. Moreover, Marcian, hearing of it, was greatly grieved.⁹⁸²

However, written directions from Marcian were delivered by John the Tribune to Pope Dioscorus and Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, calling on them to meet in Council. John also informed them of how Nestorius had died.

When the bishops were preparing to meet, the emperor ordered them to meet at Nicaea, and (ordered) that their number should be three hundred eighteen to resemble (number of attendees of) the Council of Nicaea. Providence, however, did not allow the name of Nicaea to be used in vain. An earthquake took place that shook the great church at Nicaea. This forced the emperor to issue a new order that the assembly should move to Chalcedon.

The partisans of Nestorius urged the emperor to appoint Theodoret as the president of the council. Thus, the enemies of Dioscorus assembled, of whom were the legates of Leo who had already ratified and subscribed to Leo's *Tome*, along with the chief counselors of the emperor. Now, it was their opportunity to decide everything at will. All those assembled entered the Church of the Martyr Euphemia. The chief bishops sat facing the altar. To their left sat Leo's representatives together with Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, Maximus, bishop of Antioch, Thalassius, bishop Caesarea Cappadocia, Stephen, bishop of Ephesus and the rest of the Eastern bishops of the provinces of Asia and Thrace. To their right sat Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, Quintillus, representing Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, Peter, bishop of Corinth, and the rest of the bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine.⁹⁸³

Section Three

On the Proceedings of the Council

⁹⁸¹ The author insinuates that they were engaged in immoral sexual relations before their marriage.

⁹⁸² Zachariah of Mitylene, Book Three, Chapter 2, pp. 42-43 of the English translation.

⁹⁸³ Price and Gaddis, 1, 128-129.

BOOK EIGHT

Paschasinus, representative of Leo, along with Lucentius and Boniface, said, "We have orders from the most blessed and apostolic man, the pope of Rome, the head of all churches, forbidding Dioscorus to take a seat at the council. He is only allowed to attend as a listener. We are obliged to obey this injunction. Your excellency may order, therefore, so that either he goes out or that we depart."⁹⁸⁴

The imperial commissioners said, "What are the charges against the venerable Dioscorus?" Paschasinus said, "When he comes to be interrogated, he will be definitely charged." The chief commissioner said, "We have already said that the charge against him should be specified." Lucentius, one of the legates, said, "He has usurped the office of a judge and dared to hold a council without the authorization of the apostolic see, a thing which has never happened and should not have happened." Paschasinus rejoined, "We cannot act against the order of the apostolic see or the canons of the fathers." The respectable commissioners said, "You should remember what his (Dioscorus) transgression is." Lucentius replied, "Neither we nor you can accept such insolence addressed against us by this one (Dioscorus) who came to be judged." The commissioners and the counselors said to Lucentius, "If you have the authority to act as a judge, you should not bring charges, acting as if you were a plaintiff."⁹⁸⁵

Then they had Saint Dioscorus move to the place where the defendants usually stand. The Nestorians then began launching their arrows of accusations against him from every direction. Theodoret, who was divested of the dignity of the priesthood, slipped among them yet no one reproached him. Dioscorus and the bishops with him were outraged for the violation of the canons of the Holy Church. Dioscorus' opponents behaved this way to prevent him from participating in the Council of Chalcedon. Later, when he was summoned by the council, he did not respond. He did not want to subscribe to the *Tome*, which was filled with impiety. Furthermore, he did not want to accept the Nestorians, including Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus or Hiba (Ibas), bishop of Edessa who had been condemned for their blasphemies. Eusebius provoked many things and presented a libel promising to protest for himself and for Flavian. The leaders said, "Let Theodoret participate in the council because the Archpriest Leo has restored his priestly dignity to him." The revered bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine shouted out, "Mercy, mercy. The faith has vanished. The canons reject a man like this. Drive him out. Expel the teacher of Nestorius." The venerable Dioscorus said, "Why do you cast out Cyril who has condemned this man?"⁹⁸⁶

As Theodoret took his seat, the Eastern bishops shouted, "He is worthy, he is worthy."⁹⁸⁷ The Eastern bishop replied, "In the council he is orthodox." The Egyptian bishops rejoined, "Drive away the impious and mischief-maker. Drive away him who insulted Christ and condemned Saint Cyril." Basil, bishop of Tripoli said, "We also have taken a part in condemning Theodoret." Then, the Egyptian bishops exclaimed, "If we accept Theodoret we would be rejecting Cyril. God has turned his face away from him (Theodoret)."⁹⁸⁸

Shortly, the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus were read. Also were read the statement of Saint Dioscorus in which he stated, "The decisions of the council are clear and cannot be avoided. Our Christ-loving emperor did not convoke this council to institute a new formula of faith; our former father had done so. Now, you want to alter the faith instituted by them." The council said, "Condemned is he who alters the faith. We keep the faith of our fathers." The Eastern bishops and their associates in the council said, "We did not say this." Others asked, "By whose hand, then, were the minutes recorded?" The venerable Dioscorus said, "Every bishop had them recorded by his own notary. If you do not agree with what my

⁹⁸⁴ *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, II (Walter de Gruyter, 1933): 65; Price and Gaddis, 1, 129.

⁹⁸⁵ Price and Gaddis, 1, 129-130. The reader will notice throughout some slight variations between my translation and that of Price and Gaddis. For a thorough investigation of the case of Dioscorus in Arabic see Gregorius Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus Hami al-Iman* (Dioscorus the Protector of Faith) 444-454 (Cairo, 1968). The reference in this context is to the accusation of the representatives of the Bishop of Rome on pp. 133-137.

⁹⁸⁶ Price and Gaddis, 1, 134.

⁹⁸⁷ Price and Gaddis, 1, 135. while the Egyptian and other bishops shouted, "He is unworthy, he is unworthy. Do not call him a bishop because he is not. He is the enemy of God. Out with Judas." According to Price and Gaddis, 1, 135, "Drive out the Jew."

⁹⁸⁸ Price and Gaddis, 1, 136.

secretary has recorded, everyone had his own notary.” Juvenal of Jerusalem said, “Like other secretaries my own notary recorded the minutes.” Thalassius, bishop of Caesarea said, “My notary also has recorded it.” Dioscorus said, “Here are the notaries of Bishop Juvenal, Bishop Thalassius and the Bishop of Corinth who have also written it down. Why do you object solely to what my notary has recorded?”⁹⁸⁹ Another document of St. Dioscorus, which he submitted to the Second Council of Ephesus, was read wherein he said, “If the Holy Spirit was with the blessed Fathers of the council, which it actually was, their decisions were then correct. He who alters them offends the grace of the Spirit.” The council said, “We also say that he who alters them will be anathematized and cast out.”

While these matters were being discussed at the Council of Chalcedon, Theodore, bishop of Claudiopolis said, “No one said this.” The venerable Dioscorus said, “It seems that they try to deny everything that has happened, let them also deny they were present.”⁹⁹⁰ When a portion of Eutyches’ complaint was read in which he said, “The Holy Council chaired by Cyril of blessed memory, resolved that anyone who alters the definition of the faith of Nicaea or adds or subtracts from it shall be punished,” Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum said, “This is a lie. There is no canon that states this.” Dioscorus said, “There are four documents containing this definition. Is what the Fathers defined not a definition? Or, to him (Eusebius) is this canon is not a canon? There are four copies recorded by the notaries. They are in my possession and in the possession of such and such (individuals). If they are collected, it will be revealed who intends to alter the faith of the holy Fathers.”⁹⁹¹

Section Four

Discussion intensified at Chalcedon after the reading of these things together with what took place at Constantinople in the presence of Flavian and his bishops, and which were read at the Second Council of Ephesus. They were recorded in the minutes of these two councils. In addition, the document of Basil, bishop of Isauria, was read which contained (the statement), “We worship One Lord Jesus Christ acknowledged in Two Natures.”⁹⁹² Following this the document of Seleucus, bishop of Amasia was read, saying that, “We also believe in One Lord Jesus Christ, light from light and life from life in Two Natures after the Incarnation.” The council’s reply read as follows, “No one should say Two Natures of the Lord after the Incarnation. The bishop of Amasia is not a bishop, but a wrecker.” Then the instruction of Julius, bishop of Corinth was read in which he says, “We believe in Two Natures of One Person.” In addition, the argument that took place before Flavian at Constantinople against Eutyches was read regarding the statement of Two Natures after their union. This argument contained the words of Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum trying to force Eutyches to confess “Two Natures” after their union and the decision of the council that contained the passage, “Burn the document of Eusebius.” It also contained Dioscorus’ statement to the council, “Is it admirable in your eyes to say Two Natures after the union?” The council replied that, “He who says this is anathematized.” It also contained Dioscorus’ appeal, which said, “I need your voices and a show of hands. He who cannot cry out let him raise his hand.” The council responded, “He who says “Two” is anathematized.”⁹⁹³

When these things were recited at the Council of Chalcedon, the Eastern bishops and those with them renounced the Second Council of Ephesus saying, “No one said this. Dioscorus and the Egyptian bishops said it.”⁹⁹⁴ The venerable Egyptian bishops said, “We have said this yesterday and we say today that he who reads should comprehend what is inquired by the magistrates regarding the documents mentioned above, the response to them and their discussion.”⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁸⁹ Price and Gaddis, 1, 152-153.

⁹⁹⁰ Price and Gaddis, 1, 152.

⁹⁹¹ Price and Gaddis, 1, 157.

⁹⁹² Price and Gaddis, 1, 159-160 and 223.

⁹⁹³ Price and Gaddis, 1, 219.

⁹⁹⁴ Price and Gaddis, 219 and 222.

⁹⁹⁵ See *Sacrorum conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 6, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), 685, hereafter Mansi.

While the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus and what followed, which were kept in records, were read at Chalcedon, no one denied a word of them except what has been said above. Perhaps they expected to find falsehood. Indeed, when the statement of Athericus, bishop of Smyrna, which he had read at the Synod of Flavian in Constantinople, was presented to the Second Council of Ephesus, he denied it. He became disturbed when it was read. He argued with Dionysius who demanded two witnesses. The venerable magistrates asked him, "In front of whom did Dioscorus say this to you?" Athericus said, "He said it in everyone's presence." The venerable Thalassius retorted, "You have already said that you subscribed to what was recorded without coercion. Why do you deny it now?" Dioscorus said, "Athericus has denied it and was not charged with a thing, while I have been accused without doing anything wrong."

While the document of Basil, bishop of Seleucia, which he presented to Ephesus denying what he said at the home synod of Constantinople concerning the Two Natures, was read at Chalcedon, Basil, feeling ashamed, rose up and said, "I wanted to correct what I said."

Upon hearing the words directed against him by the Nestorians indicating their readiness to alter the faith of the holy Fathers, and to interpolate into it the doctrine of Two Natures after the union, he (Dioscorus) came to the realization that they had received support from the magistrates to grasp what they had desired for a long time, and he adhered tenaciously to the love of God and the orthodox creed; thus he joined the holy Fathers. He (Dioscorus) declared before all, that because of these things he deposed Flavian who professed Two Natures after the union. "As to me," said Dioscorus, "There are many proofs in different places of the writings of the holy Athanasius, Gregory and Cyril which do not say Two Natures after the union, but One Nature of the Incarnate Word. Therefore, I add my voice to the voices of the Fathers. I adhere to the teaching of the Fathers and will never deviate from it one bit. Their statements are recorded; they are authentic and not haphazard writings."

These matters prompted the blessed Dioscorus not to respond to the summons of the Council (of Chalcedon) according to the Scriptures, "Or sit in the seat of mockers."⁹⁹⁶ Those who remained at the Council of Chalcedon did not do that for faith, but for expediency. They changed their words every now and then according to the circumstances and favorable standpoints. As we leave aside many issues and overlook those who altered their words while denying what their documents contained, we place before our eyes only one issue. It is this: when Flavian met with the Nestorians at Constantinople, he argued with them regarding their opposition to Eutyches. The truth, however, was that their argument was for the benefit of the Holy Church, namely to expose the impious doctrine of Nestorius. To prove this they (used) two discourses by the holy Cyril. The first he addressed to Nestorius with the intention of mitigating his wickedness. It began thus, "Some men traduce me to your piety." The second discourse was addressed to John of Antioch. It was written intelligently and sent to a sick man. It began thus, "The heaven rejoices." Both discourses were added to the records of those hypocrites that were presented to Flavian's synod in the capital and were read at the Second Council of Ephesus.

Section Five

While the minutes of Ephesus and the letters of the blessed Cyril mentioned earlier were read, the venerable Eustathius, bishop of Beirut said, "You should know your holiness, that God has allowed doubt to surround the writings of the blessed Cyril, the archbishop, because some did not comprehend it thoroughly. Nevertheless, he has understanding of everything he knew. He also endeavored to publish all his excellent writings. All have demanded, especially those who incline toward alteration, an examination of his traditional teaching. Others disputed the doctrine of the blessed (Cyril) based on his letters which had been read. Therefore, he found it imperative to continue this venerable work all his life and to declare his objectives and explain himself by means of corresponding with the holy men of blessed memory: Acacius, bishop of Melitene, Valerian, bishop of Iconium, and Succensus, bishop of Diocaesarea in the province of Isauria. How should we then understand the reality of the advent of the Savior in the light of the letters

⁹⁹⁶ Psalm 1:1.

which have just been addressed to these blessed men, and which emphasized not the doctrine of Two Natures, but of One Nature of the Incarnate Word.? By his reasoning, the blessed Cyril confirmed the testimony of the blessed Athanasius and those who attended the first Council of Ephesus.⁹⁹⁷ As this document was read at Chalcedon along with the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus, the judges and the commissioners said, "It is required from the council to declare whether the letters of Cyril of blessed memory, which have been just read in this council, are canonical or not?" Indeed, they agree with the document of the venerable Eustathius, bishop of Beirut. However, before the council replied, Eustathius stood in the center and threw down a book saying, "If I have spoken wrongly, I should be anathematized and the book of Cyril should be anathematized too." The Egyptian bishops and those with them said, "The Orthodox Eustathius has spoken well. The memory of Cyril is everlasting." Eustathius, bishop of Beirut said, "This is what the letter of Cyril of blessed memory contained." He added it to the other letters (of Cyril). He enunciated the phrase, "We should not conceive of Two Natures of the Incarnate Word, but One Nature. We should scrutinize closely the words of the blessed Dioscorus mentioned above and their connotations."⁹⁹⁸

Evidently, the deposition of Flavian took place because he professed Two Natures after the Union. Now, if the idea of the Two Natures was studied by the Fathers, the council, or the majority of its members, they should have been obliged to admit that the deposition of the man (Flavian) was unjust. This is what we have learned and admitted while no one raised a question in this context. For the phrase, "Two Natures after the Union" not only was not examined by the Fathers, but it is also repugnant. This is well known from what occurred in the presence of Flavian and those with him in Constantinople. They antagonized Eutyches and forced him to admit Two Natures after the Union. They anathematized anyone who did not profess it. When Eutyches refused to yield, they condemned him. They altered this phrase fearing that the Emperor Theodosius and the Orthodox bishops might know their condemnation of him. They instituted the phrase "From Two Natures before the Union" instead of "Two Natures after the Union" which was set in a confusing and improper manner. Instead of his (Eutyches) confession in One Nature of the Incarnate Word after the Union according to the minutes, they innovated, in his absence, the term "One abstract Nature" which they did not do without deception. Upon learning of these alterations, Eutyches informed the emperor accordingly. For this reason, it was necessary to have these terms reinvestigated and to find out who had distorted them. In order to investigate the question, the emperor sent Florentius the patrician, who had participated with them during the first investigation, and Bishop Thalassius and others. As they proceeded, Constantinus, Constantine and Eleusinius, presented themselves as the representatives of Eutyches. The minutes were read and many alterations were discovered. The deacon-monk Constantine asked, "Why was the Archimandrite (Eutyches) anathematized? Is it not because our venerable Archbishop (Flavian) had asked him whether he would acknowledge Two Natures after the union and anathematize who does not acknowledge it? However, when he (Eutyches) rejected their anathema, they deposed him. This statement is not contained in the minutes." The magnificent Patrician (Florentius) said, "Let the rest of the minutes be read to see whether what Constantine said is found in them." When the minutes and the document addressed to Eutyches were read by order of the patrician in which he had stated, "He who does not confess from Two Natures even after their union, his confession is incorrect." The patrician said, "I never said this. I was unable to argue the dogma." The venerable bishop of this city (Constantinople) said, "Put a mark on what he believed he did not say which was recorded in the minutes. It is your responsibility to discuss these matters and by your competence the truth will be revealed." Aetius, the deacon and notary, said, "This is an opportune time to disprove these matters. There are bishops at hand here. Your eminence has listened several times to the minutes read before the nobles, fathers and bishops, and no one blamed you." The eminent patrician said, "When the minutes were read for us, I demanded that they be handed to me but they were not." After the rest of the minutes were read, Constantine, the devout deacon, said, "The phrase for which the (Archimandrite Eutyches) was deposed is not mentioned in the minutes. In fact, our

⁹⁹⁷ Price and Gaddis, 1, 184-185.

⁹⁹⁸ Price and Gaddis, 1, 185. The last phrase regarding Dioscorus is missing.

lord the Archbishop (Flavian) asked him (Eutyches) to acknowledge Two Natures after the union, but he refused. He said, "Woe is me if I anathematized the holy Fathers. Thus, he was deposed. These words are not in the minutes." When Bishop Basil asked him (Eutyches): "Do you, archimandrite say Two Natures?" The archimandrite said, "I believe in One Nature." Basil said, "Even the blessed Athanasius said One Nature of the Incarnate Word. But this phrase is not included in the minutes." The devout Bishop Basil of Seleucia in Isauria said, "Truthfully, I do not remember the words you have mentioned. After short deliberation, however, I began to calm the Archbishop (Flavian) and quietly urged the archimandrite to agree with us. I said to him "It would not do you any harm if, like the fathers, you would say One Incarnate Nature of God the Word." After short deliberation, the venerable Deacon Constantius said, "I have already said that our lord the archbishop had asked the archimandrite whether he acknowledges Two Natures after the union and anathematize those who do not. This discussion is contained in the minutes, and it was the cause of his (Eutyches) deposition."

Bishop Thalassius said, "The holy council has heard what the venerable Deacon Constantine said. The holy council should then declare candidly if it is absolutely sure that the venerable Flavian had said such a thing or not." Basil said, "We remember how more than once Eusebius criticized (Flavian) for not saying Two Natures after the Union. We also remember him asking, 'Do you know what he (Eutyches) is saying to you and what his intention is? What do you say?'" Deacon Constantine said, "I have not heard these words from our lord the archbishop." The venerable Bishop Basil said, "At the beginning of the fourth session you will find that the venerable bishop asked the archimandrite, 'Do you acknowledge Two Natures after the Union, and that we worship the Lord Jesus Christ who is consubstantial with us in his body, and we anathematize whoever does not acknowledge this?' Moreover, Archbishop (Flavian) had asked him (Eutyches) if what he said is subject to a charge. Consequently, a great uproar took place. Truthfully, I do not remember anything except that the venerable bishop had submitted such a request." Deacon Constantine said, "I entreat your holy council to pay attention to what the lord archbishop has asked (Eutyches) that is, 'Do you acknowledge Two Natures?'" The venerable Bishop Seleucus said, "This was said during the investigation. Whether it was said by the venerable Eusebius or by our venerable Archbishop Flavian, I do not know. As to when it was said, I cannot remember." The eminent patrician said, "I cannot remember that the phrase 'Two Natures after the Union' was then said by the archbishop or that he had said it. This phrase did not occur in the writings of the holy Athanasius and other bishops. How can I then say it?" Deacon Aetius said, "This question was posed by the venerable Eusebius in the agenda of the council." The venerable Bishop Julian said, "I do not remember who said it because of the great commotion at that time." The venerable Bishop Eudoxius said, "I remember that Eusebius asked the archbishop to agree, and force the archimandrite to agree to what Eusebius had said." The venerable Bishop Longinus said, "I say, and God is my witness, that I do not remember these things because of the uproar at that time."⁹⁹⁹

It could be deduced from the above that the acknowledgment of Two Natures was affected because of fear and not because of conviction, for all the bishops dodged it when the investigation was carried out. They had attributed it to Eusebius, the enemy of Eutyches. This was a just reason for the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius for their profession of Two Natures after the union as the records prove.

Section Six: On the matters accomplished at Ephesus

In this section, the ideas of the Second Council of Ephesus are made manifest. These were distorted by the attendees of the Council of Chalcedon, and thus have deviated from their faith. It is also clear that the phrase "Two Natures after the Union" is simultaneously superfluous and harmful to the faith. Our discussion here, concerning what transpired at the Second Council of Ephesus, though succinct, still is not without benefit.

⁹⁹⁹ Mansi, 6, 808-817; Price and Gaddis, 1, 252-264. It should be noted that Michael Rabo does not maintain the same chronology of events as Price and Gaddis do.

The pious Emperor Theodosius, entertaining doubt about this matter, commanded the convocation of an ecumenical council at Ephesus. It was presided over by Dioscorus, Juvenal and Thalassius. At this council the minutes of the Council at Constantinople were read. In addition, numerous extracts from the Acts of the First Council of Ephesus were read. The members resolved, in agreement with the holy Cyril, to reject any addition to or diminution of the creed of the 318 (Nicaea).¹⁰⁰⁰ After these things were read, Dioscorus said, "I believe that everyone sees that what the fathers have instituted is proper."¹⁰⁰¹ After a short discussion, Thalassius, bishop of Caesarea Cappadocia said, "The investigation of what had been written about the faith by the 318 (members of the Council of Nicaea) reveals that they have proclaimed that faith after submitting to Divine Grace. This was confirmed by the fathers who assembled at the Episcopal house. It is known that whoever investigates will be sure that there is no addition or reduction of the canons issued with the fear of God by the holy Fathers at Nicaea, and which were confirmed by those who assembled (at the First Council of Ephesus). I personally feel very annoyed by those who maintain otherwise."¹⁰⁰²

After each one presented his opinion, the council declared, "We all adhere to this faith." As to the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius, Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "Flavian and Eusebius have divested themselves of the priesthood and the episcopal dignity for their audacity in inserting additions or making deletions regarding the faith which had been fixed by the Holy Council of Nicaea and confirmed by the Councils of Constantinople and Ephesus. Those who add to or subtract from the faith are deprived of the priesthood, especially since they have provoked such contention. Therefore, and in conformity with this ecumenical council (Second Ephesus) and the holy Dioscorus, I strip them of the priesthood." Domnus, bishop of Antioch, Syria, said, "I, too, acknowledge your holy council which deposed Flavian and Eusebius for not heeding the Holy Council of Nicaea which convened here since time ago. I also subscribe to your just punishment of them." Meletius, bishop of Larissa and representative of Domnus, bishop of Apamea, both said, "I agree with your lordship and confirm the just decision of deposing Flavian and Eusebius who were formerly bishops. Since they transgressed the instructions of the holy councils, I consider them unworthy of the episcopal dignity." John, bishop of Sebastea in Armenia said, "Whoever unjustly dares to innovate will find that his innovation will be the cause of his punishment. Therefore, since Flavian and Eusebius have transgressed the law, they are stripped of the priesthood in accordance with the decision of the pious Dioscorus, Pope of Alexandria, and with the ecumenical council. I add my voice to their voices." Photius, bishop of Tyre, said, "I, the weak one, also subscribe to the punishment imposed by the three holy ecumenical councils, that is stripping the wicked Flavian and Eusebius of the priesthood because their ideas contradict the Council of Nicaea." Musenius, bishop of Nyssa, said, "Whereas Flavian and Eusebius have done wrong to the former council which met at Ephesus, they deserve legal punishment. Therefore, I subscribe." Eustathius, bishop of Beirut said, "It is known that the just decision taken by the holy fathers who had assembled here by the command of the authoritative emperors, and who ordered that those who add to or subtract from the faith of Nicaea should be deprived of their dignity. Now, Flavian and Eusebius, who cherished this idea, have fallen under the weight of severe punishment." This is what everyone said and thus orthodox faith prevailed in the church.

Section Seven

Upon the death of Theodosius, Marcian reigned. He convened a council at Chalcedon at the instigation of Leo (Bishop of Rome). The Council of Chalcedon inserted an innovative definition to the faith and thus, rendered invalid the truth proclaimed by the fathers that is, the acknowledgment of Two Natures after the Union (in the Incarnation). Such a matter not only is shameful but also very disruptive. This is evident from what Flavian had secretly confided to his partisans that he acknowledged Two Natures. However, when he talked to the people or wrote to the emperor Theodosius, he would say that He (Christ)

¹⁰⁰⁰ Members of the Council of Nicaea.

¹⁰⁰¹ Mansi, 6, 901.

¹⁰⁰² Mansi, 1, 904.

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was of Two Natures, and then go on to explain that the Incarnate Word was of One Nature. However, those who tried after his death to show that he (Flavian) was of same faith as Cyril and the fathers, who proclaimed One Nature of the Incarnate Word, did mention him with sentimentality and demanded that bishops should determine, whether or not, his faith was in harmony with the faith of the fathers. Apparently, Leo's envoys delegated to Constantinople and the presidents of the Council of Chalcedon were deceived by him with the exception of Dioscorus, who exposed his deception. When each bishop was asked individually whether Flavian's creed was in harmony with the faith of Cyril and the fathers, he said, "No."

Dioscorus said, "Let the rest of what Flavian had said be read first and then I will answer." It is evident from what Flavian said that he contradicted himself. He said Two Natures after the Union." As the holy Dioscorus said this, the Nestorians cried out, "What has been read of Flavian's statement is in conformity with Cyril and the fathers." Indeed, they did not ask God's forgiveness for those sitting to the left, but demanded that the sequel of Flavian's statement be read in order to understand them with more clarity. When they passed by those who sat to the left, they were excited as though they were acting on the stage. They said, "O so and so bishop. You have done well by attending. We should have but one unified document." Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "What the blessed Flavian said is in conformity with the sayings of the blessed Cyril. Let the sequel be read in order that the ideas be clearer." The pious bishops of Palestine said, "We add our voices to Juvenal's." Juvenal rose and spoke to the other side. The Easterners and those with them cried out, "God, how wonderful you are the Orthodox. You have done well by attending." The rest repeated the same and left with the exception of the pious Egyptian bishops, small in number, who remained with the holy Dioscorus. Now, if they said the phrase "Two Natures," or "Two Natures after the Union" is said by the fathers, why did they constitute expressions like these and then inquire about their connotation? Furthermore, if the question was that this one said this and the other said that, why did not all of them proclaim it, i.e., (Two Natures after the Union)? Moreover, why is it that no one objected except the blessed Dioscorus when he said that it would be shown afterwards that he (Flavian) has contradicted himself and acknowledged Two Natures after the Union? Finally, they justified Flavian for acknowledging Two Natures and condemned Dioscorus. They did this because iniquity darkened their judgments.

The sayings of the fathers were recorded in the minutes of the Fifth Session. Dioscorus said, "I accept from Two Natures." However, the holy Leo, bishop of Rome, said, "There are Two Natures in Christ, (meaning Two Natures separate from each other after the Incarnation). So, who do you follow—Leo or Dioscorus?" The Bishops exclaimed, "We believe as Leo does. Those who object are Eutychemians."¹⁰⁰³ In fact, when Flavian presented the expression One Nature of the Incarnate Word to the emperor, it was accepted. However, this expression itself was rejected and used as a reason for the deposition of Eutyches. One might say that Eutyches did not add the term Incarnate and thus was criticized by those who were delegated by Flavian to summon Eutyches. They were John, presbyter and advocate, and the Deacons Andrew and Athanasius. These men said that Eutyches said, "One Nature after the Incarnation of God the Word and he worships the God who was incarnated and became man." They also said that Eutyches produced a book containing these dogmas and read from it. However, they did not know what they were saying because they simultaneously censured and praised. Now, if we put aside many things, we will be able to single out only one issue of all of them, namely the *Tome* of Leo which contains that, "Each form performs what is proper to it in communion with the other, the Word, achieving what is the Word's, while the body accomplishes what is the body's; the one shines with miracles, while the other has succumbed to outrages."¹⁰⁰⁴ Leo derived other passages from Bishop Hilary's discourse *On Faith* and inserted them into his *Tome*. Of these are the following, "The only Son of God was born in the flesh by the Virgin. In the fullness of time, he was to accomplish the elevation of the humanity to the divinity. He kept the rule in all the words of the Gospel to teach us that we must believe him to be the Son of God, and to remind us that we must

¹⁰⁰³ Price and Gaddis, 2, 200. What Dioscorus is saying, "from two natures," meaning these two natures are united in one. According to Leo's *Tome*, Christ has two natures, still separate after the Incarnation.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Price and Gaddis, 2, 19. The entire text of the *Tome* covers pp. 14-24.

proclaim him Son of man. As a man, he says and does the things coming from God. As God, he speaks and acts like man. He did not say anything peculiar to the two forms, except to what indicates that he is God and man.” This contradiction they (members of the Council of Chalcedon) called orthodoxy.

Section Eight

Flavian handed extracts of the profession of faith to the emperor when the emperor was not sure of his faith. However, when Flavian realized that all the believers rejected the expression “Two Natures after the Union,” he presented an apology beginning thus, “We proclaim our Lord Jesus Christ.” Then, he produced the expression “true God and true man. He assumed rational soul peculiar to the flesh. He is consubstantial with the Father in his divinity and consubstantial with his mother in his humanity. We profess Two Natures of our Lord after the incarnation from the Virgin. He is Two Natures in one Person and Prosopon. He is One Christ, One Son and One Lord. We do not disapprove the saying, “One Nature of the Incarnate Word,” because he is one from two. He is our Lord Jesus Christ.” With such force, Flavian comprised the document that he wrote down because of the two letters of Cyril. This document, after these letters, was added to the minutes of Constantinople (the local synod of Constantinople) after his death. Thus, his partisans were able to project him as holding the same faith as the teacher (Cyril), especially that some of his expressions contained no formula of the combination of the Two Natures.

Extracts from the Third Act of the Second Session: The Summons of Dioscorus

The Council (of Chalcedon) sent to Dioscorus saying, “The holy council bid your most God-beloved to appear before it.” Dioscorus said, “I am under guard. Let them say if I am allowed to come.” He also said, “I am ready to appear at the council, but I am prevented.”¹⁰⁰⁵

Emperor Marcian sent John the Silentiary to bid him come and subscribe to the formula of faith of Chalcedon. Dioscorus said, “Sooner would Dioscorus see his own hand cut off, and the blood falling on the paper, than do such a thing as that.”¹⁰⁰⁶ The bishops issued an unjust verdict deposing the blessed and the witness to the truth, Dioscorus. In this context, we learn that he was not deposed on account of the faith, but because he was summoned three times and did not appear (at the council). The Bishop of Iconium said, “It would have better for the devout Dioscorus, who is experienced in canon laws and traditions, to obey the holy council which summoned him three times by means of the devout bishops to appear before the council, and apologize to those who summoned him.” Dionysius, bishop of Heraclea said, “He (Dioscorus) deserves punishment for disobeying the will of the holy bishops, archbishops and the fathers of the capital, because he, who was a former bishop, was summoned twice and three times and did not obey. I subscribe to deposing him from the dignity of the priesthood and from service.” Eupithius, bishop of Stratonicea, emphasized the punishment of Dioscorus. Thus also did Flacillus, bishop of Iasus.

Acts of the Third Session

The magnificent commissioners and magistrates said, “Apply yourselves without fear, favor or enmity to produce a pure exposition of the faith.”

The most devout bishops exclaimed, “No one makes a new exposition, nor do we attempt or presume to do so. For it was the fathers who taught that what they expounded is preserved in writing and we cannot go beyond it.” The most devout bishops rejoined, “This is what we all say, that what has been expounded is sufficient. It is not permissible to produce another exposition.”

The most glorious commissioners said, “If it seems good to your devoutness, let the most sacred archbishops (patriarchs) of each diocese select, each one, one or two (bishops) from their dioceses to come together, sit in the center and deliberate in common about the faith, so that if all are in accord, the dispute

¹⁰⁰⁵ Price and Gaddis, 2, 44, and Metropolitan Gregorius Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus a-Iskandari Hami al-Iman 444-454* (Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria the Protector of faith), (Cairo, 1968), 148.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 44.

will be resolved. We pray for this. However, if some prove to be of contrary opinion, which we do not expect, this may reveal their opinions as well.”

The most devout bishops exclaimed, “We will not produce a written exposition. There is a canon which declares that what has already been expounded is sufficient.”¹⁰⁰⁷

Every now and then, the commissioners bring up the subject of formulating the creed.

The creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople were then read together with the two letters of Cyril, which the Nestorian partisans usually cite as testimonies. The *Tome* of Leo, about which many bishops raised objections, was read as well.

Atticus, the most devout bishop of Nicopolis, said, “Since your magnificence have shown readiness to listen to us with patience, we implore you to have patience for few more days, that we may issue a decision with a clear mind and tranquil meditation, and do what is pleasing to God and to the holy fathers. And since the letter of our master and holy father and Archbishop Leo has been read to us, it is necessary that we should also be provided with the letter of the blessed Cyril written to Nestorius in which he urged him to assent to the Twelve Chapters, so that at the time of the examination we may be found well prepared.”¹⁰⁰⁸

The most devout bishops said, “We request some time to find the writings of the fathers.” The commissioners and the exalted senate replied, “The hearing will be adjourned for five days, so that in the meantime your holiness may meet in the residence of the most blessed Archbishop Anatolius and deliberate together about the faith, so that the objectors may be instructed.” They rejoined, “It is not necessary for you all to meet, but since it is appropriate to convince all the objectors, let the most devout Archbishop Anatolius select from among the bishops who are competent to instruct the objectors.”

The most devout bishops exclaimed, “Restore the fathers to the council. Report our acclamations to the emperor. Report these decisions to the orthodox one. We have all erred; forgive us all.”¹⁰⁰⁹

The clerics of Constantinople exclaimed, “Only a few are clamoring. The council is not speaking.”

The most devout Eastern bishops and those with them exclaimed, “The Egyptian (Dioscorus) into exile!”

The Illyrian bishops and those with them exclaimed, “We beg you, have mercy on us all. We have all sinned. Report these exclamations to the orthodox emperor. The churches are divided.”

The clerics of Constantinople and those with them again exclaimed, “We have sinned. Forgive us all. Restore Dioscorus to the council. Restore Dioscorus to the churches. May no misfortune occur in your time. May no misfortune occur in your reign. May there be no division in your reign.”¹⁰¹⁰

Section Nine

When the magnificent commissioners and magistrates took their seats as usual, and the documents attached to the acts of the former session were read for all to know that they were expected to draw up a definition of the faith, the Nestorian bishops fell at the feet of Marcian and the Queen (Pulcheria), beseeching them not to allow the blessed (Barsoum) to attend the conference. They realized that if he attended he would reject their objectionable teaching. However, when the blessed (Barsoum) was not invited, they resorted to the corrupt teaching (of Nestorius).

The commissioners said, “Now that we have seen the decisions which have been rendered on account of the orthodox faith in our former document, what does the council say?”

The devout bishops exclaimed, “We all believe accordingly.”

Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicus said, “Barsoum who entered among the archimandrites, murdered the holy Flavian. He was standing there and saying, ‘Slaughter him.’ Since he was not summoned, why has he come in?”

¹⁰⁰⁷ Price and Gaddis, 2, 10-11.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Price and Gaddis, 2, 26-27.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Price and Gaddis, 2, 27, as closely as possible.

¹⁰¹⁰ Price and Gaddis, 2, 28.

The bishops cried out, "Barsoum destroyed all Syria. He incited thousands of monks against us." They went on, "Drive out the murderer Barsoum. Anathema to Barsoum! Send Barsoum into exile."¹⁰¹¹

When the commissioners saw what had happened, they told the bishops, "Here is the Gospel laid before you. Let every bishop declare whether the *Tome* of the devout Leo is compatible with the definition of the faith of the 318 bishops assembled at Nicaea and the council assembled at the capital."

Those bishops who subscribed to it said, "Yes." Those who were in doubt, did not sign, and were once evicted from the council, were intimidated and assented.

The commissioners said, "Let those devout bishops who did not assent follow suit and sign."

The bishops exclaimed, "We agree. We all follow the fathers. Let them be admitted to the council."

After exchanging courteous words, the commissioners said, "We have informed our devout master (the emperor) and are awaiting his response. However, you will answer to God for Dioscorus whom you sent to exile without the devout head and without us also. You will also answer for these five : Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius, bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, and Basil, bishop of Seleucia in Isauria."¹⁰¹²

After some deliberation, the commissioners said, "Having learned of your pursuit, our God-fearing emperor granted you the freedom to decide whatever you find appropriate concerning these five bishops: Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil and Eustathius."

When these bishops entered the council, the Egyptian bishops handed the emperor a petition containing their belief. They asked the council to let them in and to have their petition read. When they were let in, the other bishops mocked them with arrogance and demanded that they anathematize Eutyches and they forced them to sign the *Tome* of Leo.

The devout Egyptian bishops said, "We cannot sign without the approval of our archbishop."¹⁰¹³

All the most devout bishops insulted them and exclaimed that they were heretics."¹⁰¹⁴

Narcissus, one of the Egyptian bishops said in their language, "We have already in a petition made our faith plain and not to hold beliefs contrary to the catholic faith. But since most bishops of our diocese happen to be very many, while we, being easy to count, entreat your pre-eminence and this holy and great council, and wait for our archbishop to be instilled."¹⁰¹⁵

After being reviled and insulted, the commissioners and the bishops allowed them to wait after receiving a pledge from them not to leave the city until a new archbishop of Alexandria had been appointed. Following this account, nothing else was recorded in the minutes.

Section Ten: Acts of the Fifth Session ¹⁰¹⁶

Slowly but surely, the officials united all the bishops and obliged them to sign the *Tome* of Leo and draw up a definition of the faith. After the bishops had taken seats the commissioners said, "Please make known to us what you have determined about the faith."

Ascelpiades, deacon of the church of Constantinople, read aloud the definition.

After the reading, some raised objections. John, bishop of Germanicia said, "The definition is not a good one and needs to be precise."

Anatolius, archbishop of Constantinople said to the council, "Does the definition satisfy you?"

¹⁰¹¹ Price and Gaddis, 2, 156. The above passages given by Michael Rabo are truncated and leave the reader wondering what has actually happened during this session. To obtain a full understanding of the deliberation, the reader is referred to pp. 148-156 of Price and Gaddis.

¹⁰¹² Price and Gaddis, 2, 119.

¹⁰¹³ Price and Gaddis, 2, 151.

¹⁰¹⁴ Price and Gaddis, 2, 152.

¹⁰¹⁵ The name of this bishop does not appear in the Acts of the Council translated by Price and Gaddis, 2, 151. The whole passage is stated by the most devout bishops of Egypt.

¹⁰¹⁶ In order to have a full grasp of this session, the reader is advised to read the commentary of Price and Gaddis, 2, 183-194.

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All bishops apart from the Romans and some of the Easterners exclaimed, "The definition satisfies us all. This is the faith of the fathers. If anyone holds a different view, he is a heretic and anathematized. Drive out Nestorius (the Nestorians). Let those who do not anathematize Nestorius leave the council."

Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople said, "Did the definition of the faith satisfy everyone yesterday?"

The most devout bishops said, "The definition satisfies everyone. We do not hold a different belief. This is the faith of the orthodox. May the faith not suffer from chicanery?"

Shortly afterwards, Paschasinus, Lucentius and the rest of who came from Rome (the representative of the bishop of Rome) said, "If you do not agree with the apostolic letter of the pope of Rome, order a letter to be given us so that we may return home and the council will concluded there."

The commissioners said, "If it seems good, let us, taking six of the Eastern bishops, three from the diocese of Asia, three from Pontica, three from Illyricum and three from Thrace, accompanied by Bishop Anatolius and the men from Rome (retire together into the oratory of the holy Martyrium). When they have examined everything in order, their recommendations concerning the holy faith will be reported to you."

The devout bishops exclaimed, "The definition has satisfied everyone. Report our statements to the emperor. This is the definition of the orthodox."

John, bishop of Germanicia, again went up to the commissioners exclaiming, "Drive out the Nestorians. Drive out the fighters against God. The world is orthodox. Yesterday the definition satisfied everyone. The emperor is orthodox. The Augusta is orthodox. The commissioners are orthodox. Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the emperor! We demand that the definition be signed on the gospels. Let there be no chicanery about the faith. Whoever will not sign the definition is a heretic. The holy Mary is *Theotokos*. Whoever does not hold this view is a heretic. You orthodox commissioners, protect the faith. No one disowns the definition. The Holy Spirit dictated the definition. Drive out the heretics. Drive out the Nestorians. Christ is God."

The commissioners said, "Dioscorus said that the reason for Flavian's deposition was that he said there are Two Natures, but the definition states *from* Two Natures."

Anatolius of Constantinople said, "It was not because of the faith that Dioscorus was deposed. He was deposed because he broke off communion with the lord Archbishop Leo and was summoned a third time and did not come."¹⁰¹⁷ The commissioners said, "Do you accept the letter of Archbishop Leo?" The bishops said, "Yes, we have accepted and signed it." The commissioners said, "Then its contents must be inserted in the definition." The bishops said, "Another definition must not be produced. Nothing is lacking in the definition. The definition has confirmed the letter. Archbishop Leo believes as we believe. The definition contains the faith. Leo spoke the words of Cyril. One baptism, one Lord, one faith! Exclude all chicanery from the definition." The commissioners said, "Your acclamations will be reported to our pious master (the emperor)."

Veronicianus, the hallowed secretary of the consistory, went to the place with the order of the commissioners. After a short time, he returned and addressed the council as follows:

Our most divine and pious master has issued the following demand. Either, in accordance with the decision of the most magnificent and glorious commissioners, six of the most devout bishops of the diocese of the East, three from Pontica, three from Asia, three from Thrace, and three from Illyricum, in the company of the company of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius and the most devout men from Rome, are to go into the oratory of the most holy Martyrium and produce a correct and unimpeachable definition of the faith so as to please everyone and leave not a single doubt. Or, if you do not approve this, each one of you is to make his faith known through his

¹⁰¹⁷ This clearly and unequivocally proves that Dioscorus was orthodox and the sentence of Flavian by the Second Council of Ephesus (449) which he chaired, was orthodox. His deposition at Chalcedon was only to satisfy the intentions of Leo the bishop of Rome. For more analysis see Price and Gaddis, 2, 30-34, V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*, entire Chapter Two, pp. 44-70 and Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus al-Hami al-Iman* (Cairo, 1968), 132-180.

metropolitan as likewise to leave no doubt or disagreement. If your holiness does not want this, you are to know that the council will have to meet in the western parts, since your religiousness is unwilling to issue here an unambiguous definition of the true and orthodox faith.

The devout bishops exclaimed, "Many years to the emperor! Let the definition be confirmed or we shall leave."

Cecropius, bishop of Sebastopolis, said, "We propose that the definition be read out and those who dissent will not sign it should leave. For we have agreed with what has been well defined."

The devout bishops of Illyricum said, "Let those who dissent make themselves known. The dissenters are Nestorians. Let the dissenters go off to Rome."

The commissioners said, "Dioscorus said, 'I accept *from* two natures, but I do not accept two.' However, Archbishop Leo says that there are two natures in Christ, united without confusion, change or separation in the one and only-begotten Son, our Savior. So who do you follow, the holy Leo, or Dioscorus?"

The bishops exclaimed, "We believe as Leo does. Those who object are Eutychianists."

The commissioners said, "Then add to the definition two natures united without change, division or confusion in Christ."

At the request of the commissioners, the bishops went into the temple of the Martyr Euphemia with Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, Bishop Paschasinus, his companions who were from Rome¹⁰¹⁸ and the rest of the bishops selected from the different provinces.¹⁰¹⁹

After all of them came out and took their seats, the commissioners said, "May the holy council, in its upholding of the faith, deign to listen in silence to what has been defined in our presence by the holy fathers who have met together and expounded the definition of faith."

Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople read the second definition of faith produced at Chalcedon:

The holy, great and ecumenical council, assembled by the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, Valentinian and Marcian Augusti, in the metropolis of Chalcedon of Bithynia and in the Martyrium of the Martyr Euphemia, has issued the following definition:

Christ our Lord and Savior...This then, we have renewed the unerring faith of the fathers...We anathematize those who invent two natures of the Lord before the union and imagine one nature after the union for they are of the one and same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation."¹⁰²⁰

After the reading of the definition all the bishops exclaimed, "This is the faith of the fathers. Let the metropolitans sign at once. This is the faith of the apostles. To this, we all assent. We all believe accordingly."

The commissioners said, "That which has been defined by the holy fathers and has pleased everyone will be made known to the divine head."¹⁰²¹

¹⁰¹⁸ Lucentius, Boniface and Julian.

¹⁰¹⁹ For the names of these bishops, see Price and Gaddis, 2, 200.

¹⁰²⁰ Most unfortunately, the author did not produce the lengthy definition of faith read by Aetius but offered some excerpts, which do not convey the whole intention of the definition. For the entire definition read by Aetius, see Price and Gaddis, 2, 201-205.

¹⁰²¹ All of the previous passages pertaining to the Fifth Session are based on the translation by Price and Gaddis, 2, 196-205.

Section Eleven¹⁰²²

After the bishops had taken their seats according to their ranks in the council, the emperor entered with the commissioners and spoke to them. They praised the bishops as usual.¹⁰²³

Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, said, "Through the inspiration of grace from above and the Christ-loving zeal of your serenity, most pious and faithful emperors, who received from God authority, this ecumenical council has issued an unerring definition fortified by the power of the divine Scriptures which I have in my hand. If it pleases the will of your serenity, I shall read it."¹⁰²⁴

The Emperor, said, "Read."

After the definition was read, it was signed by four hundred and seventy-five bishops.¹⁰²⁵ The bishops signed, not without Marcian issuing a threat to anyone in Constantinople who criticized the definition. Indeed, the bishops were not at all free to set up their own agenda of the remaining items of business. Their coercion by Marcian was obvious.¹⁰²⁶

Emperor Marcian said, "Let the holy council say whether the definition which has now been read is in accordance with the consensus of all the bishops." All exclaimed, "We all believe accordingly. We have all assented and signed." The Council of Ephesus (431) excommunicated the impious Nestorius. Moreover, when the presbyter Charisius read the formal of faith set up by (Emperor) Theodosius, he decreed that no one had the authority to produce a new definition of faith by the holy fathers of Nicaea, who were motivated by the Holy Spirit, or add to it or diminish from it. Those who dared to produce a new definition of faith, even for the purpose of those newly guided to the knowledge of the truth, whether from Judaism or heathenism, or from any other heresy, should be removed if they were clerics. If they were from the laity, they should be excommunicated."¹⁰²⁷

To men like these, Cyril points out in his letter to Acacius of Melitene saying, "The Council of Ephesus (431) emphasized in its decision that no one should insert another definition of faith in the church of God, save what the blessed fathers had decreed who were motivated by the Holy Spirit."¹⁰²⁸ They had even prevented the reading of the letter of the holy Athanasius of Alexandria on faith, addressed to the clerics of Antioch in Syria, of which some spread the rumor that it was written at the Council of Sardica. Athanasius wrote, "The Council of Sardica did not define anything of the like. Some however, dared to claim that there were lapses in the Council of Nicaea. Therefore, the Council of Sardica decided not to introduce any revision of the definition of the faith established by the fathers of Nicaea, because it was complete and that the fear of God was manifested in it. Thus, it is not permissible to define the faith once more except that which was defined by the Council of Nicaea, in order to obviate any doubt about its consummation and create a pretext for those who tried to redefine the faith more than once. In this case, it is possible for corruption to creep into the faith through one person or more. Therefore, it is imperative that such men should incline toward peace."

The Council of Chalcedon falsely abrogated the definition of faith by the fathers. Because of this, the holy Dioscorus was sent to exile to Gangra in Thrace. The Nestorians traduced him of holding the faith of Eutyches. I am obliged to present quotations from his letter addressed in exile to Secundinus.

Dioscorus said, "It is not permissible to say that the body our Lord took from the Virgin through the Holy Spirit is alien from our body. If this is the case, then those who believe in the Incarnation declare as false Paul who said, "For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham."¹⁰²⁹ The Scriptures show that the Virgin was not estranged from him "Wherefore in all this it

¹⁰²² This is actually the Sixth Session.

¹⁰²³ Marcian addressed the council in Latin and then in Greek. For the text of his Latin address, see Price and Gaddis, 2, 213-216.

¹⁰²⁴ As usual, the author gives only excerpts of what has been said thus far.

¹⁰²⁵ For the signatures of the bishops see Price and Gaddis, 2, 217-233

¹⁰²⁶ See, Price and Gaddis, pp. 207-208.

¹⁰²⁷ Mansi, 4, 1361.

¹⁰²⁸ Mansi, 5, 316.

¹⁰²⁹ Hebrews 2:16.

behooved him to be made like unto his brethren.”¹⁰³⁰ Without exception that is of our own nature whether veins, hair, bones, arteries, abdomen, heart, kidneys, liver or lungs. In brief, the body of the Lord was born of Mary who is endowed with a rational soul. His body had everything peculiar to us except human cohabitation. If this was not so as the heretics claim, how is it that he is called our brother if his body was alien to our own? And how can his saying addressed to his Father, ‘And I have declared unto them your name,’¹⁰³¹ be believed? Therefore, we dispel these thoughts and reject those who maintain them. He (Christ) became like us, for our sake, not through fantasy or imagination as the Manicheans hold, but he has truly shone upon us through the Mother of God as he willed. By his advent, he put together the vessel that has been broken. He declared that God is with us. He became poor for our sake as Paul said, “That you through his poverty might be rich.”¹⁰³² He became like us that we, like him, become mercy received from him. He became man without losing the characteristic of the nature of the Son of God that we, by grace, become the children of God. This is my opinion.”¹⁰³³

The man (Dioscorus) who held this belief was sent into exile because he did not worship the double-faced image, which was introduced by Leo (Bishop of Rome) into the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁰³⁴ Moreover, when he saw the deposed Theodoret speaking in the council, he left his seat and sat on a rock saying, “I will not sit with the ungodly or have anything to do with the shameless.” The rest of the bishops exclaimed, “If Theodoret is admitted (to the council) the faith has died. He is like Nestorius. We exclude Cyril if we admit Theodoret.”¹⁰³⁵

Here ends the narrative of what happened at Chalcedon where the fourth uncanonical Marcionite council convened. It treated the three ecumenical councils¹⁰³⁶ where the fathers produced canons and definitions of the faith as invalid and unacceptable to all. These councils decreed to deprive anyone of dignity if he introduced a definition other than that which they had decreed without addition or diminution, whether by a bishop, a presbyter or layman because what they have defined is by the Holy Spirit.

I appeal to any brother, whoever he is, who may come across these few lines and read them, to pray for the weak one who transcribed them.

Names of those who assembled at the Council of Chalcedon

The representatives of Leo of Rome:

- (1-3) Paschasinus, Lucentius, the presbyter Boniface and Anatolius¹⁰³⁷
- (4) Anatolius of Constantinople

From Thrace I

- (5) Cyriacus bishop of Heraclea.
- (6) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis
- (7) Lucian of Bizye¹⁰³⁸.

From Thrace II

- (8) Francion of Philippopolis

¹⁰³⁰ Hebrews 2:17.

¹⁰³¹ John 17:26.

¹⁰³² 2 Corinthians 8:9.

¹⁰³³ Cf. *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 45-46.

¹⁰³⁴ For defending St. Dioscorus against the injustice done him by the Council of Chalcedon, see Bishop Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus al-Iskandari Hami al-Iman* 444-454 (Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria the Protector of the Faith), (Cairo: Matba'at Dar al-'Alam al-Arabi, 1968).

¹⁰³⁵ Price and Gaddis, 1, 136.

¹⁰³⁶ Nicaea, Constantinople and First Ephesus.

¹⁰³⁷ Anatolius was bishop of Constantinople. It is not known why the author included him within the representatives of Rome.

¹⁰³⁸ He represented Cyriacus of Heraclea. See Price and Gaddis, 2, 6.

- (9) Sebastian of Beroe
- 10) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis

From Rhodope

- (11) Basil of Trajanopolis
- (12) Docimasius of Moronea
- (13) Serenus of Maximianopolis
- (14) Macarius of Aenus

From Haemimontus

- (15) Jovian of Deultum

From Illyria

- (16) Anastasius of Thessalonica. Represented by Quintillus of Heraclea
- (17) Sozon of Philippi
- (18) Dardanius of Bargal (Macedonia)
- (19) Maximus of Serrahae (Macedonia)
- (20) Nicholas of Acarsus
- (21) Anapatus of Thasutus
- (22) Eusebius of Doberus
- (23) Melicenus

From Hellade (Hellas)

- (24) Peter of Corinth
- (25) Nicias of Megara
- (26) John of Messene
- (27) Ophelimus of Tegea
- (28) Athanasius of Opus
- (29) Irenaeus of Naupactus
- (30) Domnus of Plataea
- (31) Onesimus of Argos
- (32) Magnus the deacon

From Syria I

- (33) Maximus of Antioch
- (34) Macarius of Laodicea
- (35) Theoptistus of Borea (Aleppo)
- (36) Gerontius of Seleucia
- (37) Romulus of Chalcis
- (38) Peter of Gabbula
- (39) Marianus of Gaza
- (40) Sabas of Paltus
- (41) Ouranium of Gabala

From Syria II

- (42) Domnus of Apamea representing Meletius, bishop of Shayzar
- (43) Mark of Arethusa
- (44) Amachus of Seleucobelus representing Paul of Srimona
- (45) Meletius of Shayzar

- (46) Lampadius of Rapahnea represented by Deacon Nimor
- (47) Timothy of Balanae
- (48) Paul of Mrimme
- (49) Eutygianus of Epiphanea (Hama) represented by Meletius of Shayzar

From Cilicia I

- (50) Theodore of Tarsus
- (51) Matronianus of Pompeipolis
- (52) Alexander of Sebastea
- (53) Philip of Adana
- (54) Hypatius of Zephyrium
- (55) Theodore of Augusta
- (56) Chrysippus of Mallus
- (57) Sallustius of Corycus represented by Philip of Adana

From Cilicia II

- (58) Cyrus of Anazarba
- (59) Polychronius of Epiphania
- (60) John of Flaviopolis
- (61) Indimus of Irenopolis
- (62) Julian of Rhosus
- (63) Bassianus of Mopsuestia

From Isauria

- (64) Basil of Seleucia
- (65) Theodore of Claudiopolis
- (66) Julian of Calandiopolis
- (67) John of Diocaesarea
- (68) Epiphanius, of Cestrus
- (69) Tyrranus of Germaniciapolis
- (70) Acacius of Antioch represented by Papha the deacon
- (71) Ammonius of Iotape
- (72) Aelianus of Selinus represented by the sub-deacon Paul
- (73) Patlis of Philadelphia

From Phoenicia I

- (74) Photius of Tyre
- (75) Damian of Sidon
- (76) Paul of Ptolemais (Akka)
- (77) Olympias of Paneas
- (78) Paul of Aradus and Antarads
- (79) Thomas of Porphyreon
- (80) Peter of Byblus
- (81) Eustathius of Berytus (Beirut)
- (82) Theodore of Tripoli
- (83) Heraclitus of Arqa
- (84) Alexander of Antaradus
- (85) Porphyry of Botrys
- (86) Phosphorus Orthosia

From Lebanese Phoenicia

- (87) Theodore of Damascus
- (88) Uranius of Emessa (Homs)
- (89) Joseph of Heliopolis (Ba'lbak)
- (90) Thomas of Euaria
- (91) Valerius of Laodicea
- (92) Eustathius of the Saracens
- (93) Jordanes of Abila¹⁰³⁹

From Arabia

- (94) Constantine of Bostra
- (95) Eulogius of Philadelphia
- (96) Proclus of Adraa
- (97) Theodosius of Canatha
- (98) Hormizda of Philippopolis
- (99) Placcus of Gerasa

From Augusta Eupraesia

- (100) Stephen of Hierapolis (Mabug)
- (101) Rufinus of Samosata
- (102) Theodoret of Cyrrhus (Qurush)
- (103) John of Germanicia (Mar'ash)
- (104) Timothy of Doliche (Duluk)
- (105) Euolcius of Zeugma
- (106) Sabinianus of Perrhe
- (107) Patricius of Neocaesarea

From Osorhoene (Edessa)

- (108) Nonnus and Hiba (Ibas) of Edessa
- (109) Caiumas (Qayuma) of Morcopolis
- (110) John of Carrhae (Harran)
- (111) Abramius (Abraham) of Cercesium
- (112) Daniel of Birta
- (113) Damian of Callinicum
- (114) Sophronius of Constantina (Tella)
- (115) John of the Saracens (Arabs)

From Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia)

- (116) Symeon (Simon) of Amida
- (117) Noah of Hisn Kipha
- (118) Maras of Anzetine (Hanzit)
- (119) Zebennus (Zebina) Of Miypahrqat (Mertyropolis)
- (120) Eusebius of Ingilene (Agel)
- (121) Caiumas (Qayuma) of Sophene

From Palestine I

- (122) Juvenal of Jerusalem

¹⁰³⁹ He was represented by the Chorepiscopus Paternius. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 271.

- (123) Clycon of Caesarea
- (124) Leontius of Acalon
- (125) Phontinus Diospholis (Lydda)
- (126) Paul of Anthelon
- (127) Heraclius of Azotus
- (128) Pacratius of Livias
- (129) Polycronius of Antipatris
- (130) Stephen of Jamnia

From Palestine II

- (131) Severianus of Scythopolis (Baisan)
- (132) Anianus of Capitolas
- (133) Zebennus of Pella
- (134) John of Tiberias
- (135) John of Gadara

From Palestine III

- (136) Beryllus of Aela
- (137) Aretas of Elusa
- (138) Musonius of Segor- Zoara
- (139) Marcian Diotanus
- (140) Niz Tiras
- (141) Marcian Gazes

From Epirus Vetus

- (142) Atticus of Nocopolis
- (143) Mark of Euroea
- (144) Peregnus of Phoenice
- (145) Eutyches of Haddrianopolis
- (146) Claudius of Anchiasmus
- (147) Soterichus of Coreyra
- (148) Philoctetus of Dodona
- (149) John of Photice, signed for Zenobius of Buthrotum

From Epirus Noiva

- (150) Luke of Dyrrachium
- (151) Eusebius of Appolonia
- (152) Parricius of Akineos

From Thessaly

- (153) Constantine of Demetrias

From Crete

- (154) Matyrius of Gortyna
- (155) Gennadius of Cnossus
- (156) Cyril of Subrita
- (157) Euphratas of Eleurherna
- (158) Demitrius of Lappa

From Bithynia

- (159) Eunomius of Nicomedia
- (160) Anastasius of Nicaea
- (161) Julian of Cos representing Pope Leo
- (162) Eleutherius of Chalcedon
- (163) Callinicus of Apamea

From Galatia I

- (164) Eusebius of Ancyra
- (165) Julius of Antioch
- (166) Acacius of Cinna
- (167) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis
- (168) Euphrasius of Lagania
- (169) Leucadius of Mnizus
- (170) Euphrasisu of Lagania

From Galatia II

- (171) Theoctistus of Pessinus represented by Photius, archdeacon
- (172) Helpidius of Thermae
- (173) Mysterius of Amorium
- (174) Aquilla of Eudoixias
- (175) Cyriacus of Trocnade
- (176) Pius of Petnissus
- (177) Longinus of Oreistus

From Cappadocia I

- (178) Thalasius of Caesarea
- (179) Musonius of Nyssa
- (180) Firminus of Therma

From Cappadocia II

- (181) Patricius of Tyana
- (182) Theodosius of Nazianzus
- (183) Aristomachus of Colonia
- (184) Cyrus of Cybistra

From Armenia I

- (185) John of Sebastea
- (186) Tecropius of Sebastopolis
- (187) John of Nicopolis

From Armenia II

- (188) Constantine of Melitene
- (189) Acacius of Melitene
- (190) Adolius of Arabissus
- (191) John of Arqa represented by Euphronius, presbyter
- (192) Domnus of Caucasus represented by Euphronius, presbyter
- (193) Armos of Comanon

From Pontus Polemoniacus

- (194) Dorotheus of Neocaesarea
- (195) John of Polemonium
- (196) Gratidianus of Cerasus
- (197) Atarbius of Trapezus (Trebizond)
- (198) Asoterichus of Coreyra

From the Helenopontus

- (199) Seleucus of Amaseia
- (200) Antonianus of Amisus
- (201) Paralius of Andrappa
- (202) Palladius of Amasia¹⁰⁴⁰
- (203) Uranius of Ibora
- (204) Atticus of Zela
- (205) Antiochus of Senope
- (206) Peter of Dardanus¹⁰⁴¹

From Paphlagonia

- (207) Peter of Gangra
- (208) Atherius of Pompeiopolis
- (209) Rhenus of Ionopolis
- (210) Polchronius of Dadybra
- (211) Theodore of Sora¹⁰⁴²

From Honorias

- (212) Calogerus of Claudiopolis¹⁰⁴³
- (213) Theodore of Heraclea
- (214) Apragmoius of Tiem (Tayoye, Arabs)
- (215) Theophilus of Hadrianopolis
- (216) Genethlius of Creteia
- (217) Olympius of Prusias

From Hellespontus

- (218) Diogenes of Cyzicus
- (219) Peter of Dardanus
- (220) Thalasius of Parium
- (221) David of Hadrianeia
- (222) Eulalius of Pionia
- (223) Pionius of Troas
- (224) Stephen of Poemanenum
- (225) Theosebius of Ilium
- (226) Hermias of Abydus
- (227) Daniel of Lampsacus
- (228) Patricius of Hadrianutheræ
- (229) Hesyschius of Parium¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴⁰ Added by the translator.

¹⁰⁴¹ Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 273.

¹⁰⁴² Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 283.

¹⁰⁴³ Myriopolis in the Syriac text.

(230) Atticus of Zela¹⁰⁴⁵

From Asia

- (231) Stephen of Ephesus
- (232) Aetherichus of Smyrna
- (233) Thomas of Amid
- (234) Eusebius of Clazomenae
- (235) Cyriacus of Aegea
- (236) Mamas of Aninetus
- (237) Leontius of Magnesia [On the Maeander]
- (238) Quintus of Phocaea
- (239) Proclus of Algiza
- (240) Basilicus of Palaeopolis
- (241) Isaiah of Elaea
- (242) Rufinus of Briulla
- (243) Olympius of Augaza-Theodosiopolis
- (244) Esperos of Epitania
- (245) Proterius of Myrina
- (246) Maeonius of Nyssa
- (247) Paulinus of Theodosiopolis-Perperine
- (248) Marcellinus of Metropolis
- (249) Julian of Hypaepa

From Lydia

- (250) Florentinus of Sardis
- (251) Menecrates of Ceraseis
- (252) Patricius of Acrasus
- (253) Polycarp of Tabala
- (254) Paul of Tripoli
- (255) Helias Blaundus
- (256) Cossinius of Hierrocaesarea
- (257) Amachius of Saittae
- (258) Amndrew of Satala
- (259) Dionysius of Attaleia
- (260) Gemelius of Stratonicea
- (261) Alcemedes of Silandus
- (262) Leuqius of Apolonisieru

From Pamphylia I

- (263) Epiphanius of Perga
- (264) Theophilus of Ariassus
- (265) Diodotus of Lysinia
- (266) Neon of Sillyum
- (267) Paul of Pogla
- (268) Marcellinus of Isinda
- (269) Macedon of Magydus
- (270) Maras of Codrula

¹⁰⁴⁴ Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 258.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 242.

From Pamphylia II

- (271) Amphilochius of Side (Sidon)
- (272) Gaius of Syedra
- (273) Eudoxius of Etenna
- (274) Marcellinus of Carallis
- (275) Eugenius of Cotenna
- (276) Obrimus of Coracesium

From Lycia

- (277) Romanus of Myra
- (278) Aristocritus of Olympus
- (279) Eudoxius of Choma
- (280) Palladius of Corydalla
- (281) Cyrinus of Patara
- (282) Stephen of Limyra
- (283) Zenodotus of Telmessus and the island of Macra
- (284) Fronto of Phaselis
- (285) Philip of Barbura
- (286) Theodore of Antiphellus
- (287) Leontius of Araxa
- (288) Antipater of Caunus
- (289) Cratinus of Panormus
- (290) Andrew of Tlos
- (291) Nicholas of Acrassus
- (292) Romanus of Bubon

From Lycaonia

- (293) Onisephorus of Iconium
- (294) Neoptolemus of Corna
- (295) Paul of Derbe
- (296) Plutarch of Lystra
- (297) Rufus of Hyde
- (298) Turranus of Homanada
- (299) Julius of Arcada
- (300) Eugenius of Cana

From Pisidia

- (301) Pergamius of Antioch
- (302) Eutropius of Adana
- (303) Paul of Philomelium
- (304) Pulinus of Apamea
- (305) Theotecnus of Tyriaeum
- (306) Heorticius of Metropolis
- (307) Cyrus of Sinethandus
- (308) Libanius of Parlais
- (309) Alexander of Seleucia
- (310) Ollympus of Sozopolis
- (311) Fontianus of Sagalassus

- (312) Messalinus of Laeodicea
- (313) Bassonas of Neapolis
- (314) Forentius of Hadrianopolis
- (315) Maximinos of Zozoulon

From Caria

- (316) Critonianus of Aphrodisias
- (317) Dionysius of Antioch
- (318) John of Alinda
- (319) Flaccillus of Iasus
- (320) Papias of Eriza
- (321) Dionysius of Heraclea
- (322) Menander of Heraclea
- (323) Alphius of Myndus
- (324) John of Amyzon
- (325) Tynchanus of Apollonia
- (326) Theodoret of Alabanda
- (327) John of Cnidus
- (328) Calandion of Halicarnassus

From Phrygia Salutaris

- (329) Marinianus of Synnada
- (330) Eusebius of Dorylaeum
- (331) Mirus of Eulandra
- (332) Lucian of Ipsus
- (333) Philip of Lysias
- (334) Epipahnius of Midaeum
- (335) Abericius of Hieropolis
- (336) Cyricaus of Eucarpia
- (337) Eutochius of Docimium
- (338) Basil of Nacoleia
- (339) Aquila of Aurocra
- (340) Strategius Polybotus

From Phrygia Pacatiana

- (341) Nunechius of Laodicea
- (342) Daniel of Cadi
- (343) Madestus of Sebastea
- (344) Eulalius of Sibia
- (345) Matthias of Temenothyrae
- (346) Paul of Aristium
- (347) Chares of Dionysopolis
- (348) Gennadius of Acmonia
- (349) Evander of Diocleia
- (350) Gennadius of Mossyna
- (351) Thomas of Theodosiana
- (352) Philip of Ancyra and Synaus
- (353) John of Trapezopolis

From the Islands

Four bishops

From Cyprus

Seven bishops

From Africa

Two bishops

These are the name of the bishops who attended the Council of Chalcedon found in the copies.

Also, we shall append true testimonies with great accuracy derived from the significant books of John the disciple of Bishop Peter the Iberian. They show clearly, and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that the impious Council of Chalcedon was convened far from the fear of God, and that it abandoned justice.

Story 1. Our Father Saint Bishop Peter,¹⁰⁴⁶ who was in Constantinople before he shunned the world, related that Nestorius was delivering a sermon at the church of Maria while celebrating the commemoration of the Forty Martyrs. He had a melodious voice. Nestorius said, "Mary! Do not be proud as if you have given birth to God. Most pious, you have not given birth to God but to a man who is an instrument of God." Instantly, a demon possessed him and he almost fell off the pulpit. The deacons carried him to their private chamber. Thereafter the congregation distanced itself from his communion. I personally used to hold him with great respect.

Story 2. Father (Peter) informed us about the wonderful man and prophet Pelagius of Edessa. He said when Pelagius heard the blasphemy of Hiba (Ibas) he became mightily grieved. When he was persecuted, he went to settle in Palestine shortly before the Council (of Chalcedon) when Juvenal (Bishop of Jerusalem) was still living. Whenever Pelagius saw a vision, he repaired to father Peter who was seeking solace in the wilderness of Mayuma in Gaza. One day, when Pelagius was discussing with Peter matters concerning virtue, he went into a swoon. He saw the transgressions of the Council of Chalcedon seven years before it was convened. He even got into conversation with Emperor Marcian who said to him, "Father! You and I will behold that time. If we will be persecuted with the saints, we, through this persecution, will end our lives." This is what exactly took place.

Story 3. Pelagius saw another vision before the convocation of the Council. He exclaimed while crying, "Woe, woe to you Pulcheria (Pulcheria was the wife of Marcian and very instrumental in the convocation of the Council of Chalcedon.) When asked to explain what he meant, he said, "Pulcheria vowed to God to preserve her virginity. She also expelled Nestorius. Nevertheless, she will defile its virginity, split the faith and persecute the saints. She actually married Marcian and corrupted the true faith.

Story 4. Pamphilius, deacon of Jerusalem, said that while Pelagius was praying near Golgotha he was raptured by the Spirit. His tears began to follow and he uttered the name of Juvenal (bishop of Jerusalem) three times. Pamphilius asked him to interpret his vision, and how he saw Juvenal who is the subject of respect of the monks and the congregation. Juvenal said "Thus you will see him from heaven and from ...lacuna... where he will be taken."¹⁰⁴⁷

Story 5. In another vision, Pelagius saw what was to happen. He said to father Peter and John the eunuch, "Sons, study the Scriptures. And when Christ entrusts you with his churches, pray for me." Actually, he had a foreknowledge of their ordination and thus revealed it to them. Peter was amazed at what he (Pelagius) said, for he then had no inclination toward ordination but rather fled from it. He said to the old man "You don't know what you are saying." Pelagius said with ease, "I know what I am saying. He who is disturbed let him be disturbed."

¹⁰⁴⁶ The Iberian.

¹⁰⁴⁷ This probably means that he will be seized and abused by the Roman soldiers and wicked men.

BOOK EIGHT

Story 6. At the time when the truth was violated, Pelagius prayed, saying, “O Lord my God. Keep me from violating the sanctity of faith until the end. Take my soul wherever you will even on the road or in the inn. Only keep me from transgressing the faith.” Pelagius died in Ascalon, at the house of Cyril the innkeeper, to which he escaped from persecution. Some people from Mayuma took his body and buried it in the monastery of Aaron, the wheat merchant. On the night when the bishops were persecuted, Bishop Peter who was exiled to Thebaid passed away. Before his death, he saw Father Pelagius coming joyfully toward him. He said to Pelagius, “Father, pray for me because I am going to the Lord.” Taking note of that day, he discovered that it was the same as when Pelagius had died. His mother had fasted for many weeks before she conceived him, then delivered him and raised him. When he grew up, he saw a dead pious man who was taken to be buried with sighs. It was then that he repaired to that monastery.

Story 7. John, presbyter of Alexandria of the Tatianus family, said that when he was a boy he went to see Abba Elladius who prophesied death, to reveal to him whether God would straighten his ways. The oracle told him, “Be patient until I gain some calm.” He went on to say, “In a short while the church will be persecuted and then you will come to see me.” John asked for more explanation. Abba Elladius said, “There will arise an impious emperor named Marcian who will force the bishops to admit in writing that he who was crucified (Christ) was not God. However, Dioscorus of Alexandria will not submit to him. Marcian will persecute him, banish him, and he will die in exile. He will be succeeded by another impious emperor. However, yet another priest will arise to fulfill the will of the Lord.¹⁰⁴⁸ But he will pass away after a short while.” John says, “When I wanted him to explain more about what would transpire, he said that this was sufficient. After this, the age of the Antichrist will begin.”

Story 8. Abba Zenon, the wanderer, was a prophet from Kfarserta, a village in Palestine. He went to see Abba Stephen who admired the good things about sojourning before the Council (of Chalcedon) convened. He asked him his opinion about the council. Abba Stephen said to him, “Keep quiet. The heretics are about to stir up a persecution, and you will then hate being a sojourner.” This is exactly what took place. Abba Zenon died one year after the council, grieved and resentful.

Story 9. Abba Innocent, an archimandrite of Pamphylia, related that there was an ascetic who lived in a deep valley. After the convocation of the council, Satan approached him saying, “When you wake up prostrate yourself before me.” The saint rebuked him and the evil one departed saying, “Why did you not bow down before me? Behold many bishops are doing so.”

Story 10. When the council (of Chalcedon) was about to convene, the sun suddenly darkened. In the Holy City (Jerusalem), and in many places in Palestine, hail fell from the sky like balls made by people. They were marked with diverse and strange signs. People began collecting them. When some, out of foolishness used them, they were struck with blindness. Eusebius, the spokesman of Jerusalem, collected some of them and showed them to Queen Eudocia. He sent some of them to Constantinople as a sign of what shall befall the world as a result of the apostasy of the bishop, as the Prophet Isaiah said, “Who is blind but my servant?”¹⁰⁴⁹ Beneath the torrent was seen fine dust. This was attested to by the saint Peter and his disciple Andrew. It was also manifested by the miracle that happened to a blind Samaritan who applied to his eyes the blood of the monks who were killed in Neapolis during the apostasy and beheld the Communion (*qurbono*) turn into flesh and blood at the church of the Apostles in Caesarea. Many people took it and kept it. It remained in this state for a long time.

Story 11. During the coronation of Marcian, darkness covered the whole earth. The incident was recorded in the official registers. The darkness signified the darkness that was to cover the whole church because of him (Marcian). It also signified the darkness that will take place because of godlessness. The darkness persisted until the evening. In order to conceal the distress caused by that darkness, Marcian issued a proclamation saying, “The world shall witness unprecedented prosperity in a kingdom from which the darkness of former emperors has been dispelled, and the light of my primacy has shined.”

¹⁰⁴⁸ He is referring to Timothy, the successor of Dioscorus, who would be restored to the throne of Alexandria.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Isaiah 42:19.

Story 12. In Jerusalem, another proof appeared of the lying against God. The Cross of the Church of Resurrection burned down and was scattered into dust. Believers were sorely grieved because of it. The queen had another Cross of bronze made instead of it weighing six thousand pounds.

Story 13. While Abba Peter and Abba Isaiah were conversing, Isaiah said, "Abba Paul of Thebes, who was hundred years old, told me that a transgression will take place by the bishops with the support of the impious Emperor Marcian. Marcian will reign for six years and then die. He will be succeeded by another for a short period during which peace will prevail in the church. Thus, things will be disconcerting until the Antichrist comes."

Also, concerning Abba Zeno known as "He of the three merits" from Eanton of Alexandria, Phantitus Symmachus wrote about him that, "When I visited him I saw him holding a chain in his hand and his eyes were looking toward heaven. I thought he was praying. When he delayed much, I wanted to leave. He said, 'Why are you leaving?' He rejoined, 'Write down that Saint Timothy (of Alexandria) who is now in exile will shortly return to his see and confirm orthodoxy.' Two years later he will pass away and will be succeeded by his archdeacon in whose time schism will take place in the church. It will not be cured until the coming of the Antichrist."

Story 14. Abba Paul, the sage (Sophist), reported that one of the saints in Egypt saw a vision before the convening of the council, an infant wrapped in light thrown into a furnace. Three days later, the infant came out of the furnace untouched by the fire. Abba Paul realized that He was the Lord (Christ). He asked him, "Who did this to You?" The infant said, "The bishops have betrayed me the second time and concealed my glory. Today's Jews are the Nestorians who say that the Incarnated God was not crucified, but thought was crucified."¹⁰⁵⁰ Abba Paul went on asking the Lord about the bishop who did not agree to have the infant thrown into the furnace. The infant said, "He was Dioscorus who opposed the unlawful act of the bishops." He also said, "Since Simon of Cyrene carried my cross, Cyrene was considered a town of Egypt which will carry my cross and follow me to the end."

Story 15. While about to leave this life, Timothy reported that when he was a child on his way to school, an old man met him, kissed him in the head and said to him, "Peace be unto you Timothy, the bishop of peace. He repeated this three times and then disappeared."

Story 16. The same Timothy said, "As I was about to leave Shiloh in the company of a person who was an expert about the holy places, I saw a monastery surrounded by dried up trees, thorns and neglected vineyards. I said, 'how is it that no one has any concerns to restore this place?' My companion replied, 'This monastery is Juvenal's and from it he was called to become a bishop. But when he blasphemed the monastery turned into ruins as a result of God's wrath, and now no one can inhabit it.' Then, I remembered Dioscorus said that Juvenal was a companion of Judas (Iscariot who betrayed Jesus). Therefore, his monastery will be desolate and no one will dwell in it, as it is written."¹⁰⁵¹

Story 17. During Lent, Juvenal made rounds of the old monasteries to visit the ascetics according to the old custom. He visited an old ascetic who shut the door in his face when he saw him approaching. He and the monks with him kept knocking, but the ascetic would not open the door. They threatened to break down the door. The ascetic said, "Away from me O Antichrist. No Antichrist can enter my cell. I will never allow Judas to enter this place. Juvenal's companions said, 'Leave him alone. He has lost his mind. Asceticism has dried up his brain.'" These words were heard by the inhabitants of the city and the entire region.

Story 18. In the church called the Church of Baptism of Siloam, there was a boy reader.¹⁰⁵² On the day of his turn to serve, he saw our Lord entering the church and angels with him. The Lord saw lamps that were put off on their own. He asked, "What shall I do with those whom I have given plentiful goodness of oil and wine and yet they have neglected my service. Woe to Juvenal who made this house a den of robbers

¹⁰⁵⁰ This is what the Quran holds, which indicates that Muhammad was greatly influenced by the teaching of the Nestorian monk Bahira.

¹⁰⁵¹ Acts 1:20.

¹⁰⁵² Reader or lector is the lowest rank of the diaconate who usually reads the Psalms during the service.

and filled it with adulterous, godless and defiled men.” He entered the chamber of deacons and ordered the cupboards opened. He saw the Body and the Blood placed in dirty vessels. He said to those with him, “Purify them and sprinkle them with soil.” When he came out, he saw the boy reader trembling from fear. He said, “Take this one out also.” The boy fell on his face and said, “Have mercy on me Lord.” The Lord said to him, “Get out because you don’t know your duty.” He rejoined, “Will you repent and never be negligent?” The boy said, “Help me with your mercy.” He spent that day in sorrow and distress. When it was daylight, the people noticed the miracle. They saw the vessels shine like the bright light of a furnace and the soil spread over them was like incense and they smelled like a perfume, a thing that invoked wonderment. When Juvenal learned what had happened, he was ashamed and accompanied that boy at night. However, the boy disappeared and no one knows where and how he disappeared. Only God knows.

Story 19. In the time of the blessed Peter, I do not know whether it was he or someone else, saw a vision. He beheld the impurities that would defile the Temple. Since then, he did not enter the Temple or administer communion to others.

Story 20. In one of the monasteries, the ascetic Paul desired to add another piety to his pieties. He decided not to look at the face of a woman. His hermitage was fourteen kilometers away from Jerusalem. In a vision concerning the Council of Chalcedon, he saw a vast plain in whose midst stood a high hillock topped by an earthen chest for the preservation of the communion and a golden pillar inlaid with precious stones and jewels. From the pillar sparks of light shot out in an inconceivable manner. It was surrounded by hosts of saints performing the service and a voice came down from heaven exclaiming, “Anathema to those who proclaim Two Natures.” Those around the altar responded, “Amen.” Those on the plain kept silent for fear. Behold, another voice exclaimed, “Anathema to anyone who divides the One indivisible (Christ). To those who deny, anathema.” Others responded to the voice saying, “Amen.” Juvenal who passed by said, “I have passed by here because I will never see you again. We are preparing to fight or exile is ahead of us. Or, we should step on our conscience in the face of God because they (the Chalcedonians) intend to force us to transgress the faith of our fathers and profess the ideas of Simon (Magus) and the Jews who proclaim that the Christ who died for us is not God. Father, pray for me lest I become disgraced in my old age.”

Story 21. This same old man (the ascetic Paul) saw Juvenal hiding in place from shame. He was naked and his face was blackened like the soot of the furnace. He was wearing a filthy patched garment. The ascetic cried out, “Whatever has happened to you, my lord?” Juvenal said, “I don’t know what to do about my sins. I feel ashamed. I have collected plenty of money for the Antichrist, for he is ready to fight even against the dust.” The ascetic, desiring to know the essence of the vision, the spirit replied, “His (the Antichrist) struggle against the dust means that he will triumph over those who have been created from the dust of the earth, those who stick to this earth shall be overcome by the Antichrist.”

Story 22. In Isauria, there is a city called Titopolis built by the Emperor Titus. Its bishop, Panoproprius, was a prior of a monastery. Then he became a bishop by force. When the Council of Chalcedon convened, Basil, the metropolitan of Seleucia, took him in his company to the council. He perceived at the beginning that the bishops anathematized those who held Two Natures in agreement with Dioscorus. Later when he saw them condemn Dioscorus, profess Two Natures and accept Flavian, Ibas and Theodoret without investigation, he went to the house where he was staying and locked himself in. He wept and prayed to God to inform him of the truth. Three days later, he saw in a vision a huge leaf extending from heaven to earth. On both sides was written in luminous letters, “The Council of Chalcedon is anathema. It has rejected me, it has rejected me. The bishops are anathema.” Immediately he fled at night to his city and told the people what has happened and informed them about the vision he had seen. He asked them to persist in orthodoxy until death and never to submit to Basil. Following these events, he remained in his episcopate for seven years. He kept his flock wholesome and endured much from Basil’s machinations.

Story 23. Stephen, abbot of the Monastery of Tagon in Seleucia, said that he never expected Basil to violate the truth for he was a successful preacher. However, when the council convened and he deviated from the truth, he returned to his flock. At night, Stephen supplicated God to reveal the truth to him. He

saw Basil entering the church at night and received by the congregation with honor. While he was at the altar, a man of strange appearance entered the church through the western door. He made his way through the congregation and stuck his right finger in Basil's mouth while he was about to conclude the prayer. He dragged him outside the church. This event signified what Severus the Great¹⁰⁵³ did, who obliterated the memory of Basil and removed his name from the diptychs. Eventually he was rejected and expelled.

Story 24. The same Stephen said, "One of the servants of Christ saw me in a vision, I the wretched, entered a great mansion. I saw the bishop seated and said, "Here are the miscreants. I held a whip and drove them away." This vision indicates that the orthodox were still in control and the heretics were overcome."

Story 25. Romanus was an archimandrite of a great monastery located opposite the village of Thecua about fifteen miles south of Jerusalem. It housed six hundred monks. The believers pressured him to fight those who transgressed the faith. He asked them to be patient. He left for the wilderness where he spent ten days in prayer desiring the truth to be revealed to him. At the end of these days, he heard a voice saying, "Believe in the creed of the 318¹⁰⁵⁴ and you will be saved." After revealing his vision to the brethren, they said to him, "The bishops of Chalcedon confirmed this creed." For the second time he repaired to the wilderness. After fasting and prayer, he heard a voice saying, "Go and follow Peter of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Julius, Athanasius, Gregory, John Celestine, Cyril and Dioscorus." Romanus informed the brethren of his monastery of what he saw. They said to him, "Those who deny do themselves believe that they follow these dignitaries, but they twist their teachings. It is your duty to find a satisfying answer." Romanus went out to the wilderness. At noon, he saw a huge *Tome* coming down from heaven written on the following, "The bishops at Chalcedon have denied and committed a sin. Woe to them. They are anathema." Because of this spectacle, kindled with zeal for the faith, he reproached Juvenal and participated with the orthodox bishop in ordaining Theodosius as a bishop of Jerusalem. Then he anathematized Juvenal. Later however, the tyrant Juvenal evicted Romanus who went to Antioch.

Story 26. (Appius), bishop of Caesarea, who was in exile in Chersone, said that he went to visit Timothy, bishop of Alexandria. He noticed a malicious putrid boil in his leg. He also noticed that his attendants did not care for him. He did not even allow physicians to treat him. Intending to treat him, Appius fell at Timothy's feet and had him swear to let him do what was beneficial for him. Timothy asked him to rise up saying, "I am doing what pleases God." He put his figure on his eye and said, "Look at the pupil of my eye and notice the deep cut in it." Appius said, "I see it." Timothy said, "One day while I was keeping vigil in a short service, Satan came to me in a dreadful black form just like the one Job had seen. He smashed the wall and entered in. In his hand was a big *Tome*. He shouted, 'Who can challenge me? Take this and sign it.' He was trying to frighten and upset me. Gaining strength from the Lord, I said to him, 'I will not accept your words or submit to your counsel.' He became angry and hit my eye leaving this cut in it. I thought that my eye was gouged. On the next day, the brethren noticed something like a drop of blood and a piece of flesh coming down my eye. Most likely, my eye had become blinded. They tried to treat me but I would not let them. A short while afterwards, comfort came from God. He appeared to me, placed his hand on my eye and healed me. My sight was restored but he left this cut as a testimony. He who afflicted me with this cut is the same who struck me in the leg. As Christ healed me from that wound, he will also heal me from this one." Saint Timothy used to call the Council of Chalcedon the Satan's assembly.

Story 27. Peter, the Emperor's guardian, told the soldier Zeno who loved Nestorius and praised the council assembled by Marcian, he saw that in a dream a man saying to him, "How much longer will you stay in error and not follow the truth? Follow me and I will show you the place where Theodosius and Marcian are." First, he saw Theodosius in a place brighter than the sunrays. He then took him to another dark place filled with smoke. When he prayed, Marcian appeared a little. I saw him tormented and fastened to an iron chain in the midst of the fire. Zeno said that he repented and became a good Christian.

Story 28. Cyriacus and Julius, the Cyprian monks, related that there was Martyrium in Cyprus called Spyridon in which miracles were performed. Even if someone vowed a lamb or a dove (as a sacrifice), they

¹⁰⁵³ Patriarch of Antioch, d. 538.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Number of the bishops assembled at Nicaea.

would release themselves voluntarily and go to the Martyrium unguided. After the council, the Cypriot saint appeared to those who went to his temple and said to them, "Don't go to the temple and participate with the deniers. I have abandoned them."¹⁰⁵⁵

Story 29. At the Martyrium in Sebastea, where the remains of John the martyr were laid to rest, there were two chests: one for (John the Baptist) and the other for the Prophet Elisha, and a throne in the same place. The presbyter Apollos asked the doorman Constantine about them, and he replied unwillingly, "One chest belongs to St. John on which he appears at night. I come in to offer him honor." When the council (of Chalcedon) convened, the pious Constantine was grieved. He realized that if he partook of the communion, he would no more honor St. John. If he did not, he would be (considered) a transgressor. As he supplicated, St. John appeared to him saying, "Do not lose your soul by recanting. Rather, preserve your faith unblemished. And wherever you go I will be with you." Constantine went out unsullied. He led a saintly life in sojourn.

Story 30. While the ascetic Zosimus wandered around seeking solitude, he reached as far as Bethel. The superintendent of the church asked him to stay with him. Zosimus pretended that he was fleeing from partaking with the wicked. The church superintendent promised that no harm would come to him from those who deny. Zosimus consented and remained. At night he saw James, chief of the fathers, wearing a cloak and walking in the place. James asked, "How is it that you, an orthodox man, want to stay in this place? Do not contravene your faith on this account, but flee from the unbelievers."

Story 31. Abba Peter told about St. Heliodorus who went up a mountain in Cilcia. He lived with wild animals sustaining himself by eating roots and herbs. He covered his body with his hair. Shortly afterwards, he was captured by hunters. Under the pressure of people, he was forced to live in a monastery among the brethren. When he was near death, he said to his disciples, "Twenty-four years from now the bishops will deny the faith. Flee to Egypt where the glory of orthodoxy is protected." They did flee. One of Heliodorus' disciples told this story to Abba Peter.

Story 32. The same Abba Peter said, "Upon the death of Theodosius (the emperor), one of the saints who was sitting in his cell heard a voice saying that heaven would shake up and was about to fall down and destroy the earth, but cause no harm to anyone.

Story 33. When Nestorius was in exile at Thebes, a person was sent to this place to distribute bounties to the soldiers. He rushed to Nestorius and extended to him the glad tidings of having been invited by the council (of Chalcedon). When Megistros went to summon Nestorius to attend the council, Nestorius said haughtily, "Was I wrong in having said that Jesus is not God and Mary did not give birth to God?" Immediately, his tongue was loosed and hanged down out of his mouth. He chewed it up and died. Bishop Theodore confirmed that the earth rejected his remains and ejected him forcefully three times. The people placed him a bag and hanged him on the wall. Timothy testified in his writing about this incident.

Story 34. Photamon the monk went from the Scete to Egypt. He saw Abba Peter and said to him, "Don't despair Abba Peter, for God will take revenge soon. The church of God prays for you chief priests. Divine justice will definitely extend to this sodomite and companion of murderers, Proterius." Three months later, Proterius was killed.

Story 35. A certain deacon, who had studied under Abba Peter for thirty-five years and lived in the wilderness of Thebes, heard a voice saying, "Basil! Go unto the world and strive for the faith. The kings and the bishops are about to deny the faith. Basil came to the district of Lycia and found a cavern on the seashore wherein he lived for twelve years. When the inhabitants of the district made his acquaintance, he departed for a ruined monastery. He built in it two compartments, one for men and the other for women. He heard another voice saying, "Basil! Go rebuke Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople who has denied me." He went and rebuked Nestorius before the congregation while he was delivering the homily. When Nestorius did not return to his senses and to the truth, Basil cried out, "You are condemned Nestorius." When Emperor Theodosius saw him, he said, "Why were you baptized in the name of the Trinity which you

¹⁰⁵⁵ For Spyridon, bishop of the Cypriots, see Socrates, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Book One, Chapter 12, pp. 33-34 of the English translation.

do not believe in? For Nestorius teaches against the Trinity.” When the Prefect Flavian arrested Basil, he had him tortured and sent to exile. As Basil was supplicating God, a brick fell on the head of Emperor Theodosius and he was close to death. One of his adjutants saw him in a dream and said to him, “You have been tormented because of Basil.” Immediately, Theodosius recovered and had Basil released. Basil reproached Theodosius. He asked him to convene a council and depose Nestorius the miscreant. Theodosius consented and convened the Council of Ephesus.

Story 36. Four hundred-thirty years ago, an angel appeared to the pious Eliana, wife of Marius. He said to her, “Eliana, Eliana! Three years from now Nestorius will sit on the (patriarchal) throne of Constantinople. Make sure you do not receive communion from his hands.” When Basil was reproaching (Nestorius) as has been said earlier, Eliana cried out from an upper window, “You are anathema, Nestorius.” She said this because she knew it through a vision. In fact, she pointed to the anathema of those who held Two Natures. Moreover, when Nestorius was banished to Oasis, he was captured by Barbarians called Mariceans (Mazices) who took him captive. However, he managed to release himself and flee to a city of Phanos, so named after an animal of dual natures. At this city, he ended his life in great torment.

Story 37. Abba Peter related that he was with ‘Arqa (Barqa) the Phoenician when he was still a child and now an ascetic in Constantinople. He had on his mind the question, “How do we believe in one God and at the same time believe in a consubstantial Trinity and that one of the Trinity was incarnated?” He saw in a vision the Apostle Peter who took him to a very high place and had him stand before him like a child. He showed him in heaven an immensely brilliant light in the form of a chariot, which could not be approached. He told him, “This is the Father.” Then, another light like the first one followed and the Lord was standing in it in the form of a Nazarene man. He said to him, “This is the Son.” Along with him there was yet a third light like the first two. He said to him, “This is the Holy Spirit. The three are one essence, one nature, one splendor, one Godhead, but three persons.” Apostle Peter went on saying, “Since it is not possible to draw near from all three, the one in the middle appeared in the form of a Nazarene man indicating that the one who was crucified is a person of the Trinity and no one else. The other two lights are mere light and have no form and are beyond comprehension.”

Story 38. Annianus of Alexandria, before receiving baptism from our spiritual father, had a wife who was of those who held the doctrine of Two Natures. She fell ill and was close to death because she did not submit to the truth. In a dream, she saw that she was taken to a dark place from which issued sounds of wailing. She was then transferred to another bright place where the saints were praising God. The angels said to her, “To these your husband belongs. The others were the bishops who participated in the Council (of Chalcedon) and those who followed them. If you want to be in the light, we will appeal for you and you will live one additional year.” When she woke up, she called her husband and told him her dream. She received communion from the orthodox. A year later she passed away.

Story 39. The confessor steward of the church Lothropolis was near death. He saw the same dream as the woman saw in the former story. He asked to be taken to the Monastery of Abba Romanus five miles away. He confessed what he had seen and received communion. Then he became a monk, and three days later passed away. His miraculous redemption became the cause for mercy.

Story 40. Bonifatius, a Roman presbyter, did not want to engage in conversation with those who held Two Natures. In a dream, he saw a dead person laid in a coffin before a pillar. The atmosphere was filled with the odor of his decaying body. Suddenly, he returned to life and became a magistrate. He handed a book, decorated from the outside but filthy on the inside, to presbyter Bonifatius. The presbyter realized that it was pointing to Nestorius who lived before Juvenal.

Story 41. A certain deacon waiting for his turn to serve, cohabited with a woman and then went to sleep as usual in the summer compartment of Golgotha. He heard a voice saying, “Juvenal has so much defiled my house. Throw away the unclean.” In the morning, the deacon was seen cast away with his bed on the street. They woke him up and he confessed his sin.

Story 42. The blessed Miqa of Ascalon, who lived a hundred years in piety, alerted the people to the transgressions of the council. Satan appeared threatening her saying, “Why do you provoke people’s doubts

regarding the great council?" He threw off the platform and began fighting her with its bricks, but she was given power and drove him away.

Story 43. Two monks from Cilicia told our spiritual father that they went to see Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, and found that he had lost his mind when he tried to remove the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel of John from the canon. When they scolded him for what he was doing, he repulsed them saying, "Monks have no business investigating these matters." Three days later, he became possessed by a demon. He bit himself and ate his flesh until he succumbed.

Story 44. In Pamphylia, orthodox monks debated with monks who held the doctrine of Two Natures while they were collecting firewood. They thought that fire should be the test of the faith. They cast into the fire a roll containing a canon of the faith and another one containing the definition of faith by Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. Immediately, the roll containing the definition of faith by Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo was consumed while no harm came to the other one. Those who maintained Two Natures saw what happened, repented and embraced orthodoxy.

Story 45. The blessed Basilides related that a priest of a village near Ptolemais debated with a simple orthodox man. The priest asked him, "Do you want to know which of us embraces the most correct faith? If you want to know, then we should build a fire and every one of us should put his right hand in it. The one whose hand does not burn is orthodox." Both wrapped their right hands with twigs and drew them near the fire. The hand of the priest was immediately burned while no harm was done to the hand of the simple orthodox believer.

Story 46. The blessed Epiphanius was from the village of Salto. The priest of the village who was an adherent to the faith in Two Natures antagonized him, and Epiphanius refused to take communion from him. The priest threatened him with all kinds of threats, if he refused to take communion from him. Epiphanius prepared to escape with those whom he lived. One day, however, the priest fell down dead. Fear gripped the inhabitants of the village who began to receive communion from the hands of Epiphanius.

Story 47. Abba Phetra, prior of the monks in Alexandria, heard a voice saying, "Go and console Abba Peter the confessor, who is being persecuted." Phetra said, "Who will lead me to his place?" He was told, "Proceed and do not worry." When he passed through the gate of the city, a pillar of light guided him to the place where the saint was staying. He knocked at the door, and Peter was frightened. Phetra said, "Father Peter don't be afraid, I am Phetra the poor." Both were glad to see each other and Peter kept Phetra with him. He baptized the son of the owner of the house. Phetra noticed the grace of the priesthood descending on father Peter. He trembled and exclaimed, "My lord, my lord." He was hardly able to touch him during the ceremony of baptism.

Story 48. Father Phetra related that once he had seen monks carrying a huge cross on their shoulders from both ends and walking in opposite directions. Some walked to the right and the others to the left. Both groups were reviling each other. This was an indication of the schism that took place in the church. Meanwhile, father Lucius of the cells said by the spirit, "A time will come when the two groups will offer a testimony to Christ and receive communion together for the sake of orthodoxy."

Story 49. The blessed Orbecia saw in a vision as if she was going to the Church of the Resurrection to worship. As she bent to climb the steps, she saw a woman dressed in purple and light shining out of her. She fell down from fear. The woman was the Mother of God. She raised her up and said, "Don't be frightened, O mother." Then, the Mother of God looked through the window and said to Orbecia, "How is the condition of the mountain?" Orbecia said, "It is filled with broken wood." The Mother of God said, "The church of God will keep to the end like the broken wood of this mountain."

Story 50. Zeno, abbot of a monastery, predicted that Leontius of Ascalon will be ordained a bishop but will not die a bishop. Then, Leontius became a bishop of Ascalon. He had strong relations with Nestorius and sent him greetings in his place of exile. He was the one who instigated Juvenal to sign the blasphemy of the Council of Chalcedon. Upon his return, the people of Ascalon counseled each other either to kill him or to stone him (to death). When Leontius learned of this, he journeyed to Cyprus and died there an object of wrath. His partisans decided to carry his body to Ascalon. They placed it in a ship in which

there was another body of a mariner from Ascalon, who had died in the capital, and was accompanied by his relatives. A storm raged at sea. The crew decided to throw some of the belonging and the body of the mariner into the sea and keep the body of Leontius. Upon arriving at Ascalon, they opened the coffin, and found the body of the mariner with a pot over his head. Ashamed of what they saw, the partisans of Leontius tried to bury the mariner as a bishop, but their action was betrayed during the funeral.

Story 51. Three years before the council (of Chalcedon) assembled, a father in Jerusalem said at the seventh hour, "I saw three suns: one in the east, one in the west and the third in the midst of heaven. I wonder which one of them was the most powerful and splendid. Only God knows."

Story 52. We say to those who claim that all creation is in communion with the church except for us as a schismatic minority, "Do you know how many fathers came out of Egypt and how many miracles they saw? Only two of them remained staunch in the faith. The rest transgressed and perished in the wilderness." Moses said, "Do not follow a crowd in doing evil."¹⁰⁵⁶ In Persia, the captive Jews worshipped the idol but only three did not commit infidelity. The rest of them however, worshipped the golden calf. You should draw an analogy between this multitude and the multitude of the impious Council of Chalcedon. How truly to this applies the words of the Prophet Jeremiah who said, "Many shepherds will ruin my vineyard and trample down my field; they have turned my pleasant field into a desolate wasteland."¹⁰⁵⁷ One who fulfills the will God is better than thousands.

Story 53. After Juvenal returned from the council, the monks decided to censure him. Abba Peter wanted to join them. Our Savior appeared to him saying, "I have been wronged and my faith is trampled down while you made no move." The monks were also accompanied by Theodosius who was still a monk and later was ordained a (bishop). The monks reproached Juvenal immensely. Those in his company urged a man named Juvenal Diocorian to arrest Theodosius for stirring up trouble. Abba Peter knew him since he was in the monastery. He became excited, wrapped his neck with his sash and said to him as if he was predicting, "Either you are a mediator on behalf of the faith or you had better keep silent. Have you not done this and that during this night? I am here the least of the saints. Do you want me to ask fire to fall down from heaven to destroy you and those in your company?" Theodosius said, "Forgive me my lord. I did not know that your holiness was here." Therefore, Abba Peter left Theodosius alone.

Story 54. Theodosius was very eloquent. He suspected the doctrine of Two Natures. He asked God to direct him to the right doctrine. The evangelist John appeared to him in a vision saying, "He is the Lord of glory who was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen and looked at and have touched with our hands—he is the Word of life."¹⁰⁵⁸ After this, Theodosius began to criticize those who held Two Natures.

Story 55. If Chalcedonians ask why we consider them transgressors, our response is this: "The teaching of the Apostle says, 'If I rebuild what I have destroyed, I prove that I am a lawbreaker.'¹⁰⁵⁹ You have rejected Nestorius at Ephesus, the man who proclaimed Two Natures, and condemned those who hold this doctrine. Thus, you were perpetrators at Chalcedon for destroying what had been built anew. You have accepted Theodoret and Ibas who had been condemned for their blasphemy. You have deposed Juvenal at Second Ephesus, chaired by Dioscorus, and then restored him at Chalcedon. You are also guilty of violating the decision of First Ephesus that determined that no other definition of the faith, except that of Nicaea, should be formulated. Indeed, Nicaea resolved that anyone who dared introduce another formula of faith should be deprived of the dignity of the episcopate. However, you have violated Nicaea and instituted another definition of faith at Chalcedon. Therefore, it is imperative that we condemn you. The Apostle Paul said, 'But even if we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel other than the one we preached to you, let him be condemned! As we have already said, so now I say again: If anybody is

¹⁰⁵⁶ Exodus 23:2.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Jeremiah 12:10.

¹⁰⁵⁸ 1 John:1.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Galatians 2:18.

preaching to you a gospel other than what you accepted, let him be eternally condemned!"¹⁰⁶⁰ And since you have violated the decision of Nicaea, and especially that of Ephesus, you have become subject to the condemnation of the Apostle."

Story 56. A pious man saw in a vision a convention of bishops and the Apostle Paul standing in their midst. The Apostle said, "Here are my counsels, here are my covenants and instructions." After delivering to them a lesson, he said, "Wash from this jug." When they washed, leprosy appeared on their faces. He rejoined, "See, none of you is wholesome."

Story 57. A pious, orthodox layman called Marcian rebuked the bishop of Pamphylia when he heard him raving in his sermon. Marcian was arrested by the prefect. He was tormented until it was believed that he had died. A day later, however, he regained consciousness with full health. He said to the believers, after he was scourged three times by an ox whip, that a person clothed in white appeared on his right and he did not feel pain. A man with incurable leprosy was present there. When he was rubbed with the blood, which flowed from Marcian, he was healed.

Story 58. While the council was in session, the blessed Timothy of Alexandria told Abba John who was sent to him as an exile, "I saw in a vision that a council had met at Alexandria. As I drew near to receive the communion, I saw that the bread was black and the wine was vinegar." This is an indication of the negligence that will take place in the church.

Story 59. When the monk Anastasius of Edessa studied under Abba Peter, he condemned the council. When he decided to take communion, he saw in a dream that he was being baptized anew. He was wearing a white garment and walking in a procession preceded by candles. He became doubtful because he was already baptized. However, he heard the old man who directed him to Abba Peter saying, "Have no doubt. This is not a second baptism. For all those who revert to orthodoxy deserve such glory and light."

Story 60. The presbyter Thamasium said, "We decided to leave before the arrival of the heretical bishop of Rinocorora. A man who had a child not yet baptized, insisted that we baptize him before the arrival of the heretical bishop. While baptized, the child exclaimed "Catch this dove before it gets away." Evidently, the Spirit appeared to him in the form of a dove signifying that God's grace had abandoned their churches after the heretics took control of them.

Story 61. Abba Peter related about a clerical friend who apostatized in the time of Proterius and to whom he was attached. He said that he met him in a narrow street but shunned him. The cleric, however, approached him and greeted him. Abba Peter returned his greetings unwillingly. At night he saw the spacious plain radiant with light in which the saints congregated and the Lord was in their midst. Abba Peter says that he rushed to worship the Lord but he turned away his face from me angrily. Immediately, I knew that the reason was my shunning of the apostate cleric. I said, "Have mercy on me Lord. I did not behave that way by my own will." Abba Peter went on to say, "He (the Lord) almost accepted the intercession of saints on my behalf and was merciful to me."

Story 62. A group of orthodox went to see a stylite monk in Beirut. The monk noticed that they were not taking communion in the church. He asked them angrily, "Where do you then take the communion?" They said, "We carry a communion given us by the fathers and partake in it." The monk said, "How dare you, laymen, receive the communion by your own order?" They replied, "The orthodox fathers allowed us to do so." When they gathered on Sunday to take the communion as usual, one of them, heeding the admonition of the Stylite monks, hesitated to partake in the communion. However, he restrained himself and decided to take the communion. As he received the particle of the consecrated bread, it appeared in his hand glowing but stained with blood.

Story 63. Stephen, archdeacon of Jerusalem, had a sister who spent the whole year in fasting and prayer. She attained so a high degree of perfection that she was worthy to see John the Baptist and St. Stephen in his church. One day, after the council (of Chalcedon) assembled, as she was praying with the apostates in the same church in order not to be deprived of seeing the saint (John), the martyr appeared to

¹⁰⁶⁰ Galatians 1:8-9.

her and said to her, "Go and stay in your cell. Do not be disturbed or think that you are (physically) far away from us. For wherever you are, we will be there too."

Story 64. An orthodox woman from Pamphylia went up to the Church of the Resurrection to pray. It happened that a council had convened at the church. The doors were shut while she was inside. Unable to get out, she hid herself under a church column. When the meeting was over, she returned to her cell. She fell sick and grew close to death. She cried out, "Come and see what charge they attached to me? They say how can we believe you while you are orthodox?" She went on to say, "I remained there until the meeting of the apostates dispersed. I saw the unworthy offer the elements to the worthy."

Story 65. One day, she (perhaps the woman in the former story) saw herself standing before the throne of God for judgment. She heard a voice saying, "The Son of God was born by the Virgin Mary, suffered and died for us." When she confessed these words, she was received and won God's graciousness.

Story 66. In Attalia Pamphylia, there was a superior of a convent of orthodox nuns named Zoe. One time she saw in a vision that she was in Paradise. In its midst stood the wood of the Living Cross. Bees hovered around the tree trying to suck the nectar but were driven away by a deacon clothed in white. When she asked him what was the reason for this, he answered: "These are the ones who embraced the Council of Chalcedon and renounced the creed of faith." Then, Claudianus, bishop of Attalia, approached the nun. She scolded him for signing a document that contradicted the faith. He said, "I signed with my hand but not with my heart and soul." She said to him, "How can the hand move unless it is motivated by the soul? As the sword cannot move on its own, thus the hand cannot move without the soul."

Story 67. During the period when the orthodox faith was retreating, Leontius of Lucia, a superior of the monastery, saw in a vision that the covers of the church altar were ripped off and the holy elements were thrown on the ground. He did not enter the church saying, "They are of the four gods."

Story 68. On the same day when the council ended its acts and declared blasphemy, a pious man saw the church turning into a stable crowded with unclean animals and with an offensive stench.

Story 69. Epictetus, archimandrite of a monastery in Pamphylia, saw Amphilochius, bishop of Side, had sunk in the mud up to the neck. He asked him, "How do you feel in this mud while you were adorned with a life of piety?" Amphilochius said, "Good is from God and evil is from us. I have suffered this because I agreed with the council." It is said that it was he who wrote down the *Tome* of Leo.

Story 70. Agataslia, a pious woman, desired to take communion after the schism (caused by the Council of Chalcedon). She asked for God's guidance. In a dream, she saw two altars: one great but simple, and free from covers on which was officiating one of the council's bishops. The other altar, to the left, was small but gleaming with inlaid gems. The Lord was standing on top of it as an infant offering the communion. He said to her, "Here it is, take it." She consented and did not take the communion from those who held Two Natures.

Story 71. The two brothers Timothy and John were from the Monastery of Abba Romanus of Pelusen. Timothy became very weak and died. The brethren washed him as usual and laid him in a bier to have him buried, but he sprang up alive. Weeping, he told the brethren who surrounded him that he truly died and was taken to the place of judgment. He kept shouting, "The truth, the truth. You witness how cautious I was when I was with you not to induce doubt in any one of you. Although I was a believer, I found no comfort except by protecting the orthodox faith from adulteration; I did not follow the doctrine of Chalcedon."

Story 72. Someone set up a canopy at the gate of a princess's palace in Antioch. He lived in it summer and winter wearing only a tunic. He adhered to silence but continued to pray in tears and lamentation. He did not take silver from anyone save the food of green produce offered to him every evening by a greengrocer in an adjacent shop. He continued to debate with the Nestorians and overwhelmed them. They countered by beating him until they almost killed him. I went to see this pious man. He asked to see Nonus, bishop of Qinnésrin who was also the archimandrite of the Monastery of 'Aqiba. He also had upbraided Martyrius of Antioch. After Peter of Antioch was deposed, Martyrius ordained him out of jealousy and envy. I accompanied Nonus but rushed ahead of him to inform the pious

man about him. When Nonus arrived, I said to the pious man, "This is the man I told you about." He became indignant and said, "All this happened because of him?" He censured Nonus and spat in his face. I said to him, "He is a bishop." Pointing with his finger threateningly, he said, "This wretched man has partaken with those assembled at Chalcedon in the ordination and thus brought disgrace to orthodoxy. He is guilty of saying that Christ is a man clothed in divinity." The pious man went on saying, "The heretics of Antioch are likewise guilty for saying that, 'It is the body of a righteous man.' We say to these men what the apostle already said that, 'Anyone who rejected the Law of Moses died without mercy. How much more severely do you think a man deserves to be punished who has trampled the Son of God underfoot, who has treated as unholy thing the blood of the covenant, and who has insulted the spirit of grace?'¹⁰⁶¹ Now, if the wrath of God was upon Israel because of one sin, after the multitude of miracles wrought in the days of Moses and Joshua son of Nun, how much more God's wrath will be against the Council of Chalcedon of wicked name in which bishops and nations trampled not only upon one simple commandment, but the whole faith and doctrine? How is it that by their own will they brought upon themselves the wrath of God against the whole earth? Therefore, I repeat what I said earlier that, 'I will not be with you anymore unless you remove the anathema from your midst.'¹⁰⁶² This has been revealed by he who is the source of everything. Since then however, the kingdom of the Romans (Byzantines) waned and the barbarians controlled it.

The above stories were collected assiduously by St. John the disciple of the blessed Bishop Peter the Iberian. He recorded them to show that the corruption done by the transgression of the Council of Chalcedon was the work of the devil. *He who reads let him pray for the weak and sinful copyist.*

Extracts from the Ecclesiastical History of Zachariah Rhetor (of Mitylene) On the conflict which took place at Chalcedon

Emperor Marcian delivered a public address in the Church of the Martyr Euphemia in the following terms:

"Since God has chosen us as believers, and accounted us worthy of the kingdom of God amidst all the care of public business, no concern whatever in which we might be involved was allowed to hinder us. However, we made it our choice to honor the true faith of the Christians, and to accustom the minds of men to it, with purity. All novelty of false doctrine and preaching that do not agree with the well-proved doctrine of the Fathers are taken out of our midst. Therefore we summoned this holy Synod that it might cleanse away all darkness, and put away filth of thoughts that so, in pure mind, the doctrine of the faith which is in our Lord Jesus Christ might be established."¹⁰⁶³

When the emperor had finished his public address, the bishops praised him and the Tome of Leo, affirming that it agreed with the faith of the Apostle Peter.¹⁰⁶⁴

Now, that the council reached such a result, it sent Dioscorus to exile in Gangra and appointed in his place his presbyter Pretorius. At first, Pretorius had contented against the Council (of Chalcedon). Afterwards, intending to snatch the See (of Alexandria) for himself, he became like Judas, a betrayer of his master, and like Absalom of his father, he forced the others to agree with himself, but they refused. He sent them into banishment and seized their properties. Thus, the chief priests, the presbyters and the monks, nay the whole church were split into two factions. When the orthodox perceived that the faith had been polluted and Dioscorus was unjustly deposed, they met and proclaimed Dioscorus and wrote his name in the Book of Life. Pretorius became very indignant. He offered gifts to the Romans and armed them against the people and had many from both sides killed. In addition, many died at the Altar and at the Baptistry.¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁶¹ Hebrews 10:28.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. Joshua 7:12.

¹⁰⁶³ *The Syrian Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, translated by F. J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks (London: Methuen, 1899), 47 hereafter *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, *Ibid.* 47.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, *Ibid.* 48.

The Council of Chalcedon was convened to corrupt and confound the whole world. It destroyed the peace that prevailed for seventy years in the time of the Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius and Theodosius II. Marcian transgressed the canons since his early days when he married the nun Pulcheria, who was living in a state of virginity, I think, for fifty years. By convoking the corrupt council, he stirred up persecution against the Christians and thousands died without baptism because of the schism.

When Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, was summoned to Chalcedon, he called his clergy the monks and the people to gather together. He exposed the false doctrine of the *Tome* of Leo and anathematized it. He also anathematized everyone who held the doctrine of Two Natures. He charged them all, that if they should pervert the belief of One Nature, they should hold communion with him no more.¹⁰⁶⁶

At the beginning when Juvenal attended Chalcedon, he was on the side of Dioscorus struggling for the faith, but the royal pressure came to bear upon the bishops. The emperor also used flattery and compliments, waited personally upon the bishops at the banquet and showed great condescension as the interest of the kingdom required. Furthermore, he promised to grant three provinces of Palestine to the honor of the See of Jerusalem. For all these reasons, the eyes of Juvenal's mind were darkened and he deserted Dioscorus and went over to the opposite side.

Upon their return to Palestine, the monk Theodosius and his companions told about the betrayal of the faith. When Juvenal returned, they met him and reminded him of what he said and exposed his lies. They ordained Theodosius as their bishop and placed him forcefully on the throne. Theodosius ordained a number of bishops and other clergy for Palestine.

Juvenal proceeded to persecute (the Orthodox) supported by the Romans (Byzantines) until he reached Jerusalem. He sat on the throne having violated his oath and covenant. One of the prudent and zealous monks named Solomon was stirred up in the spirit. He filled a bag with dust and ashes and placed it under his armpit. He feigned he wanted to receive Juvenal's blessing. When he drew near to Juvenal, he emptied the bag on Juvenal's head saying, "Shame upon you liar and persecutor!" Then, when the Roman guard were about to strike him, Juvenal would not allow it. He was not enraged, but was rather moved to penitence by this, and shook the dust from his head. He ordered that money for his expenses should be given to him, and that he should leave the country. The monk, however, refused the money but left the country.¹⁰⁶⁷

Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, went about confirming and encouraging the believers. Marcian heard of him and ordered Juvenal, Count Dorotheus and the guard to arrest him and the bishops in his company, and send them into exile with the exception of Peter, bishop of Iberia, who was left free by order of the queen.

Peter was a king's son who had been given as hostage to Theodosius, and was beloved by him and by his wife Eudocia on account of his excellent demeanor. He was placed in charge of the royal horses. However, he and his father John by baptism, decided to devote themselves to Christ's service. God wrought signs of wonder by their means in Constantinople. They fled from thence to Palestine in order to be hidden. Although they desired to be hidden there, yet they became immensely celebrated.

As troubles were rocking the church, the people of Mayuma–Gaza went out, seized Peter, and brought him to Jerusalem to Theodosius asking him to be their bishop. Peter, however, refused ordination. He was so agitated that he even called himself a heretic. When Theodosius heard this he was surprised and said to Peter, "My cause and yours are before the Judgment Seat of Christ." Fearful, the Pious Peter said, "A heretic indeed I am not, but a sinner." Theodosius then made him a bishop for Gaza. When the report of this reached Marcian and Pulcheria, they ordered that he should not be persecuted. Thus, Peter enjoyed safety by order of the queen at a time when persecution extended to everyone. Then, he saw the Lord in a vision saying to him indignantly, "What's the matter with you, Peter? I am being expelled by my believing

¹⁰⁶⁶ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 49.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 55.

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servants, and you are remaining quiet and at rest?" Then Peter repented and obeyed, and left Gaza and joined those who were expelled and departed with them.¹⁰⁶⁸

Juvenal, by means of the armed force of the Romans, persecuted the believers. He ordered the Romans and the Samaritans to kill anyone who did not accept the council (of Chalcedon). A certain blind Samaritan deceived his own guide by saying, "Since my eyes cannot see the blood of the slaughter of these Christians so that I may delight myself in it, bring me near and I shall feel it." When the guide brought him near and caused him to feel it, he dipped his hand in the blood. He prostrated himself upon the ground and wept with prayer and supplication, that he might share in their martyrdom. Then he smeared his eyes and they were opened. He and a great multitude were baptized.

When Theodosius was sought by the emperor through the entire province, he assumed the garb of a Roman, having on his head hair and a helmet. He went about confirming and encouraging the believers. When he came near the environs of Sidon, he was seized by one of his friends. The Nestorians went up to the emperor asking him to send men to guard him. They imprisoned him in a small house belonging to the monks in which there was quicklime. They disputed with him constantly but failed to win him to agree to their will. He said to them, "Even though I am imprisoned and thereby prevented from going about in the different places according to my former custom, yet as long as the breath is in my nostrils, the word of God shall not be imprisoned in me." The Eutychian party also imagined that he would agree with them. However, he showed them that they were in agreement with Manes and Marcion. Because they laid on him one affliction after another, his soul remained steadfast in the good fight.

While there, Peter came upon some writings of John the Rhetorician from Alexandria that were full of false doctrine. He exposed the man and anathematized him. Having finished his course, contended in the fight and kept the faith, he left an example of courage to the believers, and died in prison.¹⁰⁶⁹ He was like the confessor Dioscorus who also died in prison.

The people of Alexandria were immensely grieved upon hearing the report of Dioscorus' death. However, they continued to remember his name although they could not appoint an immediate shepherd for fear of (Emperor) Marcian. When Marcian heard that they were intending to appoint a bishop, he sent John, the chief of the Silentaries, with a letter from himself exhorting the Alexandrians to be united with Pretorius. When he came, saw their piety, and received from them a petition expressing their faith and how much they suffered at the hands of Pretorius, he returned to the emperor and told him about these matters. The emperor, perceiving the things that were written about Pretorius in the petition, blamed him for his pride and craftiness.¹⁰⁷⁰ However, the Egyptians made the pious Timothy their chief priest, who showed that he was truly what a priest should be. For the gold and the silver that were given to the Romans in the days of Pretorius, he expended upon the poor. When the partisans of Pretorius saw Timothy's virtues, they petitioned him to accept them into his communion. They also promised that they would go to Rome to Leo, and admonish him to remove the novelties that he had written in his Tome. They knew that he was chauvinistic and wealthy, but Eustathius, bishop of Beirut, interceded with Timothy on their behalf to be accepted. However, the jealousy and hatred of the citizens against these persons were great because of the various sufferings that they had endured (under Pretorius). Therefore, they would not consent to their reception.¹⁰⁷¹

The acts of the Council of Chalcedon created scandals and disputations everywhere. As it is written, the Christians became a subject of derision and mockery of their neighbors.¹⁰⁷² The Jews too derided Christianity. They wrote a poster and hanged it on the marketplace written on it, "Merciful Emperor Marcian! All these years it was alleged that the fathers of the Hebrew nation crucified a God and not a man.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 52 and 54.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 55-56.

¹⁰⁷⁰ I have added this passage from p. 59 of the English translation of the original Syriac, which illustrates the attitude of Marcian more fully.

¹⁰⁷¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 67.

¹⁰⁷² Cf. Psalm 44:14-15.

But since the Council of Chalcedon affirmed that they have crucified a man and not God, we ask that you remove from us this charge and restore to us our synagogues.”

A solitary ascetic wrote to Marcian, “The world had perished and the devils are dancing in the church for you have installed an Antichrist in our city. No one prays anymore for your kingdom because the people do not congregate in the churches. Moreover, many have slept before receiving the sacrament of baptism in the name of our Lord to whom we pray to prolong your life. Abolish the acts of the Council of Chalcedon and publish the ordinances which are in conformity with the ideas of our fathers.”

When Theodoret (Bishop of Cyrus) passed by Simon the Stylite, he attempted to draw him to those who hold Two Natures. For this reason, it was rumored among the adherent of Chalcedon that Simon had accepted their ideas. However, Simon did not yield to them. This is manifest from the letter he addressed to Emperor Leo¹⁰⁷³ in which was mentioned that, “Having received your letters, I expected that some amendment and revision be done to the Acts of the anathematized Council of Chalcedon, which acted falsely against the word of truth. Thus, the serenity of the church of God was disturbed by the falsehood of the condemned heretics. Moreover, when the appointed time arrived and nothing of my expectations was accomplished, my old age became much more filled with sorrows. However, I have hope in He who said, ‘And afterwards, I will pour out my Spirit on all people old and young. And no one shall ever say to his companion come let us know the Lord.’¹⁰⁷⁴ I am still adhering to this hope like a ship’s anchor and will preserve it to the end, and no one in the world can keep me from it. I entreat your majesty to preserve the immaculate faith of the saint of Nicaea, which they delivered to God’s holy Church without adulteration or change.”

Another extract from the writings of John Philoponus showing clearly the unfortunate iniquitous blasphemy which took place at the Council of Chalcedon, and which was rejected by the pious Fathers who preserved the orthodox faith without revision or change¹⁰⁷⁵

Since among all the creatures on earth, man is the only one that God gifted with speech, and showed that speech is something noble by calling himself the Word, it is appropriate that we men, seek always proper and decent terms, whether great or small, as wisely expressed by someone who said, “I had as a rule never to allow myself to lie or conceal the truth.” That is what I also want to do now. May God help me! When the truth is corrupted, God is offended at the same time. Let us then say with caution, and prove with brevity using appropriate terminology, to make known what is invisible by what is visible.

The reason that invites discussion is the refutation, in abbreviated form, of the things in which it is suitable to fathom the truth. It is the function of the spoken word to reveal what is not obvious with what is obvious.

Leo wrote in his *Tome* ideas similar to those of Nestorius. He said, “Both the lowliness of man and the loftiness of the Godhead meet together. For just as “God” is not changed by the compassion (exhibited), so “Man” is not consumed by the dignity (bestowed). Thus, I say both meet together.¹⁰⁷⁶ Clearly, the one is God, the Son and the Word of the Father and the other is the man from Mary. This is established

¹⁰⁷³ The Great who was emperor from, 457 to 474.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cf. Joel 2:28.

¹⁰⁷⁵ John Philoponus is a sixth-century Christian Greek philosopher and grammarian. He taught that the divine essence is three folds and for this, he was condemned by an Egyptian council of bishops. Of his writings is the *Book of the Eternality of the World*, which is lost to us.

¹⁰⁷⁶ See the translation of the *Tome* of Leo by William Bright in *The Christology of the Christian Fathers*, Vol. III, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1954): 364-365; *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, translated by E. H. Blakeney, (London: Society of the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1923), 29-31, and Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon: Volume 2* (Liverpool University Press, 2007): 19. Price and Gaddis say that “the lowliness of man and the greatness of the Godhead are both with each other.” They do qualify the passage “with each other” in footnote 48 on the same page 19 saying that ‘with each other’ is a felicitous rendering of the Latin *in invicem sunt*, which could equally mean, less fortunately, that the two natures act alternately.’ Be that as it may, Leo, whether deliberately or inadvertently, has in fact, separated the two natures of Christ from each other, same as Nestorius did. See also Price and Gaddis, 2: 25, footnote 79.

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with respect to our Lord Jesus. The mere unity of the Two Natures does not diminish the distinction of the *qnume* (essences, persons, or hypostasis).¹⁰⁷⁷

The expression means that one form exists with the other. To say that a thing is unique and exists with itself is absolutely incomprehensible. No one would say that the soul and the body are one with the other. Perhaps, one would say that the soul is in the body, but not the body is in the soul. Therefore, if God and man are in the Lord Christ, how are they with each other? As for instance, Peter and John can be one with the other, when one considers them in a certain affinity or participation where Peter is with John and John is with Peter. Therefore, Christ is not in one but in two hypostases: God and man. Indeed, those who agree with Paul of Samosata and Theodore (of Mopsuestia), say that the term "Christ" is significant of both hypostases. Leo, being Nestorian, wrote things that were in agreement with them. However, the opinions of Theodore may be moderated in some parts by the opinions of Leo.

In his Third Treatise against Apollinaris, Theodore says the following, "He was in him, not only when he ascended to heaven, but when he also rose from the dead. For God has raised him up by his own pledge; and not only when he resurrected but also when he was crucified and baptized. He only accomplished the evangelical dispensation after baptism."

Leo says, "Since the lowliness of man and the loftiness of the Godhead are united, God does not undergo change through compassion, and so the man is not consumed by the greatness of divine dignity." How, then, was that humble man the object of God's mercy? However, if Leo had thought that the Lord Christ was one *qnumo* (hypostasis), that is the Incarnated God, he would not have divided him into two: God and man, "who are one with the other." Leo says, "The one, God, has the compassion and the other, man, receives this compassion. One who is not transformed when he does mercy and that humble man is not consumed by the greatness of the divine dignity which is extended to him." He goes on to say that, "For each form performs what is proper to it in communion with the other; the Word performing what belongs to the Word, and the flesh (body) performing what belongs to the body. The one of these shines out in miracles; the other succumbs to injuries (outrages)."¹⁰⁷⁸ Leo has again established two forms of God and man. As was said previously, he attributed to them a dual operation, but, in reality, he separates them when he spoke of "each of them," and the communion "of the one with the other." Consequently, he has to divide at the same time matters where their communion is found: the opprobrious acts and the wonders, and distinguish what is fitting to each of them. Since the Word does the things agreeable to God to make him shine in miracles, and man, the things that can cause him to fall under outrage, what is, then, the communion of these two forms? Is it not obvious that God makes the lowly acts of man his because of that intended union (of the two natures) up to, or according to the circumstances, as those who are accustomed to say, and appropriately recall this maxim. If the one, who despises the followers of Christ, despises Christ himself, does not he also despise man who is united with God? For he (Christ) said, "He who receives you receives me and he who receives me receives the one who sent me."¹⁰⁷⁹ Moreover, this man because of that communion with God the Word must consider as his own the glory resulting from the miracles. All the other things concerning this man must be understood in the same way. Indeed, this is in agreement with what is said that he participates in the divine dignity with God the Word. Any participation involves two persons or hypostases; a non-subsisting person does not exist. No one will absolutely argue to the contrary.

The partisans of Nestorius say that the terms "Christ," "Son," "Lord," are common names indicative of two natures. However, they say that "God", "Word" and "man" indicate one person because

¹⁰⁷⁷ It is of utmost importance to remember that catholic doctrine teaches that there are two natures in Christ, divine and human, substantially merged (hypostatically) in the single person of the Verb. The "monophysites" admit no differentiation between the concepts of nature, hypostasis or person and they conclude that, if there is one person, there is necessarily only one nature. They blame the Roman Catholics of teaching the same thing as the Nestorians, by declaring two natures. The Nestorians deny the hypostatic union of the natures and say that the natures constitute one single person solely due to their moral union depending upon residence, or up to will and affection, or according to the power and process. See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique De Michel Le Syrien*, 2: 94, footnote 5.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See William Bright, 365; Blakeney, 29-31; and Price and Gaddis, 2:19.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Matthew 10:49.

of their participation with each other, in as much as those who share in civil matters form mutually a single person that is, an affinity. Consequently, Leo by saying these things of our Lord Christ means by this appellation God the Word and the man born of Mary. For, he establishes that Christ is one person only in respect to the name because of the participation in operation, glory and shame. In fact, if Leo had not intended to mean this, but naturally the hypostatic union of the two: the divine and the human, he would have not divided Christ into two persons: God and man, in saying that God and man have a single person. However, he would have said that unique composite Christ has a single person or hypostasis. The following quotation shows quite clearly Leo's thought. In fact, having said that God and man have a single person, he immediately retracts because he is afraid that someone will think that the single person has been mentioned in the sense of a single hypostasis. This, moreover, is not possible since he says "of God and man."

Section Two

It is futile to discuss the number of bishops who assembled at Chalcedon whether they were 630, which number was augmented later. Most likely, they were about one hundred in the First Session, but not all of them attended the entire session. In fact, the number of bishops compared to their names was practically less than three hundred. Among them, were presbyters representing their bishops while some bishops represented other bishops and were authorized to speak in their names? The number of the bishops who assembled did not exceed 300. This is evident from the available sources. A member who had signed affirmed to me as related to him by those who have signed, that this was the number of the signatories.¹⁰⁸⁰ Should one object that, after the deposition of Dioscorus, when the council discussed the case of the Egyptian bishops, Lucentius, representative of Leo, said, "How is it not possible for six hundred bishops to issue a condemnation of ten men?"¹⁰⁸¹ Let us first listen to Cecropius, bishop of Sebastopolis (of First Armenia) who said about these ten (Egyptian) bishops that, "The ecumenical council is greater than the Egyptian diocese, and more worthy of respect. It is not right that ten heretics should be heard and one thousand and two hundred bishops be ignored."¹⁰⁸² So, this one (Cecropius) doubled the number of bishops mentioned by the other (Lucentius).¹⁰⁸³ If the subject is not highly exaggerated, one of them is a liar and contradicts the other. Relying on the documents of the council we can say, "If we review the signatories of the entire second session of the council, we will not find a number more than the one we have already mentioned. Whatever is said about this figure or that is exaggerated. In fact, it was even said that the bishops numbered ten thousands, although this does not convince anyone." However, despite all objections, we may say, "One of them (Lucentius and Cecropius) must be a liar."

Section Three

Several councils, not only orthodox but also Arian, convened at different times, but in none of them was it reported that commissioners and magistrates made decisions. When it was necessary for Constantine to convoke the Council of Nicaea, he sat with the assembled bishops. He first arrived at his royal hall, but when the bishop entered in, he followed them as they had taken their seats. He stood in the middle overwhelmed by joy. A small chair was placed for him. He did not sit at the head of the meeting until he was asked by the bishops. He did this in order to avoid issuing any decision concerning the actions of the council like a judge. Emperor Theodosius II did the same when he convoked the Second Council of Ephesus. He delegated Candidianus to the council to insure the safe order of the assembly of bishops. He addressed a letter to them saying, among other things, "We have instructed Candidianus the most illustrious

¹⁰⁸⁰ Price and Gaddis list the names of 343 bishops who assembled in the First Session. See Price and Gaddis, 1, 122-128.

¹⁰⁸¹ According to the translation of Price and Gaddis, 2: 152, Lucentius said, "If (the Egyptian bishops) are in error, let them learn from your magnificence that ten men cannot prejudice a council of six hundred bishops."

¹⁰⁸² It should be noticed that Michael Rabo has reversed the role of Lucentius and Cecropius by making Lucentius speak before Cecropius while the reverse is more correct. See Price and Gaddis, 2, 151-152.

¹⁰⁸³ Apparently, Michael Rabo has misunderstood the figure of one thousand and two hundred bishops to mean those who assembled at Chalcedon. Most likely, the figure indicates the total number of bishops in the Roman Empire. See Price and Gaddis, 151, footnote 39.

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*comes sacrorum domesticorum*¹⁰⁸⁴ to attend the holy council and without restraint participate with the bishops in implementing their decisions concerning the doctrines; for it is unlawful according to the canons for someone who is not a bishop to participate in the discussion of ecclesiastical issues, etc.” Theodosius also wrote about similar matters, and no one who was not a bishop dare partake in the discussion of ecclesiastical issues. This, in fact, was the case of all the preceding councils.

As to (Emperor) Marcian, he acted to the contrary. Fearing that the bishops, whose majority welcomed orthodox dogmas, might overcome those who espoused the ideas of Nestorius, he shoved them aside. He set up above them officials and magistrates, some of whom harbored heathen, Manichean and other heretical ideas. Most of them were friends of Nestorius like Sporacius, the deputy of Theodoret, who published most of his writings. Such men, Marcian set up as judges in the council, which was an improper thing to do. In addition, he decided the deposition of Dioscorus that had already been determined by Leo before the convocation of the council (of Chalcedon). Moreover, he restored the bishops of Nestorian inclination, and who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus. Likewise, he restored them to the office of the priesthood by Leo’s decision before the council assembled. Worse still, he personally restored those who had been deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus for their Nestorian inclination without a resolution of an ecumenical council. Finally, he issued a new and general ordinance without scrutiny or deliberation.

The relocation of the council from Nicaea to Chalcedon was inevitably by the suggestion of its prefect and by divine inspiration. This was to prevent the council from meeting in the same place (Nicaea) where the 318 pious bishops had assembled and consequently, both councils would share the same name. All of this happened in order that Leo (bishop of Rome) would be the leader. As a result, controversies took place in the churches over the ranks of churches. We learned that many bishops were expelled from their sees and banished for rejecting heretical ideas. They were replaced by others by order of the emperor and they are still living, but these wounds were to offer them leisure. For it is not permissible that someone should be deprived of the things he has and replaced by someone else. Indeed, in time of recreation all men recede into error and thus everyone lose dignity. However, justice should take its course concerning those who have struggled in the cause of the faith.

Those (bishops), the robbers of homes, who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus, were confirmed in their sees by Leo. For example, many charges were brought against Hiba (Ibas), and Irenaeus, who had Nestorian tendencies, was married twice. So were Sophronius of Tella and Theodoret of Cyrus who wrote to John of Antioch vilifying St. Cyril, of blessed memory, after his death. He said, “As of late this wicked man died but the righteous depart this life before their time. Truthfully, the life of the wicked is long. I believe that when the Lord of all takes unto him the righteous before their time, he does this in order to save them from the tribulations and agonies of this life and transport them to the place of good reward prepared for the fighters in the field of piety, and to where there is no old age, suffering or toil. As to evil doers and those inclined to do evil, he allows them to indulge in this life either to be satiated by the venom of evil and learn how to practice piety, or to be subjected to the judgment of reason in this life too, where they will be tormented for their life which is full of severe storms and difficult to handle troubles. Concerning that villain (St. Cyril), the shepherd of souls (Christ) did not permit him to enjoy what we erroneously consider pleasant things. However, when he saw that the wickedness of this man increased day after day, and that he was corrupting the body of the church, he eradicated the malady and removed the disgrace from the children of Israel. I am happy for those who are still here. I believe that the release of this man has apparently disturbed those who have already departed. We fear that they might immediately send him back to us because of his proximity to them, or he might flee from those who have led him as does the tyrant-hunter Lucian. Therefore, your holiness (John of Antioch) should not slacken regarding this matter, but order the bearers of his bier to place a big and heavy stone on the grave. This will prevent him from coming back to stir up anew adverse ideas, present to those beneath novel ideas and present himself as

¹⁰⁸⁴ See *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et Amplissima*, 6, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi 17 Vols. (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), 119.

eloquent day and night. We are not apprehensive that he might create a division among these, lead them astray from piety and ascribe death to the undying divine nature. This proposition makes a fool of all other propositions not only for those who walk in the path of God, but of Nimrud, Pharaoh and Sennacherib also. If someone else argues with God, then my prattle is useless if that coward does not keep silent in spite of himself. His soul will depart and he will return to dust. On that day, his thoughts will perish. This situation calls for more silence. His tongue shall be tied up when things have been revealed, his mind reproached and he will be obliged to keep silent and bow down to the ground. Therefore, I feel pity for the condition of that wretch and wet my face with tears. The glad tiding of his end does not make my joy pure but marred with some sorrow. However, I feel glad and happy when I see those on our side have been relieved from this disease. I grieve immensely when I think or contemplate this matter. A man like this cannot work or calm down evil, but die while pursuing greater and more obscene things. He (St. Cyril) longed, as it was reported, to disturb the peaceful state of the capital and fight against doctrines that have the form of piety. With his belief, he had even brought charges against your holiness. God saw this and gave him no chance, but silenced his mouth and returned him to the dust from which he had been taken. We are worthy, by your prayer, to have mercy which exceeds the unlimited kindness of God. We entreat your holiness to drive away from us psychological worry and disturbing news that disrupt our ranks and symbolize common chastisements. Some say that your piety came to the army barracks against your will. Until now, I was considering these rumors as false. Concerning the rest of the issues, which are discussed by many, I have given them serious thought. Here I am seeking the truth from your lordship. Either deride these rumors or accept the truth as it is.¹⁰⁸⁵

Section Four

Domnus was also among them.¹⁰⁸⁶ Paschasinus, representative of Leo said, "We have instructions from Archbishop Leo declaring that Dioscorus should not take a seat at the assembly but should be expelled."¹⁰⁸⁷ I wonder what canon has given the bishop of Rome all this authority, and what ecclesiastical legislation has empowered him to act how he willed and issue resolutions without a just council. This is truly unfair. For a man to act on whatever he wishes without the consent of anyone is only done by tyrants. If they (the bishops of Rome) were given the apostolic authority of Peter and the keys of heaven were handed to them as they claim, let them consider the other cities that take pride in the Apostles. I should overlook our city (Antioch), which administers the See of Jerusalem. I should also mention the city of Ephesus, which was administered by the Apostle John, and Constantinople, to which was transferred the capital of the empire. The bishop of Rome, who was overcome by willfulness, thought of changing the faith of the people for the sake of an apostolic see, but which one of the followers of Christ wants to imitate him? Therefore, the bishops of Great Antioch do not consent to what has been previously said. First, because Peter, whom the Romans consider the greatest, tended its (Antioch) flock before he did other cities. Second, it was in Antioch that the noble name of Christians was first established.¹⁰⁸⁸ I wonder why the bishop of Jerusalem should not be the greatest.

The authority of that (bishop of Rome) derived from the authority of the empire. The precedence of the see (of Rome) was based on custom because Rome was a grand and important city in the empire. For this reason, the bishop of Rome usurped entire power while knowing that no ecclesiastical canon or royal ordinance had conferred upon him such power. It was nothing but Roman arrogance. The same took place in our days and at the Council of Constantinople concerning the deliberations of the Three Chapters. The assembled bishops anathematized Theodore, Theodoret and the letter of Ibas to Mari. Vigilius of Rome,

¹⁰⁸⁵ See *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXXIII, 1489, Mansi, 11: 295, and J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2 (Paris, 1901), rpt. Bruxelles, 1963), 100-101.

¹⁰⁸⁶ This is in reference to the bishops who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Price and Gaddis, 1, 129, Mansi, 6:581 and V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined* (Madras: India, 1977), 45, footnote 8.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Acts 11:26.

who had been at Constantinople for a long time, was invited to the council but did not attend, while his predecessor bishops of Rome did not attend other council because of remote distance. However, Vigilius was in the city. Therefore, his decline to attend was because of sheer pride detested by God. He did not even have shame to heed the Lord who humbled himself on our behalf and taught us saying, “Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart.”¹⁰⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the Lord did not make him (Vigilius) worthy to sit with the bishops, although he was nearby in the capital. Vigilius spontaneously confirmed the bishops’ condemnation of the Three Chapters. Still, however, the bishop of Rome had no authority to convoke a council, for this was the mandatory prerogative of the emperors. Thus, the Second Council of Ephesus, chaired by Dioscorus, was convoked by the order of Emperor Theodosius II.

Lucentius, representative of Leo, said, “He (Dioscorus) should render an account of his judgment. Although he did not possess the role of a judge, he usurped it. He presumed to hold a council without the permission of the apostolic see, which has never been allowed and has never been done.”¹⁰⁹⁰ Like Paschasinus, Lucentius is asserting here the universal supremacy of the Rome over the entire Christian Church. This is not only untenable but also historically groundless. Indeed, the point the representatives of Leo wanted to make is that Dioscorus held the Second Council of Ephesus without the approval of the bishop of Rome, a claim not supported by church canons or imperial decrees. I wonder who gave Leo alone the authority to settle church problems. It is known that Rome was not represented by a bishop at the council of 150 bishops (the Council of Constantinople). Thus, the bishops assembled at Constantinople repulsed the arrogance of Damasus, (bishop of Rome) and those in his company. Indeed, Damasus and his bishops declared, and rightfully so, that the Church of Antioch was apostolic before their own church, and that the church of Jerusalem was the mother of all churches. It was called so in honor of James its first bishop and for the sacraments practiced in it. Even the judges who were appointed to depose Dioscorus did not agree about his deposition with the exception of 200 hundred of them including bishops, presbyters and many deacons.

Extracts From the Creed of Chalcedon

(According to the Council of Chalcedon) “Those who discuss the question of confusion and mixture, and hold that the divinity and the humanity (of Christ) are One Nature, do so without contemplation. They ascribe passion to the divine nature of the Son.” In fact, your hypocrisy led you to such confusion. No one of those who investigated Christ has ever said that his divinity and humanity are one nature. However, they said, “One united nature of the Word God,” or “One nature of Christ who is a composite of two natures,” and that “Christ is one compound nature and one *hypostasis*.”¹⁰⁹¹ Christ is one essence in each one of his natures and not anything else. It is evident from what you have just said that you hold one nature and one hypostasis for both the divine and the human natures. Consequently, and of necessity, this hypostasis is either simple or composite. If it is simple, it means that you say “One simple nature of the divine and the human natures.” However, if you ascribe mixture, confusion and passion to the Word, the hypostasis in this case is simple. For it is about our Lord Jesus that he suffered by the body. If, then, the one hypostasis of Christ is compound, it is of necessity that it should also be so concerning the nature because nature itself belongs to the hypostasis. Nevertheless, if they maintain that he (Christ) is neither simple nor composite, he is, then, not one. If, after what has been said, he is one, he must be either simple or composite. Here the outcome should be as Theodoret, who claimed to know the Scriptures, attributed the term hypostasis to those that are multiple in numbers. So also does the apostle by attributing the term hypostasis to different matters, natures and persons, especially in relation to Christ. You, too, cover up the blasphemy of Nestorius by the pretext of the synonymity of expressions. You cunningly manipulate the letters of Cyril in order to conceal the blasphemy contained in the Tome of Leo, which we reject and run from. However, you attempt to make it in conformity with the profession of the great Peter. You also

¹⁰⁸⁹ Matthew 11:28.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Price and Gaddis, 1:19.

¹⁰⁹¹ Hypostasis, Syriac *qnumo*.

say that the general Resurrection is meant for the punishment of those who abuse the faith. I wonder whom you mean except those who attribute passion to the divinity of the Word. Likewise, Nestorius and the rest of the bishops fault Cyril because he did not submit to the pressure of dividing Christ into two natures. If this is so, then it is imperative that the divine nature of the Word, the Son, is exactly the same as the nature of the Father, and that he who has a human nature is son of Mary by nature, by the grace of God the Father and his equality of power with God, the Word.

We say to those who divide Christ into two, that they have already done so. They divided him into two and call the one the Son of Man, and the other God. Thus, they divide him into two and consider the Lord Christ to be two. But since the Scripture points to one Son, we find them avoid the term “two” while at the same time take into consideration the duality of the Son in relations to actions without which there is no nature. Probably, there is something specific beside something universal. Still, each of them has its own private constitution.

When some of them (Chalcedonians) try to establish the subject of two natures, they usually say that Christ has two natures: the divine simple nature and the human nature. The expression of “nature” applies to the universal alone. The particular is called “compact” that is indivisible. This one is called *qnumo* (hypostasis), and not nature, which is sheer ignorance and insanity, for the universal nature, is distinguished from the particular nature. For example, the utmost whiteness of the snow is found in comparison to the particular whiteness. The perfect man is compared with any other man whether Peter or Paul. If there is no nature peculiar to these men, no universal thing exists for it ties together all natures be they the nature of a man or an ox. However, man’s nature is more excellent than any other natures. Each one of the oxen has a nature and is described within the frame of this nature. Peter is a rational-dying animal. One part of him is compact and not subject to division. With the exception of the universal thing such as one sun and one moon, there is no, in fact, universal sun or universal moon. Even Adam who is one before the woman was made, was a man who had a human nature. This nature was inherent in him. He was, in fact, a rational-dying animal. The universal nature is like the nature of man, a horse or the nature of white or of weakness and does not exist in the individuality of man, horse, whiteness and feebleness. Composition does not happen to the universals but to the particulars. If, then, two natures are united in the Lord Jesus, they are undoubtedly particular and not universal. For the composition of what is universal is not possible because there is no particular characteristic to it. If this case is so, it is imperative that there should be here one nature composite of two united natures. Thus, if the union is not more than a mere expression existing by itself and does not apply to anything else, then Jesus Christ is one. From here, this cause is known.

Section Five

Those who hold the idea of two natures of the Lord Christ after the union, consider the hypostatic union as relative. If there are still two natures after the union, as they claim, the two natures should exist firm in their duality without addition or diminution. Even in this case, the union, according to them, is only by name and is not in actuality because the two natures did not meet in one. Consequently, there is no truth as some of them said, based on what they relate, that they have produced the theory of Two Natures of Christ saying that, “He (Christ) is also known as one in two natures.” They confessed that one is the outcome of the union of two. They said that, “The particular characteristic of each of them frees itself from the two natures and proceeds toward the one person and the one *qnumo* (hypostasis) at the same time.” Likewise, the partisans of Nestorius hold the belief of one person for the divinity and humanity of Christ. Theodore says that, “This does not indicate the duality of natures but the oneness of the person.” If the unity of person does not emanate from what is unessential, then, the unessential nature exists only by the word limited by thought. Thus, it is necessary that each of the two natures exist with a special hypostasis that their union is a mere appellation and that the one person for both of them denotes relationship or connection with one another and not to anything else. They also said that the one hypostasis is for one individual whether Paul or Peter. If they intended this hypostasis to be simple, then it is either pure God or pure man, but Christ is not only God, neither is he a mere man. If he (Christ) is simultaneously a composite

of divinity and humanity, he will undoubtedly be the hypostasis of the compound nature. In fact, the whole hypostasis is the very essence of the thing. Therefore, Christ is a compound One Nature after the union. If these are two natures after the union, how could there be one person (hypostasis) for both of them? Not unless one adopts the idea of Nestorius who considered the relationship of the two are one and co-partners in power. They (Chalcedonians) made of him (Christ) one person and considered him as one hypostasis equal to the person in power.

Section Six

Extract from the third letter. On the Chalcedonians who use “one *qnumo* (hypostasis) instead of “one person” which indicates different hypostases.

This letter was written by John of Eges, an enthusiastic partisan of Nestorius, in refutation of the Chalcedonians. He considers their definition of “two natures and one person” in Christ is wrong. He said that they claim that for this reason they avoid the duality of the hypostases in order not to be compelled to say “two persons and two Sons.” Especially, they say that such analysis is dangerous and could lead to perversion. They go on to say, “If we maintain that the two *qnume* (hypostases) are one, we will end believing in the duality of the Son. And if we proclaimed two (sons), these two constitute a dual number in relation to the Sons.”

John goes on saying that in defending their idea, Theodore (of Mopsuestia) said, “The Chalcedonians agreed on using the term *qnumo* “hypostasis” instead of “person” because the meaning of the two terms is very similar. Sometimes, the term hypostasis is applied to many things that are not subject to division but are grouped together. He produces many testimonies from Deuteronomy 1:12 which says, “But how can I bear your problems and your burdens and your disputes all by myself,” and Job 22:19 which says, “The righteous see their ruin and rejoice; the innocent mock him saying ‘Surely our foes are destroyed and fire devours their wealth,’” and the letter of St. Paul of 2 Corinthians 9:4 who says, “We--not to say anything about you—would be ashamed of having been so confident.” It is appropriate to mention here what has been said by Jonathan (son of King Saul) about the hypostasis of the Philistines regarding their “number and congregation.”

Those who hold two natures of Christ after the union are well known. They proclaim one hypostasis and one hypostasis according to the previous definition. Regarding the composition (of the natures), they say it is compact and not subject to division. Theodore is one of them and those who agree with his idea secretly. He was involved in many issues and exposed their intentions. If we say the union is real, then their idea actually means that the union of these two natures is same as the union of the soul to the body. Therefore, they do not eschew saying, “A composite nature of Christ,” but say that he has one hypostasis. They have missed that the connotation of this expression is applied to many indivisible matters mentioned in the Scriptures. It indicates a group of people. Now, if this is its connotation as church Fathers saw appropriate, then, their belief in Christ should be that he has one nature and one hypostasis. This is because they admit one *qnumo* (hypostasis) of Christ. They are in fact ready to admit one nature. If, however, two natures do exist, then, it is imperative to maintain two hypostases. However, if the term “nature” does not apply to it completely, or if the whole issue is what Theodore said that, “It indicates many things not divisible,” how is it that the presence of two hypostases in Christ is not obvious as the Chalcedonians, who hold two natures like Nestorius, confess?

Section Seven

They (Chalcedonians) say that, by necessity, the *qnumo* (hypostasis) is not subject to division. In addition, the nature should consist of its hypostasis and nothing else, for the hypostasis denotes the essence. If the hypostasis does not indicate the multiplicity of things which are indivisible, but only one thing not subject to division, then, undoubtedly, nature points to what is inherent in the hypostasis. Furthermore, if the hypostasis of Christ is one, his nature should also be one. However, if there are two natures in him, it is inevitable that his two hypostases should be one also. It is like the finite man born of a woman and short of

life but he is one. This is why we say that the finite that vanishes is one and not two. The same thing is the case of the sword and the sheath, the palm and the hand and everything dual. If they (Chalcedonians) confess one hypostasis of Christ, they should imperatively confess his one nature. If they, however, say that the hypostasis has another connotation, it is also imperative that his nature has a different connotation. What is the connotation of the hypostasis other than the essence whether it is the hypostasis of God, of man or of any other thing having its own essence? For it is not possible for anything not to have a nature. In fact, the hypostasis is the very nature of the thing that is not subject to division whether it is from boundless genus or categories. It only exists exclusively in the mind. Examples are the things in which everyone shares, but the prophet gathers them in only one thought. It is impossible for the essence to have one hypostasis and two distinct natures without a union.

Section Eight: Concerning that it is not possible for the composite to free itself of simple things from which it is composed

When natures are put together, they form one composite nature. If they (the Chalcedonians) prefer that the hypostasis should not denote the essence alone, but call nature something else, they should say about the nature what I have just said. I wonder what is this composite thing? And how can it not be later a compound nature of two united natures while it is one *qnumo* (hypostasis)? For it is impossible for a nature to be what it is without the composition of many natures. Otherwise, the outcome will be something else other than nature. The thing that is constituted of several components cannot be without the kind of genus from which it was composed but belongs to another genus. For example, if essences are put together, the outcome is a compound essence and not a quantity or quality. When the four elements of fire, water, air and earth are assembled, they form a compound element with independent life in itself. The stone or other objects of composite things cannot be changed into something that has no body when they are assembled together. Similarly, the attributes that are not corporeal, cannot be composed into some form. For example, a certain body combines both whiteness and blackness. However, the color is the only composite thing whether it is purple or any other color, and what is said about it should also be said about what is bitter, sweet, salty or other. The outcome of the mixture of these ingredients is a composite object.

When six and four are added together, the outcome is ten. When three mathematical components are put together, they form a mathematical triad having the attribute of multiplicity and not nature. Similarly, when groups of words are put together, they form one composite language made of letters and syllables. From these are formed expressions and from the expressions discourses. What we are saying here is that the composite is like the ingredients from which it is composed. It is similar to their form and genus. However, the thing composed from several simple ingredients can, by necessity, be something else and those simple ingredients are inferior concerning their genus. If what is intended to be assembled together is an essence, a quality, quantity, or anything else, its composition will not be accomplished. Same as it is said that the discourse is not mere expressions, and these are not mere syllables and the syllables are not expressions, but from all of them could be formed a language. All of them, be they simple or compound, are expressions and together with the numbers and simple matters, form a composite body. Moreover, when the properties are mixed together, they form (a property) ...lacuna... In this sense, the simples are not of a consequence.

When the soul and the body unite, they form a living body. The primary matter is incorporeal, but the substance of three-dimensional matter is found (or existed) first. We have shown clearly somewhere else the quality and form of the compound of the three-dimensional matter. Therefore, we say that fire is a specific body, that (three-dimensional matter) emanates from what is existent, and this one (fire) emanates from it. This, out of necessity, applies to the Lord Christ. If the two natures have been united to become him, it is immensely important that he should be what they have formed, that is one composite nature and nothing else. Otherwise, there will be no composition at all. In addition, they would have no capability to form a nature and from both emanates one indivisible person who is the Lord Christ. Alternatively, if they are united in one, this one cannot be other than one compound nature such as that formed by the unity of the body with the soul. He (Christ) is one living nature.

Those who dismiss the existence of the compound nature of Christ, and the union of his two natures, do injustice to the fact that Christ is simultaneously God and man. How could he be God and man, when God stands alone with his own hypostasis, and the other, man, stands alone with his own hypostasis and nothing connects them except comradeship?

When the Nestorians say ...lacuna... they disregard the hypostatic union of the two natures (of Christ). Not only they are satisfied by saying two natures, the divine and the human, but also admit two *qnume* (hypostases) successively. They only confess the union of power and properties. Thus to them, after this relative and voluntary union, the outcome is two natures and two *qnume* (hypostases) in which Christ is known. However, how can they claim such a thing, and in what form? It is sheer falsehood that we have refuted in the second discourse addressed to them. We have proved that the claim that, "two natures of the Lord Christ, or that he is of two natures after the union," is the opinion of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and Nestorius and their partisans. It was adopted by the Council of Chalcedon. It has been explicit to us many times that the nature of the one born, whether of Peter or Paul, and which is called *qnumo* (hypostasis), does not change. This is why the Peripatetics (Aristotelians) called it "the primary indivisible essence." The learned men of the church called it "nature or *qnumo* as Paul of Samosata himself applies it to his essence. Paul of Samosata was condemned for claiming "two *qnume* of Christ." This is exactly what happened with the followers of Nestorius (Chalcedonians) who adopted the same belief without a need to say "two natures of the Lord after the union." They further proclaim two *qnume* (hypostases). Paul of Samosata also said this and was condemned because of it.

We have clearly explained this in our refutation of Nestorius, especially in the second discourse. Those who wish may read it. We only produced some extracts from the writings of the heretics. We said in the second discourse that the Lord Christ is known in two natures. However, the heretics emphasize their claim of two natures after the union. They produce some expressions like "one Christ," and "one Son," but these expressions do not adequately prove orthodoxy. In fact, they call the relation and the union of the unity of God and man with Mary "one Christ," "one Son," and "one Lord."

The Fifth Council which convened in Constantinople deleted the expression of "two." It stated that, "He who says that the worship of Christ is for two, or says that there are two kinds of worship: one is peculiar to God and the other peculiar to man, etc." It follows that if we say that the Lord Christ is worshipped in two natures, then it is imperative that there should be two kinds of adoration: one peculiar to God and the other to man. This is what the article of condemnation indicates. Consequently, those who proclaim that Christ is of two natures do in fact worship each one of them separately, and so, become subject of the aforementioned condemnation. They also deserve such reproach as partners of those who succumbed to the pressure of condemnation in order not to fall off their sees.

Chapter Ten is not mentioned in the Syriac text

Chapter Eleven: On that, it should not be said one nature for both the divinity and the humanity. On the other hand, that the compound Christ is one nature and one *qnumo* (hypostasis). For each one of them preserved its own entity without the one being absorbed by the other.

We do not say "one nature and one *qnumo* (hypostasis) for the divine and the human." We say that the composite Christ is one nature and one composite *qnumo* (hypostasis). For the composite ...lacuna... that is ...lacuna... we confess and worship one *qnumo* and it alone we worship without the one is loftier than the other or the one is absorbed by the other ...lacuna... We say that it has become consummate for both of them. We have rejected such ideas many times. Moreover, we consider as ridiculous the ideas of those who think that the union of the two natures might have been reversed or that it was subject to assimilation. Such a thing does not even happen to other compound matters. However, it could happen in relation to the mixture of contrary characteristics, as we explained in the definitions, for they conflict with each other. They might also corrupt each other. As to what is related to man and what is related to Christ, the opposite is the outcome, that what is lower becomes higher and the body becomes grander than the soul, and the human

substance in Christ become higher than the divine. From this, it is understood that we do not say “one nature” because of the loftiness of the body or its mixture of the humanity of Christ with his divinity. However, we believe that the Word of God has become incarnated, the union of his divine and human natures has been accomplished, and the outcome of this union, whatever its form may be, must be one. This is the stark reality and nothing else. Both the holy Athanasius and Cyril said, “The nature of the incarnate Word of God is one.” This is the same in relation to the nature and the *qnumo* (hypostasis) of man, for man is a composite of soul and body, and neither of these is transformed into the other by the act of composition. This is exactly what happened to the divinity and humanity of Christ.

Chapters Twelve through Twenty-Three are not defined

Section Fifteen

A study of the letter of the Easterners in which they tried to show that Christ has two (distinct) natures. However, this idea has been refuted and faded a time ago and has no more trace.¹⁰⁹²

It is said that St. Cyril accepted the letter of the Easterners for the veracity of its contents, which are based on the Gospels and the Acts concerning the Lord. It is obvious that theologians understand these matters as generally pointing to one person whom the Easterners divide (into two) as they divide his natures. They attribute to the Godhead the things which belong to it, and to his humanity the lowly things or injuries. They further claim that Cyril eschewed saying “two natures” while the Council of Chalcedon affirmed it. We should now analyze this matter to prove that its connotation is different from that of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Easterners’ understanding of this matter is tripartite. The passages that are mentioned in the Scriptures, especially the Gospels, indicate the divinity of the Lord. They are, “In the beginning was the Word,”¹⁰⁹³ “I and the Father are one,”¹⁰⁹⁴ “Anyone who has seen me has seen the Father,”¹⁰⁹⁵ and other verses. Some of these verses concern his humanity such as, “The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory the glory of One and Only who came from the Father,”¹⁰⁹⁶ “God appeared in the flesh,”¹⁰⁹⁷ and “Who (Christ) being in very nature (or form) God, did not consider equality with God something to be grasped, but made himself nothing taking the very nature of a servant”¹⁰⁹⁸ and many others said about the incarnated God.

The letter of the Easterners concerning Christ contains divisive expressions. I believe, however, by distinguishing these expressions, the Holy Spirit meant general things. However, Christ is one, a compound of two natures: the divinity and the humanity. He expresses this in special words peculiar to the natures that have been compounded. These composite natures retained their properties without being absorbed by one another. Indeed, each of us can observe a tripartite division and difference in each of them. We also know the characteristics of the body such as it is short, black, of crooked nose or that it belongs to such and such race. Sometimes we are known by psychological matters such as using the terms “rational,” “sagacious,” “pure,” or “of sound thinking,” etc. Other times we combine between these characteristics saying, “Man is a rational animal,” or “he is chaste.” etc. these definitions are of the composite animal. This what the Eastern

¹⁰⁹² The Easterners here mean the Antiochenes, whose Christology was developed by Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and popularized by Nestorius (d. 428) and Theodoret of Cyrus (d. 466). The gist of their Christology is that although Christ was the Incarnated Word, his two natures remain distinct from one another after their union. This gives the impression that Christ is two and not one despite that his two natures were conjoined. This is what Leo, bishop of Rome meant in his Tome when he attributed the divine actions of Christ to his divinity and his human actions to his humanity as if he was two and not one. His idea was adopted and endorsed by the Council of Chalcedon.

¹⁰⁹³ John 1:1.

¹⁰⁹⁴ John 10:30.

¹⁰⁹⁵ John 14:9.

¹⁰⁹⁶ John 1:14.

¹⁰⁹⁷ 1 Timothy 3:16.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Philippians 2:6-7.

theologians applied to the Lord Christ. Christ is not known in two natures or he is of two natures (as they maintain). This is not an indication of the union but a separation of the two natures. Indeed, it is contrary to the union and the composition of one nature from two.

The letter of the Easterners points to one (person). It highlights the characteristics of the nature of each one of the two (natures) which have become united. Whatever the case may be, Cyril criticized this expression saying, "Those who contemplated the expression that is the word, said that they did this in order to protect the entire body of the church from being disrupted or torn apart. This is why they emphasized the expression that is the mere language." Cyril treated this matter saying, "The union (of the two natures of Christ) was accomplished by an ineffable and incomprehensible manner." The Easterners accepted this reasoning of Cyril, though they reneged on it at Chalcedon. Furthermore, the letter of the Second Council (of Ephesus) does not contain that the only Son of God suffered in his divine nature (because he was God), but in his human nature. Hence they say "natures" (in the plural) in order to avoid considering nature as a frightening apparition and not the name of "natures" (in the plural). Nevertheless, it is actually a kind of combination (of the two natures) to those who think soundly saying, "When we contemplate the origin of the composition (of the two natures) we proclaim that their union was accomplished and that the compound Christ is from two natures. There are then two natures: the divine and the human."

Saint Gregory (of Nazianzus) says, "The union of the Savior was done by two different things: by Christ who is consubstantial with the Father in the Godhead and consubstantial with us in the body." In this sense, according to Christians, "essence" and "nature" have the same meaning. No one of them, if taken by its true connotation, is inappropriate in relation to the dispensation of Lord Christ. However, to say that he is "two natures" or that "he is of two natures after their union with one *qnumo* (hypostasis), is loathsome to everyone. For each of the two natures is simple and compound, same as each of the essences is one and each of the compounds is also one, like we say gold, silver, copper or glass. On the other hand, in respect to animated things we say bones, flesh, veins and soul. From these essences animal is compounded from all these elements. The same is applicable to the form whether it is of a man, ox, figs or olives. Based on what has been previously said, he (Gregory) did not discuss the natures of Christ as he who was divine and he who was human. What he said was that, "The only begotten Son did not suffer by his peculiar nature," he added, "but on the basis of being God and not on the basis of being Christ and not even a nature. For being God, he is by nature Christ and each nature complements the compound nature of Christ. It is not one in itself but Christ is a compound of both of them, but not each of them is on the same level. It is improbable that the natures of Christ are the same thing. In fact, nature is one for the components of both the simple and the compound. For example, if someone says that am suffering from my leg or hand, my body is sick, or I am disturbed, the compound nature of man is not this or that thing of all these components, it is a part of the things that constitute them. The same applies respecting our Lord Jesus. Someone may say that he is not subject to suffering in the divinity but in the humanity, or he might say that he did not suffer with respect to his divinity but only to his humanity. However, he does not specify which one of Christ's natures formed itself by itself, but indicate these two components from which they were formed. It is impossible for the nature of man to exist without a body, for what we call man is man because of the soul, and man in himself is merely a simple body and nothing of these components. He is the outcome of the unity of the body and the soul. The same case is Christ. His divinity is not separate from his humanity nor his humanity is separate from his divinity. But Christ's nature is a compound of both of them. Therefore, he who says that Christ suffered in the human nature, or that he remained in nature not susceptible to suffering, does not admit that Christ is two natures but that he suffered in this part (the humanity) only and therefore he did not suffer. This reasoning does not indicate that Christ has two natures, a matter Cyril refused to admit a thousand times."

Section Seventeen

Concerning the testimony of Ambrose (of Milan) who said, "One of two natures" is not same as saying "Christ is of two natures." They (Chalcedonians) try in vain to claim that they are in agreement with what St. Ambrose said as mentioned in his second discourse to Gratian. Ambrose said, " the distinction

between the divinity and humanity of Christ should be preserved because the only Son of God speaks through each of them, for each of them exists in him. So when (as one person) he speaks, he does not always speak in the same manner. Although the speaker is one, he doesn't not always speak in one form. Now you see in him the glory of God and also you see in him the passions of man. He speaks divine things as God, because he is the Word, and human things as man because he spoke in this nature.¹⁰⁹⁹ This is why they (Chalcedonians) say that the only Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, speaks through each one of his natures. They think that what they say is in conformity with the saying that "Christ is known in two natures." But, this is not clear from the text. For in another book, the phrase "of two natures" which is mentioned in the masculine, is connected with what follows where Ambrose says, "although the speaker is one, he does not always speak in one form (nature)." Here what was said before should be understood that, "the only Son of God speaks in two forms." However, to them (Chalcedonians) the phrase "in two natures" should be in the feminine and understood as follows, "for the only Son of God speaks in two forms," that is, in the humanity and in the divinity whose distinction should be preserved. Ambrose said, "Let the distinction between the two natures, the humanity and the divinity, be preserved." But the (Chalcedonians) think that the Son of God that is the Word of God, is simple and not compound. On the other hand, they understand that he is the Son of God in his essence, and thus speaks by his divine nature and by his human nature. In this case we should divided him into two. Nevertheless, no one would say that the soul speaks by itself as if it is something else. Now, if Christ who is a compound of the divine and the human is the Son of God, then he is the one who is God and man together. He speaks by his entire humanity and likewise by his entire divinity. To express this as a duality is abominable. And when Christ spoke human things as a man by his human nature alone, and divine things as God by his divine nature alone, then this duality of the natures is more abominable than the first, especially if he speaks what concerns man in the divine nature. If this is so, then what is the difference between divine things and human things? However, Father (Ambrose) does not allow us to be enticed by an idea strange from what he thinks. In fact, he explained what he said adding, "because the two natures exist in him, and not that he is in each of them ", as the Chalcedonians allege. " For what they say makes him two Christs: one of divine nature and the other of human nature with the result that each one of them becomes a Christ. About this one (Christ), he (Ambrose) says that he was a partaker of the two natures because he is God and man together. For the compound reflects the elements from which it is compounded, whether they are mixed together in the same manner as man is a composite of body and soul, or for example, fire contains heat, dryness and lightness, and earth contains dryness, humidity and heaviness. If these elements are mixed, they are still elements, for example, hot and cold, dryness and moisture, and similarly in artificial objects. Similarly, a linen-wool garment is made of two elements- linen and wool. The same applies to an edifice made of stones, bricks and wood, or to oenamel, a drink made from wine and honey. Thus, Christ speaks through his two natures as one, and not as a third one. Christ is the one who speaks and he does this through both natures, for each one is what it is. Both of them are one Christ, God and man together. Therefore, there is no other. For by both of them Christ spoke, at one time as a God and at another time as a man. In fact, from no chapter of Ambrose were they (Chalcedonians) able to establish their abominable propositions.

In order to prove that there are two natures in Christ, the Chalcedonians produce the testimony of Julius, bishop of Rome in the discourse titled, "On the Glorious Union, in Christ, of the Flesh and the Divinity." But the Chalcedonians inserted both of the texts of Ambrose and Julius together in the memorandum submitted to Marcian. Julius said in the above mentioned discourse, "Whatever we say in this context should be applied to the humanity and the divinity (of Christ). He, who cannot comprehend the difference between the two or their properties, falls into a contradiction in respect to their properties and the preservation of their union. He would neither declare the natures as false nor overlook their union. The Chalcedonians maintain two natures of Christ after the union. But Julius says that we do not hold as false the two natures because this is what God the Father intends. Nor do we hold as false the one nature of

¹⁰⁹⁹ This is the only passage of Ambrose part of Michael Rabo derived from *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92.

Christ because the properties of each of them are known, and from both of them are generated that one (Christ). Neither do we overlook their union. Christ is composite and not simple; he is one by the union of the two natures. Those who read this discourse actually accepted what was written. Thus, Julius wrote that one must confess that in him the created is unified with the uncreated, and the uncreated is associated with the created. One single nature results from two parts, and by a particular operation, the Word completes the whole--everything with divine perfection. This takes place for man in general, who is composed from two incomplete parts that are composed from one nature and designated by a single name. Some of those who defend this Council (of Chalcedon) could not, in facing these explicit matters, defend their claims. Therefore, they resorted to false reasoning and say that these ideas are those of Apollinaris and not of Julius. In fact, they had not even one testimony to prove their claim, and all the books on earth confute them and bring up the name of Julius whom I discussed earlier. Those in Chalcedon brought up the name of Julius as a testimony of the apostles' teachings presented in the memorandum to Marcian. Here, too, we find their falsehood. Even when Apollinaris said that Christ the Word of God had taken a body (was incarnated) but without a rational soul, he actually confessed the union (of his humanity with his divinity.) In fact, in this discourse Julius spoke about the body of the Lord while mentioning the multiplicity of natures. The partisans of Chalcedon took what he said to mean that he maintained two natures. The truth is what we just said, that Julius did not contradict himself. In fact, he said Christ in his essence is both one and two natures. It is necessary to understand that he says two natures from whose union resulted one unique Christ. He says that in this union is known the reason for each one of the natures to unite with the other, and he does not deny the (two) natures which have been united because he recognizes their properties. He also recognizes that if they are united, their union cannot be destroyed. In fact, he confesses that the nature that resulted from the union of the two natures is one.¹¹⁰⁰

In the Exposition of Cyril (of Alexandria), the partisans of Chalcedon presented a portion of his letter to Succensus as being in conformity with the ideas of Julius. They thought that concerning the Incarnation the two natures came into union with no comingling or commixture, for the body is still a body and not a divinity, even if it has become the body of God. So also is the Word, which is God and not a body, although he took for himself a body by his dispensation. The partisans of Chalcedon put the belief in the duality of the natures together with what Gregory had said and concluded that there are two natures of God and man because they are body and soul. They even dispensed with the expression of two natures as if it were meaningless. Cyril, however, said in the chapter concerning the two natures that they were united together not because of them was Christ but because Christ has become one because of their union. Julius also maintained the same meaning as Cyril. The proposition that the two natures came into union to make one Christ is different from that of those who say that the nature of Christ is one. This is not what the Council of Chalcedon holds, namely, that there is unity in the two natures, but what Cyril says and reiterates is that Christ is one in the unity of his natures. It has then become obvious from all this that there are not two separate natures in Christ. Indeed, no priestly teacher, except Nestorius, ever said that Christ is of two natures after the union. The majority of the fathers held the mysterious unity of the natures that is the *qnumo* of Christ. For this reason, the Chalcedonians consider the expression of nature that is *qnumo* and essence as one *qnumo* (hypostasis). Nevertheless, if one says that Christ is of two natures, he should also say that he is of two *qnume* (persons). This is understood from what Cyril said about the form of the natures, that is the *qnume*. In fact, he said this in most of his teachings. In his letter addressed to the bishops, Athanasius said, "Let not the appellation *qnumo* trouble you for it is an expression of *ousia* (essence) and *qnumo* (hypostasis). Therefore, he who says essence is, in fact, saying *qnumo*. In one instance, St. Cyril said that the union with the *qnumo* is no other thing than a union of the hypostatic natures. In another instance, he said that the natural union is none other than a union of the hypostases (*qnume*). With respect to Christ, the words nature and *qnumo* have the same value.

The Council of Constantinople rejected Theodoret, Hiba (Ibas) and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

¹¹⁰⁰ For a full understanding of the confession of Julius, bishop of Rome, on the One Nature of Christ, the reader is referred to *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86-87 and 90-92.

Section Eleven

We briefly present some chapters, arguments and anathema instituted by the Council of Constantinople.

He who says that God the Word made miracles and another one is Christ who suffered; he who says that God the Word was with Christ who was born of a woman; or says that he was in that woman (Mary) superimposed with another; or says that the Lord Christ is not one, that is, the Word of God who was incarnated and became man; and that our Lord is not the one who committed miracles and himself suffered voluntarily by the body, such a man is an anathema.

Leo (bishop of Rome) says, "Whenever the lowliness of man and the greatness of God meet, they are the same. As "God" is not changed by the compassion (exhibited), so Man" is not consumed by the dignity (bestowed)." ¹¹⁰¹ Concerning the Word, he says that each of (the divine and the human) does the acts that belong to it, in communion with the other. The Word performs what belongs to the Word, and the flesh (body) performs what belongs to it. The one of these shines out in miracles; the other succumbs to injuries." ¹¹⁰² Now, if Eutyches accepts the faith of the Christians, he should contemplate which nature of Christ was nailed to the wood of the cross, and when the side of the one hanged on the cross was pierced with the soldier's lance, from which nature flowed blood and water?

Section Fourteen

Who would ever say that the union of the Word of God was done by grace, authority, equal honor, higher esteem, affinity, power and good acceptance, meaning that God the Word was pleased with man because of his goodness as iterated by the insane Theodore (of Mopsuestia)? Theodore says that the Nestorians call God the Word Son and Christ. They also separate from him the "Man" and call him Christ and Son. Actually, they proclaim two persons. However, with respect to the name, honor, authority and adoration, they say, "He is one person, one Son, and one Christ." However, they do not admit the union of the Word of God with the flesh which is endowed with a rational soul as the result of the compound (of the two natures), that is (Christ) is one *qnumo* (hypostasis) as the pious Fathers have taught. Accordingly, our Lord Jesus Christ, one person of the Trinity, is of compound *qnumo* (hypostasis). Anyone does not teach this is an anathema in the eye of the Fourth (Council).

It is a matter of wonder to know what (Leo) meant by the two forms impacting each other in their participation with other forms. In fact, this is nothing but the union of the impact of both forms, and that the humanity (of Christ) does not fade away in the face of the greatness and power of the divine. It means nothing except that man acquired the power of God.

Leo also says, "Though there is one *qnumo* (hypostasis) in the Lord Christ, the Man and God, the outcome of the coming together of these forms is someone else in both cases: one shines out in miracles, the other succumbs to injuries." Here Leo has in fact, united the two hypostases of Christ in one. The Nestorians, however, admit only the affinity between the two hypostases. However, nowhere in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, has one found a reference to the compound or hypostatic union (of the two natures).

From Chapter Five

Which one of us understands that the *qnumo* (hypostasis) of our Lord Jesus Christ is accomplished by the combination of several hypostases? If he does, he would venture into inserting two *qnume* (hypostases, persons) in the mystery that is peculiar to Christ. He would also say concerning one of the persons from whom Christ is formed that he has the power, dignity and adoration as the insane Theodore

¹¹⁰¹ See the translation of the Tome of Leo by William Bright in *The Christology of the Christian Fathers*, Vol. III, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1954): 364-365), and Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon: Volume 2* (Liverpool University Press, 2007): 19.

¹¹⁰² William Bright, *Ibid.* and Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.*

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and Nestorius wrote when they lost their senses and thus corrupted the Council of Chalcedon, which was inclined to their teaching concerning the one person. However, he would not profess that the Word of God was hypostatically united with the body. However, he admits one hypostasis that is one person, same as the Council of Chalcedon maintained one person for our Lord Jesus Christ. Such teaching deserved to be anathematized, for no person was added to the Holy Trinity because of the incarnation of one of its persons: God the Word.

Based on the minutes of the Fifth Council (553), Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (393-457), is related to have said about the person of Christ that, "The Council of Chalcedon understood the multiplicity of the person of Christ relying on John of Eges who said, "I have previously explained that both persons of God and Man are the one Lord and person." Based on the Tome of Leo, Theodoret maintains that, "I have presently showed that there is one person to the God and Man in their affinity of participation and power." Theodoret was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon as orthodox. Members of the council accepted him in order not to be associated with those who came under the anathema.

From Chapter Seven

He who says "two natures" does not confess the unity of the divinity and the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ. He is actually distinguishing the natures. We however, maintain the ineffable unity of the natures without being annihilated, and without the Word, becoming transformed into the nature of the body, or the body transformed into the nature of the Word. Each of them retains its characteristics in the hypostatic union of the Word. However, because of the division (of the natures of Christ) such phrase of this kind is attributed implicitly to Christ, indicating the multiplicity of the natures of our one Lord Jesus Christ, the God-Word incarnated. Not only he does not admit, theoretically, the difference of these natures from those of which it was compounded, without one of them is considered greater than the other because of their union, but he also finds himself using the multiplicity of natures as if they are distinct and compound in a special manner. He who holds this idea is anathema.

Paragraph Seven

The saying that Christ is perfect in his divinity and perfect in his humanity does not mean that he is two natures. We have already proved this in our criticism of the definition of the faith. We did this not only theoretically but also from the acts resulting from the union (of the two natures). They (Nestorians) say that Christ is two or in two. However, nowhere did they produce the phrase of "hypostatic union." In addition, they do not accept the expression "from" (two natures), but "in two natures." Thus, they removed the expression "from."

From Chapter Nine

He who says that Christ is adored in two natures is actually distinguishing two adorations: one for God the Word, the other for Man. In other words, that Christ is worshipped based on the loftiness of the body or on the mixture of the divinity with the humanity by considering the one, which has been united miraculously as one nature, that is, one essence. However, he does not worship the incarnated God the Word, including the body, in the form that has been accepted by the church from the beginning. Such a person is anathema.

Paragraph Nine

This anathema is attached to those who accepted the definition of faith that was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. We have explained it in our criticism of the definition of faith.

Section Twelve

Who would defend Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, who said that, "God the Word is one thing and Christ is another, considering that Christ was a subject to the lusts of the body and the soul but then

avoided evil slowly.” He goes on to say that, “When he rose above the authority of slaves and his demeanor became free from defects, he was baptized as a simple man in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He acquired the grace of the Holy Spirit by means of baptism and thus attained adoption. He is worshipped only in the person of God the Word similar to the royal manner. After the resurrection however, he became absolutely subject to no corruption or sin.”

Theodore further said, “The union of God the Word with Christ has been accomplished in similar manner to what Christ said about man and woman that, ‘And the two will become one flesh.’”¹¹⁰³ He (Theodore) even audaciously ventured to utter other blasphemies. He said that, “Christ did not give the Holy Spirit to the disciples when he breathed into them after the resurrection saying, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit,’¹¹⁰⁴ but he breathed into them only outwardly. He even denied the words of the Apostle Thomas, “My Lord and my God,”¹¹⁰⁵ which is a profession of the divinity of Christ when Thomas touched the Lord’s hands and side. He considers them a mere expression of Thomas’s surprise of Christ’s resurrection and his glorification of God who raised him from the dead. Worse still, in his commentaries Theodore likens Christ to Plato, Manes, Epicure and Marcion. He says, “Christ is likewise a teacher to which the Christians have been attributed.”

Who then will defend these impious or defiled writings fraught with the previously mentioned blasphemies, and similar ones that he addresses to the great God and to the Savior Jesus Christ? Those who do not condemn his impure writings, or accept him, defend him or claim that they are orthodox should be condemned. Also, those who wrote about him, or harbored his own ideas, and remain defiled with this iniquity, should be anathematized.

From Paragraph Twelve

Those at Chalcedon, who resisted the condemnation of Nestorius, failed. They also failed hindering the church of Christ to prevent Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, from entering the council. Instead of him, they accepted the letter of Ibas to Mari, which describes him as a malphono (teacher par excellence) of the church. However, when those (bishops) in Constantinople learned of Theodore’s blasphemies, they condemned him justly. It is known that they also condemned everyone who previously accepted him or his writings.

Section Thirteen

Those who defend the impious writings of Theodore (bishop of Mopsuestia) against the orthodox faith and the First Council of Ephesus chaired by St. Cyril of Alexandria, or against his Twelve Anathemas, or defend what has been written about the impious Theodore and Nestorius, or who harbored the ideas of Theodore and Nestorius after being condemned, is in fact, accusing the learned men of the church of hypocrisy. Indeed, these churchmen have professed the union of God the Word with the body. Consequently, who does not condemn the above teachings and those who adopted such ideas or entertained them? By the same token, he who accepts their writings against the orthodox faith or against St. Cyril and his Twelve Anathemas, is condemned

Those who defended Theodore at the Council of Chalcedon, or condemn what has been included in the previous chapter, or who pressured Theodoret to condemn them together with the teachings of Nestorius, should prove that Theodore was not always against orthodoxy. They should also prove that their writings are orthodox lest they also fall under the weight of condemnation.

Section Fourteen

Who would defend the letter, reportedly addressed by Ibas to Mari, which contained blasphemies? It states that, “Upon his incarnation, God the Word was born of the holy Mary a simple man.” It calls Mary

¹¹⁰³ Matthew 19:5.

¹¹⁰⁴ John 20:22.

¹¹⁰⁵ John 20:28.

“temple” with the intention that God the Word is one person and the Man is another one. It rejects St. Cyril who proclaimed the true Christian faith. It considers him a heretic like Apollinaris who was hypocritical in what he had written. It censures the First Council of Ephesus for condemning Nestorius and describes Cyril’s Twelve Anathemas as hypocritical and against the orthodox faith. Therefore, he who defends this hypocritical letter and does not condemn those who defend the blasphemies it contains, and what they have written and are still writing, and audaciously ascribing it to the holy Fathers or to the holy Council of Chalcedon, and insist on their position to the end, should be condemned.

Paragraph Fourteen

How is it not reprehensible that they did not condemn the letter of Ibas, the writings of Theodore and their Fathers claiming that they were of orthodox faith? These fathers have continued with their hypocrisy even in the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon. Indeed, they accepted them despite the fact that they did not repent or reject their erstwhile ideas. We have explained this matter from the beginning and wrote down a conclusion in agreement with the objectives. We left the readers to choose what is more accurate in order not to have any reason that might hinder them from making a decision.¹¹⁰⁶

We have gathered these materials from the letters of the grammarian, John Philoponus of Alexandria, and set them in order. *I beseech every discerning brother who is cognizant of good things to pray for me by the love of the crucified Jesus upon reading what we have recorded.*

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the events which took place in the final days of Marcian’s life

In the sixth year of Marcian, which is the year 769 of the Greeks/A.D. 458, the Roman Valentinian was killed and the Roman Empire was split. In addition, the church was divided and local shepherds were set up everywhere because of the schism created by the Council of Chalcedon concerning the faith. Furthermore, schism took place in the kingdom as a result of divine wrath. The cause of the schism of the Roman Empire was the hypocrite Marcian. According to the law of the empire, when the emperor in Rome passes away, the emperor in Constantinople chooses his successor and establishes him in his position. In the case of the death of the emperor in Constantinople, the emperor in Rome chooses and sets up whom he desires. However, when Marcian came to power without the approval of Rome as we have already said, Pulcheria (sister of Emperor Theodosius II) who was stained with adultery was chosen by the emperor in Rome. Thus, because of him (Marcian) the empire was split, as did the faith. Since Marcian’s time until this day, the Roman emperors in the West never heeded the endorsement of the emperors in Constantinople. Consequently, their names were not recorded at that time in Rome because historians did not pay attention to them but were only concerned with the names of the emperors in Constantinople. These were called the Roman Emperors.

In this time, the Persian King Yazdagird died and was succeeded by his son Firuz (Piruz). Firuz stirred up persecution against the Christians in his country. War ensued between the Romans and the Persians and the Persians were defeated. The Romans took seven thousand captives in the Arzen region.

After reigning for six years and seven months, Marcian died followed by the curses of good and holy men. He had twisted the faith delivered by the holy apostles and introduced a despicable heresy. *Here ends this narrative about the accursed and impious Emperor Marcian.*

The church was split and the ranks of the faithful rent apart when the Council of Chalcedon disavowed the true faith. Consequently, the zealous eschewed partaking with the heretical bishops wherever they were found. Instead, they ordained orthodox bishops as we had explained. They ordained Theodosius

¹¹⁰⁶ For a thorough analysis of the above doctrinal ideas and specifically those affirmed by the Council of Chalcedon, see R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London: S.P. C.K., 1961). Sellers posits his study on the ideas of the two Christological Schools of Antioch and Alexandria. He sees no heretics in all this controversy between the two schools except Nestorius and Eutyches. His idea that in his *Tome*, Leo of Rome tried to keep a balance between the divine and the human natures of Christ is untenable.

instead of Juvenal in Jerusalem with the laying on of hands of a number of orthodox bishops. In Alexandria, they ordained St. Timothy instead of Proterius. They did the same everywhere even in the ordinary sees.

The bishops, who deviated from the true path and became subservient to earthly kings, never thought that their hope of eternal life had failed. They recanted the true faith and became persecutors motivated by greed for a transient honor, which became the cause of the perdition of their souls. They administered the congregation of Christ, which he bought by his precious blood, with a royal rod, violent sword, ferocity and illegal manner, even by the shedding of blood. Wherever the message of Christ spread, persecution, pillaging, banishment, and other evils increased and surpassed the persecution perpetrated by the pagans in the past against the Christians. Those who stood firm and did not deny the faith, suffered the endurance of these adversities. The Chalcedonian bishops went too far in their insanity to pursue Saint Barsoum, chief of the ascetics. They said to each other, "Whether we like it or not, we have deviated from the faith. If we say we have lied, Marcian will surely kill us. Therefore, something should be done to assassinate him (Barsoum)." They addressed hypocritical letters to Marcian full of charges against the blessed Barsoum. They described his wonder works as deceptive. They accused him of collecting money and instigating the people against the emperor. When Marcian heard these accusations, he became angry and ordered the soldiers to kill the blessed Barsoum and his companions in his monastery. Hearing of the emperor's order, Barsoum became joyful. He said, "I have hope in the cross which I worship that Marcian will never be able to deter me or see my face, and neither shall I see his ugly face. I am confident that my death will pass to Marcian." This was exactly accomplished, for evil is destined to take place as written in Scriptures, "The righteous are taken away to be spared from evil."¹¹⁰⁷ As the pious emperor Theodosius II died during the circumstances of troubles, thus the blessed old man Barsoum went to his Lord. When, in February of that year Marcian heard of the death of the victorious (Barsoum), he refrained from sending troops to his monastery.

During the harvest season of that year, Marcian, urged by the instigation of recanting bishops, proceeded to persecute the disciples of the blessed Barsoum. When the news became known, the blessed (disciples) prayed at the grave of the saint. They heard John the Baptist saying in the temple, "Marcian has died having been opposed by a Christian emperor." A few days later the news of Marcian's death arrived. He was overtaken by (divine) wrath because of the curse inflicted on him by the blessed (Barsoum). Eternal torments are awaiting him.

In the time of Marcian, a severe earthquake took place, which shook up the whole world. Tripoli of Phoenicia was totally destroyed

Remark on the Nestorians who began to spread out in the region of Babylon at this time.

After Nestorius was condemned and driven out of the church of God, some of his partisans fled to Persia. One of them, the notorious Barsoum, known as the Persian, was made a bishop of Nisibin in Mesopotamia. Barsoum was invited as usual to attend the Second Council of Ephesus. Babai, catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was also invited. However, when he was not allowed to attend the council, he addressed letters of approval to St. Dioscorus and to the council indicating that the reason he could not attend was because of the pressure of the iniquitous Persian kingdom. He sent the letters with monks bound for Ephesus. When the monks reached Nisibin, they apprized the impious Barsoum of the purpose of their delegation to Ephesus. Barsoum, with satanic stratagem, tricked them and took the letters from them, pretending that he would deliver them through some merchants. He also had the monks return to the catholicos. What he did is, he took the letters to the king of Persia, informed him of their contents and slandered the catholicos. In his fury, the king had the catholicos killed. He made Barsoum head of all the Christians in his kingdom. Barsoum deceived the king saying that, "The reason the Romans killed Nestorius is because he assisted the Persian kingdom. If his teachings spread into Persia, the entire Western countries will definitely be a subject to the Persian kingdom." Thus, he succeeded in obtaining Persian troops who

¹¹⁰⁷ Isaiah 57:1.

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accompanied him. He forced many people to embrace the teaching of Nestorius. By the sword of the Persians, he had a great number of bishops, presbyters, monks and laymen slaughtered who refused to succumb to him. The number of those slaughtered was 7800 souls. Those who succumbed to him from fear were called Nestorians.

Barsoum (bishop of Nisibin) added more iniquity to his (Nestorian) belief by enacting and popularizing mundane, reprehensible and loathsome canons. They were refuted by Philoxenus (of Mabug) at the council convoked by Patriarch Peter the Fuller. Dionysius of Tell Mahre recorded in details these events in his history. We will mention them, God willing, in this book in their proper place. Now, we shall only mention them in brief in order to show the beginning of the schism that took place in the time of Marcian who has rent asunder the faith.

In this period, Pretorius more than anyone else, who was made a bishop of Alexandria by the heretics, sank into wickedness. He judged, by the power of the Roman troops, everyone who did not profess the impious creed of Chalcedon. Consequently, he had a great number of people, mostly priests, monks and bishops, slaughtered. One day while he urged the Roman soldiers to kill Christians, a soldier was courageous to invite him to see those killed. While Pretorius was watching through the window the piles of dead bodies without expressing an emotion of mercy, that soldier struck him down by his sword. Soldiers came and dragged his body into the ditch. The people took it and burned it by fire. The Chalcedonians set up Salophaciolus in his place who did not act the same as Pretorius.¹¹⁰⁸

Marcian banished the Orthodox St. Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, to Gangra. He was illustrious and famous for his orthodoxy and excellent conduct.

Here ends Book Eight covering the cycle of 62 years of three emperors up to the year 5965. (455 A.D.) He who reads this, please pray for me.

¹¹⁰⁸ See *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 78.

BOOK NINE

RELYING ON GOD WHO IS PRAISED BY THE NINE HOSTS OF ANGELS, I PROCEED TO WRITE BOOK NINE BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 770 OF THE COMPUTATION, WHICH IS THE YEAR 5965 FROM ADAM AND THE YEAR 455 OF OUR LORD.

Chapter One: Commencement of the reign of Emperor Leo

In the year 770 of the Greeks, Leo reigned over the Romans. He was of Thracian origin.¹¹⁰⁹ He was commander of the army. When Marcian died without issue, Leo was chosen by the counselors.¹¹¹⁰

In this same year, Firuz, son of Yazdagird, ruled the Persians. He fought against the Romans and persecuted the Christians in his own land.

Leo gave his daughter Ariadne to Zeno to wife, granted him extensive authority in the state and made him a commander of the entire East. He also appointed Basiliscus a governor (Master of Soldiers) of Thrace. Majorian became a Caesar of Rome but shortly afterwards was killed by Ricimer; Anthemius and Olybrius were proclaimed Caesars. The city of Callinicus was built by order of Leo and for this reason it was called Leontopolis.

When the emperor sent a decree to drive Timothy out of Alexandria, the people revolted and expressed their readiness for the worst expectations in order not to lose their chief priest. The holy Timothy agreed with the strategus Stylas to hide in the baptistery in the great church, first, for safety, and second, not to be the cause of a massacre. Saint Timothy hid himself in the baptismal font. However, the partisans of Pretorius did not honor the man's dignity, his virtues or the place of his asylum. When the case became known, thousands of men fell dead. After lengthy deliberation, the saint left with Roman soldiers for Palestine via the Phoenician Sea while the Romans were killing the Alexandrians without mercy. From his place of banishment, Saint Timothy wrote against the teachings of the heretics.

Saint Timothy remained in exile during the entire reign of Leo the Great. He vehemently protested against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. This greatly angered the Nestorians, especially when he addressed letters and testimonies of the Fathers to many quarters, enticing many who deserted Gennadius, bishop of Constantinople, and joining Acacius, Master of Orphans, to the knowledge of the truth. It is said that Thomas, who joined the composer Timocletus and challenged the Nestorians, set many hymns to music, which the people chanted when they flocked to the hall (Orphan Hospital). Because of this, their number increased.¹¹¹¹

Emperor Leo ordered that Mary should be proclaimed the Mother of God and her name inserted in the Diptychs (Book of Life). He did this against Martyrius of Antioch, known for his Nestorian tendencies. It was because of Martyrius that the pious Gregory of Nyssa, known as the Eloquent, was invited to refute the ideas of Nestorius.

At this time, Gennadius passed away and Acacius succeeded him. Some monks went up to see the emperor who promised to abolish the *Tome* and the Council (of Chalcedon) and all the additions it made. However, Timothy, when he was in exile, wrote not only against Nestorians but also against the Eutychians. This is manifest from his letters to Alexandria and Palestine, against those who hold the opinions of Eutyches, and do not confess Christ to be of the same nature with us in the flesh as well as of the same nature with the Father in the Godhead.¹¹¹²

Isaiah, bishop of Hermopolis, and the presbyter Theophilus were Eutychians. They were sojourning in the royal city with the desire of making money. They circulated a report that Saint Timothy was of their same doctrine. This caused Timothy to write a letter with his own signature against Nestorius and Eutyches.

¹¹⁰⁹ He belonged to the tribes of the Bessi in Thrace.

¹¹¹⁰ Leo was chosen an emperor by Alan Aspar, Master of Soldiers, because he was his subordinate. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 312.

¹¹¹¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 80-81.

¹¹¹² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 96-100.

When the bearers of the letter became known, they were treated by these men with contempt and were exposed to danger because the partisans of Isaiah said that they were “deceivers.” Timothy sent another letter respecting them replete with quotations from the Fathers.¹¹¹³

The letter of Timothy

Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, in order that he might redeem us and set us free from the dominion of Satan, and make us worthy for the blessings of the kingdom of heaven, set up for us, through the holy fathers, the law of those things that are pleasing to him. He gave commandment that no man, thinking to honor, should insult the Merciful One but that he should receive the dispensation for our redemption. He said, “Turn not aside to the right hand or to the left, but walk in the way of the kingdom.”¹¹¹⁴ Again he said, “Do not be over righteous, neither be over wise lest you fall into error. Do not fall deeply into error, nor be stubborn, lest you die before your time”;¹¹¹⁵ which means, be on guard lest the evil one should infuse into you anything contrary to my commandments, and set a stumbling block for you on the way to the kingdom along which you are walking and destroy you. For he said, “In the way wherein I walked they laid snare for me.”¹¹¹⁶ Take heed, therefore, to yourself and do not turn aside nor depart from the way of the kingdom. For this is the desire of the evil one. If you fulfill his desire, you will encounter great evil and fall into danger.

Consider, for instance a man seeking to enter a city surrounded by water. If he attempts to pass through on foot, he will sink and drown in its depths. If, on the other hand, he is afraid to pass over, he cannot enter the city at all. However, if there is a convenient ford, and he tries to cross over by it, then he can enter the city. In like manner, also we are anxious to enter heavenly Jerusalem. If we do not follow the law of God, which we have learned from the holy Fathers, then we cannot indeed stand upon the firm rock of Peter, that is the true faith, “For you shall indeed be called Kephos (Cephas, Peter), and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Sheol (Hell, Hades) shall not overcome it.”¹¹¹⁷ Let no man be so led astray by the evil one as to imagine that he can subvert the true faith. If he is contending, it is against his own soul that he contends, but nothing can overcome the faith. This is the meaning of the expression, “The gates of Sheol shall not overcome it.” Therefore, if any man stands not upon the truth of the faith, but is righteous overmuch, when he thinks to confer honor, he rather offers insult. Nevertheless, if he accepts the law of the Lord, which has been laid down for us by the saints, he survives visions of death and the verge of Sheol. For we have learned that apart from the standard of the faith, we cannot please God.

These things I have written because I have heard that some persons are contentious, and are not obedient to the Law of the Lord that has been laid down for us by the saints. They declare that our Lord, by his incarnation, was of the same nature with us in the flesh, which he took from us, which doctrine they have even rejected if they are not of this mind. I anathematize them.

Accordingly, let no one, thinking to honor God, insult his mercy by refusing to obey the doctrine of the holy fathers, who have declared that our Lord Jesus Christ is of the same nature with us in the flesh, and is one with his flesh. For I have also heard the holy apostle teaching and saying, “For as much the children were partakers of the flesh and the blood, he also partook of the same in like manner, that by means of death he might destroy the power of death, who is Satan, and deliver those who were held in the fear of death, and were subject to bondage, that so they many live forever. For he did not take (the nature) from angels, but he took it from the seed of Abraham. It was fitting that he should be made in all points like unto his brethren, that he should be a merciful priest, and faithful with God, and that he should make atonement for the sins of the people. Because he himself suffered when he was tempted, he is able to help those who

¹¹¹³*The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 81 and 96-97.

¹¹¹⁴ Numbers 20:17; Proverbs 4:27.

¹¹¹⁵ A free quotation from Ecclesiastes 7:16-18.

¹¹¹⁶ Psalm 142:3.

¹¹¹⁷ Matthew 16:18.

being tempted.”¹¹¹⁸ For this expression, “He was made like us in all points,” teaches all who desire to be worthy of the blessings of heaven and to be redeemed, that they must confess the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ as being from Mary the holy Virgin and Theotokos (Mother of God). Christ, who was of the same nature with her and with us in the flesh, is of the same nature with the Father in his Godhead.

The Fathers anathematized, and we in agreement with them anathematize in like manner anyone who does not hold their doctrine. But, we have, moreover, in our previous letter added some quotations from them, attesting the truth of this doctrine by Athanasius.

This is a well-known matter. The apostle writes expressly, “For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. But let every man take heed how he builds.”¹¹¹⁹ Now it is necessary that a foundation such as this should be in conformity and likeness with those who are built upon it. God the Word, because he is the Word and the only begotten one, has no peers who could be the sons of the Godhead in the same manner as he. However, in as much as he became man, of our nature, and clothed himself with our body, we are of the same nature with him. Accordingly, in the matter of our humanity, he is the foundation so that we may be precious stones and be built upon him, and be the temple for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. For in like manner, as he is the foundation and we are the stones built upon him, so also he is the vine and we are the branches, hanging from him and in him, not indeed, in the nature of the Godhead, for that would not be possible, but in the manhood. Now it is fitting that the branches should be like the vine, because we also are like him in the body that he took from us.¹¹²⁰

We confess that he is the Son of God, and God in the Spirit, and man in the flesh. Moreover, there are not two natures in the one son, one to be worshipped and the other unworthy of worship. There is One Nature of God the Word, and who, along with the flesh in which he is clothed, is to be worshipped with one worship.¹¹²¹

The letter of Athanasius to Epictetus

There are many hesitating and blushing, who imagine that if we affirm the body of our Lord to be from Mary, we introduce a fourth person in the Trinity. However, if we affirm the body to be of the same Nature with the Word, the Trinity thereby remains a Trinity regardless of the addition of a foreign element. While if we maintain with respect to his body that it is human, then since the body is foreign to the Nature of God, when the Word is in it, there must be of necessity a Quaternity instead of a Trinity, because of the addition of the body.

When they talk in this way, they do not consider how their argument breaks down and fails. If they say that the body of the Lord is not from Mary, but it is of the same Nature of the Word and that it is distinct, they seem also to hold a Quaternity. We say that the Son is of the same Nature with the Father but he is not the Father. He is the Son in relation to the *qnumo* (Person), and is of the same Nature with the Father. Likewise, if the body (of the Lord) is of the same Nature with the Word, still it is not the Word. And if it is another thing, as they claim, then the Trinity becomes a Quaternity.

However, the true indivisible and perfect Trinity can never receive any addition. What then must be the mind of those persons, and how can they be Christians who hold that there is another besides him who is God?

The body of our Redeemer, derived from Mary, was in reality and truth human in nature because it was like our body, since Mary is our sister and we are all descended from our father Abraham.¹¹²²

¹¹¹⁸ Hebrews 2:14-18.

¹¹¹⁹ A loose quotation from 1 Corinthians 3:11-12.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. John 15:1-6. This entire passage is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 81-84.

¹¹²¹ This passage is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 84-85. It is taken from the Second Oration of St. Athanasius against the Arians.

¹¹²² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 85-86.

From the letter of Julius, bishop of Rome

There is no change whatsoever in the Divine Nature, for it is not subject to diminution or increase. When he says, "Glorify me," that is the voice of the body, and is spoken concerning the body. Glory was affirmed with respect to his whole being, for he is all alone. And by this "glory which I had with you before the world was,"¹¹²³ he testified concerning his Godhead that it is always glorified, for such glory properly belongs to it, even though this affirmation was aimed equally concerning his whole being. Therefore, in the Spirit he is of the same Nature with the Father invisibly. Since the body also was united to him in his Nature, it is equally included under the name. Again, his Godhead is comprehended under the name because it is united to our nature, and the nature of the body is not converted into the nature God by the union and conjunction of the human body, and by the appellation of a body of our nature.¹¹²⁴

Of the same Julius, from his letter to Dionysius

They, indeed, who confess that the God of heaven became incarnate from the Virgin, and that he being joined to his flesh was one, give themselves needless trouble in contending with the maintainers of the opposite view, who affirm (as I have heard) that they are two natures. Since John proved our Lord to be one by saying, "The Word became flesh,"¹¹²⁵ and Paul by saying, "There is one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things."¹¹²⁶ Now, if he who was born from the Virgin was named Jesus, and it is he through whom all things were created, he is One Nature because he is One Person, not divided into two. For the nature of the body is not separate, nor the Nature of the Godhead remain distinct at the Incarnation. But just as man, composed of body and soul, is one nature, so also he, who is in the likeness of men, is one, Jesus Christ.¹¹²⁷

From the letter of Gregory the Miracle-Worker (Thaumaturgus)

Whosoever says that Christ appeared in the world in phantasy, and does not confess him to have come in the body, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says concerning the body of Christ that it was without soul and without mind, and does not confess his humanity to be perfect, he being the same, according as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that Christ took a part of man only, and does not confess him to have been in all points like as we are, yet without sin, let him be condemned.

Whosoever says that Christ was liable to change and variation, and does not confess him to be unchanged in Spirit, and uncorrupt in the flesh, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that Christ was a perfect man separately and does not confess him to be one Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that there was one who suffered and another one who did not suffer, and does not confess God the Word, himself impassible, to have suffered in his flesh, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that there was one who existed before the worlds, the Son of God, and another, who at length came into being, and does not confess him to be the same, who was before the worlds and at length came into being, according as it is written, "Christ yesterday and today,"¹¹²⁸ let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that Christ was of the seed of a man in like manner as the rest of mankind, and does not confess him to have been incarnate, and to have become man of the Holy Spirit and also of the Virgin Mary, of the seed of the house David, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that the body of Christ was of the same nature of his Godhead, and does not confess him to be God before all the worlds, who "emptied himself and took upon him the form of a servant,"¹¹²⁹ let him be accursed.

¹¹²³ John 17:5.

¹¹²⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86.

¹¹²⁵ John 1:14.

¹¹²⁶ 1 Corinthians 6:8.

¹¹²⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86.

¹¹²⁸ Hebrews 13:8.

Whosoever says that the body of Christ was not a human body, and does not confess the uncreated God the Word to have received incarnation and manhood from created man, as it is written, let him be accursed.

For how can one affirm that the body of Christ is uncreated, while the uncreated is not susceptible to suffering, wounds, or (bodily) contact? Nevertheless, Christ himself, after his resurrection from the dead, showed his disciples the prints of the nails and the wound of the spear, and afforded them bodily contact with himself. Although the doors were shut, he entered, that he might display the power of his Godhead and the reality of his body.¹¹³⁰ For the flesh that comes into being after lapse of time, cannot be said to be of the same nature with the eternal Godhead. For whatsoever in nature and property is incapable of change is of the same nature.

He is the true incorporeal God, who appeared in the flesh, a perfect being. He is neither two persons nor two natures. For we do not worship Four, God, and the Son of God, and a man, and the Holy Spirit, but on the contrary, we anathematize those who act so wickedly, and who place man in the glory of God. We hold that God the Word became man for the sake of our redemption and that he took our likeness in his true Nature, the Son of God, but in the flesh, a man, our Lord Jesus Christ.¹¹³¹

Of Basil of Caesarea

That which is made is not of the same nature as its maker, but that which is begotten is of the same nature as its begetter. Accordingly, that which is created and that which born are not one and the same. Again, the children have the same nature as the parents, even though he that was born as the result of copulation was in no respect different from Adam who was not born, but was formed. Again, if they who are different in the manner of their creation are different also in their essential being, then men must be unlike one another in nature. For there is one creation of Adam, who was formed out of the earth, another creation of Eve, who was made from a rib, another of Abel who was born of copulation and another of him who was from Mary, who was from a virgin alone. Indeed, the same might be said with respect to birds and beasts.¹¹³²

Of Gregory of Nazianzus

Now these are generally accepted doctrines, that he who was exalted far above us, for our sake took our qualities upon him and became man, not that through the body he should henceforth be limited to the body, for he is not so limited, since his nature is infinite. But that he might sanctify man by his body, he became as leaven to the whole lump, and drew it to himself. He who was guilty he released from his guilt. He was, for our sake, in all points like as we are, sin only excepted, in body, soul and mind of which the ordinary mortal man is composed. He who manifested himself was God in respect to his spiritual being, but human in respect to Adam and the Virgin from whom he was derived: from the former as his ancestor, but from the latter who was his mother according to the natural law, and who gave him birth in a manner superior to nature, and not after the natural law.¹¹³³

Of Gregory, the Brother of Basil of Caesarea

The nature, indeed, of those who are begotten must of necessity be like their begetters.¹¹³⁴

¹¹²⁹ Philippians 2:7.

¹¹³⁰ Luke 24:36-43 and John 20:19-27.

¹¹³¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86-88.

¹¹³² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 89.

¹¹³³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 89-90.

¹¹³⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 89.

Again of Julius of Rome

Again, with respect to the dispensation of our Redeemer in the flesh, we believe that God the Word remaining unchanged became flesh, with the object of renewing mankind. He, being the true Son of God by the eternal generation, became man by the birth from the Virgin. In addition, he, who is perfect God in his Godhead of the same Nature with the Father, and perfect man of the same bodily nature with mankind by birth from the Virgin, is one and the same. However, whosoever says that Christ had a body from heaven, or that his body was of his nature, let him be accursed.

Whosoever denies that the flesh of our Lord is from the Virgin, of the same nature as ours, let him be accursed.

Whosoever holds concerning our Lord and Savior who was from the Holy Spirit and from Mary the Virgin in the flesh that he was incomposite and without consciousness, and without reason, and without mind, let him be accursed.

Whosoever shall dare to say with respect to Christ that he suffered in his Godhead, and not in the flesh, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever would separate and divide our Lord and Savior, and say that God the Word is one Son and the man whom he took another, and does not confess him to be one and the same, let him be accursed.¹¹³⁵

Of John Chrysostom

He who transcends all our conceptions and surpasses all our thoughts, and is exalted above angels and above all intelligent powers, was content to become man. He took flesh, which was formed from the earth and the clay. This he did by entering the Virgin's womb, where he was carried for the period of nine months. After his birth, he suckled milk and indeed, he suffered all things pertaining to the human lot. Why was he called a Table? Because when I eat the mystery that is upon him, I am refreshed. Why was he called a House? Because I dwell in him. Why was he called an Indweller? Because I am his temple. Why was he called a Head? Because I am his member. When he set his love upon a harlot, what did he do? He did not call her up for he would not bring a harlot up to heaven, but he came down. As she was not able to ascend to him, he descended to her. Moreover, coming to her hovel, he himself was not ashamed, and he found her drunk. And how did he come? Not openly in his own Nature, but he became like the harlot himself in nature though not in will lest when she saw him, she might be confounded through terror and flee. He came to her having become man. And how did he become man? He was conceived in the womb and he grew gradually.¹¹³⁶

Of the same Chrysostom

This is the day on which the Eternal One was born and became man, a thing that never took place before, though he did not change from being God. It was not by a change of the Godhead that he became man. Neither from a human original by growth did he become God. The impassible Word suffered no change in his Nature by becoming flesh. He that is seated upon the throne high and lifted up was laid in the manger. He that is simple and without body and cannot be touched, was embraced by human hands. He, who severs the chains of sin, was wrapped in swathing bands.¹¹³⁷

¹¹³⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 90.

¹¹³⁶ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 90-91.

¹¹³⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 91-92.

Of Athanasius

If any man teaches doctrine contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and says that the Son of God is one, and he who is man from Mary is another, who became a Son by grace as we, so that there should be Two Sons: one is God and of the same nature with God, and the other is man who became a (Son) by grace from Mary, let him be accursed.

Whosoever further says that the body of our Lord was from above, not from the Virgin Mary, or that the Godhead was converted into flesh, or that it was confounded and changed, or that the Godhead of our Lord suffered, or that the body of Christ, in as much as it is from men, should not be worshipped, and not that the body is to be worshipped because it is that of our Lord and God: the man who asserts these things, we anathematize. For we obey the apostle when he says, "Whosoever preaches to you a gospel different from that which we have preached to you, let him be accursed."¹¹³⁸

Of Bishop Ambrosius (Ambrose, bishop of Milan)

He is the same person who speaks, though not always in the same manner. At one time is manifested in him the glory of God, and at another time is manifested the passion of men. As God, he teaches divine things, because he is the Word. As man, he teaches human things, because he speaks in our nature.¹¹³⁹

The letter of St. Timothy of Alexandria

St. Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, addressed a letter from his place of exile to Emperor Leo containing reproachment recorded below.

O kind and indulgent king! Since among wise men there is nothing more honorable than the soul, and also we have learned to despise the things of the flesh, and not to lose the soul. Therefore, so are as in me lies and with all my might, I am careful to keep my soul, lest before the time of judgment I may be condemned as a lover of the flesh, and prepare for myself the fire of hell. This I think, that all who are wise concerning that which is good, desire that nothing hateful to their brethren should even occur. Accordingly, in writing this petition, I assure your serenity that from my youth I have learned the Holy Scriptures, and I have studied the divine mysteries contained in them. Until now, I have ever been careful to hold the true faith as it was delivered to us by the apostles, and by my Fathers the doctors. Being united to them by the grace of God our Savior, I have reached my present age. I confess the one faith that our Redeemer and Creator Jesus Christ delivered when he became incarnate and sent out the blessed apostles saying, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit."¹¹⁴⁰ For the Trinity is perfect, equal of Nature, in glory and blessedness, and there is not in it anything less or more. For thus also the three hundred and eighteen fathers (the Council of Nicaea) taught concerning the true Incarnation of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, that he became man, according to his dispensation, which he himself knows. With them, I agree and believe, as do all others who prosper in the true faith. For in it there is nothing difficult, neither does the definition of the faith that the fathers proclaimed require addition. Moreover, all, whoever they be, holding other opinions and corrupted by heresy, are rejected by me. I, myself, also flee from them. For this is a disease which destroys the soul, namely, the doctrine of Apollinaris, and the blasphemies of Nestorius, both who hold erroneous views about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, who became flesh from us. They introduced into him the cleavage in two, and divided asunder even the dispensation of the only begotten Son of God, including, those, on the other hand, 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 to a human body what pertains to the soul derived from us was united.

¹¹³⁸ Galatians 1:8-9. See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92.

¹¹³⁹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92.

¹¹⁴⁰ Matthew 28:19.

I say to any who have fallen into one or other of the heresies, 'You are in grievous error, and you know not the Scriptures.'¹¹⁴¹ With such I do not hold communion, nor do I love them as believers. However, I am joined, united, and truly agreeing with the faith defined at Nicaea. It is my care to live in accordance with it.

When Diomedes, the distinguished Silentiary,¹¹⁴² came to me and gave me the letter of the bishop of Rome, and I studied it, I was not pleased with its contents. I preferred not to read it or censure it in public lest the peace of the Church be disturbed.

However, I believe that God has put it into the mind of your Serenity to set right the statements in this letter, which are a cause of stumbling to the believers. For these statements are in accord and in agreement with the doctrine of Nestorius, who was condemned for cleaving asunder and dividing the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in respect of natures, persons, properties, names and operations. He also interpreted the words of Scripture to mean two natures, which are not contained in the confession of faith by the three hundred and eighteen (the Council of Nicaea). For they declared that the only begotten Son of God, who is of the same nature with the Father, came down, and became incarnate, and was made man. He suffered, rose again, ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Natures, persons and properties were not mentioned by them, nor did they divide them. Nevertheless, they confessed the divine and the human properties to be of one by the dispensation.

Accordingly, I do not agree with the transactions of Chalcedon, because I find in them division and cleavage of the dispensation.

And now, O victorious king, receive me, for I am speaking this confidently on behalf of the truth that your highness may prosper as on earth, so in heaven. Accept this, my petition with goodwill, for in this letter from the West there runs confusion likely to cause stumbling for it cleaves asunder the dispensation. And I pray that this letter may be annulled, so that God Christ may be purely professed by all tongues that he truly suffered in the flesh while he remained without suffering in his Godhead which he has with the Father and the Spirit.

I entreat and beseech your honored majesty, that orders be sent to all men to hold the confession of Faith, as defined by our three hundred and eighteen fathers, which in a few words declares the truth to all the churches, to put an end to every heresy and all false doctrine, and which in itself stands in no need of correction.¹¹⁴³

Testimonies of the fathers contained in the letter of St. Theophilus of Alexandria

The Word, the living God, the Lord of all, and Creator of the world, did not clothe himself in a heavenly body as in some costly substance and come to us, but he displayed in clay the greatness of the skill of his art. For when he would restore and renew man who was formed from the clay, he was born as man from the Virgin, corresponding to us in all points, in sin only excepted, and coming into being by a miracle, shone upon us and blessed our human nature.

Now, it was not difficult for God the Word to prepare for himself a temple from the Virgin's body for the purpose of our redemption. For consider, indeed, that God also was never polluted by natural copulation when he created man. How much more then, by his mercy, he became incarnate from the blood of the Virgin for the purpose of our redemption.¹¹⁴⁴

When the saint (Timothy) was on his way to exile, the inhabitants of the cities of Palestine and the seacoast came to him to be sanctified, and the sick among them gained healing from their diseases through the grace of God, which was attached to his person. They snatched torn pieces from his garments, that they

¹¹⁴¹ Matthew 22:29.

¹¹⁴² Silentiary is an imperial usher, who kept guard at the doors during important state meetings, but could also be entrusted with various special missions. See *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, p. 211 of the Glossary, and Evagrius, *History of the Church* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1845), 311, footnote 1.

¹¹⁴³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 70-73.

¹¹⁴⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92-94.

might have them as charms to protect them from evil. When he arrived at Berytus (Beirut), Eustathius, the bishop, urged the citizens there to receive him with public honor. He begged Timothy upon his entry into the city, to pray for it. Timothy stood in the midst of the city and made supplications and prayers to God for it, and blessed it.

However, Auxonius, the brother of Eustathius, who was at that time an interpreter of the law, acting upon the advice of his brother, spent the whole night with Timothy, speaking earnestly about the faith and against Nestorius. During the whole of his long discourse, Timothy was a silent listener. At length, Auxonius, after many words, ceased speaking. Timothy said to him, "Who could persuade me that these three fingers should write upon the paper of Chalcedon?" Upon hearing this, Auxonius was very sad, and began to weep. Then Timothy encouraged both him and his brother Eustathius, who afterward joined them, and said, "Attach yourself to me, and let us contend together for the faith, and let us prevail, so that either we shall recover our bishoprics, or else we shall be driven into banishment by our enemies, and live a sincere life with God." Eustathius alleged as an excuse the dedication of the church, a great temple that he built and named "Anastasia." Timothy said, "Shall we wait for the dedication of an earthly temple? But if you obey me, then we shall hold our festival in the heavenly Jerusalem."

Timothy received the same kind of honor along the way, until he reached Gangra.

However, Gennadius, bishop of Constantinople, and his adherents did not desist from their persecution of Timothy, even when he was in banishment. They persuaded the emperor to remove him from Gangra to Cherson, a region inhabited by barbarous and uncivilized men.

However, the bishop of Gangra heartily consented to this because of the envy, which he felt towards the believing, virtuous, and miracle-working Timothy, the friend of the poor. Timothy was also envied because he received gifts from the believers of Alexandria and Egypt and distributed them for the relief of the needy.

Having embarked on board ship and launched upon the sea, he reached Cherson without danger, though he was tossed in the midst of the winter. When the inhabitants of the country learned the reason, they were filled with admiration for him, became followers of his faith, and submitted to his authority.¹¹⁴⁵

Besides this letter, we have subjoined another explaining the right method of reception in the case of those who repent and turn from heresy.

Timothy, to the God-loving bishops, presbyters, deacons, archimandrites, sisters, and faithful people in the Lord--Greetings.

Inasmuch as Isaiah and Theophilus have been for a long time heretics in secret, who I admonished by letter, urging them to agree to the doctrine, they have not been obedient to the letter which I wrote to them to Constantinople, containing proofs from Scripture and the doctors of the church, that our Lord Jesus Christ was of the same nature with us in the body. Furthermore, they have shown no respect for my sufferings in being banished from place to place, but have behaved treacherously toward the bearers of my letter, and also informed the prefects against them, stirring up others saying, "It is a forgery," even though they knew my signature was on the letter. I waited a considerable time for them though I knew their disposition, and they made no reply either by word of mouth or in writing. Upon reflection, I thought it right to send them another letter. Therefore, I wrote urging them to come and confess the true faith. In my admonition, I reminded them that God does not condemn those who repent. I cited the examples of holy men who sinned and denied the Lord, but who afterwards repented. Moreover, God accepted their repentance, and accounted them worthy of their former dignity. Such was the case of David, Peter and Paul.

I wrote to them that, in like manner, if they would repent and confess the body of Christ to be of the same nature as ours, I would continue to entertain my old esteem and love for them and would maintain them in the honor of their rank. However, they showed no affection for me and treated me with contempt.

¹¹⁴⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 76-77 and 79-80.

After this, I waited four years more for them without exposing them by name. They persevered in their disobedience, showing no sign of repentance; neither did they receive the doctrine of the holy fathers nor me. They have associated with some heretics who openly deny that our Lord took a human body, and that he became perfect man from us. They creep into houses, are greedy for gain and for the belly, which they hold as their god while they are sojourning in the royal city (Constantinople). I wrote to them that they should depart from it, but they would not. They continued to lead simple folk astray, to circulate other rumors respecting me, with the object of doing me great harm. Being distressed and saddened by them, I was compelled to excommunicate them by their names lest they should cause others to stumble and err.

I now give sentence upon Isaiah and Theophilus, who say that the body of the Lord is of his own nature, and not of ours, and who deny his true humanity, thereby cutting themselves from the fellowship of the holy fathers and mine. Henceforth, no man should hold communion with them. For John the Evangelist commands us saying, "Dear brethren, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are from God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world. This is how you can recognize the spirit of God: Every spirit that acknowledges that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God, but every spirit that does not acknowledge Jesus is not from God. This is the spirit of the antichrist, which you have heard is coming and even now is already in the world."¹¹⁴⁶

Again, "If anyone comes to you and does not bring this teaching, do not take him into your house or welcome him. Anyone who welcomes him shares in his wicked work."¹¹⁴⁷ Because of the apostle who says, "As we have already said, so now I say again: If anybody is preaching to you a gospel other than what you accepted, let him be eternally condemned!"¹¹⁴⁸

I am clear from their blood and from that of their associates. For I have not ceased to show them, according to the will of God, what is for their good. For Paul further exhorts us, saying, "Warn a divisive person once, and then warn him a second time. After that, have nothing to do with him. You may be sure that such a man is warped and sinful; he is self-condemned."¹¹⁴⁹ But the blessed Dioscorus, the Confessor, wrote sentiments agreeable to these of the holy fathers, and after the same manner in his letter to Secundinus saying, "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the love of the Spirit, concerning those who repent and turn from the heresy of the Diphysites,¹¹⁵⁰ as I wrote in a letter a year ago, that you, the bishops and clergy, and other believers, all who are subject to you, help them, and extend the hand to them in the Lord."

This same order and regulation Cyril and Dioscorus observed of one year's repentance for bishops, presbyters and deacons after which they should be established in their former rank. I have written such letters advising them how they should receive converts from Pretorius' party.

Timothy became so celebrated, even with the people of India that when their bishop died they, being of the same faith with him, sent a request to him that he would appoint a bishop for them. Indeed, the Alexandrians never ceased sending petitions and supplications to the emperor on his behalf.¹¹⁵¹

Of Cyril

So truly, the *Theotokos* (Mother of God) still remained a virgin after giving birth to Christ by a miracle. He was partaker, in like manner as we, of flesh and blood, not of his own nature as the heretics say, but of our nature according to the saying, "He took the seed of Abraham."¹¹⁵² We assert that the body of the Word was his own, and not that of some other man separately and distinctly who is held to be different from Christ the Son. Although he took the body from our race and nature because he was born of the

¹¹⁴⁶ 1 John 4:1-3; 2 John 7.

¹¹⁴⁷ 2 John 10-11.

¹¹⁴⁸ Galatians 1:8.

¹¹⁴⁹ Titus 1:10-11.

¹¹⁵⁰ Meaning, the Chalcedonians who held two natures of Christ distinct and separate from each other after the Incarnation.

¹¹⁵¹ The above passages are in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mytilene*, 96-99.

¹¹⁵² Hebrews 2:16.

Virgin, yet it must be held and declared to be his own body. Since God the Word is the Life in his own nature, he declared his body to be a life-giving one. If it is not so, how then is he like us, while yet remaining as he was before, God the Word? However, grant to him that in the unity of the Person his body is not separated, and do not denude him of his flesh. Thus, I rightly worship one Son, who is of the same nature with the Father in the Godhead, but of the same nature with us in the manhood. As for those who delight to believe this truth, Christ will enlighten their knowledge also of himself by his mysteries.

Therefore, these fathers and holy men like them have with one consent anathematized every man who is not obedient to their doctrine.

I have written to Alexandria, to the clergy, to the monks, to the sisters the virgins in Christ, and to the believing people. I have sent the letter to you, my dear friends that you may know what I have written, I Timothy, have marked the salutation with my own handwriting.

Whosoever does not believe in the doctrine of the holy fathers in accordance with the tradition of our Lord Jesus Christ: let him be accursed. For it is right for each one of us either to stand fast in the faith and to live in it, or else to die on behalf of it, and to live for evermore.¹¹⁵³

End of the testimonies of the holy fathers and the Orthodox malphone (doctors) respecting the true faith. He who reads this let him pray for the wretched and sinful scribe.

Chapters Two and Three are not mentioned in the Syriac text

Chapter (Four): Concerning the affairs of the church and the kingdom in the time of Leo

In the reign of Leo, an unprecedented fire broke out in Constantinople and raged from sea to sea. The emperor fled to the passage of Marmara and lived there for six months. He built the great harbor of Neon Ambolon (The New Gate). He also made a law that no man should work on Sunday, and that no man should play any instrument of music whether a flute or guitar.¹¹⁵⁴

In the year fifteen of Leo, the patrician Aspar and his four sons were killed. Anthimus was killed by Ricimer (Master of Soldiers), and Ricimer killed the Emperor Olybrius.¹¹⁵⁵ Leo proclaimed his grandson, the son of his daughter and son of Zeno, Caesar when he was still six years old child. This is why he was called Leo the Young (Leontinus). He reigned one year during the emperor's reign. Then Emperor Leo fell ill through a disease of the bowels and died at seventy-three years of age. He spent eighteen years minus thirty days in governing. The church was in constant turmoil during his lifetime because of the schism created by the Council of Chalcedon. *End of this narrative.*

Alexander, bishop of Mabug, and the bishop of Samosata the heretic and partisans of John of Antioch and Theodore, addressed a letter to them against St. Simeon, the Stylite, and Jacob, bishop of Kafra, the teacher of Simon as follows, "To our fathers the bishops. We have greatly rejoiced by receiving your letters and came to know about your health. However, we have been displeased with what Simeon and Jacob had written because they have actually written against the truth. Do not believe them even though the dead come back to life. But you should count them as heretics."

Such and other matters were written by those hypocrites about these two saints: Simeon the Stylite and Jacob of Kafra, because they did not consent to the false teaching of the Council convened at Chalcedon.

In this period, Emperor Leo stirred up severe persecution against what was left of the Arians. He seized their churches and forbade them from assembling.

¹¹⁵³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 94-96. Cf. Cyril's, treatises against the Apollinarians, Nestorians and the Synodians in *Library of the Holy Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church Anterior to the Division of the East and West*, translated by E.B. Pusey (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1881), 363-377.

¹¹⁵⁴ He commanded that instead the people should occupy themselves in their churches. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, translated by E. A. Wallace Budge (Oxford University Press, 1932), 69.

¹¹⁵⁵ Emperor Olybrius died from dropsy. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 323.

In Leo's period, ashes like rain fell down from heaven and covered about one span of the ground and the bricks. Gripped by fear, the people rushed to the churches, monasteries, temples and other holy place, praying day and night. They thought the event was an act of wrath against the earth, though God extinguished it as an act of mercy for the people.

In the same period, Cyzicus was completely destroyed by an earthquake and a great majority of its people perished. In addition, several cities and villages collapsed but were not demolished like Cyzicus.

The chief priests who came after the Council of Chalcedon in the time of King (Emperor) Leo

In Constantinople, Anatolius, who was the fourteenth, succeeded the heretic Gennadius.

In Rome, Hilary succeeded Bishop Leo, who was the forty-fourth bishop.

In Alexandria, after the murder of Pretorius, the Orthodox appointed the holy Timothy known as Salophaciolus.

In Antioch, Maximus succeeded Domnus, who was succeeded by Martyrius, who was driven out, as the fortieth bishop. After him was Julian as the forty-first bishop, who was succeeded by Stephen as the forty-second bishop, and another Stephen as the forty-third bishop, who was driven out, and then Peter, the forty-fourth bishop, who returned from banishment three times.

In Ephesus, John the heretic took the place of the believing Bassian. He was succeeded by Paul who was banished and then returned from banishment by an Encyclical. He was banished the second time for rejecting the Council of Chalcedon.

In Constantinople, Acacius was the fifteenth bishop.

In Rome, Simplicius was the forty-fifth bishop for fifteen years.

In Edessa, Nonus returned after the death of Ibas and Qura, the thirty-second bishop.

In the year 703 of the Greeks, which is the third year of Leo, Saint Simeon the Stylite died. His remains were transferred to Antioch by the troops. The Antiochenes built a Martyrium and deposited in it the body of Simeon in a coffin. They repaired to his holy body to protect their city, which had been destroyed by an earthquake. Simeon died three years before the death of St. Barsoum. May their memory be a blessing.

The crowning, that is the death of our lord St. Barsoum, chief of the ascetics, distinguished among the perfect, occurred in the year 700 of the Greeks, the year in which Marcian passed away. St. Simeon's death occurred in the third year of Leo, which is the year 703 of the Greeks. These two blessed men and St. Jacob, bishop of Kafra, had anathematized the Council of Chalcedon.

Chapter Five: Concerning the reign of Leo the Young, his father Zeno, and Basiliscus who craftily seized the kingdom and was driven away and died.

Leo the Young (Leontinus) reigned at the age of six by order of Leo the Great in the year 780 of the Greeks (474 A.D.). During the one year he reigned, his father Zeno paid homage to him, but his mother treated him as a child. She tricked him saying, "When your father bows down before you, take the crown from your head and place it on his head." Having done this, Zeno, who was from Isauria, seized the kingdom. After few days, the boy died and many suspected that his father and his mother had put him to death.

Verina, wife of Leo the Great, asked Zeno concerning a certain matter, and he refused her quest. She cast him aside and set up her brother Basiliscus as emperor. Basiliscus, who was dwelling in Heraclea, rebelled against Zeno and was proclaimed emperor. He appointed his son Marcus a Caesar. Fearing that Verina might be planning to have him killed, Zeno fled to Isauria on a post-horse. He abandoned the kingdom and returned to his country (Constantinople). He arrived at the strongholds called Salmon and remained there. He was later joined secretly by his wife Ariadne. Basiliscus and his son Marcus reigned two years and acted badly. Basiliscus proved to be stupid and changeable. In his time, Gabala in Syria was destroyed by an earthquake and he sent money for its relief. At the beginning, he was concerned with professing and confirming the Orthodox faith (meaning against the Council of Chalcedon). In order to do

the Alexandrians a great favor, he brought back Saint Timothy from exile and with him the remains of Dioscorus (Coptic Pope of Alexandria); they were received with honor in Alexandria. Basiliscus wrote an Encyclical signed by the bishops, condemning the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo.¹¹⁵⁶ However, Acacius, (Bishop of Constantinople), instigated the bishop of Rome against him. Intimidated, Basiliscus issued a counter Encyclical abolishing his support of the Orthodox faith. He commanded that everyone should accept the Council of Chalcedon. His foolishness was thus exposed and his authority began to crumble.

The instability of Basiliscus' mind encouraged Zeno to consolidate his power. He collected troops who had deserted Basiliscus and went to attack him. Basiliscus sent Armatus to fight him. He promised to make his son a Caesar and he himself a Strategos (captain of his army), but Armatus acted treacherously towards his lord, and joined Zeno. He and Zeno entered Constantinople and were welcomed by the Senate. Basiliscus took his wife and his children and fled to the Great Church. Zeno celebrated the event with horseplay games (the *ludi Romani* or Roman Games) in the circus, which pleased the people. He sent orders and had the purple apparel of royalty stripped from Basiliscus and from his wife and sons, and promised not to kill them. However, he sent them to Limnes in Cappadocia where they were shut up in a cistern. It was closed with them inside and they suffered the worst death.

After assuming the purple, wearing the crown and honoring the Alexandrians, Basiliscus paid no attention to the instigations of the (Chalcedonians). He circulated an Encyclical to all quarters anathematizing the creed of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. He established the law that wherever people found copies of the new doctrine of Chalcedon or the *Tome*, they should be set to fire.

These encyclicals were drawn up by Paul the monk, who was a rhetorician and a sophist. It was he who, in an argument with Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, was able to show that his opinions, together with those of the heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius, are one and the same. For both tried to show that the human body (of Christ) did not participate in the divine redemption. Nestorius, in effect, held that the body is incapable of the hypostatic union with the Word. Thus, he rejected this union and only confessed a union of affection. For the same reason, Eutyches denied that Christ took a body. He said, "He became incarnate from his own essence, and assumed a heavenly body." Here these two men share the term of "appearance, phantasy" in one way or another. Nestorius maintained that the union (of the Lord's divinity with his humanity) is imaginary and not real. Eutyches held the same opinion with respect to the incarnation of the Word of God. He denied that an animated body with a rational soul was taken by the Lord from our race.¹¹⁵⁷

This Encyclical was subscribed by Basiliscus, Timothy of Alexandria who succeeded Dioscorus, and by Peter of Antioch, both of whom were in exile and were restored to their sees by Basiliscus.

According to Paul, bishop of Ephesus, the bishops of Asia, and Anastasius, bishop of Jerusalem, the number of bishops who subscribed to the Encyclical was about seven hundred. They anathematized the *Tome* of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. Six hundred of them met in Ephesus and addressed a letter of thanks to Basiliscus. They anathematized the *Tome* and the decrees of Chalcedon. They said, "Anathema is Acacius and his partisans. Nestorius and the defiant Acacius are but one. It is because of Nestorius that Acacius is received (by the Council of Chalcedon). Anathematized are Nestorius and the *Tome* of Leo. The *Tome* of Leo has rent the world asunder. Since then, Rome has been left without an emperor. Let Caiaphas' council be condemned."

When Acacius, of Constantinople, learned about this matter, and saw that Timothy had given the dignity of the patriarchate¹¹⁵⁸ to Paul, bishop of Ephesus, in order to take his (Acacius') place on the throne of Constantinople. He further learned that Timothy, who was then at the capital, did not endorse him (Acacius) unless he subscribed to the emperor's Encyclical. Furthermore, Acacius learned that (Timothy)

¹¹⁵⁶ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 105-107, and Evagrius, *History of the Church*, bound together with Theodoret, *History of the Church*, translator anonymous (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 346-347).

¹¹⁵⁷ Eutyches asserted that the flesh of Christ was not real or consubstantial with that of us, but only imaginary.

¹¹⁵⁸ Authority of his see.

might be preparing to hold a council against him in Jerusalem to condemn him. Therefore, he instigated the monks of the imperial city (against Basiliscus), seized the churches and brought down Daniel the Stylite from his pillar, and declared that Basiliscus was a heretic. Whereupon Basiliscus, who had received the report that Zeno was returning with a great army to evict him, was compelled to make a contra-Encyclical by which he cancelled his former Encyclical.¹¹⁵⁹ God, however, took the kingdom from Basiliscus who was described by the followers of Theodore as “the noble” and the “author.”

Then, upon his return and ejecting Basiliscus, Zeno passed a law canceling all the proceedings of Basiliscus. He also deposed Peter of Antioch and Paul of Ephesus. Consequently, the bishops of Asia endorsed the transactions of the Council of Chalcedon with the exception of Timothy of Alexandria, Anastasius of Jerusalem and Epiphanius of Magdolum (Magdala) of Pamphylia.¹¹⁶⁰

At this time, an earthquake took place in Thrace and destroyed several districts. Fear gripped those who witnessed such calamity and came to believe that the end of the world was at hand. *Here ends this narrative.*

The Encyclical of Leo the Great

When Leo saw that evil had intensified in the churches because of the Council (of Chalcedon), he circulated an Encyclical to all the bishops saying, “Why do you see in Timothy and the council--nothing but fear, favoritism and hatred? You should set the fear of God before your eyes. For such behavior, you will answer before the Holy Godhead. So work for the fear of God which is in me.”

Upon writing to the bishops, Anatolius of Constantinople,¹¹⁶¹ fearing that the Episcopate granted him by the Council (of Chalcedon) might be taken from him, took this opportunity and craftily addressed a letter to the bishops before they received the Encyclical, in which he said that, “The emperor is intending to put you to the test in order to know if you are opposed (to the Council of Chalcedon).” The wretched bishops (influenced by the instigation of Anatolius) wrote to Leo complaining against the ordination of Timothy, and of what had been done to them at Chalcedon against the faith. In particular, they complained about dividing the natures (of Christ) into two after their union which is ineffable and indivisible.¹¹⁶²

Extract from the letter of Amphilochius of Sidon to Emperor Leo

“According to the command of your Christ-loving kingdom, we promptly met in Sidon, the metropolitan city, and we took from your order the occasion to direct to God the praises and especially the prayers. We have learned that they (the bishops) were enflamed with anger, like the fire burning in a forest, because the expression of the Synod (Council) of Chalcedon is not suitable to the Incarnation of the Christ. This (expression) on the subject of which, even before Alexandria, those (bishops) from Constantinople and from the orthodox churches, were troubled and are still ardently divided. In effect, it was necessary to use this expression from the God-fearing John the Evangelist, “The Word of God became flesh.”¹¹⁶³ This is said in order to demonstrate that God the Word, which was at the beginning, has been united to an animated (living) human body from a reasonable and intelligent soul. However, John made no mention of natures. How would someone compose a truthful, godly expression, free from falsehood, while marking the heresies of the duality that the Apostle smothered all at once: not only those which already existed, but also those that he saw in advance by the prophetic spirit, which appeared in the Church. Although he (John) had

¹¹⁵⁹ The whole episode is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 112-113. The author’s paraphrasing of the same is confusing.

¹¹⁶⁰ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 113.

¹¹⁶¹ Anatolius was the one who instigated the emperor to make the former statements in his encyclical.

¹¹⁶² This means that they had endorsed the transactions of Chalcedon and now, being instigated by Anatolius, they reconfirmed their agreement with Chalcedon. But Amphilochius, bishop of Sidon, and the bishops of the province who agreed with him, displayed no fear. They addressed a letter to the emperor censuring the transactions of the Council, especially the innovation it added to the faith that the two natures (of Christ) were still separate and distinct after their ineffable union in the Incarnation. Nevertheless, Amphilochius criticized the consecration of Timothy saying that it had been done in an uncanonical manner. *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 74.

¹¹⁶³ John 1:14.

gagged their impudent mouths, he did not think that there was the least necessity to make mention of 'two' (natures). Perhaps, the editor/writer of the Synod (Council of Chalcedon), fearing that the belief in one nature might lead the people to believe that these natures are mixed, comingled and confused in the Incarnation (of Christ), put down 'two natures?' By doing this, he contrived a new law for the church. It is actually sufficient to remember the words of John regarding the divine things cited above, as we have said before, that 'the Word became flesh.' What he (the editor or writer) had written in the resolutions of the Council (of Chalcedon), of 'the two natures,' was, in fact, of his own will. Unlike Moses, who brought the two tablets down from the mountain, he himself acted as if he has come down from heaven. As to the immeasurable blasphemy of Nestorius confessing two natures, it destroys the union (of the two natures). Now, if the two natures are united with each other, where is the union? 'Two' requires division and annuls union. 'One nature' actually removes the duality of the natures; it is a divine and ineffable union."

"I wished to have learned from them (the Chalcedonians) which one of these expressions, one nature or two natures, complies with faith. The two cannot come together. In effect, the confession of the 'two' destroys the union; likewise, the union makes the 'two' disappear. At last, it seems that 'Our Lord Jesus Christ must be recognized in two natures.' Striving to prove this, the Diphysites, (the Chalcedonians) along with the fables of these 'idolizers,' is incompatible with the revelation of Christ."

"Therefore, confessing one *qnumo* (hypostasis) in the *Henoticon* of Chalcedon, one must correctly say that there is 'one substance,' that is 'one nature' of God the Word, who bought back human nature, and not 'two natures.' Because this opinion is like that of Nestorius who maintained that there are two Sons. In what sense can the one who says 'two natures' say 'one person?' One cannot understand it. Each nature, in effect, always corresponds to the person, or one or two or three; this is as from the adorable essence by which the blessed Trinity manifests itself. We pray that the will of God aides Your Power, so that the faith of the Apostles, which reached to the end of 400 years since the appearance of Our Lord until this heretic expression of Chalcedon, lives pure and unalterable."

This man (Amphilochius) wrote of such things to the emperor. However, wanting to rectify the things that had been maliciously established under the reign of Marcian, he was not permitted to do so by those who had condemned Saint Timothy. End of the narrative.¹¹⁶⁴

Chapter Six: On the events which took place during the reign of King (Emperor) Zeno

When Zeno settled in his position as emperor, he made Basiliscus, son of Armatius, a Caesar and granted him high military rank after Basiliscus pledged allegiance to him. Zeno ordered the horseplay in the circus and Basiliscus sat next to him to watch the spectacle, but Zeno remembered how Armatius betrayed Basiliscus despite the fact that he swore to him by God, by baptism and by the holy mysteries. He suspected that Armatius might betray him too if he gained enough power, although he (Zeno) did not renege on his pledge to Basiliscus or his son. Zeno, however, had Armatius killed as if he had betrayed his oath. He had already given orders that Armatius should be ordained a reader and then a metropolitan of Hellepont and Cyzicus in consideration that he was worthy of wearing the imperial purple.¹¹⁶⁵

In Zeno's time, the Samaritans rebelled and set up for themselves a king called Justus and killed a great number of Christians. Justus entered Caesarea like a king and attended the horseplay spectacle. He perpetrated heinous crimes and set on fire the church of Procopius. The Romans who were living in Palestine fought them and defeated them. They seized the Samaritans and sent the head of their king to Zeno. Zeno ordered their synagogue converted to a great church in the name of St. Mary.

An earthquake took place in the capital (Constantinople) and extended to Taurus. Nicomedia was ruined for the sixth time.

At the same time, the Persians in Antioch rebelled and burned down the synagogue and many Jews, even the bones of their dead.

¹¹⁶⁴ See *Zachariah of Mitylene*, 74.

¹¹⁶⁵ See Evagrius, Book Three, Chapter, 24, p. 363 of the English translation.

After these events, Zeno died from dysentery¹¹⁶⁶ at the age of sixty. He reigned for sixteen years.

These events are taken from the book of John of Antioch, who mentioned that the period from Adam to Zeno's death was 6458 years.

Upon his return to power for the second time and seeing that the churches were in turmoil, Zeno published the *Henoticon* (Instrument of Union) and sent it to Alexandria. He banished Peter (Fuller) of Antioch for he was in agreement with Basiliscus and set up Stephen in his place. Later, Stephen was shown to be of Nestorian tendencies. While he was on the way to attend the celebration of the festival of the Forty Martyrs outside the city, a group of clergymen attacked him, pierced him with sharp reeds and cast his body into the Orontes River. Zeno took revenge on them and set up Calandion, who also appeared to be a Nestorian, and had him banished. The people of Antioch requested the restoration of Peter Fuller to their city. Zeno ordered Peter's return from banishment and he sat on throne (of Antioch) until his death. In fact, Zeno agreed to have Peter return from exile for the following reason: It happened that in Antioch, the military generals Leontius, Illus and Euprepus rebelled against Zeno, being encouraged by Calandion who was appointed a bishop of Antioch. After three years of rebellion, they surrendered and were slain. Calandion was banished. For this reason, the entire congregation of Antioch requested the emperor to restore Peter to their city, and he did.

In this period Theodric, son of Trajanus, also rebelled against Zeno. He marched against Thrace but did not harm anyone. He was killed when he reached Illyria. Afterward, Theodric, a tyrant known as Eulaclous, invaded the regions of Illyria and Thessaly and entered the city of Larissa. He reached as far as the region of Melanthias. On his way to Thrace, he ravaged several regions and then returned. Then this tyrant marched against Rome, and Arcadius, the anti-Caesar, fled to Ravenna. Theodric ravaged the entire country of Italy.

Zeno ordered Pelagius and Panormon, bishop of Crete, strangled on the grounds that they were the cause of all these things.

In this period, Theodore was appointed a governor of interior Prasantos.

In this same period, King Firuz of Persia, who stirred up persecution against the Christians, died and was succeeded by his brother Balouis. He ruled 4 years and was the seventeenth king. In his time, the Christians who lived in the country of Persia enjoyed tranquility because he did not persecute them.

In this period spread in Persia the heresy of Kantanites and the immoral Dositenes.

In Alexandria, after Peter Mongus, who was the twenty-sixth bishop for 16 years, was expelled, Salophaciolus (said to mean *white-capped*) was set up by the bishops in his place. The churches of Alexandria were rent asunder because of the conflict.

In Constantinople, Gennadius was followed by Fravitos, followed by Euphemius as the seventeenth bishop, followed by Flabitos as the eighteenth bishop. He was ejected in the time of Emperor Anastasius.¹¹⁶⁷

Anyone who reads this book let him ask mercy for the wretched and humble writer.

The Henoticon of Zeno

Imperial Caesar, Zeno the Emperor, believing, victorious, triumphant, worshipful, Augustus, to the bishops and the people in Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and also in Pentapolis.

Since we know that the origin and stability and invincible might of our empire is the only right and true faith, which by Divine inspiration, the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers in the Council at Nicaea declared; and which in like manner the one hundred and fifty holy fathers gathered at Constantinople attested, we, by night and day, employ every means of prayers, diligence and of laws, that thereby the holy catholic and apostolic church in every place, which is the incorruptible and imperishable mother of the scepter of our kingdom, may be increased. That thus, the believing people being kept in godly peace and concord may offer up, in conjunction with the pious and holy bishops, the God-fearing clergy, and the

¹¹⁶⁶ According to Evagrius, Book Three, Chapter 29, p. 366 of the English translation, Zeno died from epilepsy.

¹¹⁶⁷ Evagrius, Book Three, Chapter 23, p. 362-363 of the English translation and Chapter 32, pp. 370-371.

archimandrites and monks, acceptable prayers on behalf of our empire. For if the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, who became incarnate from Mary the holy Virgin and *Theotokos* (Mother of God), shall approve and readily receive our unanimous praise and service, the race of enemies shall be destroyed and obliterated. And all men shall bow the neck to our sway, which is next to that of God. Then peace and its consequent blessings, genial temperance, abundance of fruits, and all those things that are adapted for man's good, shall be liberally granted. This unblemished faith is the preserver of ourselves and the Roman affairs, with petitions presented to us by God-loving archimandrites and other hermits entreating us that there may be unity to the holy churches, that the limbs may be joined together, which the haters of good have for a long time been striving to separate. They knew that when one makes war with the whole and perfect body of the church, he is defeated.

For it has happened that of the generations without number which time, during these many years of life, has removed, some, deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, have passed away. Others, without participation in in the divine Communion, have been carried off by the inevitable journey of mankind. They have been wasted by myriads of murders, and through the profuse blood shedding, not the earth alone, but even the very air itself has been defiled. Who would not pray that this state of things might be exchanged for a good one? For which reason, we desired you to know that we and the holy churches of the orthodox everywhere, and the God-loving priests who rule them, neither hold, nor have held, not know any man holding, any other symbol, or doctrine, or seal of the faith, or creed, than that which we have mentioned above, the holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, which was also attested by the one hundred and fifty holy fathers who met in council here. If there be any man holding such, we account him an alien. For, as we have already said, we are confident that this only preserves our kingdom, and also all people who are counted worthy of life-living baptism are baptized upon the simple reception of this creed alone. Moreover, all the holy fathers who met in council at Ephesus, and deposed the wicked Nestorius and all his successors in doctrine, followed the same faith.

This Nestorius, together with Eutyches, inasmuch as they held doctrines contrary to what have been declared, we anathematize. We also receive the Twelve Heads delivered by the ever-memorable, God-loving Cyril, formerly archbishop of the catholic church of Alexandria. But we confess that the only-begotten Son of God, himself God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who truly became man, and who is of the same nature with the Father in the Godhead, is also is of the same nature with us in the manhood. He came down and assumed flesh through the Holy Spirit from Mary the Virgin and *Theotokos* (Mother of God). He is one Son and not two. For we affirm that the miracles which he wrought, and the sufferings which he freely endured in the flesh, belong to one Son of God alone. Moreover, we altogether reject those who either divide or confound, or introduce the *phantasy*. For the true and sinless Incarnation from the *Theotokos* (Mother of God) did not cause the addition of a Son. Indeed, the Trinity remained even though God the Word, who is one of the Trinity, became incarnate.

Since, then, you know that both the holy Orthodox Churches everywhere and the God-loving priests who rule them, and our Royalty, neither have received nor do receive any other symbol or definition of the faith than the holy doctrine which has been declared above, be united together without doubting. For we have written this, not to make any innovation in the faith, but to assure you.

And here we anathematize all who have held, or hold, now or at any time, whether in Chalcedon or in any other council whatsoever, any different belief, but chiefly those already mentioned, Nestorius and Eutyches and all their followers in the doctrine.

Be joined, then, to your spiritual mother, the church, and delight in her, together with us in divine fellowship, according to that one definition of the faith alone which was framed by the holy fathers as we have declared above. For our all-holy mother, the church, longs for you, that we may embrace you as beloved children. For a considerable time, she has been eager to hear your sweet voice.

Hasten, therefore! For by so doing you will attract to yourselves the goodwill of our God and Savior Christ, and you will also be commended by our Royalty.¹¹⁶⁸

Because the *Henoticon* of the emperor contained all these things that had happened, it was subscribed by the bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and those attached to them. Consequently, Julian and John, presbyters of Alexandria, and the old deacons Helladius and Seraphion, Theodore, bishop of the Atonenes, John and Andrew the great archimandrites, Paul the sophist and others, dissociated themselves from communion with Peter of Alexandria because the *Henoticon* and the letter of the chief priests attached with it contained no express anathema of the Council of Chalcedon or the *Tome*. The number of those who opposed the *Henoticon* and the monks daily increased. When Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, learned of this affair, he addressed a letter to them to agree with the *Henoticon*. However, Peter kept attacking the Council (of Chalcedon) and complaining about it to the people. When Acacius learned of this too, he wanted to test Peter's freedom and his faith. He discovered that he did not knowingly anathematize the council, and that a great number of those who opposed the council had joined him because he had anathematized the council, but soon dissociated themselves from communion with him. Consequently, he seized the monastery from Bishop Theodore and drove away this miracle-working man who opened the eyes of a blind man by sprinkling them with baptismal water.¹¹⁶⁹

The Bishops in the Time of Zeno

In Rome, after Hilary who was bishop for 6 years, came Simplicius, who was the fifty-fourth bishop for 15 years. To him, Zeno addressed a letter concerning John the liar, who was driven out of Alexandria. Simplicius was succeeded by Felix for 8 years. He lived until the time of Anastasius.

In Alexandria, Timothy the great, who was called back from exile, was received with great pomp. He was brought to church riding a donkey to offer supplications. He was succeeded by Timothy Salophaciolus, who was succeeded by John, who was deposed, and Peter Mongus for 12 years, followed by Bishop Athanasius for 27 years.

In Jerusalem, Anastasius was the fifty-second bishop. He was succeeded by Martyrius as the fifty-third bishop. The fifty-fourth bishop was Sallastius.

In Antioch, Matryrius was set up and deposed. He was followed by Julian, Stephen, by another Stephen, Peter the believing, Calandion who was rejected, Palladius and the forty-ninth bishop, Flavian, who was ejected in the time of the Emperor Anastasius.

Chapter Seven: On the time of Emperor Anastasius who ruled for 27 years

Anastasius, the Silentiary, ruled in the year 805 of the Greeks, which is the year 539 of the Antioch calendar. He destroyed the children who were studying letters because they made fun of him. For this, grief filled the city.¹¹⁷⁰

In this year, an eclipse took place. In addition, locusts in great number attacked but caused no harm.

In the eighth year of Anastasius, this is the eleventh year of Qawad (Qabad) the King of Persia, Zampos, Qawad's brother, rebelled against him for 2 years. Qawad fled, but then returned with an army, fought his brother and defeated him and killed him. He ruled Persia the second time for 3 years.

In this time, an earthquake took place causing destruction. The city of Nicopolis was destroyed and all the inhabitants were buried with the exception of the priests and two of his attendants. A comet appeared for many days; also, locusts came and destroyed everything. There was a great famine in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). An immense mass of fire appeared in the northern quarter (of the heavens), and it flamed brilliantly the whole night. After a short time, the Huns waged war against the Persians, overcame

¹¹⁶⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 121-123, and Evagrius, *History of the Church*, Book Three, Chapter 14, pp. 351-353 of the English translation.

¹¹⁶⁹ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 48-49.

¹¹⁷⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 70.

them and devastated their country. Later however, the Persians were able to penetrate the Roman regions in Mesopotamia and caused great destruction and ravaged the cities.

In the time of Anastasius, Flabitus Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, was ejected for being discovered to be a Nestorian. In his place was set up Macedonius, who later also became a heretic and was banished. Then, Timothy occupied the throne of Constantinople as the twentieth bishop. He was a believing man as his deeds proved, and thus was called "The Honored Man of God."

In the time of this saint, a man called Marinus of Apamea from the province of Antioch became celebrated for his wisdom. He began to publicize the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us," which had been initiated by Eustathius (patriarch of Antioch). Marinus urged the emperor to have the whole church use this phrase. The heretics went to Marinus and told him, "Would you want the people to chant more than the Trisagion which the angels offered to the Trinity chanting, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty. Heaven and earth are full of your glory?'" God, through the emperor spoke saying, "The angels do good by offering thanks to the adored Trinity, but do not say that the Trinity was crucified on their behalf. We, however, do good by adding this phrase to the Trisagion because we confess that he (Christ, the second person of the Trinity), took a body from us and not from angels." Thus, he silenced them and informed the emperor of the whole episode.¹¹⁷¹ Because the emperor was a pious man, he appreciated the addition of the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us" to the Trisagion and ordered it publicized in the capital (Constantinople) as it had been publicized in the region of Antioch. Most of the people, however, rebelled because they were Nestorians. They maintained that the emperor intended to make an addition to the faith. They said that the phrase "You, who was crucified for us" was addressed to Domnus, one of the thieves who was crucified with the Lord. They also spoke more errors like this one. They went around the royal palace shouting, "We want another king for the Romans, we want another king for the Romans!" They rushed to the house of Marinus, the Syrian prefect, to kill him but he fled. They set his house on fire thinking that he was the one who misled the emperor to add this phrase. They cut off his head, and fixing it on a lance, went around shouting, "This is Epibolous that is the one who is against the Trinity." However, the emperor did not retreat from proclaiming the phrase.

When the pious Timothy was about seventy years old, he died on the eleventh day of the Indiction. He was succeeded by John. In the meantime, John was the twenty-eighth bishop in Alexandria for 8 years.

In Rome, Gelasius was the forty-seventh bishop for 10 years.

In this period, the saint Philoxenus of Mabug (d. 523) became well known for his sound teaching, holiness and profound knowledge. He was ordained a bishop by Patriarch Peter, known as the Fuller, for Mabug. He defended orthodoxy with avid strength. He taught and wrote orthodox teachings and exposed the falsity of the deceptive opinions of Nestorius concerning the two natures. In addition, he set up appropriate procedures for monasticism. He composed several discourses on major festivals along with a variety of directions. May his memory be a blessing. Amen.¹¹⁷²

In the time of Anastasius, violent disturbances took place between the Persians and the Romans for the following reason:

In the time of Zeno, the Huns attacked the Persians, but King Firuz assembled an army and counter-attacked them. He learned that they did so because the subsidy given them by the Persian kingdom was insufficient for them and that the Romans were giving them double as much. Therefore, the Persians were to either give them as much as the Romans or they would prepare for war. When Firuz saw that the Huns were ready for war, he lied to them and promised to give them a larger subsidy. For this promise, the Huns withdrew and some of them remained in order to receive the subsidy. Firuz stealthily returned to kill them and then chase after those who had already departed. Then a certain cunning merchant named Eustace from Apamea, who was with the Huns, encouraged them and advised them to offer up incense in the place

¹¹⁷¹ For the controversy over the Trisagion and the addition to it of the phrase, "You who was crucified for us," see Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, (Syracuse University Press, 1986, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005), 69-71.

¹¹⁷² For the biography of Philoxenus of Mabug see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 262-270.

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wherein the oath had been made, and told them that God would sweep away the Persian who had lied to them. Then the Huns met the Persians in war and slew their King Firuz; they ravaged the Persian regions and returned to their country. Because of this when Qawad reigned, he held enmity against the Romans because he believed that they were the cause of the devastation done by the Huns.

Then, Qawad collected an army and marched against the countries of the Romans, and captured the city of Theodosiopolis in Armenia. He treated its inhabitants with mercy because they did not hold him with contempt. He took their leader Constantine in his company. In October, he reached the city of Amid in Mesopotamia and attacked it fiercely. His men tried to destroy the wall with battering rams and arrows. Then, fighters dressed up in hide came on mules and labored to build a high mound of dirt parallel the wall, but the inhabitants of the city cursed the king (Firuz). He became distressed and ashamed when winter supervened his men, who suffered sorely as their garments were torn up and their bows lost their spring through the moisture of the air. The heads of their battering rams did not breach the wall because those who were inside the city bound chains round the wooden portions of the platform, and so made them to receive the heads of the battering rams. They also lowered planks of wood into the ditch and covered them over with earth during the night bit by bit. When five hundred men with their armaments drew near, they set planks of wood (ladders) against the wall that they might ascend by them. The king was beside the arrow throwers encouraging them. They covered the bridges with hides of oxen, and made a mighty battering ram, and a staging path on which it might be pushed up. Then those who were inside the city poured a filthy liquid that was mixed with resin on the battering rams, and made trenches under the planks that were set against the wall. About the sixth hour, while the people inside the city were trying to fend off the attackers, fire broke out and the planks came tumbling down. The Persians were badly hurt and burned. The king retreated with shame followed by the insults of those citizens who were standing at the wall.¹¹⁷³ This happened because there was only one person who did care for them. It was their bishop Mor Yuhanon (John), of excellent conduct, who had departed (this life) a short time ago. He came from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery) and changed nothing of his habits of fasting and ascetic living. He always counseled the rich people to sell their wheat lest, by storing it, they would help the enemies as the Scriptures say. This exactly took place.

An angel appeared to this man (John), standing to the side of the altar and told him that the enemies are coming. He asked him to urge the people to repent and be saved from the oncoming wrath, and when the people would not listen wrath came upon them. At the beginning, Qawad was apprehensive, as we have said, and asked the citizens to give him money so he would depart. However, they held him with contempt saying to him, "It is for us to demand from you to give us the price of the vegetables and forage which you have eaten." Qawad became indignant and proceeded to depart. But he persisted, and according to what he said, that Christ appeared to him that night saying, "After three days I will hand over the city to you because its inhabitants have sinned." And this is what actually happened.

Now, in the western part of the city by the Tripogrin (Three Towers) there was a watchtower belonging to the monks of the Monastery of John the Urtoy, whose abbot was Persian. Opposite it was another tower in which camped a *marzuban* (governor) named Qanraq the Lamé, who was planning to occupy the city by a stratagem. There was another person whom the people called the "Snapper," for his expertise in the acts of robbery and looting. He frequently conspired against the Persians and pillaged their possessions. However, Qanraq discovered him as he was entering through an opening in the Three Towers to steal. He did not stop him because he wanted to know how he went in and how he would come out. It happened one dark night that there was a violent rainstorm. A certain man made a dinner banquet for the monks in the Three Towers. He made them drink wine and they fell in a deep sleep and did not rise to keep guard. Qanraq chased the "Snapper" close to the wall while the monks did not say a word. He then knew that they were asleep. Snapper's men set up ladders, scaled the wall, entered through openings into the tower of the monks and slew them. The men in the other tower tried to rescue them but they were

¹¹⁷³ Up to this point, this whole episode is done more consistently and methodologically by Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 70-72.

showered by arrows. When the governor learned what happened, he came with men carrying torches, but the Persians transfixing the bearers of the torches with their arrows and killed many of them, including the governor. In the morning, the king and his troops set up ladders and climbed the wall. Many of them were killed by the archers and those who retreated were killed by the king, but the Persians persisted in fighting ferociously while the inhabitants of the city tried to undermine the foundations of the tower. As they were busy lifting up the planks, the Persians took possession of another tower, and then of another tower, and several others.

A certain man, named Peter, was wearing armor made of iron and fighting alone in one section. He prevented the Persians from entering, however, the Persians occupied five towers in other sections. Peter finally escaped but was not killed. Meanwhile, the Persians seized the wall and slew the guards in two nights and one day. Finally, they opened the gates to their armies who entered in and ravaged the city for three days and nights. Only the church of the Forty Martyrs with people crowded inside was spared. The king kept it unharmed because of the beseechment of the good Armenian Christian Bishop of the city, Malcolm, who saved it.

After the killing stopped, the Persians went to guard the church's treasure in order to seek the king's favor. They counted eight thousand corpses other than those thrown into the ditches. The king entered into the treasury of the church and saw an icon of the Lord bearing the portrait of a man from Galilee. He inquired about the portrait and was told that it is the picture of the God of the Christians. He worshipped him and said, "This is the man who told me in the vision that he will hand over the city (of Theodosiopolis) to me after three days because of the sins of its inhabitants." He took the gold and diamond vessels of the church and the magnificent vestments. He also found good wine dried up with its dregs. Apparently, the people used to dry up wine by placing it in the sun during the summer for seven weeks. When it became like a powder, prominent dignitaries placed it in bags and took it on their journeys. They diluted some of it with water and used it as a refreshing drink. They told those who did not know what it was, that it was cheese. The Persians also gathered gold, silver and copper and loaded them on wooden rafts, which they assembled on the River Tigris lying to the east of the city. They entered the city and slaughtered all the leaders. Of the people who remained, they killed one in every ten, because many of the Persians had been killed. They dressed Leontius and Qura, the judges, in filthy garments, and threw the entrails of pigs round their necks. They mounted them on sows saying, "The governors who have not governed well, and who have permitted the king to be disgraced, thus are they disgraced."

End of this grievous account of the people of Amid because of their sins.

Chapter Eight: On the events which took place afterwards in the time of Anastasius, and the building of Dara in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) during this period

When Emperor Anastasius learned of what happened to Amid, he was greatly grieved. He regretted and placed the blame on the generals who fought the Persians without his consent. He then sent five generals against Nisibin but they could not capture it. They asked him to build a city next to the mountain to be a refuge for the army. They proceeded with the building in the very place in which Darius was killed. Therefore, it was called Dara.¹¹⁷⁴ The emperor gave Bishop Tuma (Thomas) the cost of the village which was owned by the church, and which the bishop had bought for Timon. He ordered the bishop to proceed with the building. The building of Dara was completed in three years, which suddenly seemed to be a miracle. It was called Anastasiopolis after the emperor's name.

Emperor Anastasius erected a memorial on top of a pillar, because the memorial, which had been erected by Theodosius, has been destroyed by an earthquake.

In the same period, Neocaesarea was destroyed except the church of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus (Wonder-worker). Also, (the Colossus) of Rhodes was destroyed by an earthquake. The emperor sent money for the removal of the debris and the burying of corpses

¹¹⁷⁴ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 42.

In this same period, the tyrant Bitlius (Vitalianus) rebelled against the emperor Anastasius. The emperor sent against him Aupitius (Hypatius) who defeated him, captured him and banished him. The storm, raged by means of this tyrant, calmed down and peace and safety prevailed during the entire reign of Anastasius.

Emperor Anastasius supported the orthodox and hated the Chalcedonians. He convoked a council, (in 508) and by his order, the holy Philoxenus of Mabug proceeded to the capital. He anathematized Leo of Rome and the Council of Chalcedon.

About two hundred monks headed by Severus the Great, (Severus of Antioch, d. 538)¹¹⁷⁵ who was also a monk, came from the East. The emperor honored them greatly. He ordered the coffin of the Martyr Euphemia opened, and taking out the addition to the faith made at Chalcedon, had it burned down. When the emperor discovered that Flavian of Antioch was a heretic, he ejected him and banished him. He set up in his place for the See of Antioch, the Great Severus the philosopher, genius, sage, rhetorician. He was also distinguished in the church (Scriptural) sciences of both the Old and the New Testaments and the teachings of the orthodox doctors. He was the fiftieth of the bishops of Antioch.¹¹⁷⁶

In Rome, Anastasius was the forty-eighth bishop for 9 years. He was followed by Symmachus for 6 years.

In Jerusalem, the fifth bishop was Elias, who was ejected and followed by John.

In Alexandria, after John, Dioscorus the Young, nephew of Timothy Alerius (the Weasel) was set up.

In Edessa, Peter became the thirty-fourth bishops and was followed by Paul.

In this period flourished Simon of Beth Arsham (d. 540), known as the Disputant.¹¹⁷⁷ The celebrated malphono (doctor) Jacob of Sarug, (d. 521) also flourished. He received the degree of pure learning from the Holy Spirit and not by means of human teaching. He was a wanderer. He composed wonderful odes filled with the true knowledge of life. St. Severus of Antioch tested him and admired his knowledge immensely.¹¹⁷⁸

In this period too, flourished Simon the Potter (d. 514) from the village of Kishir in the province of Antioch. He was famous for composing *ma'nithos* (hymns). He likewise, received pure learning directly from God without the means of human learning.¹¹⁷⁹

When summer drew near, Qawad instructed his army general Eglon, three thousand soldiers and two governors, to guard the city of Amid. He marched against Edessa in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). When he failed to capture it, he pillaged and burned down the countries of Mesopotamia and then returned to his own country of Persia. Meanwhile, the Romans attacked Amid and set a tight siege against it with the result that a great famine intensified. The Roman army was commanded by a mighty man named Pharzeman who did not let the Persians make a move. However, a man named Gaddana from the village of Akarin, deceived Eglon and four horsemen. He told them, "There are a hundred Romans and five hundred horses near the city which you can capture." Eglon believed him and sent spies to investigate the matter. As he left with his men, he found himself right in the midst of the Roman camp. The Romans captured him, cut off his head and carried it to the city. It was an immense grief for his son and the governors. Since then, the Romans did not allow the inhabitants of the city to attend the celebration, which was conducted near the wall. In addition, about ten thousand troops were captured who delivered wheat and wine. They were thrown into prison and watched by guards. Many of them starved to death for lack of food. Others ate the hide of their horses and their hats and even drank their urine. Consequently, they tried to eat each other. When the

¹¹⁷⁵ For his biography see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 276-289.

¹¹⁷⁶ See Severus Jacob Tuma, metropolitan of Beirut, (later Patriarch of Antioch), *Tarikh al-Kanisa al-Suryaniyya al-Antakiyya* (History of the Syrian Church of Antioch), II (Beirut, 1957), entire Chapter 9, pp. 287-290.

¹¹⁷⁷ See his biography in Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 290-291.

¹¹⁷⁸ For the biography of Jacob of Sarug, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 255-262.

¹¹⁷⁹ For the biography of Simon the Potter, see Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 252-253.

Persians saw them in this condition, they released the rest of them who left the prison looking like dead men coming out of graves. Meanwhile, starved women of the city tricked the men who were released from prison and, getting hold of groups of them, killed them and ate them. The number of men they ate was about five hundred. Shortly afterwards, the Persians weakened, departed the city and returned to their country. Pharzeman, however, tarried behind to take care of what was left of the people. The emperor exempted them from tributes and offered them great subsidies. He sent to them a meek monk who was ordained as their bishop. Upon his counsel, the pious man from the Qatra Monastery came to the city. He was a miracle worker and a solver of problems. He aided the wounded city by power, determination, prayer and excellent administration.

Here ends this account.

Chapter Nine: Concerning Macedonius the heretic and Simon the disputant

Because of the commotion caused by the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us," which was added (to the Trisagion) by order of the Emperor Anastasius, the emperor convened a council which he personally attended, but without wearing the crown. When the bishops noticed his humility and excellent speech, they unanimously agreed to ask him to put on the crown.

A few days later, and for many reasons, the people clamored once more. When the emperor perceived that the people were wont to stir up commotions, he ordered that they should be punished for their former and later evildoing. Thus, tranquility prevailed.

One pious man saw in a vision a great crowd of people crucified and pierced with lances and swords, and women depraved. He was frightened and inquired about their guilt. He heard a voice from heaven saying, "These are the people who ejected my cross from this city. So they are destined for eternal punishment." The pious man recorded this vision and publicized it in the city.

Afterwards, it was intimated to Emperor Anastasius that Macedonius was Nestorian. The emperor asked him to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, and he did for fear. The emperor accepted him and kissed him. However, despite his condemnation of the council and the oath he gave before the emperor and the counselors, Macedonius was still enticed by Satan. He went to the Monastery of Dalmatius and revealed his hypocrisy. He received communion from his partisans and blasphemed unashamedly. When the emperor heard of this, he became furious, and like an agitated lion, he intended to eliminate those who held the doctrine of two natures. The Nestorians were frightened and fell down under the light of the truth. Then a group of monks went to see the emperor and said to him, "We blame Macedonius for celebrating the memory of Nestorius and suggesting to us to do the same." The emperor became angry and cut off the subsidies that were received by their monasteries. He also cut off the water supplied for their baths and only allowed them drinking water. Some of his counselors (Romanus) told him that Macedonius was conspiring against him, (with the deacon Pacasius) and that he had gathered different blasphemies, put them down in a book gilded with gold and thus deceived many people. The emperor summoned the patricians as well as the senate and informed them of Macedonius' oaths and what he did afterwards. All of them replied that, "Since Macedonius lied against God, he should be rejected and divested of the priesthood."¹¹⁸⁰

The emperor increased the stipends of his army that he gave them every five years after they had sworn an oath not to betray him. He did the same to all the military leaders after learning that Macedonius was conspiring against him through his nephew Bitalios, whom Macedonius called a Manichean and Eutychnian.

On Sunday, the emperor convened an unprecedented council. He recited the creed of his faith to those assembled saying, "Don't be scared of me. If you find falseness in my faith, strip me of my royal robe and crown and burn me by fire."

All of them threw themselves on the ground prostrating before him and condemned Macedonius for his hypocrisy. The emperor ordered that no one should receive communion from Macedonius or even

¹¹⁸⁰ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 168-177, and Severus Jacob Tuma, *Tarikh al-Kanisa and Suryaniyya al-Antakiyya*, II: 288-289.

visit him. The clergy and the lay people clamored so much against him, that he was sentenced to be banished. In the evening, a magistrate (civil officer charged with the administration of the law) came and took him out. Such was the end of Macedonius.¹¹⁸¹

In this time flourished Simon of Beth Arsham, called the Persian Disputant. He was established in the faith, well versed in sciences and expert in disputation even before he became a bishop. The Manicheans and the Marcionites trembled upon hearing his name. He went around visiting the many people whom he led to the faith. At one time, he baptized thirteen prominent Magi's who were martyred by the king. Nestorians betrayed him to the (Persian) king who stirred up persecution against the believers. The blessed Simon journeyed to the capital and obtained a letter from the Emperor Anastasius to the Persian king who stopped the persecution.¹¹⁸²

Baraman (sic) (who is Babay, and not Baraman, the Nestorian catholicos), provoked a controversy with the believers who summoned Simon unto them. He also accused them of being spies for the Romans. The marzuban (vice-regent) of the Persian king, who was set as arbiter as if inspired by God, told them, "The whole question is our business and not yours. But if you have anything to say, say it." Babay said, "These people worship a man (Christ) who like us was born of a woman. However, because of his righteousness, the word of God descended upon him. It is like a king who finds a son of a pauper in the dunghill and takes him and clothes him with a royal garment and calls him his son. Such is the case of this man (Christ) on whose account there is a conflict between us. God wanted to call his Son by grace and not by his nature. But these people call him Son by nature." The marzuban asked Simon, "And what do you people say?" Simon said, "We appeal to you to question what the catholicos said that 'he (Christ) was a simple man born of a woman like us.' We were born of a woman and from the seed of a man. Ask him whether he, like us, was born of a woman from a man's seed? When he was asked, he did not give an answer. When the marzuban pressed him to answer, he said, "He was not born from a human seed." Simon further asked him (Babay) "How then was he conceived? It is written that he was conceived by the Holy Spirit. You have lied saying the he was born like us. We have never heard that a man was born without a human seed." The catholicos (Babay) was ashamed. Simon rejoined, "If the case is what the catholicos has already said before you, that it is like a king who pulls out of the dunghill a poor son, clothes him with a royal garment, and commands that he should be called his son in order that everyone will know him as his son by grace and not by nature; does this son have a natural father?" Otherwise, where did this son come from? Please ask him (the catholicos) to explain to you from whom he (Christ) was born?" When the marzuban addressed this question to the catholicos and his clergy, they became dumbfounded and could not give an answer. Finally, they confessed that he (Christ) was conceived by God without the means of marriage. The marzuban said, "In this case, his father is God, and consequently, the Son is also God. However, if his father is a man and begat him through marriage, he (the Son) is also a man." The believing bishops exclaimed, "May God establish your government." The Nestorians left with disgrace. As a result, the priest Simon was made a bishop.

The Nestorians betrayed the believing bishops to the Persian king. They were imprisoned for seven years until they were about to die. The holy Simon addressed a letter to the king of Abyssinia concerning them, and they were released. The Nestorians returned and this time betrayed them to the Magi priests. However, the Persians, feeling troubled, asked them, "Go to the Christian kings and bring us documents showing which party is of most truthful faith, and we will be the arbiters in this case." The blessed Simon, assuming this burden, went to the capital and God granted him the talent of speaking in tongues. He entered the regions of the people and spoke with them each according to his own tongue. He then thought of a method to keep the documents of the king safe and unstained by dirt because of long travel. He had a

¹¹⁸¹ For the letter which was sent from Constantinople concerning the expulsion of Macedonius from office, see *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 170-177

¹¹⁸² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 192-203, William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, (London, 1894), 79-81, Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922) 145-146 and Ignatius Jacob III, *al-Shuhada al-Himyariyyun al-Arab fi al-Watha'iq al-Suryaniyya* (The Himyarite Arab Martyrs in the Syriac Documents), (Damascus, 1966), 23-78.

large linen kerchief made and treated with chemicals in order to render them fit for writing. They are still preserved in Persia. They contain the belief of each people in their own tongue written down by the bishops. Simon stamped these kerchiefs with the lead seals of the kings of these people. Seven years later, he returned, and by that time, the Persian king had passed away. The Persians, however, realized that the teaching of the Nestorians was false. Necessity forced Simon to journey to the capital once more. God willed to have him rested because of his old age, and he died amongst us.

Chapter Ten: On the blessed Philoxenus and Severus

Akhsnoy (Stranger), bishop of Mabug (d. 523) who is also Philoxenus, sent a statement of faith to Emperor Zeno and received a reply. It was he who exposed Calandion of Antioch and had suspicions that Flavian was a heretic. He asked the emperor to convene a council in Sidon. When Flavian did not attend, the council condemned him. After the council dispersed, Philoxenus, fired with zeal, gathered monks and went to see the Emperor Anastasius. He convinced him that Flavian was a heretic, and the emperor ordered that Flavian be banished. The (bishops) set up in his place Severus the rhetorician from the Monastery of Theodore in Gaza,¹¹⁸³ who was then an apocristaire (ex-pleader, advocate, and interpreter) in the capital. Severus wrote treatises filled with living teachings. He wrote a book entitled *Philalethus* (Lover of Truth) in two columns answering the objections of the Diphysites (Chalcedonians).¹¹⁸⁴ Afterwards, together with Philoxenus, Severus convened a council and expounded the *Henoticon* of Zeno, which was against the Council of Chalcedon.¹¹⁸⁵ He also wrote three volumes in refutation of the objections of Yuhanon (John) the Grammarian.

The Petition drawn up by the monks of the East and Cosmas, bishop of Qinnesrin (Chalcis), and presented to the Council which met at Sidon in the time of Flavian in the year 833 (512 A.D.)¹¹⁸⁶

Before all things, we give thanks to Christ, who is God over all. We also thank our merciful Christ-loving king, who has aroused you with zeal and the fear of God, and called this your holy council to one meeting place, in the name of only one Christ the Son of God. That in him you may bring all men together in one faith, which the holy Scriptures have delivered and the holy fathers have ever kept, standing steadfast in one mind, and being united and agreeing together in one good work, teaching all men the divine doctrine through the Holy Spirit, who spoke by them. For our Lord has accounted you to be worthy and chose you at this time for the sake of the unity of his holy churches, not that you should make a new faith for them. Indeed, that written definition, which was made by the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, is sufficient for the affirmation of the Holy Scriptures. However, you should build up the faith which has always existed, and which many persons have rashly sought to destroy. They "Did not speak from the mouth of the Lord, as the prophet says, but from their own belly."¹¹⁸⁷ Moreover, by their wicked artifices they have severed from one another those who in the simplicity of their hearts kept the tradition of the holy fathers and were united together in the true faith. For whether he is Christ or a holy man, he is divided by them. Therefore, as long as he is denied, it is not possible for the church ever to come to any agreement. In fact, it is rent asunder by these persons through the invention of different words. For it is written, "No kingdom that is divided against itself shall stand."¹¹⁸⁸ Again, "If you keep on biting and devouring each other, watch out or you will be destroyed by each other."¹¹⁸⁹ For we are all one body in Christ, and we are members of his members, as the divine apostle says.¹¹⁹⁰ We draw near to your Holiness with confidence as to pastors, entreating you to keep the true faith for the whole world, without spot, like

¹¹⁸³ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 46-47.

¹¹⁸⁴ This book is translated into French by Robert Hespel with the title *Sévère d'Antioche Le Philalèthe* (Louvain, 1952).

¹¹⁸⁵ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 48.

¹¹⁸⁶ This petition is primarily addressed to Severus, who along with Philoxenus convened a council at Sidon.

¹¹⁸⁷ Jeremiah 23:16.

¹¹⁸⁸ Mark 3:24.

¹¹⁸⁹ Galatians 5:15.

¹¹⁹⁰ Romans 12:5.

the fair dove spoken of in the Song of Songs. You should separate it from all heresies that have the outward appearance of religion, and stand around it like queens and concubines and damsels, and are anxious to associate to be one and the same with it, and through it to be received as true. By doing this, you shall receive a reward and you shall hear the Lord saying, "Whoever acknowledges me before men, I will also acknowledge him before my Father in heaven."¹¹⁹¹ Separate, then, as stewards of the divine words, between the pure and the corrupt, as he says.¹¹⁹² Cast out those who mingled the tares with the pure wheat, and their evil doctrine along with them. For he says, "Put away the evil doer from the congregation, and victory shall go forth with it."¹¹⁹³

Therefore, the petition goes on, and has many quotations from the Fathers in proof of the seventy-seven censures against the Council of Chalcedon. Even though what has been said is manifest and well known, it was necessary to explain it above. The rest that has been written about this council is included in Book Eight.¹¹⁹⁴

Severus, patriarch of Antioch, was a learned man, well versed in the wisdom of the Greek and a well-trained monk. He had read Hirotheus, Dionysius, Titus, and also Timothy, Ignatius, Clement, another Dionysius, and another Clement in addition to biographies, other philosophy and orthodox teachings.

Akhsnoyo (Philoxenus) also, studied the works existing in the Greek language and the teachings contained in books in our (Syriac) language. When he and (Severus) convoked a council and openly anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, they wrote of what they had agreed upon to John of Alexandria and Timothy of Constantinople. All bishops agreed with them except Leo, bishop of Rome. *May God's mercy be upon the wretched writer and the noble reader.*

Chapter Eleven: A brief account of the final period of the life of Emperor Anastasius

In the twenty-second year of Emperor Anastasius, Armenia rebelled against the Romans. The emperor sent an army against it, which devastated it, took captive a great number of its people and placed them under Roman bondage.

In the year 831 of the Greeks/518 A.D., Anastasius fell ill and passed away in peace on July 14, having reigned 27 years, 3 months and 9 days. He built the cities of Dara and Tannurin. In the second year of his reign, or the year fourteen according to another source, the sixth millennium of the creation ended. In the Greek calendar, the sixth millennium ends in the year 814. We believe and confess that the world is transitory, but when? We do not know. Glory to God who alone knows what will happen before it happens. We only look for things to come.

In the time of Anastasius, the Isaurians stirred up sedition. They rebelled and set up the powerful tyrant, Ninigios, a leader and administrator. The emperor sent Hypatius against him. He killed Ninigios and scattered his followers. He put them to the sword and they were willingly subdued.¹¹⁹⁵

In the time of Anastasius, gold was made available to the smiths all over the Roman countries.

On Friday, a sun eclipse took place from the third hour to the ninth hour.

The Greek split with the emperor because of the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us." With great difficulty, however, he was able to reconcile them. Some of them remained firm in the holy faith; others remained doubtful and were separated. Some of them acted in this manner openly while others secretly until the death of the emperor (518 A.D.).

In the time of Anastasius, the leaders of the churches were:

In Rome, after Gelasus was Anastasius who was succeeded by Symmachus for 6 years

¹¹⁹¹ Matthew 10:32.

¹¹⁹² Matthew 3:18.

¹¹⁹³ This is likely a reference to Joshua Chapter 8, rather than an exact quotation.

¹¹⁹⁴ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 181-185.

¹¹⁹⁵ It took six years to subjugate the Isaurians. See A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1 (Madison and Milwaukee, 1964), 109.

In Alexandria, after Peter was Athanasius for 7 years. He was succeeded by Yuhanon (John) for 10 years and 7 months, succeeded by another John for 11 years, who was succeeded by Dioscorus for 1 year, followed by Timothy for 11 years and 6 months.

In Antioch, after Peter the Fuller was Palladius, and then Flavian who was ejected because he was a heretic. Then, Severus the mighty teacher of orthodoxy was set up.

In Constantinople after Acacius was Fravitas, followed by Euphemius who was deposed. He was succeeded by the wicked heretic Macedonius who was also deposed and was succeeded by Timothy.

In Jerusalem, After Anastasius was Martyrius who was succeeded by Sallustianus who seceded and joined Rome. He was succeeded by Elias who was discovered to be a heretic and was expelled by Emperor Anastasius.

This account is ended.

Chapter Twelve: On the beginning of the reign of Justin and the second corruption of the Chalcedonians

In the year 832 of the Greeks/521 A.D., Justin reigned.¹¹⁹⁶ He was from Thrace and from the village of Beldrinus, which he converted into a city and called it after his name. Its water was unpleasant and so strange that if it were poured over fire, it transformed into blood.

Justin was an old man, handsome but simple, and illiterate.¹¹⁹⁷ He had no knowledge of the Christian faith.¹¹⁹⁸ Because the Thracians were Romans and of Italian origin, they accepted the (*Tome*) of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. Justin believed that the empire would be united if everyone accepted the Council of Chalcedon. Some men deceived him to proclaim the Council of Chalcedon equally with the former three Councils in order that by this proclamation, they might mislead the believers who rejected the Council of Chalcedon and accept it along with the other three councils.¹¹⁹⁹

On April 26 of the year 832 of the Greeks, heavy rain fell in Daysan near Edessa; the River Daysan overflowed and destroyed several regions. The wall of Edessa almost collapsed. Justin sent subsidies to rebuild the wall and other regions. Thus, the city was renamed Justinianopolis.¹²⁰⁰ He also provided subsidies to rebuild Antioch, which had been destroyed by the inundation.

At the beginning of Justin's reign, Bitalius, Paul Nestrius and Celer Illyricus were killed. In addition, at the beginning of Justin's reign, a star was seen in the east like a huge meteor with a frightening head pointing downward. From it shone fear-inspiring rays, which were watched by the people. The Greeks called it a comet. Upon seeing it, all people were frightened. It was seen with clarity wherever it moved. It symbolized the chastisement and the destruction of the church that was to come.¹²⁰¹

Upon the issuance of Justin's order that the Council (of Chalcedon) should be proclaimed, Saint Severus shunned pleasures and vainglory (of the world) with contempt, and moved from Antioch to Alexandria six years after his occupation of the See of Antioch.¹²⁰² After leaving Antioch, fire broke out in the city that consumed most of it. Fire burned all over the city for six months and no one knew the reason for its incineration. People failed to extinguish it because it indicated the destruction, which was to come upon Antioch.

Saint Severus was set up as patriarch in the 21st year of Anastasius, which is the year 825 of the Greeks (512 A.D.). One year after the departure of Saint Severus the Great, the signs of (divine) wrath appeared. Paul, who is called Judah, proclaimed the Council of Chalcedon.¹²⁰³ He gathered the entire

¹¹⁹⁶ Justin reigned from 518 to 527.

¹¹⁹⁷ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, Book Eight, Chapter 1, p. 180 of the English translation.

¹¹⁹⁸ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak 49.

¹¹⁹⁹ See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 49; Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus.

¹²⁰⁰ See Evagrius, Book Four, Chapter 8, p. 393 of the English translation.

¹²⁰¹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 52.

¹²⁰² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 50, says that Severus left his city (Antioch) and went to Alexandria when he learned about the intense persecution (of the Orthodox-non-Chalcedonians); *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 133.

¹²⁰³ *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 133.

bishops of Syria and forced them to accept the council. Those who acquiesced, he restored them to their sees; those who disobeyed and refused to change the veracity of the faith and accept the error of Chalcedon, were banished. John of Asia (or of Ephesus) mentioned the number of bishops who acquiesced.¹²⁰⁴

Chapter Thirteen: The Account of John of Asia of the bishops who were persecuted in this period¹²⁰⁵

We are incapable of writing about them (bishops) in detail because they were from different cities distant from each other, and that their majority was banished to different countries. Therefore, we will mention those to whom we conversed in Alexandria and Constantinople.

After Saint Severus departed Antioch, the following bishops were expelled:

From Second Cilicia

1. Anterichius of Anazarba
2. Julian, bishop of Hegion
3. John, bishop of Mopsuestia
4. Paul, bishop of Epiphania
5. John, bishop of Irenopolis
6. Paul, bishop of Lesser Alexandria

From Cappadocia

7. Proclus, bishop of Colonia
8. Masonius, bishop of Therme in Seleucia
9. Nicephorus, bishop of Sebastea in Armenia

From Laodicea in Syria

10. Constantine who was worthy to have his name mentioned on the altar of the entire congregations of the believers due to his many excellences. He passed away in the capital.
11. Antoninus, bishop of Aleppo who likewise died at the capital
12. Philoxenus of Mabug who was banished to Gangra, and imprisoned above the kitchen of the hospital where he suffocated by smoke
13. Peter, bishop of Apamea who was attached to Patriarch Theodosius until the year 856 and Anthimus who died in Constantinople
14. Nunus, bishop of Seleucea
15. Isodore, bishop of Qinnestrin
16. Mara, bishop of Amid
17. Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Damascus. He was an ascetic who did not eat bread or drink wine for twenty-eight years. He died in Constantinople.
18. Alexander, bishop of Abila in the province of Damascus
19. Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Yabrud
20. John, bishop of Palmyra (Tadmur)
21. John, bishop of the Arab monks (of Hawran)
22. Sergius, bishop of Cyrus (Qurush)
23. Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash)

¹²⁰⁴ For the departure of St. Severus from Antioch, and his arrival in Alexandria, see Ignatius Yaqub III, *Nafḥ al Abir aw Sirat al-Patriarch Severus al-Kabir* (Biography of the Great Patriarch Severus), (Damascus, 1970), 108-116, based on a twelfth-century vellum manuscript written in the Istrangelo script and deposited at the Syrian Patriarchal Library. It is titled, "The letter addressed by the holy Severus, patriarch of Antioch, to a believing notable of Antioch." According to John, Bishop of Nikiu, Severus' letter was addressed to the Patrician, God-loving Caesarea. See *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 134.

¹²⁰⁵ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

24. Paul, bishop of Edessa who acquiesced (proclaimed the Council of Chalcedon) and then rejected it and died on the same day.
25. John, bishop of Harran
26. John, bishop of Amrin
27. Eustathius, bishop of Perrhin
28. Peter, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
29. Nonus, bishop of Cercesium
30. Paul, bishop of Callinicus
31. Marion, bishop of Soura of the Romans
32. John, bishop of Tella
33. Tuma, bishop of Dara
34. Aaron, bishop Arsamosata a town of the QurTayoye

From the regions of Asia and Caria and Aphrodisia

35. The chief priest Euphemius

From Antioch on the River Meander (Orontes)

36. Methonius (Menophanos)
37. Zeuxis, from the city of Alabanda
38. Peter, from the city of Alinda
39. Julian of Halicarnasus, who later followed the Fantasiasts
40. Theosebius, bishop of Ephesus. He was asked to journey to the capital to proclaim the Council (of Chalcedon). He requested three days respite. He entered the church and threw himself down before the altar and prayed. Three days later, he died.
41. Valerianus, bishop of Neocaesarea
42. Elpidius, bishop of Qastranaya
43. Theodore, bishop of Olbia
44. Luke, bishop of the city of Imoria
45. Eusicuna (Eusebius) of Hadrianas
46. Peter of Melota
47. Victor, bishop of Philadephia
48. Peter, bishop of Manadoye
49. Agathodorus of Aison
50. Pelegias, bishop of the Qelederaye
51. Photinus, bishop of Arsenoye
52. Alexander, bishop of Kankar

Many other bishops were persecuted because they followed the same path of the blessed Severus, and did not accept the Council (of Chalcedon). Some of them left by their own will and thus ended their lives; others are still living.¹²⁰⁶

Also, on the time of the persecution

The See of Alexandria stood firm during the reign of Justin. Timothy became patriarch after Dioscorus. He welcomed the fugitive bishops with charity and gave them encouragement. Nonus, bishop of Seleucia, retired to his city, Amid, and lived in his house. He was wealthy and a leader in the time of John, bishop of Amid, who came from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel). He is the one who built the bridge over the Tigris River below the city of Amid. One day he blessed him saying, "My hope in God is

¹²⁰⁶ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated Amir Harrak, 50-51 and 57-60.

BOOK NINE

that you will die as a bishop while you are sitting on a throne.” His words became the subject of surprise because he truly became a bishop after the invasion of Amid. In fact, the meek Bishop Tuma (Thomas) who had built the city of Dara, and whom some (bishops) tried to get hold of to have him confess the Council (of Chalcedon), entreated the Lord. He became suddenly ill and died while sitting in his chair. In fulfillment of John’s blessing, the people of Amid set up Nonus as their bishop. He lived few months and died. Then the people of Amid set up Mara as their bishop in the presence of Nonus, bishop of Miyafarqin, Orthos of Agel, and Aaron bishop of Samosata. Aaron was chaste and taken to fasting. He was proficient in the Greek language. Shortly after becoming a bishop for Amid, he was banished to Petra, and then was recalled to Alexandria. He wrote a number of books in which he recorded many wonder works. Now, for the sake of history, I shall record the prologue of the history of Bishop Mara in order that the reader, after reading few sections of it, will contemplate with scrutiny and knowledge what this book contains of discourses and opinions and will contemplate them one by one. If man collects a resume of what the evangelists had written, he will comprehend that God was incarnated, and to him are attributed the divine and human acts. On these acts, rest the foundation of the world, which will be more manifest upon his second coming.

He who contemplates this book will gain the knowledge of what has been written about him (Christ) before his incarnation, and the birth of John who came to testify to the God of Israel prior to the Annunciation of the angel (to Mary). He would further comprehend that the birth of Christ transcends nature, for it was through a virgin. It is a fact that every man has a beginning. However, Jesus, who is from heaven, has no beginning. This is borne out by the testimonies of the Incarnation in the Gospels. They were revealed by the (Holy) Spirit to the angel (Gabriel), to Elizabeth, to Mary and to the shepherds. They were also manifested by the glad tidings of a host of angels, the prophecy of Zechariah, the appearance of the star, the everlasting birth of the kingdom of the Son of God, and the prophecy of Simeon and Annah concerning the coming of Christ for the salvation of the world. This is in addition to the proclamation of John the Baptist who admitted that he is from this earth, but the savior is from heaven.

Based on the Gospel, one can also come upon the Divine Dispensation that was prudently done without the medium of the wisdom and teaching of philosophers. He would also learn the awesome and miraculous power by which he (Christ) acted and spoke, and of his knowledge of everything and that he was without sin; that his passions in the body were voluntary; that he has destroyed death by his Resurrection; and that he has ascended into heaven. He will also learn that he has taken from the Virgin (Mary) a body with a rational soul and comprehension, that he was conceived for nine months, was born according to nature by a miracle, he was wrapped in swaddle, suckled milk, was circumcised according to the law (of Moses). His mother, fearing Herod, took him to Egypt and returned from Egypt to renew Israel. He grew up in stature and was obedient to his mother and Joseph. He was baptized in water by John as a testimony of the new birth and the renewal of entire mankind. His baptism offered us a new and holy spiritual birth. As a man, he was tempted by Satan and after defeating the tempter, was served by angels. He granted peace to our human kind by restoring it to paradise. He acted with his apostles in a human manner and ignored the persecutors. He hungered, thirsted and tired indicating that the human acts he had experienced are not of nature’s obligation. This means that, by fasting forty days at the end of which he felt hungry, does not mean that he was not God. This also is true of his sleeping, retirement to the mountain and spending the whole nights in prayer. His prayer to the Father was for our sake, we human beings. He slept in the boat on the sea to train the disciples in the faith and to manifest his power to rebuke the wind. People tried to cast him down from the precipice of the mountain but could not, and when they crowded around him, he passed through them and slipped away. The lance was not the cause of his soul leaving him on the cross, but he himself bowed down his head and gave up the soul. In all cases, his were the divine and the human matters. The reforms that Christ introduced to the world were meant to rebuke the evil one. He cast out devils and evil spirits. He healed incurable diseases and raised the dead. He drove away different temptations and rendered passion ineffective. All of these things symbolized the world to come which is free from evil, and which we look forward to by hope, charity and faith. The teachings of our Christ keep people away from the disease of the love of money, vainglory and lust. They raise them to worship God by just will.

Of the things that Mara wrote about the Gospel, is a chapter containing Canon 39, which was not treated except by John. It is supported by the following: One day, while Jesus was teaching, they brought him a woman caught in the act of adultery to see what he would say about her. Jesus, being God and knowing their shameful acts, asked them, "How is it written in the law?" They said that according to the testimony of two or three, she should be stoned. Jesus said to them, "According to the Law of Moses, those who are only pure and free from the bondage of sin should bear witness against her and cast the first stone. They left one after the other leaving the woman alone, for all of them were stained with the lusts of sin. Jesus bowed down and began writing on the ground "Where are those who brought you here to witness against you? They departed after thinking of what I have told them. You, too, go and sin no more."¹²⁰⁷

Chapter Fourteen: On persecuting the monks and plundering the monasteries¹²⁰⁸

The monks of the East were persecuted for seven years in the regions of Antioch, Edessa, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and the Monastery of Tella in Seleucia. They left their monasteries and went to Qinnesrin on the Euphrates assisted by the rhetorician John of Aphtonia (d. 538),¹²⁰⁹ Cyrus, abbot of the Monastery of the Syrians in Antioch along with the brethren was persecuted. Also persecuted were the monks of Tell'ada, Bazo, Damascus and the Monastery of Simon, the Monastery of the Najdites, Ignatius, abbot of the Monastery of Aqiba in Qinnesrin, the monks of the Monastery of Conon, John, abbot of the Monastery Kafra Birta, the Monastery of Mor Basus, John, abbot of the Monastery of the Easterners and the Qubbis,¹²¹⁰ the Monastery of Mageous, the Monastery of Sergius in Phsilta, abbot Thomas of the Monastery of Nasih, Ishaq (Isaac), abbot of the Monastery of Abd Yeshu, the Monasteries of the Arabs, Izla and Beth Gugel and five monasteries of the metropolitan of Amid, Hananya known as the lame who wrought wonder works, Daniel the periodeutes, Solomon from the Monastery of Mor Samuel, Quris from the Monastery of Skolan and the Euspholians and the Tizians near Rish 'Ayna.

The persecution extended to the congregation of solitaries living in the wilderness. They were pious and honorable men. It also extended to the monasteries of Edessa, Elijah the Isquni, Samiz, Qozma (Cosmas), John Urtoyo, Marwan prior of the Monastery of the Easterners, Sergius the chaste and his successor Anton the good and innocent, Elias our country-man a lover of the brethren, Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Kish, Sergius, the Monastery of John of Beth Hura, Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Mor Ishaq in Gabbula who embraced the heresy of Julian (the Phantasiast), and Bar Nikia from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (the Za'faran Monastery) who wrought wonder works. He, out of zeal, went to the capital and rebuked the emperor face to face. Concerning him, Philoxenus of Mabug testified in his letter addressed to him from Gangra, the monks of the Monastery of Mor Zakai in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) and the Monastery of Mor Abai and Beth Requm.

Thus, was the wilderness teeming with inhabitants who the (monks) visited with charity? They were joined by the archimandrites and the honorable leaders of the congregations. Of these was John of Tella, the ascetic who did not even sustain himself on bread, which is the substance of the life of man. He was such a voracious reader that he became agnostic and well as versed in theories. He used to be raptured by the spirit for a span of three hours. He became thoroughly familiar with the knowledge of the wisdom of God's creation. He was seen delightful with everyone for six to nine hours, as he engaged in a pleasant conversation with those who carried out what was required of them. There was also Thomas of Dara who frequently discussed physics in addition to his many chores.

Paul (the Jew) was Chalcedonian and became bishop of Antioch. He succeeded Severus of Antioch in 518 who left his see under threat of having his tongue cut off by the Emperor Justin who supported the

¹²⁰⁷ John 2:11.

¹²⁰⁸ This Chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

¹²⁰⁹ For the biography of John Bar Aphtonia, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 289-290.

¹²¹⁰ The Qubbis monks, are most likely those of the Monastery of Quba in the Mountain of Edessa.

Chalcedonians.¹²¹¹ He stirred up persecution against many monasteries, great and small, in the entire dioceses of Syria, Palestine, to the north and to the south, up to the boundaries of Persia and the eastern countries. They were looted, ravaged, placed in chains and endured hardships. The Roman army chose savage men who treated the persecuted and those who gave them asylum in their villages, without mercy. Paul's wickedness extended even to women and children. No one can describe the cruelty of this Jew who persecuted everyone by hunger, thirst, nakedness or hustling them from one place to another. They hardly settled in a place before they were transported to another not knowing where to find a shelter. They stayed with the beasts of the wild under the heaven even in wintery days. They resided in the wild in ice or rain. The persecutors brought down some of them from their pillars or took out others from jails and dragged (them down the streets), especially in the evening as they were eating dinner. They usually surprised them, beat them with sticks and evicted them, including old men and women, and devoured the food they had prepared.

Paul of Edessa was summoned several times but did not respond. The persecutors dispatched Roman soldiers against him, but he hid in the baptismal font in order not to be forced to endorse the Council (of Chalcedon) which he held in contempt. The people of the city and the monks challenged the soldiers as they tried to protect their shepherd but many of them were martyred. Then Paul of Edessa left and accompanied the soldiers who took him to Paul "the Jew." However, it became evident that he held the same belief as that of Paul "the Jew," and he collaborated secretly with Paul "the Jew." Both of them managed the situation carefully for fear of the Edessan. Paul of Edessa was released and dispatched by Paul of Antioch (the Jew) to Edessa, and the people received him as orthodox. At this time, however, the bishop of Harran passed away and Paul of Antioch (the Jew) desired to ordain a presbyter named Asclepius, for Edessa. After promising to ordain the presbyter, however, he reneged on his promise and ordained someone else. Asclepius went to the emperor (Justin) and betrayed Paul (of Edessa) as someone who does not accept the Council (of Chalcedon). The emperor wrote to Farzman who evicted Paul from Edessa, and was replaced by Asclepius.

Chapter Fifteen: On the death of Mor Jacob of Batnan (Sarug, d. 521), and the evils the persecutors inflicted upon the believers¹²¹²

Prior to Paul's exit from Edessa, he summoned the holy and great malphono (doctor) Jacob, bishop of Batnan (Sarug) to come unto him, but the holy (Jacob) hesitated to see him knowing that his faith was not sound and true. Paul persisted by constantly sending men to invite him to come to him, and finally Jacob went. He entered the church, and prostrating himself before the altar, prayed saying, "O Lord who knows the secrets, don't let me see the face of Paul if he holds the error of those who maintain two natures (Diphysites). When he reached the Monastery of the Persians, he saw a night vision about departing this life. He was asked in the vision to return to his own city. In that very night, he returned to his cell and told the people about his vision. Two days later, he passed away having giving instruction about his church, pupils and teaching. The people of the city were astonished. However, the effect of his prayers became known all over Syria. When Paul learned of what happened, he set up a person named Musa in his place. Also, the monks of the Monastery of the Easterners in the Mountain of Edessa, who had separated themselves since the time of Paul and were used to receiving communion at the church of Edessa, boycotted Paul when they learned of his misbelief. They began to celebrate the Eucharist in their monastery, and were followed by several monasteries who signed the anathema of the Council (of Chalcedon). They wrote on the gates of the monasteries that, "The monks were ejected in the winter by Farzman by the instigation of Ascpelius." The monks said, "How could you force us to leave in winter while we have amongst us the old and the sick? Even the barbarians would not do such a thing." Nevertheless, those savages mocked them. Two days before Christmas, the inhabitants of the city went out to receive their blessings. They found among them old and sick people carried in litters. They wept bitterly saying, "Woe to us for Christianity is being

¹²¹¹ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 190.

¹²¹² This Chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

destroyed in our time.” They were joined by monks from the Monasteries of Mor Zakai, Mor Conon, Exedres, Naphshothe (souls), Mor Samuel, Hendiba, Mor Eusebius the chaste, and Mor Julian Saba (the old man) near the river of the Medes. Upon reaching the Monastery of Solomon (of Muqal or Muqaylat), they celebrated the divine Eucharist at Christmas. In addition, they and the people anathematized the Council of Chalcedon. They went to the Monastery of the Arabs in Tell Mawzalt. From there they went to Tell Besma and resided in the martyrion named after Mor Mari. Shortly afterwards, the notorious governor of Edessa evicted them and they came to Mardin and settled in the Monastery of ‘Ayn Halaf. Six and a half years later, the wrath calmed down because of the change of the emperor.¹²¹³ They returned to their monasteries by the effort of Queen (Empress) Theodora. Three years later, they were in disagreement with each other, and as a result, seventy men separated from them. One of them, called Elisha, with others, went up to Ephraim who had become a patriarch of Antioch and offered their allegiance to him. He was Ephraim of Amid who was an ardent Chalcedonian. For fear of the empress, he dressed them in soldiers’ uniforms and sent them to the emperor. They received harsh orders from the emperor and returned to the monastery, controlled it and evicted their brethren. Thus, persecution began anew in the East and the believers suffered immense affliction and torment. *End of the account.*

Chapter Sixteen: Concerning the persecution of the Orthodox and the flood which took place in Edessa and Antioch

Qawad, king of Persia,¹²¹⁴ received from Justinian five thousand five hundred qintar of gold for stationing the Persian soldiers as guards against the Huns. This is why he sometimes sent some Tayoye (Arabs) to the land of the Romans to pillage and take captives. Meanwhile, the Tayoyo (Arabian) Mundhir¹²¹⁵ invaded the region of Balikha and Khabur. In the same time, those who were inducted into the Roman army marched against Arzen and Nisibin pillaging, destroying and killing. Then, Mundhir, king of the Tayoye (Arabs) marched against Homs, Apamea and the province of Antioch, killing, destroying and taking the majority of the people captive. From the captives, he selected four hundred virgins who were disciples of St. Thomas the Apostle, and Dimius offered them as sacrifice to the god Uzzi. This was said by Dada the solitary who was one of the captives. Upon returning from captivity, Dada related this incident, which he had seen with his own eyes.

In the seventh year of Justin, the water of the Shiloh fountain situated to the right of Jerusalem stopped flowing for fifteen years. In the same year, a bolt of lightning destroyed the Temple of Solomon in Ba’lbak the city built in the forests of Lebanon. The Scriptures mention it saying, “Solomon built a temple and decorated it. On its right stood three huge and marvelous stones on which nothing has been built, but were interlocked and famous for their beauty.”¹²¹⁶ They symbolized the Trinity. For this reason, they were not touched by the thunderbolt that destroyed the temple. By the emperor’s effort, a temple was built on the same place after the name of the Mother of God.

In this period was found in Cilicia a very tall woman. She was one cubit taller than that of men. No one knew where she came from, and she did not converse in any language, but her food was the usual food of other people. She took one single penny from every shop owner. Suddenly she disappeared. Some say that she might have been of those called “children of the earth.”

In the year 836,¹²¹⁷ colossal damage occurred to the metropolitan center of Arzena in the city of Edessa when Asclepius was its bishop. He forced the believers to accept the wicked Council of Chalcedon. He held twenty solitary monks and tortured them brutally in order to accept the anathematized council, and then cast them into prison. On the third hour of that night, a flood took place. The river Daysan flooded suddenly and destroyed the upper part of the wall. Then the flood retreated and rushed to the markets of

¹²¹³ What is meant here is that the persecutor Justin died in 527 and was succeeded by Justinian (527-565).

¹²¹⁴ Qawad or Qabadh, was the first king of the Sassanids. He ruled twice, from 489 to 497 and 499 to 531.

¹²¹⁵ King of the Lakhmids of Hira in modern Iraq who ruled between 514 and 554.

¹²¹⁶ A loose translation of 1 Kings 7: 1-5.

¹²¹⁷ 525 A.D.

the city. The city was inundated and the people and beasts drowned. Their belongings were swept away. Those standing in a place higher than the water level tried to exit through the city's gates, but the water gushed through the gates and became like a lake. Because of the water's force, the wall was breached in three places and the towers collapsed. Suddenly, the water flowed and swept the corpses and houses up to the River Euphrates. Those who were alive attributed this matter to the wrath of God because of imprisoning the blessed (church fathers). The people picked rocks to stone Asclepius, but he hid himself and then fled to Antioch to seek refuge with Euphrasius. One day, Euphrasius brought him up with him to the pulpit and said to the people, "Come and see a second Noah who was saved in the ark from the Flood."

Those in Edessa who were saved (from being drowned), were actually saved from the impiety of (the Council) of Chalcedon. However, wrath overtook Asclepius in Antioch and he never returned to Edessa. The number of corpses which were buried amounted to three thousand. It is said that about two hundred thousand were killed.

When the flood subsided, the emperor sent gold to rebuilt Edessa. While workers were uncovering the foundation of the wall, they found in the bed of the river a stone inscribed three times in Syriac with the following, "The River Daysan rejoices maliciously."

Like Paul the "Jew", Euphrasius caused the believers immense harm, and divine justice did not endure him for long. The city was rocked by a quake that destroyed it in the seventh year of his impiety, and he was stricken by the wrath (of God).

In the ninth year of Justin, which is the year 840 of Greeks/525 A.D., Antioch was destroyed for the fifth time. The wrath (destruction) was so catastrophic that a huge fire kindled and devoured those who tried to run for safety. The sparks sputtered and burned everything on which they set. The ground raged, boiling from every direction and consuming everything. Buildings rocked and quaked upward and downward. Some tried to run for safety but were confronted by fire that consumed them like wood. The flame fell down upon them like rain from heaven. The city was like an oven with the exception of some houses at the foot of the mountain, which finally collapsed. No house, church, or fences were left intact. From the depth of the earth, rose a moist sand mixed with the sea rottenness and seashells. The great church, which had been built by Constantine the Great and said to have no like in all the Roman countries cracked but remained standing. On the seventh day, however, it caught fire and collapsed. Such was the destiny of other churches. John of Antioch wrote, "Those who remained alive counted those who suffocated and found them to be one thousand two hundred and fifty. They included many strangers who attended the festival and were suffocated."

On the third day of its collapse, a cross of light was seen in the northern part of the city. Those who were still alive were frightened and cried out, "Have mercy upon us, O Lord." They kept staring at the cross for one hour, and then it disappeared in the clouds. Thirty days later, men, women and children were found alive, which is a miracle done by God, for the quake did not subside day and night for a whole year. While discovering the bodies of those who suffocated, they found the bodies of Euphrasius and Asclepius the Edessan in a cauldron of tar. It happened that they fell in this cauldron and suffocated. Their heads, however, were found on the brim of the cauldron from the outside. They were recognized by their faces but their bones in the cauldron were stripped of flesh. Some of their heretical followers circulated the rumor that they were raptured to heaven. But God, wanting to expose their impiety, preserved their faces that they would be recognized.

The devastation caused by the quake remained long in Seleucia and Daphne near Antioch. It covered an area twenty miles long and wide. The entire region was destroyed by the quake.

Upon learning of the quake, Justin cast down his crown, took off the purple and was immensely grieved. He sent five qintars of gold to rebuild the cities. In this time, collapsed the rest of city of Dyrachium, center of the metropolitan dioceses of the region. Also collapsed Corinth, center of the metropolitan of Helada, and the city of Anazarba in Cilicia. These cities were destroyed by the quake.

One year after Paul "the Jew" was set up as a patriarch of Antioch, the emperor realized that he had torn up the church by his tyranny. Having realized his wickedness, he evicted him from the church. The

miserable man (Paul) died shortly afterwards and inherited the fire prepared for his master the Devil. May his memory be cursed.¹²¹⁸ He was succeeded by Euphrasius, son of the sailor, as the 52nd patriarch of Antioch.

When the emperor issued a decree that the army should accept the Council of Chalcedon, and that he would stop the payment to those who did not accept it and deprive them of military honor, the majority of the army accepted the council. Some generals who were known for fearing God like Amantus, Phraposius, Theocritus and Andrew the Cubicularius, were martyred by the sword for adhering to the orthodox faith and rejecting the Council of Chalcedon.

In the second year of Justin, John of Constantinople passed away. He was succeeded by Epiphanius as the 21st bishop.

In Edessa, Asclepius was the 38th bishop. He was ordained by Euphrasius of Antioch.

In Rome, Hormisda became the 50th bishop at the beginning of the reign of the old man Justin who persecuted the orthodox.

John of Constantinople did not proclaim the Council of Chalcedon. Lucipina, wife of the old Justin, who was intoxicated with the love of the council, sent him a message threatening him not to enter his church unless he proclaimed the council. John began to proclaim the council, and since then corruption began.

In the 19th year of Justinian, Antioch was destroyed by a quake and Euphrasius perished. He was succeeded by Ephraim of Amid, who was thought to be a sage and rhetorician. He was infected with the malady of those who held two natures (Diphysites). By his craftiness and the emperor's threats who listened to him, he was able to entice many. The truth is that this Ephraim was a pagan. He surpassed those who came before him by wickedness. He destroyed many monasteries and altars. Accompanied by barbarous soldiers, he roamed the Eastern regions up to the Persian boundaries persecuting the believers for eighteen years. Finally, he was afflicted by the wrath of God, as was his city which was destroyed by the Persians.

In Amid, after Saint Mara, Abraham Bar Kaili became a bishop. He was a wicked man who stirred up violent persecution against the believers. He forced the presbyter Quris (Cyrus) to receive communion from him. The presbyter said, "By forcing me to take communion from you, you are proving that our communion is unholy." Bar Kaili ordered that the elements be forced down his mouth, but the presbyter spat them out. Bar Kaili, (son of dog) had the presbyter burned by fire. He wrote to the emperor saying that a certain person stepped by foot upon the elements and was burned by fire. Moreover, Bar Kaili sent Arians (partisans of the heretic Arius), who resided in a monastery outside the city, to the house of anyone who did not accept the council to force him to escape and leave his home. They appeared in frightful spectacles of deformed faces and rotten bodies with offensive stench, with blood and pus oozing out of their hands. This was in addition to their sick minds and repugnant intentions against the orthodox. They reclined on their wares and rolled over their beds. They looted whatever they desired without inhibition, and after meals, they threw away everything. However, when they knew that they would be driven out of that house, they entered the place where wine skins and oil and honey jars were stored. They dipped their dirty hands in them in order that no one might eat or drink from them.¹²¹⁹ *This and the former accounts are ended. He, who reads, let him pray for me, I the sinner, by the love of Jesus.*

Chapter Seventeen: Concerning the affairs of Justin with the kings of India and Ethiopia¹²²⁰

The kingdom of the Himyarites is situated opposite of Egypt and Thebaid far away from India. For a time, it was ruled by a Jewish person who massacred the Christians. He also seized the Roman (Byzantine) merchants on their way to India for business and killed them, because the Christians in Roman lands harmed the Jews. For this reason, business with India and Ethiopia was interrupted. The king of Ethiopia sent a message to the Jew who ruled the Himyarites saying, "You have done a great wrong by killing the

¹²¹⁸ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 54-55 with slight variation.

¹²¹⁹ On Bar Kaili, see *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 60-64 and 66-67.

¹²²⁰ This Chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

merchants and abolishing the order of my kingdom. If you desire peace, you should open the way for the merchants.” But the Jew would not respond. On the contrary, he resorted to threatening and both men prepared for war. Anzoug, king of Ethiopia, pledged to embrace Christianity in case of his victory in the name of Christ. God made him triumph and he killed the Jew and occupied the country.¹²²¹

Afterwards, two prominent dignitaries at the head of two hundred Indians went up to Emperor Justin. They requested him for a bishop and other clergy to teach them the principles of Christianity. He had John Phermonra, a chaste and pious man, ordained as their bishop. He journeyed to their country accompanied by a number of clergymen where they embraced Christianity and were baptized. Then, the Ethiopian king, having gained strength from God, was fired with zeal and marched against the land of the Himyarites and annihilated the Jews who had regained strength, set up a king for them and began to obliterate the Christians. He killed their king, uprooted their kingdom and set up a Christian king for them named Abraham. Abraham gathered the scattered Christians and brought a bishop from Egypt in the time of Pope Timothy (of Alexandria) who renounced the Council of Chalcedon and never wavered in his renunciation.

Chapter Eighteen: Concerning the affliction and suffering the believers endured during this period from the impious Ephraim of Antioch and Abraham Bar Kaili of Amid¹²²²

When Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, came to the East, he persecuted the believing orthodox and drove them away by the effort of Abraham Bar Kaili, bishop of Amid.¹²²³ A great crowd of monks gathered at the Monastery of Tella known as the Monastery of Repentance. As they proceeded to rebuild it, the Roman troops came and drove them out, but when they realized that many of them were engaged in the service, they were afraid and left them to their business. However, they pressured the natives of the neighboring villages and instigated them to expel these monks. When the monks learned of this matter they, in response to the wailing and crying of the villagers, left and went to a town called Madhbho and stayed in the Monastery of Horonitho (White Poplar). They were about a thousand men. When the impious Ephraim came to Edessa, he asked them through his brother, to submit to him that he might meet with them or receive a delegation from them for discussion. Now this monastery was situated in a district inhabited by the people of Edessa, Amid and Samosata, who refused to meet with him. Outraged, Ephraim sent troops to arrest the monks and bring them unto him. When they learned of this, they were divided into groups each one led by a presbyter and a deacon and went any direction they wished. John of Asia says, “The group assigned to me, when I the weak was still a deacon, consisted of ten men.” The groups departed the monastery leaving their provisions, books and belongings. Who would not shed tears for these pious men of God who crossed rivers in the winter suffering cold and the torment of sickness? Ephraim had already written to the commissioners warning them that they would be under the judgment of death if they received any one of these men. Thus, these men were tormented by living in caverns. The believers, for fear, brought them bread at night. Other groups went to the districts of Claudia and Hanzit in the winter, which was severe in that year.¹²²⁴

Abraham Bar Kaili sent persecuting men to the lands of Urtoye and Hanzit. They gathered about fourteen hundred clerics, monks and believers and forced them to accept the Council (of Chalcedon). When the governor asked them to accept the council, they said, “We will never accept another teaching in conformity with Paul’s instruction.”¹²²⁵ The governor and the bishop said, “The patriarch and the emperor accept other teaching.” They said, “As we do not say about you that you have accepted (the Council of Chalcedon), or that the fathers had taught a different teaching, so we do not accept from you another teaching.” The governor and the bishop said, “This is actually a confirmation of the faith.” The monks

¹²²¹ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqin*, translated Amir HARRAK, 77.

¹²²² This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²²³ *The Chronicle of Zuqin*, translated Amir HARRAK, 60-62.

¹²²⁴ *The Chronicle of Zuqin*, translated Amir HARRAK, 64-67.

¹²²⁵ This is in reference to Galatians 1:8-9.

replied, "The faith of the Christians needs no new confirmation, it is not shaken in order to be confirmed or rebuilt." The governor rejoined, "What iniquity the Council (of Chalcedon) has done which made you renounce it? Is it because it called the Virgin, Mother of God, or because it condemned Nestorius and Eutyches?" The blessed (monks) said, "It is written 'Test everything. Hold on to the good. Avoid every kind of evil.'¹²²⁶ We beg you to provide us with more information for our knowledge is deficient. When did the Council (of Chalcedon) style Mary as the Mother of God while Ibas of Edessa was one of its presidents? It is he who blasphemed the one who was born by Mary saying, 'I do not envy Christ because he became God. For if he had become God, I have become man. But like me, he is a simple man.' Or, his saying, 'I worship the purple¹²²⁷ and who wears it. I honor the temple and the one who dwells in it.' Again, how could the council condemn Nestorius while he held the doctrine of two natures and one person? Now, if Nestorius professed two natures and two *qnume*, the Council (of Chalcedon) held two natures and one *qnumo* (hypostasis, person). This is a matter worthy of mockery. How can one *qnumo* (hypostasis) be the same for two natures? And can a nature be without a *qnumo* (hypostasis)? And how does not everyone scoff at someone who says that here are two men with one head in one person?" The bishops said, "Would you submit to the command of the emperor and accept the council or not?" The blessed monks said, "We have been taught to obey God rather than men."¹²²⁸ The bishop said, "In this case, and according to your words, the emperor should not be obeyed." The blessed monks said, "We obey the emperor in matters which require obedience." The governor said, "In this case, the emperor should be sometimes obeyed and other times disobeyed." Then he expelled them. They crossed the River Euphrates to the district of Claudia while anathematizing the council. The following is written in Arabic script. *This and the other narrative are ended. Praise to God who through us accomplished this. Amen.*

Chapter Nineteen: Concerning the kingdoms of the Indians, Cushites and the Himyarites who were martyred in the Year 835 (of the Greeks, 524 A.D.) in the time of Justin the persecutor of the Christians¹²²⁹

Three are the kingdoms of the Indians and four are the kingdoms of the Cushites, in the southern and eastern region on the coast of the sea, which surrounds the earth and is called the Great Ocean.

In the period of Justin who persecuted the orthodox, the Jews waxed strength. They set up a king, especially when the kings of India quarreled with each other. The king of outer India, called Aksidon, quarreled with the king of interior India called Anzoug. When the Jew ruled,¹²³⁰ he killed the Christians whose story of martyrdom was written by the holy Bisho Simon known as the Disputant. They were killed in the city of Najran in the year 835 of the Greeks/524 A.D., which is the fourth year of Justin. He included their story in a letter addressed to the abbot of the Monastery of Gabbula saying, "We inform your affection that on the twentieth of January in this year 835 of the Greeks/524 A.D. we left the camp of Hirta (Hirat) al-Nu'man in company of Abraham the presbyter, the son of Euphrasius, who had been sent to Mundhir by Justin the king (emperor) to make peace, which we wrote also in our former letter. Moreover, here we, even all the believers, express our thanks to him for his assistance to our party. He knows what we have formerly written and what we are writing now. For we travelled ten days journey through the desert towards the south-east, and came upon Mundhir, over against the hills called 'The Frightening' or 'The Hills of Fear, or

¹²²⁶ 1 Thessalonians 5:21-22.

¹²²⁷ Purple is the emblem of the Byzantine Emperor.

¹²²⁸ Cf. Acts 5:29.

¹²²⁹ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text. Cush is mentioned in the Old Testament as the father of Nimrod. Genesis 10:8 and 1 Chronicles 1:10. The Cushites flourished in eastern Mesopotamia in 1500 B.C. Cush may also indicate the kingdom of Nubia in present-day Sudan. The name of Cushites must have been extended to cover Ethiopia and even Yaman in southwestern Arabia. In this context, it likely means Ethiopia. The Christians in this context mean the Orthodox who rejected the Council of Chalcedon. Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 76-77.

¹²³⁰ This Jew is King Masruq of Yaman who persecuted the Christians of Najran. He killed the Christians. The story of their martyrdom was written by the saint Bishop Simon (of Beth Arsham) known as the Disputant. For his biography See Ignatius Aphram I, Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 290-292.

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in the Arabic language called, 'The Dark Hill.' As we entered the camp of Mundhir, we were met by heathen Tayoye (Arabs) and Ma'doye¹²³¹ who said to us, 'What would you do? Behold the Romans, the Persians and the Himyarites expelled your Christ.' We were sorely distressed by their revile. We were further distressed when an envoy came who was sent by the king of the Himyarites (Masruq) to Mundhir, and handed him a letter full of boasting. In it, he had written the following, 'The king whom the Himyarites set up in our country died. Because the winter season had begun, they were not able to march out into our country and appoint a Christian king, as they generally do. Accordingly, I became king over the whole country of the Himyarites, and I resolved first to slay all the Christians who confessed Christ unless they became Jews like us. I killed two hundred and eighty men, the priests who were found, and beside them the Ethiopians who were guarding the church. I made their church into a synagogue for us, and then with a force of 120,000 men I went to Najran, their royal city. I swore oaths of (peace) to them and their chiefs came out to me. But I judged it right not to keep my words to the Christians, my enemies. I arrested them, and required them to bring their gold and silver and possessions. They brought them to me and I took them. I asked for Paul their bishop and was told that he was dead. I did not believe them until they showed me his grave and I dug up the bones and burned them. I urged all of them to deny Christ but they would not and I ordered them to be put to death. I brought their wives to witness their death thinking they would be scared but they were not. They hastened to death, and they were all put to death except Rhumi, the wife of one who would have become their king. We spared her because she was still young, but we kept urging her to deny Christ and live. We bade her go and take counsel attended by guards. She went out, going around the street and squares of the city with her head uncovered crying out, 'Women of Najran, my Christian companions, and the rest of you who are Jews and heathens, listen! My birth and my family, and whose Christian daughter I am, you know. I have gold and silver and slaves, male and female, and many lands and revenues. Now my husband has been put to death for Christ's sake. If I wish to be married to a husband, I have 40,000 dinars and gold ornaments, and much silver and pearls and raiment, splendid and magnificent, besides the treasures of my husband. You know that for a woman there are no days of joy like the days of her marriage. For from that time forward there is distress and lamentation at the birth of children, and when she is deprived of them and buries them. However, I, from this day forward am free from them all. On the days of my first marriage, I was full of joy, and now, behold! It is in the gladness of my heart that I have adorned my five virgin daughters for Christ. Look upon me, my companions, for you have twice seen me, at my marriage, and this second one. For it is with my face exposed before you all that I went to my former bridegroom. Now it is with my face exposed that I am going to Christ, my Lord and my God, and the Lord and God of my daughters. He in his love humbled himself and came to us and suffered for our sake.

Imitate my daughters, and me and consider that I am not inferior to you in beauty. Behold I am going to Christ my Lord resplendent in that beauty, undefiled, as it is, by Jewish denial. My beauty may be a witness before my Lord and that it could not lead me astray to commit the sin of denial. All my gold and silver and all that I have may be witnesses that I did not love them as I loved my God. That tyrannical king permitted me to deny and live. Far be it from me to deny Christ my God in whom my daughters and I have believed and baptized. Behold! I am leaving everything that is pleasant to the eyes and to the bodily senses on the earth that I may go and receive from my Lord that which does not pass away. Blessed are you my companions, if you will hear my words and love Christ. Pray for me that the Lord may receive me.'

At once, she came and stood before me with her daughters who were attired as for marriage. She loosened the bands of her hair and turned them around with her hands, stretched out her neck, and bowed her head, crying, 'I am a Christian.' However, I exhorted her to deny Christ and only to say that he was a simple man, and she would not. However, one of her daughters insulted us for saying this. Then, I gave orders (and they threw her to the ground), and her daughters were slaughtered and their blood ran down her mouth. Afterwards, her head was cut off. I did not have the young boys and girls killed, but to be brought up as Jews. I have written to you that you may not suffer any Christian to remain alive in your kingdom."¹²³²

¹²³¹ Arab tribes of the Ma'd.

¹²³² This episode is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 192-197 with a slight difference where Michael Rabo omitted some

A boy (a child) whose mother was coming out to be put to death and was holding him with her hand, saw the king sitting clad in royal apparel. He ran up to him and kissed him on the knees. The king took hold of him and began to caress him and to say to him, 'Which would you like, to go and die with your mother, or to stay with me?' The boy said to him, 'I would like to die with my mother for she told me, "Come my son, let us go and die for Christ's sake." Release me that I may go to my mother, lest she dies and I do not see her, because she said to me, "The king of the Jews has commanded that everyone who does not deny Christ shall die, and I will not deny him." The king said to him, "How do you know Christ?" The child said to him, "Every day I see him in the church whenever I go with my mother." Again, the king said to him, "Do you love me, or Christ?" The boy said, "I love Christ more than you." The king said to him, "Deny Christ." The boy said, "Woe to me, woe to me. You are a Jew." Then he bit the king in the thigh in order to have him released, but the king said to him, "Why did you come and kiss my knees?" The boy said to him, "I thought you were the Christian king whom I used to see in the church." The king said to him, "I will give you nuts and almonds." The boy said, "No, by Christ, I will not eat the Jews' nuts." The king said to him, "Stay with me and you will be a son to me." The boy said, "No, by Christ, I will not stay with you, because your smell is foul and fetid, and not sweet like my mother." The king said to those standing by, "Look as this evil root, which from his boyhood Christ has deceived so as to make him love him." One of the magnates said to the boy, "Come, and let me take you to the queen and you will be her son." The boy said to him, "May God blacken your face. My mother is much better for me than the queen because she takes me to church."

Then the king gave him to one of the magnates, and said, "take care of him until he grows up. If he denies Christ he shall live, if not, he shall die." While this man was carrying him away, he struggled to his feet and cried to his mother, "My mother, come and take me that I may go with you to the church." She cried out saying, "Go my son. You are entrusted to Christ's care. Do not weep." After a while, the boy went to Constantinople, and John, bishop of Asia, saw him visiting the churches and the monasteries.¹²³³

Chapter Twenty: Concerning the final period of the life of Emperor Justinian (Justin), the old man¹²³⁴

The old man Justin associated his nephew, Justinian, in the government, made him Caesar and entrusted to him the administration of the kingdom (Empire). On his way to the Persian kingdom in the East, Justinian stopped over at Mabug where he married Theodora, daughter of an orthodox priest. The priest refused to give his daughter in marriage to Justinian to avoid her mixing with the Chalcedonians, until Justinian vowed not to force her to confess the Council (of Chalcedon).¹²³⁵ Three months later, Justinian returned to Constantinople. The old man Justin died having reigned nine years.

phrases. The reader is advised to check footnote 3 on page 192 about the different Syriac manuscripts, and one Greek manuscript, which contain this story and who first published it and commented on it. The reader is also advised to check *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 78-83, and the Arabic version of the story in Ignatius Yacoub (Jacob) III Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, *al-Shuhada' al-Himyarīyyun al-Arab fī al-Watha'iq al-Suryaniyya* (The Himyarite Arab Martyrs in the Syriac Documents), (Damascus, 1966), 36-39 where this text is longer and contains many things Michael Rabo did not mention. Also should be consulted Esteves Pereira, *Historia dos Martyres de Nagran* (Lisbon, 1899), and Axel Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites* (1924, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2010), and Irfan Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran: New Document* (Bruxelles, 1971.) Shahid gives the impression that he had discovered a new document of the Second letter of Simon of Beth Arsham on the Himyarites. The fact is that Patriarch Ignatius Yacoub (Jacob) III, had already found it and published it with elucidation in his previously mentioned book in 1966. It is also by the approval of the patriarch that Shahid was given a copy of this letter at St. Mark's Monastery of the Syrian Church in Jerusalem.

¹²³³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 200-202, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 83-85, and Ignatius Yacoub III, *Al-Shuhada al-Himyarīyyun*, 46 and 77-78.

¹²³⁴ This chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

¹²³⁵ The anonymous monk from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery), whose chronicle ends in 819 A.D. was the first Syrian writer to mention the marriage of Justinian to Theodora who was, as he says, the daughter of a Syrian Orthodox priest from Mabug (Manbij). See J. B. Chabot, *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens, praemissum est: Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens curante Aphram Barsaum, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 81/Syriac, 36 (Paris: J. Gabalda Bibliopola, 1920), 192. I

When Mama, bishop of Constantinople, and Socrates, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, learned that the bishops were coerced into confessing the council, they pledged to fight until death (against the council). They instructed the citizens of their city saying, "He who confesses the council (of Chalcedon) will be a heathen." However, when they went to the capital, these two wretched men confessed the council from fear of the sword. They said, "How can we face the people of our city?" Therefore, they requested Roman soldiers to accompany them. When the people of their city learned of their story, they pulled down their portraits and spat on them. They shut the gates of Caesarea in their faces and declared their anathematization, and battle began. The magnates, however, opened the gates for fear of the emperor's oppression, and the two men entered in. In Melitene, they were also cursed and insulted immensely.

The bishops in the time of Justin were as follows:

In Rome, Hormisda followed Symmachus who was succeeded by Iyawannis (John).

In Jerusalem, after Elijah came Yuhanon (John).

In Antioch, after the departure of Saint Severus, Paul "the Jew" was set up for one year. He was then ejected, and after his death, was succeeded by Euphrasius, the persecutor, who was suffocated during an earth tremor. He was succeeded by Ephraim of Amid, who was more wicked than he was.

In Alexandria, after Dioscorus was Timothy for twelve years. At the time of his death, he handed the See of Alexandria to someone from his church called Theodosius.

In Constantinople, after Timothy came Yuhanon (John) as the 20th bishop. Two and a half years later, he died in the second year of Justin, and Epiphanius became the twenty-first bishop for 7 years. Then was installed saint Anthimus from Trebizond. He was appointed a patriarch of Constantinople for his piety, but he abandoned his office voluntarily.

Chapter Twenty-One: Concerning the beginning of the reign of Justinianus II (Justinian I)¹²³⁶

Justin died having reigned nine years and twenty days. He was succeeded by his sister's son Justinian. He was first made an associate of his uncle in the administration of the state for three years. Then, his uncle designated him his successor after his death. Justinian became emperor at the beginning of July of the year 840 of the Greeks/527 A.D., in the 327 Olympiad. He ruled 38 years, 7 months and 12 days ...lacuna of three lines...

In this period, Qabad (Qawad) ruled Persia. He handed his son to the Manicheans in his country to have him educated, but the Manicheans deceived him and lured him to their faith. He pledged that if he received the kingdom, he would support and confirm the Manichean faith. The Manicheans deceived the boy into believing that he would receive the kingdom by the power of their prayer. Accompanied by his mother, they appeared before King Qawad. They asked him to hand over the government to his son in his lifetime. Having learned the reason, the king became outraged. However, fearing that the Magi might think that he wanted to obliterate Magism, he convoked a council to be attended by the Magi. When the Magi attended the council, they rejoiced thinking that the king's son would become the ruler. The king summoned the Manichean bishops and said to them craftily, "Now I know that you love men and my son and that you think of our wellbeing. Stand at one side that we may discuss the subject of my son's governing." They rejoiced immensely. Many of them made themselves even more known than ever. When they congregated, the king had them put to death by the sword and had their bodies burned. Thus, he decimated the Manicheans. Then, he issued another decree that all Manicheans be burned and their temples given to the Christians.

In this same period, there was a group of the followers of Mani in Constantinople. Since they did not renounce their error, he (Qawad) had them burned by fire.¹²³⁷

wish to thank Dr. Amir Harrak, University of Toronto, for verifying this source; Gregorius Bulus Behnam, *Theodora*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias-Beth Antioch Press, 2007), p. ix, note 4 of the translator's preface, and Susan A. Harvey, "Theodora the Believing Queen: A Study in Syriac Historiographical Tradition." (On line).

¹²³⁶ This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²³⁷ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 91-92.

In this same period, Belisarius was dispatched to fight the Persians during Passion Week. The Persian leaders sent to him someone saying, "Let us honor the Feast (Easter) because of the Nazarene and the Jews who are with us, and for you Christians." Belisarius agreed. However, the Roman army generals complained and refused to honor the days of the feast, but rather prepared to battle in the evening of Passover. The cold was bitter and the winds were blowing against the Romans who weakened and fled. Many of them fell into the River Euphrates and the rest were killed.

Khosrau (Chosroes, or Kisra according to Arab chroniclers) Anusherwan, meaning Eternal Soul (531-579, perhaps the greatest of the Sassanid kings), succeeded his father Qawad. His mother was tormented by evil spirits during the lifetime of Qawad. Since she could not be healed by the Magis and the magicians, she resorted to Musa, the solitary in a monastery near the city of Dara, and received healing from him. Musa gave her a bone of the remains of Quryaqus (Cyriacus) the martyr. She built a temple in her country, which later became the Monastery of Mor Musa, known as the Monastery of Carmel. Khosrau sent envoys to Justinian, and peace prevailed for seven years.

The Samaritans of Palestine set up a leader. They came to Nabulus, killing the bishop and a great number of people, and set the temple on fire. The Romans fought them, restored the city, and killed the magnates and the majority of the Samaritans.

At the beginning of his reign, Justinian ordered that the churches of the heretics be taken and they be accepted by the churches regardless of their heresies. After he had taken their churches, he dominated them and allowed them to enter the churches. But he noticed that the deeds of the superintendents of the churches had become repulsive. They had converted the churches into places of business in the time of his uncle. They persecuted the people under the guise of the fear of God. They devised means to pillage the possessions of the people, and they (great and small) worked for their own interests. He (Justinian) halted the persecution and ordered the persecuted to return to their monasteries. A great majority of them returned except the bishops who did not return to their sees.

The emperor was greatly concerned about the peace of the churches. If it were not for the stumbling caused by the commitment of some mistakes, the Empress Theodora would have even paid more attention to the peace of the churches. She always urged the emperor to do this. She received the persecuted (bishops) and fed them, motivated by a spirit of faith and love. The great palace of Hormizda accommodated more than five hundred Syrian and Greek men who were driven out of their monasteries, and she (Theodora) received their blessing. When the holy Patriarch (Severus), accompanied by the Patriarchs Theodosius (of Egypt), Anthimus (of Constantinople) and a number of persecuted bishops, arrived at the capital, she took care of them at the royal palace for many years. In addition, she sent subsidies to the persecuted for their living, and, when the Chalcedonians were circulating rumors to distort his (Severus) name, she pacified him with her wisdom. Moreover, she accomplished many other things for the Orthodox as she was motivated by her faith.

The agonies of the believers multiplied because of the commotion that took place among the people. The See of Alexandria was the only one enjoying peace. Later, however, it was afflicted by trouble as the congregation split into two factions. Whereas Theodosius was set up as patriarch in conformity with apostolic canons, a man named Gayana, who was infected with the love of leadership, emerged. He bribed the citizens of the city to remove Theodosius and appoint him a patriarch. Having learned of this scheme, Theodosius departed, and Gayana was set up illegally as a patriarch by one bishop, some laymen and wealthy magnates. They searched for Theodosius to kill him but could not find him. Learning about the situation, the emperor dispatched a general commanding six thousand soldier to solve the problem. The emperor thought that if Theodosius were restored to his see, he would obey him and confess the Council (of Chalcedon). When the contingent of soldiers arrived in Alexandria, Gayana fled, and Theodosius, who reappeared, was placed on the See (of Alexandria) being protected by two thousand soldiers. Gayana was arrested and banished by the emperor and died in exile. However, strife took place in Alexandria and three

thousand souls perished because they were divided into two factions: one following Gayana and the other, Theodosius.¹²³⁸

Because of their blind zeal, the Alexandrians said that, "Theodosius is a partisan of the emperor who appeared to be an orthodox, but this was not true. A false heresy arose in Alexandria in the name of Gayana. The gist of it was that the partisans of Gayana took a piece of bread in Gayana's name and ate it as if it was Holy Communion, thus exchanging Christ's name with that of Gayana. Furthermore, some women were caught baptizing their children in the sea in Gayana's name.

When Theodosius sat in the Apostolic See, the emperor asked him to confess the Council of Chalcedon, but he refused and the emperor deposed him. However, Theodosius was still occupying the see when Saint Severus was becoming well known in the wilderness.

The blessed Anthimus occupied the See of Constantinople against his will. He was formerly the bishop of Trebizond in the region of Pontus. He was an ascetic who endured adversity for several years never tasting bread, wine or oil. He guided many heathens (to Christianity). His serenity and meekness were admired by all. When he was asked to confess the council (of Chalcedon), he cast out his (bishopric) garment and left. The empress Theodora kept him in her palace for twelve years. When Theodosius abandoned his see, he went to the capital and resided in the empress' palace, the three Patriarchs (Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus) kept in communication with each other. When Severus was invited by order of the emperor and the empress (to proceed to the capital) to discuss the peace of the church, he remained in the capital one and a half years proclaiming the true faith and exposing the transgressions of the Council of Chalcedon. The emperor gathered a group of disputants to convince him, but he frustrated their hopes many times. Severus proved that they were schismatic and in error, but they would not come to their senses. Therefore, he asked for permission and departed with the monks who were in his company.

In this period, a cross of light appeared in heaven to the north. Shortly afterwards, the Persians and the Tayoye (Arabs) came up to Antioch and Apamea killing, pillaging and taking their inhabitants captive to Persia.

Sedition took place in Constantinople in which the governor was killed and the great church burned down.

In the second year of Justinian, the Persians and the Huns attacked Miyapharqat but failed to capture it. Afterwards, they received news of the death of their King Qawad. They burned down the neighboring environs of the city and returned to their country.

In the first year of Justinian, Agrippa, king of Herules came with his kindred and counselors. They converted to Christianity and received baptism on the day of Epiphany. Emperor Justinian welcomed him at the baptistery and lavished him with abundant money.¹²³⁹ In this same period, Gourdis, king of the Huns, arrived with his army. They converted and were baptized. The emperor welcomed him also at the baptistery. Upon his return to his own country, he smashed the gold and silver images that they worshipped. However, his brother, the army generals and the priests conspired against him and killed him. They fled to other countries fearing that the Roman emperor might fight them and take revenge on them.¹²⁴⁰

Emperor Justinian enacted a law for the bishops and the superintendents of bimaristans¹²⁴¹ and stewards of inheritance, not to bequeath anything they have except what they possessed before occupying their (governmental) positions. This required that they should register all their possessions before occupying their positions, in order that each of them would bequeath only what he owned. Then, the emperor condensed the laws of kings and gathered them in one code, which contained the laws of the world.

In the second year of Justinian, a violent earthquake took place, which demolished the city of Pompipolis. The ground cleft from one side to the other and the houses collapsed. The bitter cries of the people who were trapped inside were heard but no one dared help them. Antioch was also destroyed by five

¹²³⁸ See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 86 and 115, which is very brief on the subject.

¹²³⁹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 74-75.

¹²⁴⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 74-75.

¹²⁴¹ Bimaristans is a Persian term for hospitals. In this context, it means treasuries.

former earthquakes, and this one was the sixth. The earthquake was accompanied by a terrible sound in the sky. It came out of the earth like the bellow of a bull. All the churches, houses, old and new, and the neighboring villages tumbled down. The number of casualties amounted to 4700 souls. Those who were safe fled to other cities and to the mountains. The city was vacant for five months, and only a few people returned to it.¹²⁴²

In that year, winter was very harsh to the point that snow fell three cubits high. The inhabitants supplicated while walking barefoot in the snow with their faces, turned yellow and changed color, to the ground. While they were raising supplications, some believers heard one saying, "Let those who remained in Antioch write on the doors of the houses which have not collapsed the words, "Rise up. Christ is with you." They wrote down these words and entered the city accompanied by the Patriarch Ephraim. He informed the emperor of the event, and the emperor was immensely saddened. He sent gold to have it rebuilt. He instructed that the outer wall of the city be destroyed and another one built in the middle of it, but most of the city's squares were left outside it. He also ordered that they should dig outside the new wall and built a bridge over the nearby river, which crossed the city from one side to the other. Thus, the river was blocked and the water ran through a canal beside the wall. All of this took a great deal of labor. Because of this earthquake, the River Euphrates was totally blocked in the higher region of Claudia because of the collapse of part of the mountain. The waters of the river retreated and inundated the villages. People rushed forward and destroyed the city of Laodicea. The victims of the earthquake were 7500 Christians and a number of Jews. However, the left part of the city where the Great Church of the Mother of God was located did not collapse, neither had the rest of the churches collapsed. However, and despite all this, Ephraim of Antioch did not fear or abstain from wickedness or heed these punishments. On the contrary, he kept urging the emperor against the believers until the emperor issued an unjust decree against those who refused to take communion from Ephraim. In addition, he had many believers banished, and stirred up an unprecedented persecution in the East.¹²⁴³ *The account is ended.*

Extracts from the history of Saint Severus

When Saint Severus was staying at the royal palace of Empress Theodora, Anthimus, patriarch of the capital (Constantinople) desired to see him. The empress permitted him to see him after the pledge mentioned. Anthimus asked for permission and went to see Severus. When he had taken his seat, the Saint Severus asked him to pray. This was an indication of the spiritual awakening since this loyal guardian of the faith had not prayed with the heretics. When Anthimus finished praying, Saint Severus said "Amen." Saint Severus said to him, "I commend you for not heeding the things of the body. I pray for you that you may flourish in the faith that yields fruits that nourish the man of God. Such matters, if one of them is severed from other, will become useless. The old man Anthimus said, "I have not accepted the definition of faith of the Council of Chalcedon but only consented to the ejection of Nestorius and Eutyches." The learned (Severus) said to him, "It is necessary that you bear witness against the ejection of the heretics and adhere to the orthodox faith and rebuke the adversaries by the sound teachings according to the law of the great Paul." He rejoined saying, "If one does not have orthodox faith, he cannot recognize or censure anyone who wrongs the faith of Peter or divest them from the authority which the Savior had given Peter after confessing him (as Christ) saying, 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.'¹²⁴⁴ In this case, the Council (of Chalcedon) has wronged the confession of Peter that is of binding and loosing or deposing." When the pious Bishop (Anthimus) heard these words that were stuck firm in his mind, he left immediately surrendering everything: the (patriarchal) see, the pulpit, the honor and glory and joined the ranks of the persecuted (anti-Chalcedonians), especially that he was a patriarch and a malphono (doctor).

¹²⁴² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 88 with some difference.

¹²⁴³ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 90 which is much shorter than this account.

¹²⁴⁴ Matthew 16:19.

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning the monks and the bishops who assembled in the city of the kingdom (Constantinople) in that period and what they accomplished¹²⁴⁵

When the believing bishops and a host of zealous and God-loving monks who were invited to the capital to discuss peace and unity (of the churches) saw the above-mentioned events that had taken place, they submitted a petition to the emperor containing the following:

“Various other men crown your believing head, O Victorious king (emperor), with a crown of praise—men who take occasion from the case of other persons to write about your favors towards them. However, we, who have been ourselves judged worthy to experience your virtues, render thanks to you with a crown of thanks, which we weave with splendor. While in the desert, and, so to speak, at the end of the world, we have been this long time living in quietness, praying to the good and merciful God on behalf of your majesty and on behalf of our sins: that your indulgence has inclined toward our vileness and in your letters have summoned us to come to you. The summons was like a wonder to us. For what the emperor has done was not as a response to our request, but for his kindness, so as to bring us out of affliction making the pretext that this man or that man had interceded for us.”

“Now, we, since it is our duty to obey when commanded, immediately left the desert, and, journeying quietly along the road in peace without our voice being heard, have come before your feet. We pray God, the bountiful giver, on our behalf to reward your serenity and the God-loving queen (empress) with good gifts from on high, and to bestow peace and tranquility upon you, and to set every rebellious people as a stool beneath your feet.”

“However, now that we have come, we submit a supplication to your peacefulness containing our true faith, not wishing to hold an argument with any man on any matter that is not profitable, as it is written, lest we annoy your ears. For it is very hard for a man to convince persons of a contentious disposition, although he makes the truth manifest. The apostle says, ‘We have no such custom, neither the churches of God.’”¹²⁴⁶

“Accordingly, Victorious king (emperor), we do not also declare the freedom of our faith, although in the desert, when we received your edict at the hands of Theodotus the duke, we wrote and declared what we thought, and your Majesties gave us a message of a truth free from affliction in that you were graciously moved and summoned us to your presence. Since we have been judged worthy of the mercies of God, we do in this supplication inform your affection that by the grace of God we have from our earliest infancy received the faith of the apostles, and have brought up in it and with it. We think and believe even as our three hundred and eighteen God-inspired holy fathers, who drew up the faith of life and salvation (at Nicaea), which was confirmed by one hundred and fifty holy fathers (bishops) who assembled and once met here (Constantinople), and ratified by the pious bishops who assembled at Ephesus, rejecting the impious Nestorius. Therefore, in this faith of the apostles we have been baptized, and do so baptize; this saving knowledge is grounded in our hearts, and this same doctrine alone we recognize as a rule in the faith, and beyond it, we receive no other. It is a perfect faith on all points, and it does not grow old nor need renovation.”

“Now, we acknowledge a worshipful and holy Trinity of One Nature, and honor, which is made known in three persons. We worship the Father and his only Son, God the Word, who was begotten of him eternally beyond all times and is with him always without variation, and the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from the Father, and is of the nature of the Father and of the Son. One of the persons of this holy Trinity, that is, God the Word, we say by the will of the Father in the last days for the salvation of men, took flesh of the Holy Spirit and of the holy Virgin, the *Theotokos* (Mother of God) Mary, in a body endowed with a rational and intellectual soul passible after our nature, and became man, and was not changed from what he was. Therefore, we confess that, while in the Godhead he was of the nature of the Father, he was also of our nature in the manhood. Accordingly, he who is the perfect Word, the invariable Son of God, became perfect man, and left nothing wanting for us in respect of our salvation, as the foolish Apollinaris said, that

¹²⁴⁵ This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²⁴⁶ 1 Corinthians 11:16.

the humanization of God the Word was not perfect, and deprives us, according to his opinion, of things that are of prime importance in our salvation. For, if our intellect was not united with him, as he absurdly says, then we are not saved, and in the matter of salvation have fallen short of that which is of the highest consequence for us. However, this is not what he actually says. For the perfect God for our sake became perfect man without variation, and God the Word did not have anything wanting to the humanization, as we have said, nor was yet a phantom of him, as the impious Mani supposes, and the erring Eutyches.”

“Since Christ is truth and does not know how to lie or deceive, because he is God, therefore God the Word truly became incarnate, in truth again, and not in semblance, with natural and innocent passions; because of his own will he endured also our death, which he made life for us by a Resurrection befitting God, for he first restored incorruption and immortality to human nature.”

“Indeed, as God the Word left nothing wanting and was not phantasmal in the Incarnation and Humanization, so he did not divide into two persons and two natures according to the doctrine introduced by Nestorius, the man-worshipper, and those who formerly thought like him, and those in our day so think.”

“The faith contained in your confession refutes the doctrine of these men and contends with it, because in your earnestness you said thus, “God appeared who became incarnate. He is in all points like the Father except the individuality of the Father. He became a sharer of our nature, and was called Son of Man. Being man and the same, God and man, he showed himself to us, and was born as a babe for our sake. And being God, he for men and for the sake of their salvation became man.”

“If these who dispute with us adhere to these things in truth and were not content to hold them in appearance only, but rather consented to believe as we do and as you do and as our holy God-inspired fathers did, they would have abstained for this stirring of strife. For that Christ was joined by composition, and that God the Word is joined by composition with a body endowed with a rational and intellectual soul, the all-wise doctors of the church have plainly stated. Dionysius, who is from the Areopagus and from the darkness of error of heathenism attained to the supreme light of the knowledge of God through our master Paul, in the treatise which he composed about the divine names of the Holy Trinity says, ‘Praising it as kindly, we say, as is right, that it is kindly, because it in truth partook perfectly of our attributes in one of its persons, drawing to itself and raising the lowliness of our manhood, out of which the simple Jesus became joined by composition in a manner that cannot be described. And he who was from eternity and beyond all times took upon him a temporal existence, and he who was praised and exalted above all orders and natures became in the likeness of our nature without variation or confusion.’”¹²⁴⁷

“Athanasius again in the treatise upon the faith, named the unity of God the Word with soul-possessing flesh a composition, speaking thus, ‘What is the relationship to the belief of those who call it indwelling instead of an Incarnation, and instead of a union and composition a human energy.’ If, therefore, according to our holy fathers, who your serenity have followed, God the Word, who was before simple and not composite, became incarnate of the Virgin, the *Theotokos* Mary, (Mother of God) and united soul-possessing and intellectual flesh to himself personally, made it his own and was joined with it by composition in the dispensation, it is manifest that according to our fathers we ought to confess one nature of God the Word, who took flesh and became perfectly man. Accordingly, God the Word, who was before simple, is not recognized to have become composite in a body, if he is again divided after the union by being called two natures. But, just as an ordinary man, who is made up of various natures, soul and body and so forth, is not divided into two natures because a soul has been joined by composition with a body to make up the one nature and one person of a man, so also God the Word, who was personally united and joined by composition with soul-possessing flesh, is not divided into or in two natures because of his union and composition with a body. For according to the words of our fathers, whom the fear of God that is in you has followed, God the Word, who was formerly simple, consented for our sake to be united with composition by soul-possessing and intellectual flesh and without change to become man. Accordingly, one

¹²⁴⁷ See *Patrologia Graeca*, 3: col. 592.

nature and person of God the Word, who took flesh, is glorified, and there is one energy of the Word of God which is made known, which is exalted and glorious and fitting for God, and is also lowly and human. How is it that some are not corrected?"

They were urgent and refused to accept what Leo wrote in the *Tome* in opposition to these things, he and those of his opinion. They produced quotations from him, Nestorius, Theodore, Diodorus, Theodoret and the Council of Chalcedon, who spoke of two natures after the Incarnation of God the Word and two persons. They provided a copious refutation of these with proofs drawn from the fathers who taught one nature and one person of the Incarnate Word of God, besides things which we forbear to record here on account of their length, and because they were everywhere to be found in works against the Diphysites.

At the end of their petition, they said thus, "And for this reason, 'we do not accept either the *Tome* or the definition of Chalcedon, O victorious king, because we keep the canon and law of our fathers who assembled at Ephesus and anathematize, deprive and excommunicate any who should presume to compose any other definition of faith beside that of Nicaea, which was laid down by the Holy Spirit. These we reject and anathematize. The definition and canons of those who assembled at Chalcedon violate this definition and the canons as they state in the Acts of that Council. They are to blame for having introduced a new definition of faith which is contrary to the teaching of the doctors of the church, who, we believe, are also entreating (Christ) with us, that you may aid the truth of their faith, honoring the contest undergone by their priesthood, by which the church has been exalted and glorified."

When the letter of defense for the faith had been presented and read to the king, and many words had been spoken over the lengthy span of one year, more so by the believing bishops who had come there to the royal city by the king's command as recorded above, including the learned John the archimandrite, the son of Aphthonia, the king (emperor) would not banish the Council of Chalcedon from the church. Severus addressed a letter to the king explaining the reasons he and other bishops did not attend the meeting beginning thus, "The eternal Word of the Father."

The Patriarch Theodosius with the monks in his company went into the presence of the emperor, who welcomed them enthusiastically and they left rejoicing. On the next day, the opponents also went to see the emperor and were ready for contention. After lengthy conversation, they left victorious. On the third day, after prolonged discussion of the faith, the emperor felt that they were adherent to the true faith and that their opponents had been shaken and discomfited. They believed that the emperor was inclined toward them and thus left joyous. The partisans of the Council (of Chalcedon) approached the emperor saying, "We hope you do not incline yourself to these few men for no one supports them except the few whom you have seen."

When the Empress Theodora learned of these things, she instructed the believers to meet and put the heretics to shame. Six hundred clerics went into the presence of the emperor. After deliberating with the heretics, and after the citizens of the city listened to them, they made a vow and went out to the Hippodrome (Palace) of Hormizda on the festival day of Sts. Peter and Paul. Many of them, however, returned because the time was opportune for Erithclius (Archelaus?), who was ready for combat to disperse them. When they saw the soldiers put on their arms and shields, they thought that the emperor had commanded them to fight. They became scared and left. Those who were fired with zeal delivered themselves to death and remained in the Horses Hippodrome. They were about eighteen or twenty thousand men. As the emperor went down to pray, they exclaimed saying, "One faith for all the Christians," repeating it about a hundred times. When the emperor learned of their intention, he and his counselors wept. He ordered them to keep quiet and they obeyed. However, they resumed their cries saying, "For the sake of our Lord, we are in your charge. We receive Communion in one church, and we confess one Godhead of that who was born of the Virgin and was crucified for our sake." They repeated this about a hundred times." Then, they exclaimed, "Mother of God, pray for us," and "O God, who was crucified for us, open their minds for the sake of the concord of your church."

With eyes filled with tears and raised to the heaven, they said, "Lord have mercy upon us." As they were exhausted from weeping and crying, they fell on their faces. The emperor asked them to rise and

comforted them. Then they met for the second time and repeated what they had said and heard. This took place in the year 850 of the Greeks/540 A.D.

In the meantime, many bishops and solitary monks discussed the subject of concord (of the churches) and struggled for the sake of the truth. In addition, a group of Egyptian monks came to debate and censure, and finding no hope for conciliation, left and returned home. Then a great number of learned men, monks and jurists, came with the transporters of wheat to investigate the subject of conciliation. The emperor opened the discussion of the faith with the transporters of wheat. They said, "We are people used only to combat the sea. We have no experience of debate."

Then, the emperor listened to the discussion of the monks and learned men and was amazed, for he also was experienced in the matters of debate, believing that no one could debate him. They (the bishops and monks) spent about a year debating and feeling triumphant, but at the end, they realized that there was no benefit to any of it. Some of the holy men were told in a vision, "There is no benefit." The holy Severus asked for permission and returned to the desert, and each of the other bishops went to some quarter secretly. The monks returned, each to his own district. Thus, these meetings dispersed with no result. This may have been the hidden and incomprehensible schemes of God. It might also have been a call of victory to those who hold the truth, and for whom the wreath of victory has been laid down, as they endured much in the cause of their struggle.

I appeal to the discerning reader throughout the generations, to pray for me. May our God Jesus, who forgave people, forgive you, too. Forgive that you may be forgiven with the rest, for I am aware of the multitude of my sins. This, I beseech (the reader) with all humility. This was completed in the year 909 of the Greeks/598 A.D.

Chapter Twenty-Three: Concerning the bishops and monks who assembled at the capital for the union, most of whom were invited by the emperor like the holy Severus. Others were motivated by divine zeal, like Mor Z'ura.¹²⁴⁸

Pope Theodosius, who did not obey the emperor or accept the definition of the faith by the impious (Council of) Chalcedon, departed Alexandria and went to the capital and hid in the palace of the Queen (Empress Theodora). So also did the Patriarch Anthimus who, driven by divine zeal, abandoned his see and joined Pope (Theodosius) in exile. Then by order of the emperor, the holy Severus, along with bishops and monks were summoned from the wilderness to the capital. Others, like the holy Z'ura, arrived in the capital without invitation. Z'ura was of short stature but distinguished in thinking and more powerful than many others. This holy man lived on top of a pillar, and like his master Habib the bishop of Paitar, he made wondrous works. When the partisans of the Council (of Chalcedon) brought him down from the pillar because he did not submit to them, he took ten of his disciples and journeyed to the capital. He immensely reproached the emperor for endorsing the council and for persecuting the believers. He said to him, "The Lord will hold you accountable for all these people on the Day of Judgment." The emperor became furious but did not have him detained for awe of his holiness and humility. But he struck the blessed (Z'ura) on the chest saying angrily, "The Council (of Chalcedon) is legal, and I do not want to hear anything like this about it. If you (anti-Chalcedonians) were right, God would have showed me a sign by you." When the blessed (Z'ura) heard these words of the emperor, and that he had threatened death to anyone who condemned the council, he, fired by zeal, turned to him and said, "The council which divided Christ not only do we anathematize, but we do so with the holy angels. And since you ask for a sign, you ought to know that the believers need no sign as it is written, and the Lord gives no sign to any other but you."¹²⁴⁹ On the next day, the sign that the emperor had asked for appeared. He was inflicted in the head and lost his senses as a malicious swelling covered his face, but what happened to him was not known in the city. However, the empress sent for the holy (Z'ura) to pray for his healing and pledged to establish peace in the churches. When Z'ura saw the emperor, he told him, "Here is the sign which you asked for." The blessed prayed for him and immediately his senses were restored. He promised to carry out what Z'ura commanded. When he

¹²⁴⁸ This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²⁴⁹ See 1 Corinthians 14:22.

recovered, he became possessed by the awe of the blessed Z'ura and fulfilled his demands, but did not put the affairs of the church in order, probably because "the sin of the Amorites has not yet reached its full measure."¹²⁵⁰ However, they (the partisans of Chalcedon) stopped their cruelty and the believers began to assemble in public.

When the fame of the holy Z'ura reached Rome because of the wonder works he made, it provoked the envy of Agapetus, bishop of Rome and Ephraim, bishop of Amid. Agapetus learned that Z'ura had arrived in the capital (Constantinople). He also learned that Pope Theodosius, also a miracle worker, and a rhetorician and a friend of the holy Severus, was also in the capital. He further learned of the assembling of the monks who came to the capital. He was greatly disturbed when he learned that Peter, bishop of Jerusalem, was not a courageous man but capricious.

In those days, Sergius, chief physician of Rish 'Ayna (d. 536),¹²⁵¹ went to Antioch to bring charges against Ascholi, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, to Ephraim of Amid, bishop of Antioch. Ephraim noticed that Sergius was an educated man well versed in the books of the Greeks and of Origen, that he was proficient in the Syriac language and had studied the commentaries of the fathers in Alexandria. He also noticed that Sergius was an expert in medicine, that he was of orthodox doctrine as attested by his *Prologue* and the *Commentary on Dionysius* (Pseudo- Dionysius the Areopagite) and his *Discourse on Faith*, which he wrote in the time of the believing Peter. However, he was lascivious, lustful, infatuated with women, unchaste and a money monger. Ephraim pledged to fulfill all of his demands. He sent him to Rome, and Sergius returned carrying letters from Agapetus. He journeyed back to Rome carrying letters from Ephraim to Agapetus in which he instigated him against the believers, and Agapetus was pleased with them because he had borne animosity toward the holy Z'ura. Agapetus accompanied Sergius on his journey to Constantinople in the month of March in the spring. At that time Severus, Anthimus, Z'ura and the holy monks were in the city. The citizens (of Constantinople) were repulsed by Agapetus' arrival in the city and the sun darkened in the day and the moon at night. The sea billowed and the people went out to watch it, but the emperor received him with alacrity because he was of his own kind.

Agapetus had no experience in scientific (church) or cultural matters. He did not call the Virgin the Mother of God. He disdained communion with the Patriarchs Severus, Anthimus and Theodosius, and converted the love of the emperor toward them into enmity. He contended harshly with the emperor because he did not annihilate all those who did not hold two natures. He fulfilled the words of the Scriptures, which say, "A fool shows his annoyance at once."¹²⁵² However, Justinian welcomed him with peace for being a priest.

Agapetus urged the emperor to issue an edict against anyone who did not accept the Council (of Chalcedon), that they should not be given a government position. Moreover, if an official was found among them, he should be expelled. In addition, their testimony should be considered invalid and they are not entitled to inheritance. Concerning the blessed Mor Z'ura, he said to the king (emperor), "Why did you allow here this Syrian deceiver? He has disturbed the world with his magic." The emperor said, "What can I do with him? He is tough and fears no one." Agapetus said, "Give me permission and I will force him to obey, otherwise, he should leave the country." The emperor said, "Do what you can."

At the beginning of Lent the holy (Z'ura) went to the Proasteion of Sycae across the river where the empress (Theodora) prepared a special place for his residence. The audacious Agapetus sent someone to him saying, "The emperor and the patriarch order that either you come to us or we go to you. If you refuse our order, you shall not stay in this country." The blessed replied, "Our canons neither allow us to receive anyone during these days nor answer the invitation of him. The door leading to us is shut by clay. Wait until Maundy Thursday where the door will be opened and God will do whatever he wills." Agapetus became sorely furious and asked the executioner to bring him (Z'ura) in chains. The executioner took a boat to fetch

¹²⁵⁰ Genesis 15:16.

¹²⁵¹ For a biography of Sergius of Rish Ayna, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 273-274.

¹²⁵² Proverbs 12:16.

him but the wind pushed back the boat to where it started. This was repeated three times, which made the executioner furious against the sailors. When the sailors proceeded a little further, something like lightning struck the boat and ripped one of the boards, hurling it to high heaven, which could be seen as far as the eye can see. The wretched sailors believed that what happened was by the work of God and the prayer of the blessed (Z'ura). They almost lost their lives. They informed who delegated them (Agapetus) about what had happened, but the impious (Agapetus) blasphemed and harbored even more enmity toward the believers. He arbitrarily deposed the holy Anthimus and set up in his place a man from Alexandria called Maina. He anathematized the holy Severus, Theodosius, Anthimus and Z'ura, and ordered that the Virgin should not be called the Mother of God, but the emperor censured him. In addition, the Lord inflicted him severely on his tongue, which became swollen and stuck out of his mouth, and he could not push it back into his mouth. The physician cut it twice but it finally became stinking and putrefied. God prolonged his torment until Maundy Thursday, which Mor Z'ura had designated for their meeting, and who at that time said, "God will do what he wills." The wretched (Agapetus) died after his eyeballs were bulged. His partisans were ashamed and claimed that Z'ura had killed him by his magic. May his memory be accursed.

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the epoch of Justinianus II (Justinian I) and the events which followed the assembling (of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops and other clerics in Constantinople)

While Justinianus II (Justinian I) was in the capital, Domnus rebelled against him in Carthage. The emperor had him captured and brought under escort.

In the eleventh year of Justinian, which is the year 850 of the Greeks/549 A.D., a great and terrible comet was seen in the sky for several days.

In that year the treaty of peace was violated. Khosrau (Chosroes), the Persian king, went up and ravaged the cities of Soura, Antioch, Aleppo and Apamea and all of their districts. The Romans went down to Persia and ravaged the country of the Kurds, the Arzenians and the Arabs. Khosrau came back with a huge army and marched against Callinicus (al-Raqqa) and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) pillaging them. He also went up against Edessa, and being unable to capture it, he captured Batnan (Mabug, Manbij) and departed. There was no one there to cry or shout as was written. He also went up against Antioch, captured it, burned it, and laid it entirely to waste. The Persians even took the slabs of marble (or white alabaster) which was on the walls, brought them down to Persia and built with them a city that they called Antioch.¹²⁵³

Concerning Ephraim (of Amid, Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch), he was followed by disgrace and hid himself lest an acquaintance might see him. He died in his place of hiding and departed this life awaiting divine judgment. As to Justinian, he mourned over Antioch immensely.

During his stay at the capital, Pope Theodosius went around the city in secret. He ordained clerics for the churches of Egypt, while John of Tell Mawzalt ordained clerics for the East.

The Chalcedonians set up a bishop for Alexandria called Paul also known as Cursus, but one year later, he was deposed and replaced by Zoilus.

In Rome, Agapetus died from a blow by God and was followed by Silverius as the 55th bishop who was succeeded by Vigilius.

In that year, Zoilus, bishop of Alexandria, was deposed and Apollinaris was set up in his place.

In the time of Justinian, the remains of the martyr Morina (Morinus) were discovered outside the village of Gendaris in the province of Antioch. They were deposited in the church of Mor Julian in the same province. His body had been stuck to the board with signs of large nails. He was the subject of great honor by all denominations because of the miracles he wrought.

In this time, a great number of heathens were found in the capital (Constantinople). They were forced to embrace Christianity and were baptized. One of them, a prominent man named Phocas, committed suicide by taking poison in the very night for the severity of the oppression to have him converted (to Christianity). The emperor ordered that he be buried like an ass.

¹²⁵³ Evagrius, Book Four, Chapter, 25, pp. 404-405 of the English translation.

In the fifteenth year of Justinian (544 A.D.), God visited us in the regions of Asia, Caria, Lydia and Phrygia by the historian and authority John of Asia. He converted 70,000 souls, the expense of whose baptism was paid by Justinian who proved immensely generous. For this reason, they embraced the Chalcedonian doctrine, whereas they should have followed the belief of the holy man who led them out of heathenism. He, who desires more information about the means by which they were converted and the wonder works wrought, should read the book the holy John who wrote about them. For what he did, he was nicknamed "John of Asia the Converter of Heathens."

John recorded in detail the true events that took place in his own time of the kings of the earth and of the churches.

When Ephraim (of Amid) learned of what had happened, and that Severus and Anthimus did not accept (the Council of Chalcedon), he became more tyrannical. He asked the emperor to give him a contingent of soldiers to accompany him to the East. His intention was to exhort the people to accept the Council of Chalcedon. He also intended to use force against the objectors. He was able to subdue some of them by means of promises and others by means of threat of banishment. He chased others from one region to the other. He captured John of Tella from the Mountain of Sinjar and imprisoned him in Antioch where he died. As to Paul, who succeeded Theodosius for one year in Alexandria, he suffocated his archdeacon in the bath for his orthodox faith and imprisoned his son lest he exposes his father's death. Adding more to his impiety, Paul cast many who refused to confess the Council (of Chalcedon) into the bath, and were boiled. Thus, he eliminated many (orthodox) in a manner not even practiced by heathens. However, the son of the archdeacon escaped from prison and went to the capital. He told the empress of the story and she related it to the emperor. The emperor and his commanders were mightily disgusted by the enormity of the matter. The emperor ordered him (Ephraim) banished and replaced by Zoilius of Palestine. Seeing that his predecessor was ejected for his cruelty, Zoilius overlooked the persecution of believers. Later, he committed odious deeds and was deposed.

Ephraim of Antioch built a magnificent round church by effort of the Emperor Justinian to which he added four stories. He also built four hundred houses and shops as part of its property. For its dedication, he gathered one hundred thirty-two bishops from the outskirts of the city who confirmed the Council of Chalcedon in writing and anathematized the holy Severus as well as those who disagreed with them. However, God who avenges the wronged people, overwhelmed him and his city with the Assyrians according to the words of the prophet, "Woe to the Assyrian, the rod of my anger; in whose hand is the club of my wrath! I send him against a Godless nation. I dispatched him against a people who anger me to seize, loot, snatch and plunder."¹²⁵⁴ Khosrau (Chosroes) went up and captured Antioch, destroyed it completely and took the people captive to Persia. When Emperor Justinian learned of this matter, he put on the garment of mourning, but the accursed Ephraim escaped. *Here ends this and other accounts.*

We append below the letters of the three Patriarchs (Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus) which clearly show that the reason for abandoning their (Patriarchal) Sees was their zeal for God and their steadfastness in the orthodox faith.

The letter of Anthimus to the Holy Severus, patriarch of Antioch

"To our all-pious, all-holy brother and fellow-minister, the patriarch my Lord Severus, from Anthimus, greetings in our Lord.

Bearing in mind the utterance of the Lord that says, 'From everyone who has been given much, much will be demanded,'¹²⁵⁵ and the saying of the Psalmist, 'Who may ascend the hill of the Lord? Who may stand in his holy place?,'¹²⁵⁶ and the apostle, who ordains what sort of a man must be who is set apart for God,¹²⁵⁷ I have been in no small fear, for if those great patriarchs called themselves, one 'dust and ashes,'¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵⁴ Isaiah 10:5-6.

¹²⁵⁵ Luke 12:48.

¹²⁵⁶ Psalm 24:3.

¹²⁵⁷ Cf. 1 Timothy, 3:1 and Titus 1:7-8.

and another, 'a worm and no man.'¹²⁵⁹ What shall I say, the small and contemptible, who have attained to the highest of this ministry without being worthy of it? The disturbances of the holy Churches agitate my soul greatly. For certain men, being held fast in sins and, and while appearing to avoid variation and confusion which does not exist, wantonly divided God the Word who is one and indivisible, and became incarnate without variation. For this reason, I am in great sorrow, as it is said by the Psalmist, 'Indignation grips me of the wicked, who have forsaken your law.'¹²⁶⁰ However, trust in God gives me joy, and I believe that he will surely perform his promises and will give us all that we mean creatures need, not because we are his friends but because of importunity; he will make requisition for all his elect. For he has also for a long time preserved your Holiness from sins through your apostolic content, labors and your spiritual teachings, which by grace have been vouchsafed unto you as a stone that cannot be moved, as well as us, his holy Churches, to be an invariable foundation of the faith. It is, therefore, the same God who assigns exaltation to the lowly, greatness to the small and strength to the weak, as the divine apostle says, 'By grace we are all justified.'¹²⁶¹ These things, being by divine power made strong in weakness, have by an ineffable judgment brought our weakness also to be ruler in the holy church in this royal city. Acknowledging therefore his grace, we beg you, pious one, to entreat Christ our God to assist our worthlessness. Because different men have different marks, the mark of priests is also the preaching of the gospel, for, 'Speak,' he says, 'priests, and, when you go up upon the high mountains, make proclamation.'¹²⁶²

In this first spiritual and love-abounding greeting, I communicate with you, O holy one. For while rejoicing in union and with the laws of the church, I declare that I cleave to one only definition of faith. He wrote about this definition saying, 'I confess three Councils'¹²⁶³ and I also receive the formula of Zeno which annulled the Council of Chalcedon.' After discussing the belief in the Incarnation, and condemning the heretics,¹²⁶⁴ he said at the end, 'On the basis of these apostolic and divine and blameless doctrines, I give you the right hand of communion, a communion which I will hold fast till my last breath. I will not consent to hold communion with any man who thinks differently from this, for Basil says, 'He who communicates with the heretics will be denied Paradise.' For I know that you also, pious one, hold these things fast, and have for a long time labored. For who is there who in our times has undergone such a contest removing from place to place, that his faith may not be shaken? In you, I see the doctors of the Church, because you have set the lamp visible on a stand shining, as you do, in deed and word. It will be worthy, therefore, of your piety in consideration of these things to gladden us by instruction in return for our letter. Pray for me, O pious one, that in everything Christ God disposes everything by your holy prayers for the days that remain of my life, so as to please him. Also pray that he may save me these temptations which are placed upon me and make me worthy of his mercy, that I may preserve this faith for which I am fighting by my mean strength and acknowledge me as the gospel says, 'before his heavenly Father.'¹²⁶⁵

Greet your brotherhood. All those with us greet you in the Lord. Farewell, and may you be protected by God. Don't forget to remember me in all things, O pious one.'¹²⁶⁶

The response of the holy Severus to the letter of the holy Anthimus

"To our all-pious, all-holy brother and fellow-minster, the patriarch Anthimus, from Severus, greetings in our Lord Jesus Christ our God.

For the letter of your chastity, Paul the apostle shall give me a precedent in the very opportune time crying aloud, 'Thanks be to God for his indescribable gift.'¹²⁶⁷ Immediately after your accession to the see of

¹²⁵⁸ Genesis 18:27.

¹²⁵⁹ Psalm 2:6.

¹²⁶⁰ Psalm 119:53.

¹²⁶¹ Titus 3:7 and Romans 3:24.

¹²⁶² The reference is likely to Isaiah 40:9.

¹²⁶³ Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus.

¹²⁶⁴ Valentinius, Marcion, Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius, Apollinaris and Eutyches.

¹²⁶⁵ Matthew 10:32.

¹²⁶⁶ The entire text of this letter is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 271-276.

BOOK NINE

the patriarchal throne of the Church in the royal city, you determined in the exaltation of the primatial see, for the sake of the right religion, to despise that which to others is an occasion for betraying the faith. Those who wish to follow the divine commandments, should direct their thoughts to the Lord, as it is written, each according to his priestly rank, be they deacons, presbyters or patriarchs.

So is the patriarch Abraham. Having settled in many and diverse countries, came to a certain country and drank copiously from a well that sprang from it, which was named the Well of Oaths, because he made treaties and oaths with the barbarians who lived near the country and planted fair and fruitful plantations. Lest his thoughts should be dissipated in them, he called there upon the name of the Lord, the everlasting God, and, as he said to him, 'Your thoughts shall not go after the beauty of things that are seen and forget God in the pleasant delight of the sight, for he alone is from everlasting, and has made the things that are seen bright to the eyes and pleasant to the taste.' The Scripture goes on to relate thus, 'Abraham planted a field by the Well of Oaths and called there on the name of the everlasting God.'¹²⁶⁸ Some explained the field to be woodland; others say it was plantation land. In the same way, therefore, your piety after having settled in other countries has come to the head of the Oaths, as to a piece of land fair in produce, I mean, the see of the royal city, which is rich in the pomp of the world and drinks from the plentiful abundance of the stream. Then, when you perceived that certain men wish to pervert you to a reprobate mind, different from the pure and unadulterated mind that is well tried in the orthodox faith, you did not allow the eyes of your mind to go astray through the beauty of the world and the splendor of its vanities, which pass away. However, after the pattern of the patriarch Abraham you called there upon the name of the Lord, the eternal God before whom we are destined to be judged of all that we have done. With the apostle you said, 'For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal,'¹²⁶⁹ the things to which we are called and in which we believed and were baptized. Now, if our hope in Christ is only in this life, we, of all people, are most miserable. It was fitting for your affection that you have done well by providing us with these teachings in your canonical and church writings. We have become glad with them and we are glad with you, as the Apostle Paul said in his letter to the Philippians, 'I am glad and rejoice with all of you. So you too should be glad and rejoice with me.'¹²⁷⁰

We hold the faith about which you have written. We confess no definition of the faith except that of the hundred and eighteen holy Fathers at Nicaea. The Word and the Son of God is of God. He is the radiance of the Everlasting Father and is his Son. He is co-eternal with him and the Holy Spirit in essence. He became Incarnate, and from our nature and for our salvation, took a rational body with a soul and he is unchangeable. In addition, the body that he took did not change his nature or confuse it. He was from two natures, the Godhead and the manhood by the Holy Spirit and by the Mother of God. Immanuel was wholly manifested without diminution. He is Christ the Son and Lord. He is one *qnumo* (hypostasis), one nature of the Incarnate Word. He is not divided into two natures after the union. The Incarnation affected no change in him, the change known by those who object to the most ineffable union. Nevertheless, it is a true Incarnation for those who contemplate this great mystery with the eye of faith. It is far above division and confusion. He became like us in everything save sin. Being Incarnate, he accepted the passions of the body by his own will. He suffered hunger, thirst and the toil of the road, as well as the external things like flogging, beating of the cheek, piercing his hands and feet and nailing him to the cross. Now, how can the God-Word, who is eternal, impassible, and not subject to death, suffer the experience of our passions unless he did not become personally a body capable of passion and death? In the meantime, he was free from passion in his Godhead. Thus, we should boast. He suffered in the body and freed us from the grip of death, and he granted us a means of salvation whereas his Godhead was not touched by passion. We do not say that his passion was a mere supposition or a fantasy. As a testimony, I use the words of the

¹²⁶⁷ 2 Corinthians 9:15.

¹²⁶⁸ Genesis 21:33.

¹²⁶⁹ 2 Corinthians 4:18.

¹²⁷⁰ Philippians 2:17.

Ecclesiastes¹²⁷¹ for the sake of those who swerved from the king's highway to travel down a crooked way and rejoice in evil perversity as the Holy Spirit says in the Book of Proverbs.¹²⁷² Based on the ancient apostolic canons that had been delivered to the church, we place them under the burden of excommunication. Nestorius was inflicted with the disease of investigation but without knowledge. It is a disease which, like leprosy, does not heal.

If someone says that the Chapters of Cyril exposed the heterodoxy of the maneuvers of Nestorius, and are, according to the Habakkuk's prophesy, rapid flashes of light that crossed the universe and enlighten it, that person is not wrong.¹²⁷³ It is the same for his whole work, which joins with all the accuracy and the marvelous wisdom of the divine doctrines that gives liberty and, according to what our Lord said to Job, 'They are preserved for us, and intended for the moment of struggle, and when the time comes to fight against enemies.'¹²⁷⁴

The law of the Church requires not only that we profess the orthodox doctrine, but also that we condemn, with the help of the anathema, the conflicting blasphemy, as shown by the symbol of the 318 (fathers at Nicaea).

I am rejoiced to communicate in that sense with your holiness, in an inseparable accord. For those only who think and say those things (those who think or talk in a different way), I reject them as aliens and strangers to our communion. I flee from their insanity, as says Malachi, like the thing that makes us strangers with the familiarity of Christ and gives to several the opportunity to sin.¹²⁷⁵ Or as said by a man imbued by the divine wisdom: 'For their lack of prudence, several have sinned.'¹²⁷⁶ If we stand upon this watch-tower and place of observation; if we proclaim it to those who are under our power, we will hear them say, 'Good words are like a honeycomb, their sweetness are the healing of the soul.'¹²⁷⁷

Since therefore you have chosen for yourself to contend in a good struggle and have confessed a good confession, cry out like the divine Habakkuk, 'I will stand upon my watch and walk upon a rock,'¹²⁷⁸ and despise those that strive below. If they place you under curses and the anathemas, say to God with David with great witness, 'They shall curse, and you shall be blessed: let them that rise up against me be ashamed, but your bondservant shall rejoice.'¹²⁷⁹ For also those who profess a sound faith according to the utterance of the apostle, 'are come unto Mount Zion and unto the city of the living God, not Jerusalem in heavenly Jerusalem, and into innumerable companies of angels, and to the Church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven.'¹²⁸⁰ Now, can a man, shooting from the earth, hit those that are in the Church that is in heaven and mingle with it? For in vain will he toil and without profit will he stretch his bow, even if he dares to shoot upwards, for upon himself will the arrows that are shot come down? For we listen also to one of the wise men who says thus, 'He that casts a stone upwards casts against his own pate.'¹²⁸¹ Therefore, we continue to the end, arriving in the breastplate of the right faith¹²⁸² and girt about in every place with the arms of the Spirit, as the apostle says.¹²⁸³

I will send information to our fellow minister, my lord Theodosius, the holy pope and archbishop of Alexandria, who labors in apostolic fashion, who undergoes a contest and stands in danger on behalf of the orthodox word, and increases the efficacy of the talents entrusted to him every day by means of industry,

¹²⁷¹ Ecclesiastes 3:14

¹²⁷² Proverbs 16:25.

¹²⁷³ This may be a loose quotation of Habakkuk 3:11.

¹²⁷⁴ This is a loose quotation of Job 38:23.

¹²⁷⁵ Perhaps an allusion to Malachi 2:6?

¹²⁷⁶ Cf. Baruch 3:28 and Sirach 10:8.

¹²⁷⁷ Proverbs 16:24.

¹²⁷⁸ Habakkuk 2:1.

¹²⁷⁹ Psalm 109:28.

¹²⁸⁰ Hebrews 12:22-23.

¹²⁸¹ Sirach 27:25.

¹²⁸² 1 Thessalonians 5:8.

¹²⁸³ Ephesians 6:17.

rejoicing constantly in the manifestation of them. Do write to him, even as you have written to us. Stretch out to him the same hand of harmony, and communicate with him by a letter in accordance with the rules and laws of the holy Church. Wherefore the love of God that is in you should take care to perform your part toward him also. It shall be to you, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, 'walls and bulwarks,' as shall come to pass.¹²⁸⁴

Greet your brotherhood. Those with me greet you in our Lord."¹²⁸⁵

The letter of the holy Severus to Theodosius

"To our all-pious, all-holy brother and fellow-minister, the chief priest, my lord Theodosius, from Severus, greetings in our Lord.

In the Book of the Judges, which is the Book of the Tribes, the Spirit said that the tribe of Judah invited the tribe of Simeon his brother to community of lots, urging him to brotherly assistance in these words, 'And Judah said unto his brother, come with me unto my lot, and let us fight with the Canaanites, and I will likewise go into your lot. And Simeon went with him.'¹²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, I invite your person, holy brother, not to the community of war and fighting to give a helping hand for the sake of lots for inheritance, but rather to the community of peace and concord, on account of the gain made by the Church which Christ, even God, purchased with his own blood, a wonderful addition. For the holy Anthimus, the chief priest, who has been judged worthy to tend the Church of the royal city by severing the bonds and snares of the bitterness of the heretics and repelling their deceitful arts, has embraced our communion, holding the sound and pure faith without communion with the adversaries. To my meanness he has sent a letter, containing a covenant of communion upon a perfectly orthodox confession, and he has anathematized by name everyone who is a heretic and an alien. His mind is not estranged from the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, which our spiritual fathers left as holy laws. We should then gaze earnestly upon them like the enduring Job, 'I will maintain my righteousness and never let go of it.'¹²⁸⁷ Therefore, I eagerly and with goodwill welcomed this event which has happened as the gift of God, and I repeated the saying of the divine Scripture, 'This day we know that the Lord is with us, that all the peoples of the earth may know that the power of God is mighty.' For this is written in Joshua the Son of Nun.¹²⁸⁸

It would indeed have been right that the holy archbishop, Anthimus, should apply to your evangelical throne and offer to you the first fruits of concord. However, the necessity of this time, the distance of the country and the hurry of events changed the due order of things, because this was done in secret. As a wise doctor of divine doctrines, you know what is written in the record by John the Theologian beyond the other evangelists, that the disciples were assembled with the doors shut for fear of the Jews, and that our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ, while the doors were shut, appeared inside by a miracle, stood in the midst and said, 'Peace be with you.'¹²⁸⁹

I have therefore attached to this letter a copy of my own letter of concord, and that of the God-loving chief priest, the man above mentioned, which were composed under fear of the Jews, and have sent them to your Holiness. But the religious presbyter and steward, Theopompus (The MS has Theopontus), also has certainly already given you an account of this proceeding, for he also has communicated with us in this counsel and action, as I believed that the love of God that is in you would rejoice and exult over it, especially when you met with the canonical letters containing the covenants.

But know, O pious brother, beloved by me above all things, that these demands of the Chalcedonians differ in no way from the promised covenant of Nahash the Ammonite. While he wished to make with the Children of Israel, who said to him, 'Make a covenant with us and we will serve you,' he

¹²⁸⁴ Isaiah 26:1.

¹²⁸⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 276-281 with some divergence.

¹²⁸⁶ Judges 1:3.

¹²⁸⁷ Job 27:6.

¹²⁸⁸ Joshua 22:31 and 4:24.

¹²⁸⁹ John 20:19.

cruelly and barbarously returned the answer, 'On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that you pluck out all your right eyes, and I will lay a reproach upon Israel.'¹²⁹⁰ We are therefore in need of much watching and immutable faith, of prayers and entreaties that he that keeps Israel will not slumber nor sleep, and that he will turn the reproach upon those who are rich and boastful. May we not become 'a scorn and a reproach to them that are round about us,' as David somewhere sings,¹²⁹¹ while falling from divine things, they also confess human things. For no trust is to be placed in unbelievers and enemies of God. But to you, who understand divine things, what is here said is a matter of knowledge.¹²⁹²

The response of Pope Theodosius to the holy Severus, patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch

"To our pious and holy brother in everything and fellow-minister, the patriarch, my lord Severus; Theodosius offers greetings in our Lord.

O, being beloved by me in Christ above all things, the protector of the true faith which cannot be shaken, blessing to our time which has displayed your spiritual constancy to the holy Churches of God. We are also in good hope and are confident that the blameless pattern of your virtues that we possess will be preserved for us. Nevertheless, I do not know which of your virtues to admire. For what is there among your qualities that is either defective or which stands in superfluous description? If I wanted to express my admiration of your good life, the words would fail me. In fact, the virtue of chastity attracts me to (admire) your good life. It requires me to praise the glorious purity of (your) orthodox faith, and place it before all of your qualities. Beside these qualities, I admire your life of labor which you have endured for a long time for God's sake, and your flight from place to place, and the fact that in everything you have chosen to suffer in order that we may not be perverted from the orthodox faith. In the same faith, how many times you have cried with Paul, 'who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall trouble or hardship or persecution?'¹²⁹³ But, in what category shall we place the exactitude of your teaching whereby those that err are reprov'd and deceit is plucked out by the roots, while those that believe are delivered and are planted into the right faith? It seems to me as if I heard Christ, even God, saying to you what he said to Jeremiah the divine prophet, 'I have put my words in your mouth. See today I appointed you over nations and kingdoms to uproot and tear down, to destroy and overthrow, to build and plant.'¹²⁹⁴ Again what he said about Paul, 'He is my chosen instrument to carry my name before the gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel.'¹²⁹⁵

These are your qualities, O divine father, qualities that are easy to admire but difficult to carry fully into action, even now, as by the watchful labors of your pious soul, good deeds have been done to the Church of God. For in Christ Jesus, those who were before far off have come near. The pious Anthimus, who will be henceforth renowned for character and faith, the chief priest and true pastor of the Church of the royal city, has of his own will become a communicator with you, pious one, and also with us, and walked after our right faith. He has banished the snares of disturbances, and has trampled on transitory and unstable profit, inasmuch as he has learned to believe that human greatness is nothing, and has boldly proclaimed the right and unfailing faith. Because of this which has happened, how we rejoice and how we gave thanks to God, and what spiritual festival we celebrate. O honored father of ours, it is not possible to say in words.

Now he has made a firm canonical covenant in a canonical letter and sent it to our evangelical throne, as indeed your Holiness also has already stated even in your honored letter. In the things which have been written, he has declared the whole exactitude of the sound and right faith. He spurns with anathemas everything that is deceitful and heretical. He professes what he holds and proclaims these things with us. He says these things, since he communicates with those in whose communion our holy Church also rejoices,

¹²⁹⁰ 1 Samuel 11:1-2.

¹²⁹¹ Psalm 79:4.

¹²⁹² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 281-285.

¹²⁹³ Romans 8:35.

¹²⁹⁴ Jeremiah 1:10.

¹²⁹⁵ Acts 9:15.

and rejects all that which we have rejected and in the same manner. He has therefore mentioned by name and anathematized those other names of the impious heresy, namely the Council held at Chalcedon and the letter (Tome) of Leo. When we, with all possible care, had considered the things written to us by the pious man, minutely examined them all, found that nothing in them was alien from the right faith, and seeing that everyone opposed to us was attacked, we all the more admired your judgment upon them. For, with the things that were canonically written to you, holy one, by the pious Anthimus upon the divine doctrines, we found also those that were written to us to be in accord. Since, therefore, we have found the letter of concord and communion of the holy Anthimus to be of such sort, I will, like the prophet cry out in due season, 'You heavens above rain down righteousness; let the clouds shower it down. Let righteousness grow with it,'¹²⁹⁶ because the Lord has had mercy on his people, and such good reform has been brought to pass for the holy Church of God.

With outstretched hand, therefore, we have accepted the event, and on our own part hastened to conclude similar covenants. We have admitted the pious man to the closest communion with us and have indited a return letter to him, in which we have already set forth the right faith of the fathers and exposed the evil character of the faith that pollutes feeble understanding. Because of the documents that we entered into communion with him, we will give to any who shall come hereafter, and of this, we have sent a copy to your fatherhood, because we did not wish anyone to deceive you in any of our affairs, especially those that have to do with our holy Church. Then, of necessity I say that, the fact you observe towards the evangelical see the prime honor which is due to it, and express the same in writing as the things written to me declare to you to do, was in truth worthy of your holy soul, which is careful to do everything with judgment and in accordance with the will of God. But I plainly declare my feeling that my chief honor, and one which gives me great joy, is that honor which is justly paid to you by everyone. I advise that you should not cease from action or advice which will be of benefit to the Church.

As to ourselves, O honored father, we now suffer immense distress and humiliation. We are now surrounded by every kind of plot concerted against us, in order that we may either flee of our own accord or that we may be expelled by force by others, while they may be granted time here also to do their own deeds and lead the holy Church astray. I wished to declare in this letter also, that you who sympathize with us to pray on our behalf. However, it is not right for us to add load-to-load and burden to burden. Only by saying this much about the greatness of the stress, I make it plain that we are in very truth in need of your pious prayers, although these prayers and your supplications to God on our behalf are incomprehensible.

For a long while, we have lost hope, not because of lack of the truth of the faith, far from it, or because of slackening in the thrust of the struggle for the right faith. We would rather be expelled from our countries in order to keep what is good. In my replies to the Chalcedonians, I offered as a testimony your wise words and I still do so, knowing that the words of the sagacious servants of God have reached you. I then said with great confidence, 'I would rather suffer all kinds of torment and leave nothing of the instructions or customs of the fathers who have relied on divine providence to confirm the true apostolic faith, kept it unadulterated, and renounce every worthless and defiled word.'

Greet your brotherhood. That which is with me greets you in our Lord. I pray God that you may be continually doing well, and keep me in your memory."¹²⁹⁷

The letter of Anthimus to Theodosius of Alexandria

"To our pious and holy brother in everything, and fellow-minister, the Patriarch my lord Theodosius, Anthimus offers greetings in our Lord.

Christ our God, who called simple and unlearned men and fishermen to be apostles and teachers, and called those who were before these from feeding a flock to be kings and prophets, who has chosen

¹²⁹⁶ Isaiah 45:8.

¹²⁹⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 283-287 with divergence.

weak things and despised things, as the divine apostle said,¹²⁹⁸ he it is who has now called me also, the mean one, to the work of his spiritual ministry in the judgment which he knows, to be the head of his holy Church of Constantinople. I therefore, the sinner, remembering the utterance of the Lord spoken through Ezekiel, 'Son of man, I have made you a watchman for the house of Israel; so hear the word I speak and give them warning from me. When I say to a wicked man, 'You will surely die,' and you do not warn him or speak out to dissuade him from his evil ways, in order to save his life, that wicked man will die for his sin, and I will hold you accountable for his blood,'¹²⁹⁹ and the commandment of the apostle to Timothy about the blamelessness of the bishop's office, am beset with fear and trembling. Besides these things, I also contemplate the turmoil that is increasing in the holy Churches on the side of those who do not believe rightly. Because they have reckoned religion as a means for a profit for a time, speak wickedness on high against their head, and divide God the Word, who became incarnate without variation and became perfectly man, I am beset with weeping and groans, and mourn over myself, because I am unworthy. However, trust in God comforts me, as it is said, 'Study the generations long past and understand; has anyone hoped in the Lord and been disappointed? Has anyone persevered in his fear and been forsaken? Has anyone called upon him and been rebuffed? Compassionate and merciful is the Lord; he forgives sins, he saves in time of trouble.'¹³⁰⁰ Therefore, all my hope and my thought are set upon him, that he will see our state and will hear, he who made the eyes and planted the ears, and that he will reprove the turbulence of those who prevent right ways, and will call like the true shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep, because he said, 'No man shall snatch them out of my hand.'¹³⁰¹ For he foreordained your Holiness to stand at the head of the people of Alexandria the great, and established you as a tiller of the Church, not in calm, but in the turmoil of storms, that you might guide the ship above the waves into the peaceful harbor of Christ our God by the holy and adored Spirit. For by the prayers of your holy fathers, the former rulers, you have, as it were, received the trust of standing at the head of the Christ-loving people who walk after the divine teaching of the fathers, and contend for its pastor who follows the Church's ordinances. We affirm to you in this letter that we adhere to one definition of the faith, supported by covenants, assurance and by the anathematization of the heretics."

The rest consists of the greetings in the letter.¹³⁰²

The letter of Theodosius to Anthimus

"How else could it have come about that you, chief priest, wise and watchful toward the Savior God and Creator of all things, should in the midst of events openly show yourself crying out like Jeremiah the divine prophet, 'I have not run away from being your shepherd; you know I have not desired the day of despair,'¹³⁰³ except that you despised such human honor, and placed the observance of religion before all things? The thing, therefore, which has been thus done by your Holiness, is great without controversy, and all the believers who have heard of it are already wondering at it. In addition, all the bondservants of the Lord who shall come hereafter will wonder at it, when it is duly proclaimed in all the holy Churches. However, it is no higher than the rest of your apostolic and truly sublime and holy life. For it was truly fitting for you, who by increasing energy in ascetic exercise have mortified your earthly members, that you might speak in the words of Scripture, and with Paul are able to say, 'I have been crucified with Christ and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me,'¹³⁰⁴ after the manner of Moses, the great, to esteem the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of the world and to choose rather to be afflicted with the people of God than to enjoy the temporal pleasure of sin.¹³⁰⁵

¹²⁹⁸ 1 Corinthians 1:27-28.

¹²⁹⁹ Ezekiel 3:17-18.

¹³⁰⁰ Sirach 2:10-11.

¹³⁰¹ John 10:29.

¹³⁰² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 287-288. The text is much longer than that given by Michael Rabo.

¹³⁰³ Jeremiah 17:16.

¹³⁰⁴ Galatians 2:21.

¹³⁰⁵ Hebrews 11:25-26.

For I, who am feeble, judge that on my account of shortcomings I endure all the troubles that befall me. But since I am bound to represent the Church under the evangelical throne which is now enduring many ills, how much it endures is not easy to say, therefore in due season I say as the divine Paul said, 'For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also abounds by Christ.'¹³⁰⁶ For, 'what thanks can we render to God?'¹³⁰⁷ For this apostolic saying I do also use on account of the help with which he has helped his holy Churches, who have now established you as an establisher of these, and as a foremost fighter in danger to religion. For you have shown that you have dwelling within you the holy utterance of the Lord, which says, 'Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul. But rather fear him which is able to destroy soul and body in hell.'¹³⁰⁸ Moreover, you 'reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.'¹³⁰⁹ While, therefore, your spiritual light so shines before men, God is glorified in this great increase of those that are being saved, which his true Church receives.

Therefore, it is with joyful exultation and delight that I have canonically received your piety's letter of concord and union that has just been brought to me.¹³¹⁰

For as man, who is made up of soul and body, is one out of two, and the two are called one nature, though the soul was not converted into flesh nor the body changed into the essence of the soul, so also Christ, who consists of the two elements, the Godhead and also the manhood, which have a perfect existence, each in its proper sphere, is one and is not divided, and the union is not confused or changed. In his love I remained steadfast and also in the love of the fraternity.'¹³¹¹ *By the power of our Creator God, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary who became man like us, these letters of faith and their replies are ended.*

With such holy words, the three Patriarchs (Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus) encouraged each other. They preferred to be banished for the sake of confirming the true faith. With joy, they ended their lives fraught with trouble. They inherited eternal life and were seated in spiritual seats in heaven enjoying everlasting delight. It is through their prayers, I, the weak servant and sinner Michael (of 'Urbish), and the lowest of monks, become worthy to receive forgiveness of sins, and be near these holy men in the eternal world. Amen and Amen.

The copyist added the following, "The holy father Patriarch Michael (Rabo) composed with diligence and labor this book. I have transcribed this Chronicle from the copy of Metropolitan Musa of Sawar (d. 1587) who copied it from the original text in the handwriting of Mor Michael himself. *He who reads this, let him pray by the love of him who prayed and sweat for everyone.*"¹³¹²

Chapter Twenty Five: (not mentioned in the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac text)

Chapter Twenty Six: Concerning church affairs in the time of Justinian (I)

In the 15th year of Justinian which is the year 854 of the Greeks (543 A.D.), the Persians went up and took the whole country of Lemiton (the frontier), destroyed Callinicus and Beth Balish, and carried away the bones of Mor Bacchus the martyr and the gold which was studded on the sarcophagus of Mor Sargis (Sergius).

In the year 848 of the Greeks (537 A.D.), there was a sign in the sun the like of which had never before appeared. If it were not for the fact that we found it recorded in many sources, we would have

¹³⁰⁶ 2 Corinthians 1:5.

¹³⁰⁷ 1 Thessalonians 3:9.

¹³⁰⁸ Matthew 10:28.

¹³⁰⁹ Romans 8:18.

¹³¹⁰ From this point onward, the text of Michael Rabo diverges from that of Zachariah of Mitylene.

¹³¹¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 291-295 that diverges in some parts with the text of Michael Rabo.

¹³¹² This Garshuni colophon is also found on the upper-left part of p. 781 of the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael Rabo. The scribe, Rev. monk Mikha'il (Michael) of 'Urbish, (later a metropolitan), completed it in 1598. See Ignatius I Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur*, translated by Matti Moosa as *The Scattered Pearls*, 446.

refrained from mentioning it because it is very difficult to believe. The sun became dark and its darkness lasted one year and a half, which is for eighteen months. Each day the middle of the heaven shone faintly with a shadowy light for four hours, and every man decided that (the sun) would never recover its full light. That year the fruits did not ripen and the wine tasted like squeezed sour grapes.

The letter of the holy Severus to the Eastern monks informing them of his departure and the departure of the holy Anthimus from Constantinople

“To the God-loving presbyters, deacons, archimandrites, priors and all the holy order of monks in Christ in the East, from Severus, greetings in the Lord.

That I have passed outside the city which is the ruler among cities and beyond the pursuit of men, some of you, O holy ones, being present, have seen with their own eyes, I who have reckoned it to indite this short letter on my part and to bring your attention the importance of offering prayers of thanksgiving, and to explain the reasons for my departure. To state clearly, the actions of the divine providence toward us are in truth beneficial to us for the preservation of the orthodox faith and a formation of a new will, with which, as one may say, it is right to clothe oneself after the fashion of new garment, and for shunning every heretical opinion and contention. Also for Jacob the patriarch, great in endurance of labors and in trust in God, when he fled from the intercourse with the barbarians in Shechem and from the dangers that surrounded him there, urged those that dwelled with him to the same course to which I have urged you. He relates in Scripture, ‘So Jacob said to his household and to all who were with him, ‘Get rid of the foreign gods you have with you, and purify yourselves and change your clothes. Then come, let us go to Bethel and build an altar to God, who answered me in the day of my distress and who has been with me whenever I have gone.’¹³¹³ For he has in truth delivered me from all the expectation of the adversaries, who hate me without a cause, and mocked at me and wagged their heads and said, as in Job, ‘His feet thrust him into a net and he wanders into its mesh. A trap seizes him by the heel; a snare holds him fast. A noose is hidden for him on the ground; a trap lies in his path.’¹³¹⁴ But, as for the wickedness of these men, it is not sated with blood, the Christ-worshipping queen (Theodora) was a sufficient protection for me, and God who through your prayers directed her to that which is good in his sight, even as he cries in Isaiah the prophet to those that trust in him, ‘Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have summoned you by name; you are mine. When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and when you pass through the rivers, they will not sweep over you. When you walk through the fire, you will not be burned; the flames will not set you ablaze. I am the Lord, your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Savior.’¹³¹⁵

He that said these things have not only given me a marvelous deliverance, but have also further added to the portion of the believers, to say truth, to the portion of the Lord and to the possession of his inheritance, Israel, that it may not be as those whom the Scripture blames, saying, ‘You will plant seed in vain.’¹³¹⁶ For the pious Anthimus, archbishop of the royal city who received the chief chair, even though he was in possession of it, would not retain it, but in upright fashion and with true judgment and knowledge hated the impiety of these men, and accepted the communion of us and of Pope Theodosius of Alexandria and of all the pastors who belong to our confession. Accordingly, they vainly lead men astray who say that they do not receive the Council of Chalcedon in respect of the definition of faith, but in respect of the rejection of Eutyches and Nestorius, cloaks which Flavian also used but did not succeed in leading your zeal astray, and overreached by Satan, and are able to say like Paul, ‘For we are not unaware of his schemes.’¹³¹⁷

And so on with the rest of the letter.¹³¹⁸

¹³¹³Genesis 35:2-3.

¹³¹⁴Job 18:8-10.

¹³¹⁵Isaiah 43:1-3.

¹³¹⁶Leviticus 26:16.

¹³¹⁷2 Corinthians 2:11.

¹³¹⁸*The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 268-270.

BOOK NINE

In the time of Justinian were found some Chalcedonian bishops who were sodomites. The words of the divine Paul was fulfilled in them as in the erring pagans that, “they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images...they exchanged natural relations for unnatural ones, etc.”¹³¹⁹ In like manner, these (Chalcedonian bishops) changed the true faith and fell. Because they loved the glory of this world more than God, they were overwhelmed by weakness and became exceedingly corrupt. When the king (Justinian) learned of their story, he ordered that their masculine members be cut off. These bishops were Isaiah, bishop of Rhodes and Alexander, bishop of Diospolis, who came to Constantinople, became Chalcedonians by their own will, and were established in heresy. When their case was exposed, the emperor ordered that they be paraded throughout the city riding on beasts and their detached masculine members fixed on lances. A crier in the front shouted aloud, “This should be done to the bishop who does not keep the sanctity of his office.” Immediately, the emperor issued a canon declaring that anyone who copulates with a male should have his masculine member cut off. As a result, fear gripped the people.

In this time, Bar Kaili stirred up persecution in the city of Amid by order of the emperor to have the people accept the Council of Chalcedon.¹³²⁰ The zealous people crowded in the church and shouted in one voice, “We will never accept the council or the *Tome* (of Leo). They began to throw stones forcefully. The bishops and the emperor’s magistrates who were present became frightened and went into hiding. At night, the bishop went over to Tuma the Goth, bishop of Tella, to help him. Both of them addressed a letter to the emperor. The emperor dispatched a certain Bar (son of) Yuhanon (John), a harsh man who was meaner to human bodies than those of beasts, having no mercy upon them. Bar Kaili welcomed him and asked him to forgive the people. When Tuma and Bar Yuhanon arrived, they cast into prison about fifty men after having beaten them almost to death. They crucified four others and expelled many from the city. In order to explain to people of discernment what happened to these wronged men, we say that a demon possessed man from Eusebia, known as “the fasting one” was tortured. While he was tied up and tormented, he cried aloud, “They are torturing new and wronged martyrs that they might become a refuge for (Bar Kaili). Although it is not what he wants, the voice of truth shall ring in the ears of the people of forthcoming generations to prevent them from having intercourse with the heretics.” Furthermore, Bar Kaili persecuted and expelled the poor monks.

Bar Kaili carried on as a bishop for thirty years. He was handsome and obsessed with his physical appearance. He even dyed his grey hair and beard black. The citizens of Amid criticized him for this action saying, “The evil times are rejuvenated. The meaning of the name Amid now means sadness.” Bar Kaili was accustomed to releasing prisoners and suspending the execution or punishment during Passion Week, but he did this to coerce the people of Amid to accept the (Council of Chalcedon), otherwise, he would have them tried or imprisoned. In fact, he imprisoned many after suffering much torment. Several people were burned in the furnace of fire. Prayers, supplications, and the celebration of the Eucharist and partaking of the Communion were offered on Friday and Wednesday of each week of Lent. However, old Abraham Bar Kaili used to eat in the daytime for he felt ashamed of men and not of God. Thus, he committed the sin of the lust of the belly. He nourished his body during the daytime with pure bread and wine of pleasant aroma, while in the evening he celebrated the Eucharist and partook of the Communion before the people. I write down this information not because of malice but because of the truth, especially since I have received it from his priests and deacons. I do it also for admonition, though I have no desire to do so, just in case he is exposed; those who read and hear may pray God to forgive him for he is most merciful and desires no one to perish.

One of the combatant Egyptian fathers saw the body of a sinner buried with pomp. He ordered that it should be dragged that, when it is denigrated, God may have compassion for him.

¹³¹⁹ For full quotation, see Romans 1:23-26.

¹³²⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 60-64.

Chapter Twenty-Seven: Concerning the heresy of the Phantasiasts, which Satan displayed in the teachings of Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus, and his defiled followers in this period.

While the holy Severus was moving from one wilderness to the other to avoid the persecutors, living like an ascetic dressed like a pauper with a cowl covering his head and sandals on his feet, the tares of the phantasy of Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus of Caesarea, began to sprout. He held the views of Mani, Marcian and Bar Daysan that the passions of Christ were not real but a phantasy, and that the Lord rendered his body incapable of death and passion since his indwelling in the womb. Julian also maintained that it appeared to him that the Lord suffered passion, but actually, he did not. The holy Severus contended with him but did not succeed. On the contrary, he insisted that the passions of the Lord were a phantasy, whereas Mor Severus held to the testimony of the apostle, "But we have one who has been tempted in every way, just as we are—yet was without sin."¹³²¹ Severus also said that, "His (Christ) body was subject to passion and death until the time of his Resurrection. In it he suffered and in it he truly died for our sake." Julian did not quit, but formed a party and circulated a rumor that Severus was ascribing corruption to the Lord's body, and that it had become decomposed in the grave. Such allegations astonished and shook up many.

At the beginning, old man Julian was zealous in the faith. However, in his desire to avoid speaking of two natures, he fell into this heresy. We find it necessary to say how he fell into it. When this old man Julian was persecuted, along with the believing bishops by the Chalcedonians, someone asked him what the faith of the Holy Church was. He composed a treatise against the Diphysites, but he was not truthful in what he said. Severus heard of it and kept his knowledge hidden, knowing that if he corrected it, house would be divided against house. However, when Julian addressed a letter to Severus, the rhetorician who knew him, Severus answered twice but Julian would not waver. It was then that he tried to expose his error with sagacity and faith for the benefit of the believers.¹³²²

We first write down the letter of Julian to Severus

"Certain men have appeared here who say that the body of our Lord was corruptible, making use of the testimony from the holy Cyril, who wrote to Succensus saying, 'After the Resurrection it was the body (of Christ) which had suffered, though it no longer sustained human infirmities but was incorruptible.' From this, they try to prove that before the Resurrection it was corruptible, in as much as it was of our nature, but that after the Resurrection it received incorruptibility. His second point was from what he (Cyril) wrote to Theodosius, the king (emperor) saying, 'It is a marvel and a miracle that a body naturally subject of corruption rose without corruption.'

They quoted such things as these by way of extracts. However, I, who set down the whole passage, made it my endeavor to show the opinion held by numerous doctors. They brought to me also his (Cyril) sixty-seventh treatise, written by him on the subject of the holy Virgin, the *Theotokos* (Mother of God), and in it are contained the words, 'The body of our Lord was in no way subjected to the sin which belongs to corruption, but was susceptible to death and true burial, and he destroyed them in it.' I indeed considered it to be an error in writing. Therefore, in order that the dispute may be solved by our being examined by you, I have also sent what I have written and I am convinced that our fathers agree with it. Write to me at once, that I may know what opinions to hold on these matters, because I do not consider it right that we should again say that that which was not corrupted was susceptible to corruption. Pray that our life may be in union with the grace of God."¹³²³

The response of the holy Severus to Julian's letter

"When first I received your piety's letter, I rejoiced in accordance with my custom at your greeting, which with I was well pleased. Since in it you urged me to read the tome composed by you, which you sent

¹³²¹ Hebrews 4:15.

¹³²² Only scanty excerpts are produced in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 232-233, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 121 and 136.

¹³²³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 234-235.

with it, written to those who say concerning the body of our Lord that it is corruptible, and you asked me to study it and send it to your piety. In obedience to you, I have readily done this, though I am a man who moves from one place to another and have no convenient time even for other things that are required. Still, so far as it was possible for it to be written, I have written it, partly in collecting in my memory passages from the teaching of the fathers, partly also from the few volumes of their works which were here. For I knew well that there was a similar question in the royal city also, and by men of the proofs from the fathers drawn up by me, the controversy and the dispute were brought to an end. And so, since there appeared to me something unseemly in things written by you, since I find that the doctors of the holy Church, who from time to time have instructed me differently on these matters, I have delayed sending what I have written to your piety (as indeed was right), lest some in ignorance should suppose that the controversy conducted in these words was a strife between us, although a discussion such as I knew it was would abound in love, yet some might suppose it to be hostility. Accordingly, let me know at once what your pleasure is upon these things, for I am ready to perform whatever is agreeable to your affection holding as my warrant the saying of the apostles, who said, 'Let everything that is done by you be done in love.'^{1324 1325}

The second letter of Julian to the holy Severus

"You write that there appeared to you to be something unseemly in the things which I have written, and you ought to have informed me at once in the letter, and released me from anxiety. However, I believe that in all that I have written, I have truly confessed the Incarnation derived from us, and I have exerted myself to prove that the fathers were in accord with one another. For I do not consider it possible for us to believe and hold that which is corruptible and that which is incorruptible to be the same. While we confess him who by his stripes healed all men to be passible, yet we also know him to be raised and exalted above passions. If he was mortal, yet we also confess that he trampled on death, and gave life to mortals through his death. Accordingly, you have only caused me anxiety by saying that I have written something that is unseemly and not telling me what it is, that I may defend it. Condescend to write and tell me what is stated by the fathers Athanasius and Cyril and others, for I wish to know your mind also. However, I believe that I have followed the intention of the fathers who are not at variance with one another, even as Paul who says that, 'salvation is not by works but by faith,'¹³²⁶ is not at variance with James who says that, 'faith without works is dead.'¹³²⁷ They did not say these things in opposition to one another, but in concord.

Pray that we may be enlightened by God, and may not through passion yield to our own wills, while at the same time you cause the word in a brief compass to shine upon us.

The holy Cyril writes, 'It is not easy for us to say that corruption can ever take hold of the flesh which was united to the Word,' and shortly lower down he says, 'It is a wonder and a miracle that a body naturally subject to corruption was raised.' What is the idea that he wishes to reveal (for he is not at variance with himself in these things), if he was not in these words thinking of the corruption of universal nature? For he (Christ) borne out infirmities of his own will and not by compulsion of nature. And he took up our sins in his body on the tree, dying for our sin.'¹³²⁸

The response of the holy Severus

"It seems to me a very strange thing, when I call to mind the few words which I wrote, that the love of God that is in you says that you were in great anxiety. I have performed your request for no other reason than to free you from anxiety and disturbance. For, if you had sent me a small question and problem, I might perhaps have used few words in making answer. Since it is a tome of many lines and a fully complete

¹³²⁴ 1 Corinthians 16:14

¹³²⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 235-236.

¹³²⁶ Romans 3:28.

¹³²⁷ James 2:26.

¹³²⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 236-237.

work that you have sent me to examine, after considering the things contained in it every day according to my ability, I will make my opinion clear to you.

Now in respect of what is fitting I have much which I will do readily for your piety. I will show that I am not speaking falsely but listen to what you wrote as follows. 'In order to bring about an understanding of the matter in dispute, I have sent what I have written, but test it to see whether it is in accord with the Holy Scriptures, because I believe that our fathers were in accord with these. Write and tell me what opinion I am to hold.' Since, therefore, you have given me matter for much discussion, how is it that in your second letter you have required me to treat of many matters in a few lines and in a single utterance, as you say, a things which needs many words and proofs from the fathers, who spoke under the inspiration of God? For the Holy Scriptures says, 'It is the Lord that teaches intelligence and knowledge.'¹³²⁹ Again in another place, 'for the Lord gives wisdom, and from his mouth come knowledge and understanding. And he gives salvation to the righteous.'¹³³⁰

For, if your piety and we endeavor in this way to prove with respect to these fathers that they are not in opposition to one another, there is nothing to prevent us from examining the matter carefully and knowing that they have never in anyway shown them to be in opposition either to one another or to themselves.

For you rightly and justly say that the doctors are not in opposition to one another, even as Paul is not in opposition to James when the one says, 'By faith is a man justified without works (or by deeds of the law)',¹³³¹ while the other wrote, 'Faith without works is dead.'¹³³² Paul spoke of faith before baptism, which is the perfection of confession out of a pure heart, when it has not previously displayed good works in the world; such a man is justified by believing, confessing and being baptized. James referred to faith after baptism, when he said that it is dead without works, if a man does not confirm it by right action. For baptism is the down payment of good conduct. In fact, the Lord was our good example when he hallowed the water and was baptized by John and gave us the institution of baptism, and then went up to the mountain and underwent a struggle with the tempter. He destroyed all his power, thereby guiding us, that we might know that after the divine cleansing we ought to display a contest in deed to struggle according to law with the adversary, therein displaying our virtues.

Someone may object and say, 'Behold! Paul took Abraham as proof that a man is justified by faith without works,' saying, 'So those who have faith are blessed along with Abraham, the man of faith,'¹³³³ and, 'However, to the man who does not work but trust God who justified the wicked, his faith is credited as righteousness,'¹³³⁴ while James proved by the case of Abraham that a man is not justified by faith only, but by words confirmed by faith.¹³³⁵

How are these not contradictory? For the same Abraham is an example of those who have not worked but believed, and of those who have shown faith by works.

I am ready to explain from the Holy Scriptures. For he who examines the periods of Abraham's life (will see) that he is an instance of both: of the faith which before baptism confesses salvation by believing in Christ, and of that after baptism which is joined with works, which is the reproduction of the old circumcision of the flesh which invalidates the denial of uncircumcision and brings to us the adoption as sons by God. Indeed, God thus ordered Moses to say to Pharaoh, 'Then say to Pharaoh, "This is what the Lord says: Israel is my firstborn son."¹³³⁶ Wherefore, Paul writes to the Colossians and says, 'In him you were also circumcised, in the putting off of the sinful nature, not by a circumcision done by the hands of

¹³²⁹ Job 21:22.

¹³³⁰ Proverbs 2:6-7.

¹³³¹ Romans 3:28.

¹³³² James 2:26.

¹³³³ Galatians 3:9.

¹³³⁴ Romans 4:5.

¹³³⁵ James 2:21-24.

¹³³⁶ Exodus 4:22.

men but with the circumcision done by Christ, having been buried with him in baptism.¹³³⁷ Wherefore he said of Abraham also that he was justified by faith without works while he was in uncircumcision, before he was circumcised, thus pointing to confession before baptism without works in his writing to the Romans, 'Abraham's faith was credited to him as righteousness. How? Not through circumcision, but in uncircumcision.'¹³³⁸ He did not speak falsely. For the words of Moses are witness, which say of God that he said to Abraham, 'Look up at the heavens and count the stars—if indeed you can count them.' Then he said to him, 'So shall your offspring be.' Abraham believed God and it was credited to him as righteousness.¹³³⁹

Again, James also took the same Abraham as an example in the faith that saves by works after being circumcised and not in uncircumcision. We may learn from the Scriptures, for he writes thus, 'You foolish man, do you want evidence that faith without deed is useless? Was not our ancestor Abraham considered righteous in what he did when he offered his son Isaac on the altar? You see that his faith and his actions were working together, and his faith was made complete by what he did. And the Scripture was fulfilled that says, "Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as righteousness, and he was called his friend."¹³⁴⁰ It is easy again for one who reads the writings of Moses to learn from the book of Genesis that Abraham, after he was circumcised, offered Isaac on the altar and fulfilled the commandment. He was justified by works, giving an instance of faith after baptism, which is a spiritual circumcision, justifying a man by works. For it is written that, 'Abraham and his son Ishmael were both circumcised on that same day. And every male in Abraham's household, including those born in the household or bought from a foreigner, was circumcised with him.'¹³⁴¹ Then God, trying Abraham, said to him, 'Take your son, your only son, Isaac, whom you love, and go to (the land of Moriah). Sacrifice him there as a burnt offering on one of the mountains.'¹³⁴² Accordingly, these words of the apostles and those written in the old law do not seem to be in opposition to one another, but to be one, and to have been spoken by one spirit concerning faith before baptism. This baptism justifies the man who presents himself upon a short confession only without action. It is being full of salvation if a man departs from the world immediately. However, faith that is after baptism requires the proof of good works and raises the man to the measure of perfection and to high place. So also, James very properly says of it that faith is made perfect by works. The wise Paul also in another place gives a similar teaching respecting faith, saying that it is made perfect through works. For the Galatians, after they had been baptized and been reckoned sons of God through the Spirit were perverted to Judaism and were circumcised. They vainly supposed that by the circumcision of their flesh they gained something in Christ beyond the uncircumcised. He (Paul) wrote to reprove them, saying, 'For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision has any value. The only thing that counts is faith expressing itself through love.'¹³⁴³ From this also, therefore, it is plain that that kind of faith after baptism is of avail and saves with which work is joined and united in love. Moreover, what work done in love Paul declares and says, 'Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. It is not rude, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres. Love never fails.'¹³⁴⁴ These things are for the direction of actions and labor and toil, that many may be profited and saved when united to faith. Who will dare to find fault? For respecting this, our Lord also said, 'If you love me, keep my commandments.'¹³⁴⁵

Therefore, the Holy Scriptures and our fathers have been consistent in the teaching given to us. Upon this question too they are in accord in teaching those who do not read negligently as it is written,

¹³³⁷ Colossians 2:11-12.

¹³³⁸ Romans 4:9-10.

¹³³⁹ Genesis 15:5-6.

¹³⁴⁰ James 2:20-24.

¹³⁴¹ Genesis 17:26-27.

¹³⁴² Genesis 22:2.

¹³⁴³ Galatians 5:6.

¹³⁴⁴ 1 Corinthians 13:4-8.

¹³⁴⁵ John 14:15.

'everything is known to the understanding, and plain to them that find knowledge.'¹³⁴⁶ This is the knowledge I have endeavored to send in a discreet manner to your affections, as in the duty of Christians.

However, since I have learned from several quarters that you have published the tome containing your work that was addressed to me, not only in the great city of Alexandria but also in various places, in accordance, as I am persuaded with Christ, even God the Lawgiver. I have in love again sent and written to our brother the presbyter Thomas not to publish my work, but to keep it to himself because my writings and those of your holiness might be known to the king (Emperor Justinian). For after this fashion I once again examined the teaching of the memorable Akhsnoyo (Philoxenus of Mabug) and Eleusinus the bishop, who composed books concerning the faith, and I never found in their case any declaration of the relations which we had with one another in love during our discussion, when by the help of our Lord we were of one mind. For I never produced with book or treatise in order to gain distinction with men, or to win renown beyond the measure of my feebleness, but in the rectitude of the Gospel in accordance with the teaching and legislation of the apostles. However, it is also unseemly that at such a time as this we should abandon the struggle against the heretics, contend, and write against one another, lest the saying of the apostle be fulfilled against us who says, 'If you keep on biting and devouring each other, watch out or you will be destroyed by each other.'¹³⁴⁷ Such contention is the duty of those who love our Lord to shun with all their power, and to love one another, that peace may abound and may visit the Israel of God. Greet the brotherhood that is with you. The one that is with me salutes you in the Lord."

When Julian received this letter, he was very indignant and was moved with anger. He wrote saying that his request had been refused by him for a year and some months, he had not received the respect due to him and he had been tricked. Then Severus again wrote a long treatise abounding in proofs from the doctors who said that the body of Christ that he received from us was susceptible to innocent passions except sin until the Resurrection. The holy Severus also wrote many books against Julian, Felicissimus and Romanus.¹³⁴⁸

As a warning to those who might be seduced by similar iniquity, I have written down a portion of the letter of Rabula, bishop of Edessa to Gemellinus, bishop of Perrhe

"I have heard that in your country of Perrhe, certain of the brethren who do not know their cloisters, and others of the distinguished archimandrites of the place have falsely given out concerning themselves the vain report that they do not eat bread. They have also falsely uttered of themselves the empty boast that they do not drink water, and have asserted of themselves that they abstain from wine. Accordingly, I am afraid to mention that I have heard that they insult the body and blood of Jesus, the Son of God. But since necessity constrains me, I will as is right, be bold to say things which are what these men are not afraid to do, who madly and without discrimination offer the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, that is, the holy and hallowing body which they have received and the living and life-giving blood which they have drunk. These men, whom I do not know how to name, are said impiously to satisfy the constant wants of their natural hunger and thirst upon it, and it is impossible for them of their own will to go even one day without the oblation, which is their sustenance. However, continually, every day a large quantity of food is supplied by the sacrament. For this reason also they richly leaven the particle which they prepare, diligently dress it, carefully seethe it, that it may serve them for food, and it is not treated as the mystery of the body of Christ, symbolized in unleavened bread. For the rest it is said that, whenever hard pressed, they even offer common unconsecrated bread over one another's hands and eat it. It is said to be their practice, when walking from one place to another or going on a long journey, to satisfy their natural hunger and thirst on the same body of our Lord two or three times in one day. However, as soon as they have reached their destination in the evening, they are said again to offer the oblation and partake of it as if

¹³⁴⁶ Proverbs 8:9.

¹³⁴⁷ Galatians 5:15.

¹³⁴⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 237-244.

they were fasting. Not only so, but also even on the holy days of the fast of Lent, they presume to act in this manner without fear of God and without shame before men. Moreover, men, who as they say, refrain from bread and water every day, are found to eat the holy bread and drink the blessed wine on such glorious days, on which even the vile themselves abstain.

Now the Spirit that is in me, holy brother ours, bears witness for me that I tremble to write to your reverence all that I have heard about them because my heart could not really believe it. Do not think yourself or let them suppose that it is because I believe the evil report about them that I write these sane things to you concerning them. However, being still in doubt, I say to others also that it is impossible that such a great sin should be committed by men who have never been baptized in Christ. For they say that as soon as they have performed the sacrament in the paten, they eat sufficiently as much as they want of it. However, as to the cup of the blood, each of them tempers with hot water whenever they can like mixed wine, and drink it, and again fills it and gives it to his neighbor.

What an impiety! These men have converted the revered vessels of the sacraments into vessels for the service of their belly. They did not even so much as remember the punishment Belshazzar received. For, by using the vessels of the service of God in a carnal fashion, he purposed to insult God. The likeness of a hand that wrote was sent from on high to write on the wall of his house the righteous sentence of condemnation for his impudence.¹³⁴⁹ For how can the vessels of service of the Temple in Jerusalem be compared to the glorious vessels of service of the body and blood of the Son of God? For neither is the showbread of the priests of Israel in any way worthy or be compared to the glory of the transcendent mystery. If any man likens the bread of the table that David ate when he was hungry, to the life-giving body of God the Word, we ought to look upon him as a foolish man who does not distinguish the body and blood of the Lord from showbread. Therefore, he is an offender against the body and blood of our Lord. For the showbread scarcely cleansed a bodily pollution, even when baptisms of various kinds were combined with it in observance of this or that. However, the life-giving body and blood of our Lord Jesus not only purged and hallowed the sin of the soul and the body in those who received it with faith, he also caused God to be in us, and that by his Spirit, and so we are in him by his body. For, 'Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood' says the Lord, 'remains in me and I in him, and I will raise him up at the last day.'¹³⁵⁰ In another way, again we may understand the greatness of this service, which is a new one, delivered to us by God the Word, from the hard and severe punishment, which Paul pronounced against those who have enjoyed it beyond that received by those who offend against the old service introduced by Moses. For he says, 'Anyone who rejected the Law of Moses died on the testimony of two or three witnesses. How much more severely do we think a man deserves to be punished who has trampled the Son of God under foot, who has treated as unholy thing the blood of the covenant that sanctified him?'¹³⁵¹ Who is there, therefore, who is so mad as to compare this bread of life, which came down from heaven by virtue of its union with God the Word and gives life to the world, to the showbread with its earthly seasoning? For it follows that not only is the bread in the body of Christ as is seen by them, but in the bread is the body of the invisible Son of God, as we believe and receive the body, not to satisfy our bellies but to heal our souls. For those who eat the holy bread in faith do in it and with it eat the living body of God the Sanctifier, and those who eat it without faith receive sustenance, as with other things necessary for the body. For if the bread is carried out and eaten by enemies by violence, they eat common bread, because those that eat it have not faith, which perceives its life. For the bread is tasted by the palate, by the virtue that is hidden in the bread is tasted by faith. For that which is eaten is not only the body of our savior, as we said a little before, but whatever is mingled with it, as we believe. For the body that is not eaten is mingled with the edible bread, and to those that partake of it becomes one with it, even as the hidden leavens mingle with the visible water, and from them a new birth is born. For the Spirit secretly hovers over the visible water, so that from it, a likeness of the heavenly Adam is born anew. Just as in the visible water, in order that it may impart to all

¹³⁴⁹ Daniel 5:1-6.

¹³⁵⁰ John 4:54-56.

¹³⁵¹ Hebrews 10:28-29.

who are outwardly baptized in it, there is invisible life, so also is the external bread food hidden and concealed, of which everyone who rightly partakes obtains immortal life. We believe the saying of Paul that those who receive it slightly, obtain from it injury of soul and body and are not even profited, even if they are reckoned among the believers. Would that they obeyed the saying of the apostle, who says, 'A man ought to examine himself before he eats of the bread and drinks of the cup. For anyone who eats and drinks without recognizing the body of the Lord eats and drinks judgment on himself.'¹³⁵² The same proclaims by his words that it is on account of our enmity against the body and blood that the various infirmities and unexpected sudden death have befallen us by a righteous judgment. For he says, 'That is why many among you are weak and sick, and a number of you have fallen asleep. But if we judged ourselves, we would not come under judgment. When we are judged by the Lord, we are being disciplined so that we will not be condemned with the world.'¹³⁵³ If those who were in the fixed days of service were now to partake, they would receive one substance only of the body of life. If it were done without the sorrow of repentance, and men do not receive it in faith with reverent fear, even if they do not also commit a deed contrary to their faith, then they are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, as Paul said, because they do not discern the Lord's body. What punishment can be too severe for this, too great even to be applied to the judgment of those who approach it without fear and do not receive an aliment of faith, but a thing necessitated by their hunger? O, what insolence is this, of which the divine retribution is not equal, if it slays the man! Who does not fear even heaven when men satisfy the needs of their bodies on a coal of devouring fire, as if it were common bread? Who is not frightened at this statement, that of the coal on which our life depends, that which the seraph revealed to us, grasping it with a fiery forceps in his hand, to signify the sublimity of our mystery, and, while meditating upon it with reverence, approached to take hold of it, of this these men eat to satiety and without fear? Before the body which is given for the life of the world, their heart does not quake and they are not afraid; their hands do not tremble or shake; their knees do not slip that they should fall when they eat it for the support of bodily life. Perhaps we ought to say that our Lord also in his full knowledge of all times knew the deeds of these men. For this reason, after they (the disciples) had eaten of the legal Passover and were satisfied, then (Christ) blessed the bread and gave it to them, in order that these men might not say that, after he had blessed, they were satisfied (but, after they were satisfied, he blessed, when the Master (Christ) and his disciples took a small particle of it). Over the cup he said, 'Take drink of it all of you,' that they might understand by this that it was of this small cup that the twelve (disciples) drank.¹³⁵⁴

It must be said that they thought of themselves that they would attract the admiration of simple persons by their abstinence from bread and wine, and did not understand that the laughter of the intelligent would defeat and overcome them, and would fall upon their heads, prevailing over the praise of ignorant persons like them. Those who are like them have in all this unpardonable sin accepted for themselves glory from perishing men, even it did not result to them. It should not fit that they should be named men, but, in justice, they should be named rabid dogs. For the sign of rabid dogs is this, that they suddenly attack the body of their master to eat it.

A man who has forbidden himself bread ought to be empty and not taste anything until the time appointed for him. This is well known that, when Saul enacted that not one should taste anything on the day of battle until the evening, then Jonathan, because he tasted some honey on the end of his rod, incurred the penalty of death, if it had not been for the violence of the people until he was safe.¹³⁵⁵ 'For the foundation of the life of man is bread and water.' Jesus Bar Asiro (Sirach) said,¹³⁵⁶ "Under the name of bread, he extended his saying to all food".

¹³⁵² 1 Corinthians 11:28-29.

¹³⁵³ 1 Corinthians 11:30-31.

¹³⁵⁴ Matthew 26:29, Mark 14:22-25, Luke 22:14-23

¹³⁵⁵ 1 Samuel 14:24-31 and 36-46.

¹³⁵⁶ Sirach 29:21.

It is said about these men that, after they have received the oblation in the morning, and partaken of it again in the evening, then they eat other food like boiled Swiss chard, dressed beet and pulse. They are said to fill themselves on cheese instead of bread. Moreover, they are in the habit of eating fish with all their pleasant taste; they sate themselves largely on fresh and dried fruits besides honeycombs and fried eggs. Because the heat of the wine they drink under the name of the Sacrament inflames them more with thirst, all through the summer season they are said regularly to drink the milk of goats. This again they have done of set purpose, for they have also discovered that the moisture and coolness of milk are found to temper the perpetual burning which results from the wine in excess. Now, because of these things, the reproof of God, which he pronounced to Eli (because of his sons), proclaims, 'Behold! I have given you all the good things of the earth, that you might use them without sin. Also, I set for them apart all the offerings of the children of Israel, that they might enjoy them without guilt. Wherefore have you also offended against my body, like those who wrought wickedness against my sacrifices? Therefore, the Lord, the God of Israel declares, 'I promised that your house and your father's house would minister before me forever. But now the Lord declares, Far be it from me! Those who honor me I will honor, but those who despise me will be disdained.'¹³⁵⁷

Thus, he also says about those who are not in unison with the prophets (of the Old Testament) and do not listen to the apostles. They should have at least learned from Peter when Clement asked him to allow him to be his only minister. After praising his zeal and jesting at his sustenance, he said to him, 'Why! Who is strong enough for this entire ministry? Are you not continually eating bread and olives? Or perhaps it may be that sometimes there may also be some vegetables.' On the other hand, consider Paul who out of great need sold his tunic, and with the price of it is written that they bought bread only and brought it to him with some vegetables.¹³⁵⁸

However, these men, as I hear, do not follow in their deeds those that err, nor yet are they in concord with the truth in their actions. For they are not Nazirites like the Marcionists, or ascetics like the Christians. They are not like those deniers of the truth who eat only pulse or bread, but do not presume to commit a lie at their oblations, neither yet do they resemble us believers in any form or manner."

Further continues the rest of the letter with proofs from the Scriptures.¹³⁵⁹

By the power of Jesus, this narrative has come to an end. It contains a warning for partaking of the Sacraments with gluttony, but that man should use it according to what has been recorded above.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: Concerning the plague which afflicted the whole earth (the Roman (Byzantine) Empire), especially the southern regions¹³⁶⁰

As the plague intensified in the royal city (Constantinople), it first overwhelmed the poor people of whom every day five thousand, seven thousand, or twelve thousand, and as many as eighteen thousand died. When the plague first erupted, some men stood at the entrances of ports and crossing places counting those who were carried outside the city (to be buried). If someone had to count (properly), he would have counted at least 300,000 dead. However, those who counted stopped at the figure of 230,000. Still, the number of the poor people who perished was relatively small. The destroyer extended its blow to those in power and officials of the kingdom. Those who escaped death were afflicted by the bubonic plague. The plague not only afflicted people but also extended to domestic and even wild animals. Dogs, cattle and even rats were found dead with their bowels sticking out.

¹³⁵⁷ 1 Samuel 2:30 with slight divergence.

¹³⁵⁸ See *Acts of Paul and Thecla* in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Rev. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 8 (WM. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1951, rept. 1974): 489. The story says that the children of Onisephorus, who were going from Iconium to Daphne, were fasting and hungry and could no buy loaves. Paul took off his cloak and told them to go and buy loaves and bring them. Also, our Lord ate bread and even the bread made of barley. And after his resurrection, he ate bread with his disciples that they might believe in his fleshly assumption of the body.

¹³⁵⁹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 301-310.

¹³⁶⁰ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

Another phenomenon manifested itself in what appeared to be black pimples in the middle of the palm of the person like three dots of blood not sticking out, but embedded in the palm. Their appearance signaled the end; some people died while practicing their craft. Others died in the public baths and still others in the market places. The movement of buying and selling was paralyzed. The markets stocked with commodities were closed. Brothers, woe for that bitter end! Men stood on the seashore pulling into ships groups of corpses. Some groups consisted of three to five thousand corpses. The number of corpses in other groups could not even be counted. Finally, the number of those (dead) who were counted greatly diminished, and the great city became a deplorable graveyard for its inhabitants. In fact, no place was left to bury the dead. The dead bodies were piled up in the ships and were thrown far away like discarded rubbish.

Upon seeing what happened, the emperor ordered six thousand coffins to be made. He appointed a director of finance and ordered him to dispense of all the expenses. He also commanded him to hire men to dig up ditches on the side of the mountain to bury the dead. Seventy thousand corpses were pile up in every ditch by men like bales. Because of such endeavor, the city eliminated the corpses. One of our deacons who cared about what happened, discovered, while going around the city, a locked house from which an offensive stench was coming out. Upon entering the house, he found about twenty bodies eaten by worms. He called someone to remove them. Among them were women who had given birth to children and they were still alive. They were holding unto the breasts of their mothers crying. The punishment in this city was, of all other cities, very harsh. No weeping or lamentation was heard. No one was even found who would demand inheritance or the execution of wills because the heirs succumbed to death before the testators. It often happened that death overtook a person who entered an opened shop to get something out of it. Poor people stopped asking to receive anything from the rich, and those who did ask and received, died.

Some poor people tried to beg, that they may as it was said, stay alive. Then they said, "We do not enter the houses of dead people but seek help from the living ones." They went to a big market place and saw an old man sitting at the entrance, and asked him for help. He said to them, "Behold the whole market place is before you." They went in and carried whatever they could of gold, but as they crossed the threshold, they fainted and dropped dead.

There were also two young men who carried the dead, demanding excessive charges from the emperor's treasurer. The treasurer told them to be satisfied with the wages they had collected. However, being greedy, they went and collected more money. As they were carrying the corpses to the graveyard, they fainted and dropped dead, and were piled up with the rest of the dead. Beholding what happened, the treasurer said, "Woe to you Adam's greed! Nothing would satiate you except this sleep." He took the gold that they collected and gave it others who were burying the dead. Other men collected 450 dinaris and divided it outside the city. As each one was taking his share, the three of them fainted and dropped dead, and the gold (money) remained. Indeed, providence had the angel (of death) undertake this chastisement, and punish human beings in order to have them despise the things of this world.

The Chronicler John of Asia says, "How can I not imitate, in wishing to relate these matters, one who falls into the depth of the sea who can neither touch the bottom nor approach the shore in order to get out and one who is on the verge of being overwhelmed."

In addition, the demons who desired to deceive the inhabitants of this city insinuated to a person to tell them, "If your throw jars from the windows of upper floors the plague will vanish." The women believed this insanity. Finally, the whole population succumbed to this error, and none could be seen in the streets because all the people were busy throwing jars to drive away the plague. However, they did not benefit a thing and death continued to sweep up people more than ever. Furthermore, the demons increased their deception by mocking those of the holy priesthood habit. Whenever a monk of a cleric was found, the people ran away wailing thinking that he was the very death. So, no one of the priestly cloth was found in the streets. Moreover, if it happened that one was seen, the people would ran away from him crying out, "Why did you come? We belong to the Mother of God, or we belong to such and such Martyr." This deception continued two years after the plague had lifted. In this great city nothing of the multitudes remained except the very few. Death continued for three years.

Concerning this plague, Zachariah the rhetorician (Zachariah of Mitylene), says that, "In the Greek version of the prophecy of Ezekiel is a passage referring to the plague. It says, "All knees shall flow with water."¹³⁶¹ It is unlike the Syriac version that says, "All thighs shall be befouled with pus." This plague, which is a rising of the swelling of the groin and the arm-pits, began in Egypt, Ethiopia, Alexandria, Nubia (Greek, Libya), Palestine, Phoenicia, Arabia, Byzantium, Italy, Africa, Sicily, Gaul, and it penetrated to Galatia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Antioch, Arzen, Mesopotamia, and gradually to the land of the Persians and to the peoples of the North-East; and it slew. Those who were afflicted with the scourge, who happened to recover and not die, trembled and shook. It was known that it was a scourge from Satan, who was ordered by God to destroy men.¹³⁶²

The head of John the Baptist was in the city of Emessa (Homs). Many interceded to it and were saved. But the demons were disturbed. They murmured in the tongues of men complaining against the saint.¹³⁶³

John of Asia wrote in detail concerning the pestilence that took place in the year 825 of the Greeks, which is the year sixteen of Justinian. (A.D. 544). He says that nothing like it had ever been and will never be since the creation of the world because the whole world has been bitterly afflicted with it. It began with the interior people of the Southeast, of India and Ethiopia and the Himyarites, etc. It spread into the upper countries in the West, that is, the peoples of Rome, the Italians, the Gauls and the Spaniards. It was heard that people raged like rabid dogs and lost their senses and went mad. They attacked each other, went to the mountains, and destroyed themselves. All of this was like a resounding gong. The rod of the pestilence came to the countries of Cush (Ethiopia) which is on the border of Egypt. From there it spread into Egypt. It was like the harvester who mowed down one portion after another until the end. After the majority of people died in Egypt and it became desolate of inhabitants, the plague came to Alexandria and destroyed many. Those who escaped instant death fell by the attack of tumors that is swelling of the groins, or, pustules that oozed pus and blood day and night. Besides, the people were afflicted with another scourge that destroyed them instantly.¹³⁶⁴

The mercy of God was manifest everywhere in the destitute people who died first. First, because of the zeal of the city dwellers who did themselves a benefit by burying the poor. Second, if the scourge had reached them, how could they bring the dead with their pus and bare bones out of the streets since the number of those concerned with the burials would have diminished? Nevertheless, the destitute died first when the people were wholesome, carried them and buried them outside the city. It was also rumored that if death visited a house and began with the children, no hope was left for life, and the whole household would die. Some were even paid twelve dinarii for each corpse to be buried, but someone to carry the corpses and throw them out like dogs was hardly found. It also happened that four men who were carrying a bier fell instantly dead. Others dropped dead while conversing, passing by or eating. Everyone lost hope of life, and everyone was afraid to go out but preferred to die in the house. Those who were forced to get out gave instructions to be carried off to their burial place. Everyone hung a tablet to his arm with the inscription, "I, so and so from so and so district. If I should die (on the street), I beg by the love and mercy of God to find someone who knows my residence to inform my people to come and bury me."

When this great city had almost reached the point of extinction and destruction, people refrained from walking through the streets because of the corpses' stench and the skeletons, which had been ravaged by dogs. When the pestilence had ended at the seashore, it turned toward Palestine and Jerusalem. Frightful signs appeared on the sea as death passed from one country to the other. People beheld on the sea what looked like copper boats, black people without heads sitting in them and sailing swiftly. They were bound for Ascalon (Asqalan) and Gaza, and wherever they passed, the plagued took place there. The plague took

¹³⁶¹ Ezekiel 7:17.

¹³⁶² See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 313.

¹³⁶³ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 313.

¹³⁶⁴ Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, translated by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Oxford University Press, 1932), 75 with considerable divergence.

place in Palestine more than in Alexandria. Gold, possessions and merchandise were scattered all over. He, who was tempted to take a thing, was struck by punishment. A city on the border of Egypt was totally destroyed and no one remained in it except seven men and a boy ten years old. They went through the city for five days and were sure that the whole population was destroyed. They entered the homes of the wealthy, gathered gold and silver and piled them in a house. Instantly, the seven men died and only the boy remained, crying. When he attempted to go out to the city gate, a man saw him and made him sit at the door of the house where the gold and silver were piled up. This incident occurred several times.

It also happened that a rich man went to his village before the pestilence struck out. Upon hearing that death had come, he began to pray hoping his life would be extended. A few days later, he sent his servants to check his house. When they reached the city, they found no one alive except that boy weeping. He told them of what had happened. Overcome by greed, the steward ordered the servants of his master to carry the gold, but they refused. He himself entered in and loaded his beast with gold as much as he could carry. As he reached the city's gate, he was followed by something like an apparition of a man who tied him with the boy, and restored the gold. The servants cried out, "Go back and cast away the gold that you may be saved." Upon reaching the house, they found the steward and the boy dead, but they were saved with their lives.

In another city of Palestine, demons appeared like angels. They asked the people to worship a brass image in the city that had formerly been worshipped by the inhabitants to ward off the plague. Nevertheless, the wretched people were deceived and brought on themselves a second death as they worshipped the image. One day, as they gathered in front of the image, something like a whirlwind entered the image, lifting it about hundred cubits, it hurled it down to the ground with such a force that it was smashed and became like water. Moreover, the people were overcome by the sword of death, and by the evening, no living soul was left in the city. The plague swept the entire country of Palestine, and the North and the South and the East as far as Cilicia, Syria, Iconium, Moesia, Asia, Bithynia, Galatia and Cappadocia. Darkness overwhelmed the crossroads and they became desolate. People's entire possessions were left scattered on the plains and the mountains, and no one was to gather. The fields were full of crops but no one to harvest or gather them to barns. The season of picking the vineyards was over and no one was found to pluck (the grapes) because people perished in all the earth. Hardly one out of thousand was saved. However, this scourge stopped after three years. *Here ends this account.*

Chapter Twenty-Nine: Concerning the same period of Justinian (I); the destruction of Rome; the death of the believing Queen Theodora; and the death of the holy and great Patriarch Severus

In the year 18 of Justinian, which is the year 857 of the Greeks, the Hunoye (Huns) occupied the great Italian city of Rome, but failed to keep it. They settled in the villages in its neighborhood and left it desolate of inhabitants. In order to know the extent of the Romans' loss from occupying the city, I will record its history in brief taken from a person familiar with its affairs, buildings and edifices.

In the third year of the destruction of the city of Ilion (Troy) which took place in the time of the priests Samson and Eli, the kings began to reside in the city of Rome, which formerly was known as Italia, and its kings were known as the kings of the Latins. In the time of Jotham and Ahaz, kings of Judah, it was ruled by Romulus who built in it grand edifices and thus was called Rome after his name. Romulus' kingdom was called kingdom of the Romans' since the time of King Hezekiah.

Rome had twenty-four holy churches of the catholic and holy apostles, and two grand basilicas where the king and the Senate assembled. It also contained 324 wide and spacious streets, two great capitolia, 80 gold idols, 64 ivory idols, and 46,063 residences, 1797 manors for dignitaries, 1352 sewage canals, and 274 bakers who provided provisions for the city other than those who were engaged in baking. It had also 5000 sepulchers where they gathered and buried the dead. It had also 31 great marble pillars, 3785 statues of brass representing kings and prefects, and 125 antique bronze statues of the family of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar as well as the kings from the house of David, which were plundered by Vespasian when he destroyed Jerusalem and moved to this city. He even took its brass gates and other

objects. In the city, there were two huge statues of mighty men, 2 spiral columns of seashells, 2 circuses, 3 theaters, 2 amphitheaters, 4 warehouses, 11 stadiums and 22 grand antique bronze horses. It had also 956 baths, 4 Arkilkon (sic), 14 (text corrupted), 2 (text corrupted), special antique bronze horsed, and 45 sistra (Greek, Lupanania). There were also 2300 authorized public oil dealers. There were 291 prisons, and (term not understandable). There were in the neighborhood of the public baths 254 latrines. There were 673 guardians to guard the city; seven of them had lordship over the rest. Further, the city had 37 doors and its circumference was 26 myriads, 6 thousand and 36 feet, which measured 40 miles. The inner size of the city from east to west was 12 miles.

The destruction of this great city that was set on fire by the barbarians, grieved immensely the Emperor Justinian, and he and his counselors dressed up in mourning. What grieved the emperor even more was the death of Theodora, of blessed memory; in the 20th year of Justinian, which is the year, 859 of the Greeks/548 A.D. Justinian distributed much gold for the repose of her soul. Meanwhile, he summoned into his presence Saint Anthimus and Saint Theodosius, and offered them the freedom of belief and to live in peace as they wished. *End of this account.*

In this period, the Monastery of St. Simon the Stylite in the province of Antioch was burned down.

In this period, confusion and disturbance prevailed in the churches, especially in Constantinople because of the introduction of fasting and the Passover.

In the year 23 of Justinian, Tarsus in Cilicia was inundated by the river which flowed by it.¹³⁶⁵

In this period, an earthquake took place and destroyed the city of Laodicea, and seven thousands of its inhabitants perished. Another earthquake took place and destroyed the city of Maphopolis in Mysia whose inhabitants, including clergymen, were buried alive. For many days, their voices were heard out of the ground but no one could rescue them. Moreover, other cities in this region were destroyed. In the sea coast of Phoenicia, Tripoli, Beirut, Byblos (Gubail), Troas and the cities of Galilee were destroyed. The sea withdrew two miles inland and the ships anchored on dry land.

At this time, John Philopones flourished in Alexandria.

At this time too, the Romans invaded the lands of the Kurds, Arzenians and the Tayoye (Arabs). Chosroes, king of the Persians, attacked Petra and stationed in it a garrison. The Romans defended it for seven years. They defeated the Persians and took the city.

In this period, there was scarcity of grain and fruits in the country of Hunta, and a feeling of ravenous hunger afflicted men body and soul. It was followed by a pestilence. The hunger was so severe that a man would sometimes eat ten pounds of bread together with other things, and would not be satisfied, but continued to ask for bread although his belly was full, and in this way, he died. After these things, a pestilence among the cattle took place, especially in the East, and it lasted two years. The fields became sterile through the absence of oxen.¹³⁶⁶ In addition, a severe earthquake took place in Constantinople, in the month of August, many houses collapsed and became graves and baths, and churches collapsed and became graves to their inhabitants. The wall of the Golden Gate collapsed as well. Nicomedia was completely destroyed by this earthquake, which lasted for forty days in order that people may seek repentance. They were commemorated every year in the great plain about six miles far from the capital where prayers were said.

In the year 31 of Justinian a severe earthquake took place, and the two walls of the capital (Constantinople), both the inner wall, which Constantine built and the outer wall which Theodosius had built, were breached. Several houses collapsed and the rest were cracked and breached and then fell down. No standing building was saved from defacement. The earthquake turned the city of Regin upside down to the extent that no one could identify it. In addition, the purple pillar which stood before the palace, which had a statue of the Emperor (Justinian) upon its top, was first cast into the air, and then it turned upside down, and became embedded in the ground and sank in it to the depth of eight feet. Thus were destroyed several cities and villages. Of all the preceding earthquakes, nothing was heard about like this one where the

¹³⁶⁵ *The Chronicle of Zuqun*, 123.

¹³⁶⁶ For the above see Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 76.

trees swayed from the wind. The city of Troas in Phoenicia on the seacoast shook for ten days and then fell down. In addition, the mountain known as the Mountain of the Phase of the Rocks, which is adjacent to it, rumbled and a huge piece was detached from it and fell into the sea, because the earthquake cast it a long distance into the seas opposite the city. The city was inundated by the waters of seawater. On one of its sides, the water formed a large and wondrous harbor accommodating big ships. By the force of this awful earthquake, the sea in the city of Beirut and the seacoast city retreated for two miles into the interior. The seabed became exposed and in it were seen many precious possessions and sunken ships loaded with merchandise. Instead of feeling sorry for this calamity, those present rushed to pillage the buried treasures. The men entered the ships to carry loads of merchandise, while others tried to get to the ships by force. However, the fearful sea returned and buried them in its depths by a hidden intimation of God. Those who were still on the seashore, when they saw the waters rushing towards them, escaped and were safe, but the tremor destroyed the houses that fell upon them and they were buried in them. This incident took place in the majority of the coastal cities, especially Beirut, where fire kindled within it and destroyed it. The fire started for two months and even its stones were burned down. King (Emperor) Justinian sent abundant money (for relief). The bodies of the drowned people were pulled out of the sea and buried. The people reconstructed a part of the city.

At this time, the heresy of the Agnostics appeared in Alexandria. They produced a foolish interpretation of the expression, "No one knows about that day or hour,"¹³⁶⁷ to mean that, "The Son (Jesus Christ) does not know about that day." They denied that the Son of God had the knowledge that was given to the prophets by grace. They gathered from sources some foolish testimonies, which were added by Eusebius, the bishop who became their leader, and who was condemned with his followers by the church.

When the blessed Patriarch Mor Severus, was transported from this temporary life, and died in Alexandria in February of the year 850 of the Greeks (538 A.D.) in place called Ksouta. The orthodox set up in his place the pious man Sargis (Sergius) as Patriarch of Antioch. Sergius lived only for a short time and was succeeded by Paul, nicknamed the Black.¹³⁶⁸

After Saint Anthimus abandoned the See of Constantinople, Mena, the object of wrath, became a patriarch¹³⁶⁹ and was succeeded by Eutyches.

In Rome, Vigilius came after Agapetus.¹³⁷⁰ The number of bishops in the Roman kingdom diminished with the exception of the See of Alexandria, which after twenty years, succumbed to the heresy of the two natures (Diphysites) by the effort of Paul.

Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, died in Gangra (523).¹³⁷¹ His nephew (sister's son) accepted the Council (of Chalcedon) for a reason that I decline to mention, and was appointed a bishop for Cyprus and died there.

As to Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Mar'ash (Germanicia), Tuma, bishop of Damascus, and others from the province of Alexandria, they were transported from this life. However, Mara, bishop of Amid, and Severus who died recently (538), resisted in their struggle. They were of the few who acted according to the will of God without slackening or compromising their faith. They went throughout the capital pleasing the emperor and appealing to the empress (Theodora) to take care of the believers. I myself say that Constantine, bishop of Laodicea, John the Egyptian, Peter, Theodosius, Anthimus and some of the city's bishops, were adherent to the one definition of the faith. Others like Tuma, bishop of Dara, John, bishop of Tella, Antonina, bishop of Aleppo, Sargis, bishop of Shura, and Peter, bishop of Rish 'Ayna were all dead and the East became desolate of archpriests. Because of necessity and the scarcity of shepherds in the land of Persia, a bishop of the orthodox named Qiros began to ordain priests for a region that extended from

¹³⁶⁷ Mark 13:32.

¹³⁶⁸ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, translated into Latin by Joannes Baptista Abeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy, 1 (Lovain, 1872), 211-218. Actually, Severus of Antioch died in Sakha, Egypt, on February 8, 538.

¹³⁶⁹ *The Chronicle of Zuqin*, 114.

¹³⁷⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqin*, 124.

¹³⁷¹ For this date of his death, see, Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated Matti Moosa, 262.

Phrota to Ogdi (sic), in order that the leaders of the faithful should not be blamed, and that those who were ordained priests for the land of Persia would not be humiliated or persecuted by the opponents (Chalcedonians). Urged by just zeal and taking into consideration the responsibility they were shouldering, they blessed and ordained as archpriests for Arabia the monk Theodore, an energetic man who was in the capital, and Jacob (Baradaeus) the combatant and courageous. Jacob moved from one place to the other visiting and encouraging the people. He was thin, swift in walking and furthermore he was an ascetic. He ran like a deer. He was a priest who came out of the Monastery of Phsilta from the village of Gamua in the Izla Mountain. He saved many Persians by means of the faith entrusted to him.¹³⁷²

In this year, John son of Quryaqus (Cyriacus) who was imprisoned in Antioch passed away. In addition, the archimandrite John, son of Aphytonya passed away (538). In this year these two saintly bishops, Jacob from the Phsilta Monastery, was ordained a bishop for Edessa, and Theodore for Hirta (Hirat al-Nu'man), by the request of Harith ibn Jabala (King of the Tayoye (Arabs) and the determination of the Empress Theodora. They were ordained by Pope Theodosius¹³⁷³ at a time when the Chalcedonians had Amazon as their bishop of Edessa. Amazon was the 38th bishop who built and adorned the great church of Edessa.

Jacob (Baradaeus), abbot of the Phsilta Monastery, who was ordained for Edessa, traveled throughout the entire regions of the East ordaining clergymen for the orthodox (anti-Chalcedonians) dressed up like a beggar. He usually went through side roads for fear of the persecutors.¹³⁷⁴

Harith, son of Jabala and king of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) and their acquaintances, were opponents of the Council (of Chalcedon). They never ate bread with the Chalcedonians. Ephraim the Jew, patriarch of Antioch, had been already delegated by the emperor (Justinian) to Harith before his death. He said to Harith, "Why do you mistrust us and the church?" Harith said, "We have no doubt about the church of God, but run away from the evil you have introduced to the faith. You have contrived a Quaternity instead of the Trinity and coerce the people in order to disclaim the true faith." Ephraim said, "O king! Do you believe that the council of the 630¹³⁷⁵ was corrupt and worth the condemnation of its members?" Let us consider all of them as bishops. Is it appropriate to reject them and accept the few who are heretics?" Harith said, "I am an ordinary and military man. I have not read books. But let me offer you proof. When I order my servants to prepare food for the army, and they fill the pots with meat of sheep and oxen to cook, and just perchance an unclean mouse was found in the pot, I adjure you by your life O patriarch, would not that clean meat become unclean (by the mouse) or not?" Ephraim said, "Yes it would become unclean." Harith said, "If plenty of meat becomes contaminated by a small, unclean mouse, how it is that the entire Council (of Chalcedon) does not become unclean by those who have accepted the unclean heresy and endorsed the *Tome* of Leo, the unclean mouse?" When Ephraim realized that he could give an answer, he tried to deceive him that he may receive communion from him. Harith said to him, "You are invited today to our dinner." He rejoined saying to his servants in Arabic, "Do not offer him anything but camel's meat." When dinner was ready, Harith asked Ephraim to bless the food. Ephraim hesitated and did not bless the dinner. However, Harith went on eating. Ephraim said, "You have polluted the table by the camel's meat." Harith

¹³⁷² The above passage seems somehow vague. What the author wants to say is that Anthimus, who abandoned his See of Constantinople, and Theodosius, patriarch of Alexandria, were persecuted because of their opposition to the definition of faith by the Council of Chalcedon. To protect them from the persecution of the Chalcedonians, the Empress Theodora, who was anti-Chalcedonian, kept them under her protection in a palace at Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Chalcedonians inflicted severe persecution against the anti-Chalcedonian bishops, and drove them out of their see, especially in Syria, that there remained only one or two bishops in the entire country. To save the anti-Chalcedonian church from utter extinction, Anthimus and Theodosius ordained the monk Theodore as a bishop for Arabia and Jacob Baradaeus as an ecumenical bishop with the authority to ordain patriarchs, bishops and other ranks of clergy. With his indefatigable effort for forty years, Jacob saved the church of the East from being decimated. See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated into Latin by Abeloos and Lamy (Lovain, 1872), 213-217.

¹³⁷³ See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 300-301 under the biography of Jacob Baradaeus; Rev. Monk Yuhanna Dulabani, *Al-Qiddis Mor Yaqub al-Baradi'i al-Suryani* (Al-Matba'a al-Suryaniyya, Buenos Aires, 1942), 25-26; Ignatius Jacob III, *Mor Yaqub al-Baradi'i* (St. Jacob Baradaeus), Damascus, 1978), 16 and 24-25.

¹³⁷⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 215-217; Ignatius Jacob III, *Ibid.* 24-25.

¹³⁷⁵ Allegedly the number of bishops who attended the Council of Chalcedon.

said, "Why do you then force me to partake in your communion while you abstain from my food because it is unclean? Know that your communion is forbidden to much more than your rejection of the camel's meat that we eat, because infidelity is hidden in it. Moreover, you are destitute from the orthodox faith." Ephraim became furious and departed being unsuccessful in misleading Harith.¹³⁷⁶

Chapter Thirty: Concerning the council Justinian assembled in Constantinople and was known as the Fifth Council, and the persecution which afflicted the Orthodox, and the heresies which appeared in Justinian's time¹³⁷⁷

After the death of the believing Empress Theodora, some urged the emperor to assemble those (bishops) who rejected the Council (of Chalcedon). The reason was that since the empress (who supported them) had passed away, they might, out of fear, be cowed to accept the council. First, the emperor summoned John of Asia and instructed him that the summoning of the bishops of Syria to the council should be in his name. He promised to lavish on him gifts and expenses. John declined the emperor's request and the emperor assigned another one to perform the task. As a result, four hundred bishops assembled and debated for a whole year. Realizing that they would not change their stand (meaning they would not accept the Council of Chalcedon), he released them and each one went to his own place.

Meanwhile, Mennas, bishop of Constantinople, died and was succeeded by Eutyches of Amasia. But when Eutyches was found to be of the Sabbaterian heresy, the emperor ejected him and appointed in his place John who exchanged excommunications with Eutyches. Nevertheless, God condemned both of them.

Constantine, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, was likewise the subject of persecution. He retreated to live as an ascetic from Epiphany until Easter. Wherever he went, he kept ascetic life. However, when summoned to the capital, prominent men and women went to see him to listen to his teaching and have communion with him. Some of them appealed to him to take a step that would make the emperor happy. He said, "What a step could be taken toward the truth if it is really a truth? If you desire a solution, let us follow the truth and it, and not us, will find a solution. I personally know nothing but the truth." He then entered into the presence of the emperor and disputed the heretics who placed the blame on him. The emperor sighed and said to him, "Today is Saturday. You should sign before Monday." Constantine became emboldened and said, "If God loves me he will never allow me to see Monday lest I would see your faces." He returned to where he was staying. Standing before the altar, he prayed saying, "Lord take my soul." Immediately, he became sick. On Monday morning, he entered the altar once more and prostrated saying the same words he uttered before, and instantly fell dead. When he delayed at the altar, his deacon thought that he was still prostrating and praying. He shouted the words, "Bless O Lord," but heard no response. He drew close to him and found that his soul had departed him. He rushed crying and informing his companions of what happened. Thousands assembled at the site. The emperor and his prominent men participated in the grand funeral of the blessed man. May God save his church and congregation by his prayers forever.¹³⁷⁸

At this time, Theosbius the archbishop of Ephesus was summoned to the capital in order to accept the Council of Chalcedon. He asked for three days period (to make a decision). He entered the church and prostrated himself before the altar praying, keeping wakeful and fasting. At the end of the three days, he called the clergymen and said to them, "Choose a bishop because I am going to the King of Kings and will not partake in the communion with those who divide Christ into two natures." That night he slept (died), and everyone was astonished of the power of his prayer. He was succeeded by Hypatius who was soon deposed when he was found to be a Manichean. He was succeeded by Andrew.

In this period flourished Mor Ahodemeh, the bishop of Persia. He was a learned man and a saint. He was antagonized by the Nestorian of Nisibin and its environs. (For this reason) he found it necessary to have an audience with Chosroes, king of Persia. Chosroes invited the Nestorian Catholicos to debate

¹³⁷⁶ See Ignatius Jacob III, *Mar Yaquub al-Baradi'i* (Jacob Baradaeus), 18-21.

¹³⁷⁷ This chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

¹³⁷⁸ On the Fifth General Council, see Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 38, 419-422 of the English translation.

Ahodemeh. The holy (Ahodemeh) presented testimonies from the Scriptures and from books of natural sciences. Chosroes and those present were astonished of Ahodemeh's wisdom and knowledge, and the king praised him. Then the king ordered that the two parties, the orthodox and the Nestorians, meet again. It appeared that the number of the orthodox was five-fold more than the Nestorians. Chosroes permitted them to build churches and to conduct services openly. Thus, the Nestorians were discomfited.

The Council convened by Justinian in Constantinople

In the year 16 of Justinian, which is the year 864 of the Greeks/554 A. D, a council was convened, for the sake of information, at the capital Constantinople. It was known as the Fifth Council. It was attended by three Patriarchs: Eutyches, patriarch of Constantinople, Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria and Domnus, patriarch of Antioch. Although Vigilius, bishop of Rome, was present at the capital in the wake of the destruction of Rome, he did not attend the council lest he become denigrated as being equal with the other three patriarchs. This is an illogical and most arrogant attitude. If the council were attended by the four patriarchs, it would have been said that it was better than all of the councils. It was also attended by many metropolitans and bishops. Among them were Chalcedonians who came to defend (the council), because it did not admit the creed of Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus) or Theodore (bishop of Mopsuestia), and because the letter of Hiba (Ibas) to Mari the Persian was not read in it. The council confirmed the excommunication of Origen imposed by Justinian, and condemned the teaching of Theodoret and the writings of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and the letter of Hiba (Ibas). The result was that confusion prevailed in all of Italy that is Rome. Vigilius protested vehemently the condemnation of Theodoret 130 years after his death, but later endorsed the council. However, dissension increased and not everyone approved his position.¹³⁷⁹

The council issued fourteen articles contradicting each other. Some of them praised the Council of Chalcedon; others opposed it.

Acts of the Fifth Council

1. Anyone who does not confess one nature and one essence of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one Triune equal in nature, and adoration in three persons, because God is one, and one is the Lord Jesus Christ by whom everything was made, and one is the Holy Spirit, the giver of life and the Lord of all, let him be anathema.

2. Anyone who does not confess two births of the Word of God, one spiritual without a body from the eternal Father and before all ages and times; the other at the end of time when he descended from heaven and became incarnated by the Holy Spirit and from the Virgin Mary of perpetual virginity, let him be anathema.

3. Anyone who says that the Word of God, who made miracles, is other than the suffering Christ, who was born of a woman, or that he dwelt in him, and does not confess that he is one and the same Lord Jesus that is the incarnated Word of God, and to whom is specifically attributed the miracles and the suffering which he endured in the body for our sake by his will, let him be anathema.

4. Anathema is he who says that the union of the divinity and the humanity happened by grace or stimulation or gradation by means of equality of dignity and power, or by subordination or sublimation, or that it happened under coercion, or according to the will of God the Word, which excelled over the humanity as said by the wretched Theodore (of Mopsuestia), or by the worthiness of the name, as the foolish Nestorians say that God the Word became Christ and Son. As to the humanity (of Christ), they say he is reportedly Christ and Son. They publically confess two persons. Hypocritically however, they say that there is one hypostasis (person) for the Son and for Christ in the attributes, honor, gradation and worship. However, they do not confess compound union, that is, that the union of the Word of God was a hypostatic union of the person with the body of rational soul as our fathers the saints have taught.

¹³⁷⁹ See Evagrius, Book Four, Chapter 38, of the English translation (London, Henry G. Bohn, 1854), pp. 419-422.

Therefore, his hypostasis (person) is one compound person. He is the Lord Jesus Christ one person of the Trinity for the understanding of the union is different to different people. Some of them follow Apollinaris and Eutyches, who hold that the union fades away when it becomes compound and leads to confusion. Others espouse the belief of Theodore and Nestorius that maintains the duality (of natures) and splits the union and understands it as a mere reciprocal love. But the holy church of God rejects the hypocrisy of these two heresies, and confesses the hypostatic union of the incarnate and the compound Word of God, and preserves what has been united without change or confusion. It maintains an indivisible compound. However, he who maintains that it is probable that the hypostasis of the Lord Jesus Christ can be divided into several known hypostases (persons), he has, in fact, audaciously introduced into the mystery of Christ two persons and hypostases. In this sense, it is possible that there is one person to the two hypostases and it is subject to change, honor and adoration as was held ignominiously by Theodore and his companion. Indeed, they wronged the holy Council of Chalcedon saying that its attitude toward the one hypostasis was a blasphemy. Moreover, they do not confess that God the Word is hypostatically united with the body. This is what was professed by the holy Council of Chalcedon. Indeed, no hypostasis or person was added to the Holy Trinity when God the Word, one of its persons, was incarnated.

5. Anyone who says that the Virgin is Mother of God in a figurative and not in a real sense, or that she gave birth to a simple man, or thinks like the heretics that God the Word was an associate to man at his birth, and only in this sense the Virgin is called Mother of God, and wrongs the Council of Chalcedon, or says that the birth of the Virgin is considered in this manner as said by Theodore (of Mopsuestia), or that if one called her the Mother of Man or the Mother of Christ on the premise that Christ is not God, because the one who is born by the Father is everlasting, and was incarnated at the end of time. On this basis the Council of Chalcedon rightfully calls her Mary, Mother of God, let him be anathema.

6. Anyone who says the one Lord Jesus is known in two natures but does not confess the divinity and the humanity by which the one Lord Jesus is known, but indicates the changeability of natures from which the ineffable union was effected without confusion, whereas the Word did not change into the nature of the flesh neither the flesh into the nature of the Word, but they preserved their essences when the hypostatic union took place, and that he understands this expression concerning the mystery of Christ in its connotation before the union. Or, if someone maintains the multiplicity of natures because Jesus Christ is the incarnated God is one, and what was he compounded from did not change, vanish and differ by means of the union for he is one of two of them, and for this reason he is absolutely not subject to the multiplicity (of natures), considering that the natures are susceptible to division and the unity of the hypostases, let him be anathema.

7. Anyone who does not confess that the union was affected from two natures: the divinity and the humanity. Or he who says one nature of the incarnate God the Word is, in fact, does not understand the holy Fathers who taught that Christ is one, and the outcome of the hypostatic union of the divinity and the humanity. However, he audaciously introduces the expression of "one nature" that is the essence of the divinity and the humanity, let him be anathema.

8. When we say that God the Word is hypostatically united, it does not mean that the natures are mixed or confused. It means that the two natures remained as they were, knowing that the Word was united with the flesh. Therefore, Christ is one God and man. He is equal to the father in the divinity and equal to us in the humanity. Our holy Church shuns, nay, it condemns those who divide and confuse the mystery of the dispensation of Christ and his divinity.

9. Anyone who says that Christ is adored in two natures, that is, he offers two adorations: one to God the Word, the other to man; or says that the body vanished in the union; or that the divinity and the humanity were mixed because it was not possible for both to form one nature, and on this basis Christ is to be adored, but rather he should offer adoration to the incarnate God the Word as the Church has learned from the beginning, let him be anathema.

10. He who does not condemn the impious Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius and Apollinaris and their polluted teachings, and the entire heretics who were judged and condemned by the holy catholic church and

by the mentioned four councils and all of those who espoused their ideas and leaned toward them, and they still adhere to their impious standing, let him be anathema.

11. He who defends the impious Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, who said that God the Word is one and Christ is another. He also said that Christ sensed, in one way or another, the suffering of the soul and the lusts of the body, but he got rid of them gradually until he achieved the highest degree of virtue. As a man, he was fulfilled by his deportment and was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He received the Spirit of grace by his baptism and thus deserved to be a Son. He is adored in the person of God the Word as an image of the king. After his resurrection, he became perfect and unchangeable in his mind, free from sin, let him be anathema.

12. The impious Theodore said that the union of God the Word with Christ was, as the apostle says, the union of man and woman and the two become one flesh.¹³⁸⁰ He added to his blasphemies his words, "The Lord's breathing into his disciples after the resurrection when he said 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' was a formality. In this sense was the confession of Thomas who said 'My Lord and my God,' after he felt the hands and the side of the Lord after the resurrection. It was recognition by Thomas that Christ was God. Thomas only expressed the glory of God and was astonished by his raising Christ from the dead."¹³⁸¹ Worse still is that in his commentary of the Acts of the Apostles, Theodore likened Christ to Plato, Mani, Marcian and Hypocrates (Epicure). As each of these men influenced his own disciples and came to be known as Platonists, Manicheans, Hypocratians and Marcianists, so did the disciples of Christ, who produced a new teaching, were called Christians. Those who defend the writing of Theodore, or accept him or espouse his ideas, let them be anathema. Also, those who defend the polluted writings of the impious Theodoret, (bishop of Cyrus), against the First Council of Ephesus and against St. Cyril and his Twelve Anathemas which he wrote in refutation of Theodore and the like, or he who describes the teachers of the Church as impious because they confessed the hypostatic union of God the Word with his body and shunned the condemnation of the mentioned teachings of Theodore, Theodoret, Nestorius and their like who wrote and criticized the Twelve anathemas of St. Cyril and divided in their error, let him be anathema.

13. He who defends the imbecile Hiba (Ibas), bishop of Edessa, and his letter to the heretic Mari the Persian, fraught with impiety, and does not condemn it, or says that it is entirely or partially correct, or attributes it to the holy Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon and insist on this, let him be anathema.

These matters were determined and endorsed. In addition, if anyone dares to contradict what we have defined uprightly, is alien from the episcopate and the rank of the clergy. Let him be anathema if he is a monk or a layman.

The heresies that appeared in the time of Justinian II are as follows:

The Barborians, whom we call *Malionaye* in our language, are a part of the sect of Marcionists and the Manicheans. When the Manicheans were expelled from Persia and came to Armenia, they were dressed in the monastic habit. Their women were also dressed in black to appear to the people that they were righteous. However, when the Barborians came to Syria, they seized the monasteries that were deserted because of the persecution, and practiced in them their rituals. When their impiety was exposed, the people began to avoid them.

During their defiled festivals, they were accustomed to taking a child one year old, pricking his body with needles as did the Manicheans, and kneading their unclean lump with the blood that flowed from his body. In addition, they mixed with human blood the blood of a white hen. If it happened that a believer ate from it, he would become insane and follow them until death. They assembled in houses and put out the lights, the men would extend their hands to the women without uttering a word. Each man would then grab any woman even if she were his sister and cohabit with her until the morning. By this disgraceful custom,

¹³⁸⁰ See Ephesians 5:25-33.

¹³⁸¹ John 20:22 and 27-28.

this heresy is different from that of Mani. In the morning, they go out wearing black and roam around claiming that they were Christians.¹³⁸²

In this period, appeared in Edessa a writer called Stephen bar Sudayli, who interpreted (the Scriptures) as he wished. He pretended to be pious. He would leave his monastery and go to see Philoxenus of Mabug (the distinguished Syriac learned man and commentator. d. 523), to deceive him and sway him to believe as he does that torment (in hell) has an end. He held that man is tormented according to the enormity of the sin committed, whether in one year, or more or less. He also said that the righteous enjoy reward only for a certain period and then mingle with the wicked. He was under the wrong impression regarding what Paul wrote, "That God may be all in all."¹³⁸³ He eliminated the expressions "eternal life" and "eternal torture." When Philoxenus of Mabug drew his attention to the fact that this was Origen's heresy for which he was condemned, Bar Sudayli gathered his books and fled at night to Palestine. When he did not desist from his teaching, despite being admonished, he was excommunicated.¹³⁸⁴

At this time, appeared another heresy by a solitary named John bar (son of) Euphemia. He went to Alexandria and associated himself with men of profane knowledge and medicine, and was deceived by them. He said that God is everlasting with no beginning but after sometime he begat seven sons, who likewise begat a multiple number of children. He also said that every rational power, which belongs to God and to those whom he has begotten, produces living souls. When this John went out to the desert, he wrote down books on virtues, to which he stealthily introduced a heresy known as, "The writings of the solitary John." He was opposed by Philoxenus of Mabug who destroyed his monastery and his books. Soon, however, this heresy became extinct.

In this same period, Julian bishop of Halicarnassus in Caria, produced a heresy. He said that while he was still in the womb of the Virgin, our Lord rendered his body not subject to passion, death and corruption. He further profanely said that the passions and death after the birth (of the Lord) were nothing but phantasy. He was rebuked (refuted) by the holy Severus (of Antioch) in writings based on testimonies from the Scriptures. His heresy, however, affected the minds of some in the countries of Persia, India, Ethiopia, Himyar, and Armenia. His partisans spread the idea that Severus has perverted the word saying that the body of the Lord was corrupted and rot in the grave.¹³⁸⁵

In this same period, appeared the heresy of the Tritheists by John Askusnages, meaning "bottom of the goatskin, or wine skin." These heretics maintained the multiplicity of the Trinity in regard to natures, essences and divinities. Samuel, surnamed Peter from Rish 'Ayna in Mesopotamia, followed this John. He was well versed in Syriac sciences and distinguished with commentaries and good conduct. At the age of twenty, he mastered Greek profane sciences. As he was highly learned, he fell into the heresy of the Arians. When Samuel reproached him, he retracted from this heresy. He succeeded Samuel in the capital (Constantinople) and pretended to be a philosopher. He appeared before the emperor who asked him about his faith. He said that he confessed the multiplicity of natures, essences and divinities and the multiplicity of hypostases (persons). The emperor became furious and said, "The Christ of this man is pagan. Remove him from my presence." He was ousted. John of Asia said, "We also mocked him and insulted him. As a consequence of his shame, he wrote a book called *Extracts* in which he claimed that the Fathers maintained the multiplicity of natures, essences and divinities. However, everyone who saw him rebuked him saying, "If the matter is as you say, then the Son is not eternal like the Father. In fact, you teach the alienation of the divinity of each of them." The impious said, "I do not place the Trinity in a narrow and contained perspective while it desires to become multiple." Patriarch Theodosius who was informed about John

¹³⁸² Some contemporary extremist Shiite and Yezidi sects in northern Iraq are accused of the same custom of sexual orgy, which they practice at night. See Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse University Press, 1988), 1-2, 137, 177.

¹³⁸³ 1 Corinthians 15:28.

¹³⁸⁴ For Bar Sudayli, see A. L. Forthingham, *Stephen Bar Sudaili, the Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierothoes* (Leiden, 1866).

¹³⁸⁵ For the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus and the correspondence exchanged between him and Severus of Antioch and Severus' refutation of his heresy, see *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 232-244 and 285-260. The letters of Severus refuting Julian and also John Grammaticus were translated into Syriac by Paul (d. 528), bishop of al-Raqqa. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 271-272.

ejected him and condemned him. However, when John was severely reproached he feigned humility and claimed that he was wronged.¹³⁸⁶

Presbyter Photinus of Antioch wrote books in the capital containing the multiplicity of essences and divinities. When Pope Theodosius reproved him, he immediately desisted (from heresy). But like a dog, he later went back to his vomit.

The monk Theodosius of Cappadocia aberrated and blasphemed saying, "The divinity of the Son is not the divinity of the Father." For this reason, he was rejected and condemned by everyone.

Likewise, Athanasius, grandson (son of the daughter) of the Empress Theodora, was trusted to the charge of the monk Amonitus of Edessa. When Amonitus died, the presbyter Sargis (Sergius) of Tella, who later became patriarch of Antioch, took him into his care. Athanasius became involved in the Tritheists heresy. He considered John "bottom of the goatskin or wine skin" a holy man. Athanasius inherited the Patriarch Sergius of Tella. The emperor asked Theodosius to appoint Athanasius a presbyter for Alexandria. Theodosius swore that he would never ordain anyone outside the boundaries of his see. When Theodosius passed away, the emperor wanted to set up Athanasius in his place. However, God did not will this to happen, because the emperor stipulated that Athanasius' ordination should not be consummated without the approval and participation of the Alexandrians. When he asked the Alexandrians their opinion they said, "Remove Apollinaris and set up Athanasius in his place." The emperor refused to do so. When Apollinaris passed away, he was succeeded by a person other than Athanasius. Frustrated, Athanasius went on proclaiming the Tritheist heresy knowing that he was only a simple man, but he was followed by Conon, bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia and Eugene, bishop of Seleucia in Syria.

Before his death, Theodosius wrote a treatise against the Tritheists and advised all the believers to desist from controversy, but the opponents spread the rumor that the Patriarch (Theodosius) held the same belief as they did. Theodosius also wrote a treatise against the neo-Arians who confessed three divinities, and against the Sabellians who held that the Trinity is composed of one person in three names. They said that the entire Trinity was incarnate. When John "the bottom goatskin or wine skin" was summoned and remained persistent in his blasphemy, he was excommunicated (cut off from the church). He did not live long enough and died quickly. Theodosius did not permit his burial except after incessant appeal.

Then appeared Amphicos and others who said that, "Anyone who does not attribute to the persons of the Trinity a (separate) person, essence, nature and divinity, is wronging the Trinity. And anyone who does not confess one God and not three (Gods), is a Jew by faith." They produced testimonies from the Fathers. Finally, Amphicos and John "the bottom of the goatskin" accepted the Council of Chalcedon. Thus, they got out of one ditch to fall into another.

The testimonies gathered by John "bottom of the goatskin" reached the hand of Athanasius who delivered them to John the grammarian in Alexandria. John wrote a treatise concerning this creed and sent it to Athanasius in the capital. When the Alexandrians learned of what he did, they condemned him and his books because they taught three divinities like three men with different natures. They assembled several times to debate the issue with the opponents who agreed (to debate them), but soon returned to their vomit. They remained eating at Athanasius' table for thirteen years. Along with them were Abouy the tailor, Conon and Eugene. Athanasius went to the capital to complain to the emperor against the Alexandrian bishops, that they were trying to run away, but he was shown to be a liar. In addition, Athanasius disparaged John of Asia and accused him of embezzling seventy *qintars* (about hundred pounds) of gold from the public treasury.

Theodosius wrote a treatise saying, "Each one of the persons of the Trinity appears to have his own entity." Many who read what he wrote split into two groups. One group said that Theodosius confessed multiple natures and entities; others rejected his treatise but still accepted him as a patriarch. In addition, the Chalcedonians split into two groups, and we ourselves (the non-Chalcedonians) split into two groups with

¹³⁸⁶ For Tritheism and Tritheists, see W. Fulton, "Tritheism" in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings 12 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 462-464.

the result that there were four groups. Because of this division, many retracted and accepted the Council of Chalcedon saying that, "It is wiser to follow those who hold two natures than those who hold four natures."

Harith, king of the Tayoye (Arabs), went up to the emperor carrying letters from Jacob (Baradaeus) and the Easterners stating that, "The Trinity is one God, one nature, and one entity. Anyone who does not endorse this belief should be condemned." Conon and Eugene said, "We will not sign but only debate the letter." Harith said, "Now I know that you are heretics. As to us, we and our forces endorse what is in the letter and accept Jacob and the Easterners." Then, Jacob met Eugene in the village of 'Arbides in the province of Mar'ash and admonished him and his followers to renounce heresy, but Eugene would not obey. It was then that Jacob excommunicated him and his followers from the church's association. When the blessed Theodore, Jacob's companion, went to the capital (Constantinople), Conon and his followers went to see him. Jacob asked him about this confession, but he gave no answer. Theodore said, "If you do not anathematize anyone who holds the multiplicity of natures and essences of the Trinity, because multiplicity occurs only in the case of persons, names and properties, while essences and natures remain outside the scope of number, you are alien from the church. Thus, Theodore separated between Conon and Eugene, and both of them were deposed from the priesthood by the two archpriests, one at the village of 'Arbides, the other at the capital. In addition, by means of distributing gold, Polycarp, an adherent to their error, publicized the doctrine of the multiplicity of the divinities in the provinces of Asia and Caria.

Following the death of Theodosius (566 A.D.), Bishop Jacob entrusted John of Asia with the administration of the orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) in the capital. For this reason, Conon and Eugene envied him. They fabricated against him evil things and sent them to the East, but their falsehood was later exposed and the Lord hurled back their evil against them. They deleted the name of Jacob, who had ordained them bishops from the diptychs¹³⁸⁷ saying, "He has gone astray and lost his faculties." Finally, they had the temerity to depose him along with his companions at a time when they themselves were excommunicated and deposed. When the Tritheists sensed that everyone was displeased with them, they approached the emperor asking him to try their opponents who accused them, saying that Severus, Theodosius, and other prominent churchmen confessed the multiplicity of natures, essences and divinities. The emperor and the patriarch of the city of the sun forbade their names to be mentioned. They decreed that absolutely no name of the Fathers who were accepted by the church that held two natures should be mentioned. Only the names of Severus and Theodosius would be mentioned, which the church did.

In the years 881 of the Greeks/570 A.D., the Chalcedonian patriarch invited the *diacrinomie* (those who have been separated), the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians), to a meeting, and crowds of them attended. The Chalcedonians showered us with reproach and mockery. Indeed, their patriarch Yuhanon (John) and bishops condemned us. After protracted deliberation, our group presented a defense concerning the faith. They triumphed and the followers of Conon were embarrassed. On another day, a second meeting convened. Our people refused to debate unless testimonies from all the fathers were presented. However, if they (Chalcedonians) presented only the testimonies of Severus and Theodosius, they would respond to them. The opponents presented the documents of Conon which contained testimonies from Severus, Theodosius and the 318 bishops (members of the Council of Nicaea) stating, "Light of Light, Very God of very God," and "The Lord sent fire from the presence of the Lord," and "The Lord says to my Lord: Sit at my right hand."¹³⁸⁸ At the end, they anathematized anyone who confessed three deities, but overlooked what concerns essences and natures. On the third day, crowds also met. They asked John of Asia and Paul if the entire Trinity was incarnated. They responded with reservation. Then the documents of their (the Chalcedonians) teacher Theodore (of Mopsuestia) were presented. They continued that, "The divinity of the Son is not that of the Father." They were followed by the recital of the proclamation of Theodosius anathematizing this statement. With this, the meeting ended. On the fourth day, they (Chalcedonians) produced a document containing injustice to Severus and Theodosius. It contained the claim that they

¹³⁸⁷ Diptychs are the tablet, which contains the name of the Fathers of the church. They were read at a point in the celebration of the Eucharist.

¹³⁸⁸ Psalm 110:1.

confess multiplicity of essences and natures. Our party, however, presented testimonies from the fathers. As they recited these testimonies, they reached the place where Paul had written, "Is it because there is no God in Israel that you are going off to consult Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron?"¹³⁸⁹ The patriarch of the Chalcedonians believed that this statement was about him. He stopped the reader and ordered that they should not meet again, and the meeting was suspended. However, the bishops of the council (Chalcedonians) supported (the non-Chalcedonians) with the intention of winning them to their side, thus this heresy was extinguished.

John the Stylite said, "When these Tritheists studied the writings of the fathers and found in them that when each of the persons of the Holy Trinity appeared individually in a distinct manner, then it is logically confessed as God, nature and substance. Sometimes they say that (the persons of the Trinity) are a kind of God, nature or substance. Nevertheless, they believed and insisted that they are three Gods, three substances and three natures. They maintained that what is added is considered a kind of essence, that is a nature which indicates a specific nature and a specific essence, as the profane philosophers establish. Therefore, three natures and three substances should be recognized. In addition, whenever the terms substance and nature are found without addition, it could be said that it is a universal substance and a universal nature. This indicates an allusion to mental hallucination and to an impractical name, which could only be applied to the three persons of the Trinity in a generic sense as it is applied to all people. The reason is that it is predicated on the *qnume* (hypostasis, persons, and substances) and not on something personal. In this manner, they (the Tritheists) determined the divine substance and considered it a mere empty name. Such an idea was declared foolish by the fathers, who considered the divine substance of the persons of the Trinity real and practical. The Tritheists, however, considered the persons of the Trinity as three Gods, three natures and three substances in a pagan, not Christian, perspective. They added, for the sake of deception, the equality of genus and nature, and not of different genera or natures as maintained by Arius and Eunomius.

In this period appeared in Edessa a young man named Zakai, who was a teacher of children, and two presbyters, John and Zeno, who audaciously set up Zakai as bishop. In turn, Zakai ordained them bishops. Pretending to be zealous for the faith, they proclaimed that it was necessary to rebaptize and reordain those who rejected the Council of Chalcedon. However, they were rebuked by the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians). The bishop of Dara divested Zakai, leader of this heresy, from the Episcopal habit, and then ordained him a sub-deacon.

In this period too, appeared the heresy of the *Catacephalites* (those who bow down their heads). A certain Egyptian appeared in the capital. He told his host if someone bowed down his head three hours a day and three hours at night for twenty days, he would be purified from evil. He would stand above lust and become impervious to it. Even if he indulged in eating, fornication, or satisfied the desires of his heart, his sensual desire would be spiritual and no sin would be counted against him. Thus, the Egyptian led many to error since he ate, drank and fornicated, saying, "The anti-Christ is coming soon, so let us eat and drink before gold is cast away like dross." With this pretext, he satisfied his lusts. He even ordered two or three to suspend their heads after dinner and have the rest stand in one row to pray for them in order that their mystery would be fulfilled without pain. Those who suspended their heads, motivated by demons, testified that they had attained a stage free from pain and that their souls had become purified. People crowded to this (Egyptian) and offered him what they possessed of gold. He selected from them messengers and sent them to deceive people. When the late Empress Theodora, still living at the time, heard of his case, she had him arrested and cast into prison. He confessed his error and was expelled from the city; he was not received in any other place. *End of this historical account.*

¹³⁸⁹ 2 Kings 1:3.

Chapter Thirty-One: On the time of Justinian II (Justinian I) and the activity of the Phantasiasts¹³⁹⁰

In the year 28 of Justinianus II (Justinian I), the Jews and the Samaritans rebelled once more in Caesarea of Palestine, in the name of the Persians and the Nabateans. They killed the Christians, destroyed the churches and desecrated the mysteries. The king (emperor) dispatched an army force commanded by Amantius who captured a great number of rebels, crucified them, tortured them and set them on fire.

In this year, a violent earthquake took place in several regions including the capital. It occurred at the third hour during the recital of the Gospel in the Great Church. The reader of the Gospel fell down dead and the church collapsed. It was difficult to clean up what remained of it because a great portion of the ceiling fell in one side and became like a mound. Men could not climb to its top or pass beneath it. After a while, another earthquake took place and the beautiful dome collapsed, destroying the pillars, burying the altar and the balconies. In addition, half the city of Cyzicus and many other towns were destroyed. By order of the emperor, whatever remained of it was preserved after exerting incalculable efforts. It was then rebuilt; its location was raised about twenty feet in some parts and thirty feet in others. Immense amounts of money were expended in rebuilding it, and it became very stable. It became so secure that, according to my own opinion, no other building in the world matched its stability.

In the time of Justinian, there was in the city of Ba'lbak in Phoenicia between Lebanon and Sanir, a huge temple of idols believed to be one of the colossal temples built by Solomon. It was 150 cubits long and 75 cubits wide. It was built from huge chiseled stones, each 20 cubits long and 10 cubits wide in the foundation. Its columns and ceiling were made of the cedar of Lebanon. On top, it was overlaid with lead. Its gates were brass. In addition, brass heads of rams were fixed on top. Under each wooden plank of the ceiling, three cubits of wood protruded. It contained many other things, which were a kind of miracle. Because the pagans were dazzled by its magnitude and offered sacrifices to the demons, no one dared to demolish it. However, God dropped fire from heaven that consumed it and the pagans were ashamed. Indeed, the fire consumed all the wood, brass, lead and all the idols in it. Nothing was left except some stones, which, because of the fire, were eroded. Sorrow overwhelmed the pagans who lamented that paganism had been wiped out from the face of the earth.

In this period, controversy took place among the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) concerning those Chalcedonians who returned to orthodoxy. They were split into two groups: one said that the ordination of the partisans of the council (of Chalcedon) should not be accepted at all, others said that it is not appropriate to reordain them. This issue was seriously debated by those in charge of the church who said, "We do not accept the ordination of the Council (of Chalcedon), and will not ordain anyone who has accepted it because the 630 who assembled (at Chalcedon) were already bishops before the council had met, and did not accept the ordination from it. However, because of their inclination toward the council, they have alienated themselves from the priesthood, fell from the dignity of the orthodox archpriesthood, and are anathematized along with those who have abandoned the council. But, when some of them think of this defiance and deviation from the truth, and then revert to the truth once more to censure their transgression of the law, and have the orthodox pray over them, and refuse to accept the priesthood from the council, then they become worthy of accepting the dignity of the true priesthood from which they have fallen and join the true orthodox ranks of the priesthood. For the priesthood is a heavenly gift which was given to the holy apostles, and by them was given to others until it reached us, and will forever remain so. This dignity of the priesthood is exactly the same that we received and will receive. Therefore, we should admit those who transgressed the law and abandoned heresy."

As this resolution became a teaching, it was delivered from the capital to the Easterners through the blessed Jacob (Baradaeus) and Theodore. However, many opposed them, and the controversy remained between the two groups until the issue became clear to them by the exchange of ideas. It was only then that they accepted the discipline, and learned that the baptism and priesthood of the Synodites (Chalcedonians)

¹³⁹⁰ This chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

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was not accepted. At the same time, their rebaptism should not be permitted, a matter which allowed the aforementioned heresies to appear. In addition, priesthood should not be granted to the Chalcedonians with the exception of the unlearned and the common people, especially those who are opposed by the public. This procedure, however, did not cover those who harbored malice and those whose souls were afflicted with satanic disorder.

The Orthodox resolution concerning those who return from the heresy of the “two natures” (Chalcedonians), be they bishops, presbyters or deacons, is that they should spend a period of two years in penance. At the end of the period, the bishop shall pray for them and confirm their priesthood.

In the council of Pope Theodosius was a presbyter named Julian. He was zealous toward the people who lived in the upper-northern part of Thebaid in Egypt. He levied taxes from the Romans in exchange for not taking them captive. Because he was concerned about these people, he appealed to the Empress Theodora, of good memory, who was concerned about establishing the faith, to ask the emperor to send him (Julian) to help these people. However, the emperor wanted to dispatch a Chalcedonian bishop. Immediately, he delivered a message to the prefect of Thebaid to send one of his bishops. When the empress learned of this matter, she sent a message to the prefect saying, “I have agreed with the emperor to dispatch a person, Julian, to Thebaid. I wish you let him enter first.” For this reason, the prefect had the envoys of the emperor delay until Julian arrived and then returned. When the emperor’s messenger learned of this matter, he rented his garments and entered (Thebaid). When Julian appeared before the king of Thebaid, he was delighted with him and the message of the empress was read. The emperor’s messenger and all the people believed and were baptized. Julian explained to them the controversy of Chalcedon. When the emperor’s envoys arrived, they told the people “Don’t follow those who were driven away (non-Chalcedonians).” They said, “We honor the emperor and send you our respect. But, we will not accept his corrupt faith. Now, if we are considered worthy to be Christians, we will follow Theodosius, who has abandoned his see to protect the true faith. God forbid that we shall fall into the trap of a corrupt faith after we have been freed from paganism.” In this manner, they dismissed the emperor’s envoys.

Julian remained (in Thebaid) about two years preaching from the third hour to the tenth hour. He was naked wearing only a loincloth. He stood up to the neck in ponds of water baptizing the king and all the people. He entrusted the affairs of the people to a bishop whom he had brought along from Thebaid. Then, he returned to the capital where he passed away.

While Theodosius was dying, he appointed Longina as a bishop for the people (of Thebaid), but the emperor would not let him go to them. Three years later, Longina managed to escape and joined these people. He built churches for them, taught them the rituals and the holy Christian mysteries. After spending six years there, the faithful appealed to him to come and set up a pope for Alexandria. He left and arrived at Maryut (in Egypt) whose congregation was subject to the See of Alexandria and holding the orthodox faith.

In the year 860 of the Greeks (550 A.D.), a bishop named Procopius joined the partisans of Julian, the Phantasiast, in Ephesus. When some believing people censured him, he repented, but he returned to his vomit once more. In his very old age, his congregation asked him to set up a bishop to replace him. Although he was in error, he still adhered to the canons. He said, “The canons do not permit me to ordain a bishop on my own.” When he died, seven priests summoned the monk Eutropius who stretched himself over Procopius’ body. The priests raised Procopius’ hand, placed it on Eutropius’ head and recited the prayers for the ordination of a bishop. Thus, they ordained Eutropius a bishop against the canons. Filling the cup of his iniquity even more, the wicked Eutropius ordained ten bishops and dispatched them to all quarters to defend the error of Phantasiast. One of them, Sergius, who was a solitary, had his hair tonsured, becoming like an empty vessel, and went to Hirat al-Nu’man (in present-day Iraq) and the land of the Himyarites (of Najran in south-west the Arabian Peninsula). He caused a lot of damage to these regions by ordaining priests. Having spent thirteen years in the land of the Himyarites, he set up a bishop named Musa to replace him. Eutropius died in that land. Others went to remote countries and led many to error. They publicized false rumors about the holy Severus (patriarch of Antioch) claiming that he said, “The body of the Lord was decomposed and corrupt in the grave. It had a stench and was eaten by worms.” However,

the majority knew that, in his writings, the holy Severus censured such ideas and condemned those who held or even thought that the Lord's body was subject to corruption or decomposed in the grave. He also renounced anyone who denied the incarnation of the Lord's body or maintained that in the incarnation, the Lord made his body impassible and immortal while he was still in the womb (of Mary) as taught by Julian (the Phantasiast). In fact, Severus had already written against Julian in this context. Now, if from the womb the body of our Lord was impassible and immortal, he who suffered passion and death came down from heaven, became incarnate as the apostle says, "He was like us in everything except sin,"¹³⁹¹ then the passion and death which took place later was a phantasy and not real, as Mani perceived. This is what we wish to proclaim to those who fell into the error of Phantasiasm, and received from the Phantasiasts baptism and ordination, in order not to partake in the priestly baptismal rituals. For by the nature of the case, they have become dead in the error of heresy.

It was then that the Phantasiasts and the Gnostics were allied in Alexandria, and through a bishop, set up for them an unlawful patriarch. In turn, this bishop set up several bishops and sent them to all the regions of Egypt, Ethiopia and other remote places, to ensnare the people into the net of their heresy. Then, they became divided into groups. Some of them followed a certain Ammonius, who said that the body of the Lord was not created, not limited and also incomprehensible. He dwelt in the womb of the Virgin because she was likewise uncreated, unlimited and incomprehensible. While he was in her womb, he was simultaneously in the wombs of all women in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner. As the body (of the Lord) was in the womb, it was at the same time in heaven. When he was hung on the cross, he was likewise in heaven. Ammonius produced this and much more empty talk with similar and endless anecdotes.

Two of their (Phantasiasts) bishops were imprisoned in Nisibin. A delegate of the Roman emperor interceded on their behalf to Chosroes, who released them after seven years. One of them, called Yusuf (Joseph), who was released, went to a solitary place and thanked God who has rescued him. The other, named Dada, immensely captivated by the error of Julian the Phantasiast, was like a beast released from its tethers. He immediately proceeded to the north and reached Arzen and Armenia. He asked the bishops to condemn Severus (of Antioch) with the pretext that he was trying to ascribe corruption to the body of the Lord. The bishops became immensely annoyed with him and addressed letters to the Patriarch Theodosius in the capital inquiring about the veracity of Dada's claim. However, the arrival of the letters delayed, and Dada caused havoc to those regions. He attracted to his error seventy bishops. The letters did finally arrive, but after the death of Pope Theodosius. However, they became a subject of doubt and dissension, and yielded no benefit. *Here ends the account of the error of the accursed Julian.*

Chapter Thirty-Two: Concerning the scourge which afflicted Amid in the time of Justinianus (Justinian I), and other matters¹³⁹²

After many calamities afflicted the city of Amid in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), and after forty years of persecution by the heretics, after its wealth was pillaged and priests perished, it was further afflicted by famine for eight years. Then God had mercy on her and the famine ended. The fields began to grow abundantly.

In the year 871 of the Greeks (560 A.D.), Amid was tormented by a violent scourge of rage, dementia and madness. False rumors arrived stating that the Persian king had entered the city. The inhabitants left the city and wandered aimlessly in different directions saying, "The Persians have seized Amid, move out of this place." However, when they realized that it was a temptation by the demons, they began to bark like dogs, bleat like sheep, and crow like cocks and behave like different kinds of animals. Their young men and women held each other and rushed to the graveyards, biting each other and uttering obscene words. They climbed walls, suspended their heads downward and cried like children. They did not

¹³⁹¹ Hebrews 4:15.

¹³⁹² This Chapter is not numbered in the text.

even know where their homes were. When those who were still sober were taken to the churches, they foamed with rage and became contentious saying, "We are many thousands. If it were not for St. Thomas to stop us, and the apostles and martyrs who are in this city to prevent us from destroying it, we would have killed and pillaged the entire city." When some of them prostrated in prayer, others jumped over them three or four at a time. Many people stopped going to church lest they hear obscene words. Such madness lasted for one year.

In Edessa and Tella, such abandonment from God took place. The people were encouraged by demons to the extent that they excited them and had them defile each other inside the churches. They were prevented from receiving some kind of food, and were only given dry crusts and water. After the period of their temptation was over and they regained sobriety, they dressed in mourning to atone for what had happened to them. Crowds of them went to Jerusalem. Thus, the city of Amid was chastised by the rod of death. More than thirty thousand of its inhabitants died and it became desolate. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Thirty-Three: Concerning the last days of Justinian (Justinian I); the edifices he constructed; the relics of martyrs discovered in his time; and the remnant of the heretics who emerged at this time¹³⁹³

In his 29th year, Justinian (Justinian I) constructed a royal mausoleum inside the Church of the Apostles. He also built the church in which the kings who descended from Constantine was buried. While men were digging a place for the altar in order to extend the church, they found in the foundation three lead coffins next to each other. On one of them was inscribed Andrew, on the other Luke and on the third, Timothy. Joy overwhelmed the city because the bodies were intact and a cross was laid on each one of them. The people realized that the church was named after the apostles because of these coffins. They left the bodies in the same place with great honor.

A right hand of a man from Sebastea in Samaria was sent (to the capital) as if it belonged to John the Baptist. However, it aroused the doubt of many people because its sender was Morinus of Harran, an antagonist pagan in word and deed. Despite all this, however, the hand was received with deference by the emperor and the entire city. They received blessing from it, and it was placed in a golden coffin.

Emperor Justinian (I) built many churches and monasteries, as testified by John of Amid who said, "We have seen them with our own eyes. We spent together thirty years from young age to old age. Justinian never relaxed in building churches, monasteries, and hospices for strangers. Through me, he built ninety-six churches, twelve monasteries and four bimaristans (hospitals) in the four countries of Asia, Caria, Phrygia and Lydia. He donated books and silver vessels for service." In his time, seven thousand people were converted and baptized. Many thousands more were converted and baptized in Ephesus, Magnesia, Nyssa, and Tralles by effort of John of Amid, known as John of Asia (John of Ephesus), because he later baptized in Asia 23,000 souls.

In the year 35 of Justinian, paganism and books of magic multiplied in the capital. Five pagan priests were arrested, one from Athens, two from Antioch and two from Ba'back. Their idols and books were gathered and burned. In Asia, John set to fire about two thousand books.

In the year 857 of the Greeks (546 A.D.), confusion took place regarding the beginning of the fast (Lent). Some observed it after one week, others after two weeks. In the capital, people began the fast after one week. However, when the emperor and the leaders were sure that the fast began after two weeks, the emperor ordered the butchers to sell their meat. When they refused, he ordered the sheep and oxen slaughtered. The inhabitants of the city (Constantinople), except the glutton among them, looked at the meat as if it were the meat of dead animals. Others threw dirt and lime on it. It began to reek and was never sold. Meanwhile, the emperor ordered the butchers to continue slaughtering animals, which he paid for from the public treasury.

¹³⁹³ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

In the year 39 of Justinian, a strange meteor like a fiery lance was seen for the period of three months. It was also seen the second time at the death of the emperor.

In the 27th year of Justinian, Mundhir Shaiqo¹³⁹⁴ went up to the territory of the Romans and laid waste to many countries. Harith Bar (son of) Jabala¹³⁹⁵ overtook him, made war upon him and defeated him in the Ayn Udiyyin in the region of Qinnessin. Jabala Bar Harith was killed in this war, and his father buried him in the Martyrium (House of the Martyrs) in the town.

After these things, the armies of the Huns and the Saqaliba (Slavs) came and encamped about the royal city. They broke down the outer wall, and plundered and burned all the colonnades. They took captive everyone they found there and then departed. They came again a second time after that, and a third time. When the Romans gained strength, they destroyed them in war. Only few of them managed to escape and could not be seen anywhere. The country heaved a sigh of relief.

In the province of Phrygia there was a village called Phaphura. It had a bishop and clergy of the followers of Montanus, which they called Jerusalem. They transgressed against the Christians and killed them. John of Asia went and burned their assembly by fire by the emperor's order. In the house, a big marble urn sealed with lead and tied by iron hooks was found. It was inscribed with following, "This urn belongs to Montanus and his two wives." When it was opened, Montanus and his two wives, Maxmilla and Priscilla, were found with bowls of gold placed upon their mouths. Montanus' followers were ashamed when they saw the unclean bones of those whom they called spirits. They were told, "Don't you feel ashamed following such an unclean person? You also claim that he is a spirit while a spirit has no body or bones." When the bones were burned by fire, the Montanists wept and wailed saying, "The world will soon be turned upside down." Some of their books were also found and burned. The house was sanctified and converted into a church.¹³⁹⁶

In this period and in the time of Justinian, some related to the emperor the will of Montanus to his relatives, instructing them to bury him fifty cubits underground because fire would descend and consume the face of the earth. His partisans publicized, through demons, that his bones have the power to expel demons. They hired some men, offering them only food to eat, to bear witness that he had healed them. The emperor ordered the bishop of that district to dig out the bones of Montanus and his wives to burn them. The partisans of Montanus offered the bishop five hundred dinars, and took his bones and exchanged them with other bones. In the morning, the bishop burned the bones supposedly of Montanus and his associate Critos, while no one knew the secret. However, the archdeacon exposed the bishop and he was banished.

In a letter, Apollos the associate of Paul, mentioned that this Montanus was the son of Simon Magus. He fled Rome when his father, influenced by Peter, had perished. He went out to disturb the world. By the power of the spirit, Apollos sought him, and found him sitting and deceiving people. He rebuked him saying, "May the Lord rebuke you O enemy of God." Contentious, Montanus said, "What have I to do with you, O Apollos? If you are truly a prophet, so am I. And if you are an apostle, so am I. If you are a teacher, so am I." Apollos said, "May your mouth be shut off by the order of the Lord." Immediately, he became mute and could not speak any more. The people believed in the Lord, were baptized and overturned the chair of Montanus. He fled to a safe place.

¹³⁹⁴ Mundhir III ibn Ma' al-Sama' of al-Hira (505-554). He was nicknamed Shaiqo al-A'raj, the lame, by Arab chroniclers. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. (Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1970), 79.

¹³⁹⁵ He is al-Harith II of Ghassan, 529-569. See Hitti, *Ibid.* 79 and 83.

¹³⁹⁶ Montanus was a native of Ardabau, a village in Phrygia. In the latter half of the second century, he originated a schism, which lasted for hundreds of years. He claimed that supernatural revelations did not come to an end with the apostles but continued throughout many generations by the dispensation of the Paraclete (the Holy Spirit). He personally claimed to be the Paraclete. See Rev. George Salo, "Montanus," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, III (London, 1881), 935-945.

Chapter Thirty-Four: On the Heresy of the Phantasiasts; and the inclination of Justinian (Justinian I) towards it before his death¹³⁹⁷

During his entire life, Justinianus (Justinian I), strove and forced everyone to accept the Council of Chalcedon. He condemned the letter of Hiba (Ibas), bishop of Edessa, and could not believe that the Council of Chalcedon had accepted it.¹³⁹⁸ He was furious when Vigilius, bishop of Rome, informed him that the council had in fact endorsed it. Three times he said, "Anathema is the council which accepted Hiba's letter." Since then, he overlooked the Council of Chalcedon but did not incline himself seriously toward orthodoxy.¹³⁹⁹ A foolish bishop from the village of Iphon (Joppa) in Palestine associated himself to him and corrupted his mind with the heresy of the Phantasiasts. He inculcated to him that the body of our Lord is not passible or corruptible. Justinian addressed letters to the patriarchs and bishops everywhere, ordering them to accept his idea. Apollinaris of Alexandria and his bishops refused to accept his order and were banished. Likewise, the bishop of Jerusalem and Eutyches, bishop of the capital, refused the order. However, Anastasius of Antioch and his bishops, when they read the emperor's letter, were shaken and weakened. The emperor ordered, and a council of 195 bishops was convened by Anastasius in Antioch. When the proclamation of the emperor was read at the council, Leontius, bishop of Haisarta, and Abraham, bishop of Rasafa, said that if this proclamation were accepted, the church would perish. The reason was that it condemned those who said that the body of Christ is passible and corruptible without specifying the kind of corruption. Leontius was asked, "What kind of corruption is meant by the fathers concerning the body of Christ?" He said that corruption is of twelve kinds based on what he had read in the letter addressed by Daniel, abbot of the Monastery of Beth Salah to the monks of the Monastery of Mor Basus, which he found in compiled collection. Then, they (members of the council) brought the writings of the great Mor Severus against Julian (the Phantasiast), written in Greek and Syriac. However, when controversy arose amongst them, Anastasius and the bishops said, "We are ready to step down from our sees but will never follow the doctrine of Phantiasm. This is the most honored crown of righteousness and Christianity that is more exalted than all kings. It perfectly shows the path in the fear of God and the preservation of the orthodox faith as a truthful witness."

"The divine St. Paul, who fought the good fight, stretched his right hand to receive the prize and bowed his head down to accept the crown. By his speech, he compared others to himself and urged them to struggle in the fear of God. He wrote to Timothy, 'I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. Now there is in store for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge, will award to me on that day—and not only to me, but also to all who have longed for his appearing.'"¹⁴⁰⁰

Anastasius and the bishops¹⁴⁰¹ went on saying, "This crown of righteousness is placed over the crown which is on your head. Therefore, fear God, for we have a great hope in what has happened. You have so far walked like a mighty man in the path of the commandments from heaven down to your head. You have annunciated the commandment by which you became emperor. You have brought together the scattered children of God and established peace between those who are far and near. You have preserved the traits of the faith intact based on apostolic examples."

"Here we say to you, lover of God, that the forthcoming crown excels every other crown, even this which exists. It will remain with you forever. The reward is for your consummate endeavor for the sake of the upright faith. By the grace of Christ, you lover of God, will be rewarded for your indefatigable effort especially now, you who believes more than anyone else in this church institution which has been given to us. As we assembled, we read your proclamation called *Edictum* in the Italian language. We noticed in it

¹³⁹⁷ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

¹³⁹⁸ For this letter, see *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, translated by Rev. S. G. F. Perry (Dartford, England: The Orient Press, 1881), 111-119.

¹³⁹⁹ In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 39, 422 of the English translation, Evagrius says that Justinian had departed from orthodoxy.

¹⁴⁰⁰ 2 Timothy 4:7-8.

¹⁴⁰¹ Addressing the proclamation of Justinian.

many things that condemn the ancient heresies. We also learned that you were accustomed, O lover of God, not to be satisfied with glancing at things if they sprout out of bitter and defiled origin, especially the heresies which have come to an end for some time. However, you follow them up by word lest something of them escape your attention and begin to grow up again in the appropriate time. We have also heard about different new matters against the known tradition. We also learned that the sheep of God graze, by the grace of Christ, with simplicity of heart and by your own endeavor meek as that of lambs, in pastures and with spiritual joy. They are given the water of comfort to drink but not the water of apostasy. We have learned, as you have informed us, O lover of God, that rapacious wolves have attacked the entire flock and not only a portion of it.”

“The Lord Jesus took unto himself a soul and a body. However, these people (the Phantasiasts), who want to destroy the mystery of the divine Incarnation, insist on maliciously contradicting and contravening these significant issues. Indeed, the (Fathers) had established that while he (Jesus) was still in the womb of our Lady the Virgin and Mother of God Mary, he was of same hypostatic union. He was the only Son of God and his Word. He was one person of the Trinity equal in substance and nature. Whether they knew it or not, they (Phantasiasts) disturbed violently the characteristics of the divine soul and confused, whether the noble body (of Christ) was corruptible or incorruptible. These matters frighten us, and your behavior disturbs the believing people who are scared of the introduction of another doctrine, and the destruction the ancient one that we still possess. We say as many others do that now they aspire for baptism, while they formerly recoiled from it. Quite often, they said that knowledge is not actually knowledge. However, according to our marvelous dispensation and the aforementioned tradition, our Lord and God in whom are hidden the treasures of wisdom, knows how to judged words and distribute human energies with knowledge. However, as human beings, ‘it is not for us to know the times or dates the Father has set by his own authority.’¹⁴⁰² For when we say that the body of the Lord is incorruptible, this does not mean that he is impassible or immortal, but that his body is not corrupted by sin. Corruption is of different kinds of which the corruption of sin is but one, as said, ‘They are corrupt, their deeds are vile,’¹⁴⁰³ and the total dissolution, as it is said, ‘But you, will go down to the pit of corruption.’¹⁴⁰⁴ In the light of these statements, it should not be said about the body of the Lord Jesus Christ that it is corruptible, for he did not commit sin and his body did not see corruption. Indeed, the Word precedes the body.¹⁴⁰⁵ He resurrected without corruption, and corruption did not touch him. We have shown that the corruptibility of sin occurs at conception. We should not ascribe corruption and dissolution to the body because it was without the Word. We should consider it impassible and immortal before receiving the Word, as he was without corruption after the resurrection. For in the resurrection, he (Christ) received impassibility and immortality. So if we attribute to him all this, where are then the blameless passions? Furthermore, what do the cross and death mean to us? Indeed, we would lose the faith if there were no death or resurrection. ‘If Christ has not been raised, our preaching is useless and so is your faith.’¹⁴⁰⁶ ‘But Christ has indeed been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep.’¹⁴⁰⁷ The body is susceptible to passions and death before the resurrection. It accepted corruption in order not to suppose that it is fiction or mere appearance. In effect, the natural passion is two folds, one is corruptible, and the other is an essential component. The corruptible submits to corruption; the essential component maintains its essence as it is said, ‘In order that they may grow to ripe old age and become able to withstand passion.’¹⁴⁰⁸ After all, it is inevitable for the animate that the death of the body is constituted by the passion that is susceptible to corruption. If this is not so, then there would be no death, especially this, which is death, the separation of the soul from the

¹⁴⁰² Acts 1:7.

¹⁴⁰³ Psalm 14:1.

¹⁴⁰⁴ The author is probably referring to Psalm 55:23, which says, “But you, O God, will bring down the wicked into the pit of corruption.”

¹⁴⁰⁵ Cf. 2 Corinthians 5:21.

¹⁴⁰⁶ 1 Corinthians 15:14.

¹⁴⁰⁷ 1 Corinthians 15:20.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Cf. Psalm 91:15-16.

body. In this context, the divine Apostle Paul describes passion as being death.¹⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore, when the council of the 318 (the Council of Nicaea) wanted to describe passion and death, it said, 'He (Christ) came down and was incarnate. He suffered and the third day he rose again,' with regard to the fact that the property of passion points to death. For this reason we believe that the fathers, who are clothed with God, added in several places the expression 'passible' to the term 'dying' because they looked at death as being more acceptable to corruption."

"Cyril says in his second book entitled *Treasure* that, 'Because he (Christ) took a body susceptible to corruption and death, and was subject to passion, it was necessary that he made passion associated with the body while he was enduring passion. Since he endured passion, we say, 'He was crucified, and died, and that he, specifically the Word, was not tormented by pain.'"

"The Great Athanasius said in the third treatise on the Trinity against the Arians, 'It is not possible for what is body to be without body. If Christ did not take a passible body and susceptible to death, then Mary from whom he took the body is dead. Therefore, passion, crying and moaning should be ascribed to his (Christ) body because they are properties of the body.' In consideration of what has been said, he is not susceptible to passions, death and corruption. If he is passible and susceptible to death, it is necessary to associate with him the term of 'corruption, which is exactly Phantasiasm. Here the naturally hidden truth disappears.'"

"As we prostrate before your meekness, we hope not to say anything without discernment. For we have learned from the Holy Scriptures and from the holy fathers to say concerning the Lord's body, that it is passible and mortal before the resurrection. After the resurrection, it is impassible and immortal because corruptibility and incorruptibility apply to every expression and it evenly divides the two periods of passion and death. This what St. Paul said about passion and death, 'But the one whom God raised from the dead did not see decay.'¹⁴¹⁰ It does not succumb to decay in the resurrection; the same is so concerning passibility and impassibility. St Paul says, 'So from now on we regard no one from a worldly point of view. Though we once regarded Christ in this way, we no longer do so.'¹⁴¹¹

"In his commentary on Second Corinthians, John of Constantinople (John Chrysostom) in the twelfth treatise says that, 'The expression of 'Christ in the body' means that he is passible by nature. How? Because he hungers, thirsts, felt tired and slept. If he was not in the body, he is free from all these things but not from the body. He might come with this body to judge mankind, but he will be impassible and immortal.'"

Remarks of the teachers of the Church against the Phantasiasts

In his letter to the Ephesians, Ignatius wrote, "One is the corporeal and the spiritual essence, created and uncreated, God in man. He was formerly impassible but then passible, our Lord Jesus Christ."

In his third treatise against Eunomius, Gregory of Nyssa distinguished times by deeds. He says, "The passions of the body were real and they ended with the end of the passion period. The body was sublimated by means of the immortality of God. Thus, it was transferred from corruption to incorruption."

Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus asks, "Why did he (Christ) enter (the Upper Room) while the doors were shut? He did this in order to explain the possibility of combining, simultaneously, between the thick and the thin, the mortal and the immortal, the corruptible and the incorruptible."

These same opposite terms (corruptible and incorruptible) are encountered in frequent places, where some (writers) discuss "corruptible," as if it is intertwined with "incorruptible." However, the Doctors of the Church not only put the incorruptible opposite of the corruptible, but they also place the incorruptible opposite of passion and death, knowing their natural relationship. However, in this way, by removing the word corruptible, we lay ourselves not only open to contradiction, but also to all kinds of dangers. We shall concisely show it to Your Piety.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Hebrews 2:9.

¹⁴¹⁰ Acts 13:37.

¹⁴¹¹ 2 Corinthians 5:16.

In his homily 82, John of Constantinople (John Chrysostom), comments on the Gospel of Matthew 26:29, "I tell you, I will not drink of this fruit of the vine from now on until that day when I drink it anew with you in my father's kingdom," saying, "What is this anew? It is an expression of estrangement. (What Jesus meant is that), "Not only I have a body not subject to passions, but it is also immortal and incorruptible." Here John puts "subject to passions" opposite of "incorruptible and immortal."

In his letter to Secundus, the sage Cyril mentions the expression "capable of corruption." He says, "After the Resurrection, Christ's body was the same body in which he suffered passions. But it became free from all human properties and thus incapable of corruption."

In his treatise on *Lights*, Gregory the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) adds his voice to the voices of these men and places the expression "incapable of corruption" in a counter position. He says, "Therefore, the things which were incapable of mixture have become mixed. Not only when God was born or when he assumed flesh, and not in time because he is outside time, and not by measure for he is unlimited, but by his birth from a Virgin. He endured humiliation that surpasses all honor. He suffered passion who (Christ) is not subject to passion, and as to corruptibility, he is immortal (meaning incorruptible)."

The same John of Constantinople says in his commentary on Psalm 46:5 (more correctly Psalm 47:5), "God has ascended amid shouts of joy," that, "If he had ascended to heaven before the cross when he was still enveloped in a noble and passible body, no one would have raised a doubt."

This is obviously the specific preoccupation of Athanasius, in his "Letter to Epictetus," concerning those who say that it is the deity of the Son which has suffered, and not the body. He puts forwards the contrary and rejects the fiction of the Phantasiasts when he says the following: "Those things did not happen in fiction as some thought; not at all! But our Savior made himself really man, and salvation for the entire man was the result of it. If the Word was only in fiction in the flesh, as they claim, and if "in fiction" means "in appearance," one must say like Mânî, the worst of the evildoers, that the resurrection and the redemption of humanity were a fictional story. However, our redemption is not fiction; it should not be attributed to the body alone, but to the entire man, to the soul and to the body. In reality, the redemption was "human," as a consequence of the same nature as that of Mary, according to the Holy Scriptures, and the body of our Savior was real; it was real because it was the same as ours. Mary, indeed, is our sister; because we all come from Adam."¹⁴¹²

(Addressing the emperor, the bishops continued saying), "O king, who has more faith than many others, contemplate with discerning these matters which have been said. Consider that reason determines the consequence as Athanasius says, 'Our redemption is not a phantasy, not only for the body but for the entire man. In truth, salvation is the salvation of the souls and the body.' He adds, 'It is the salvation of the soul and the same nature from Mary according to the Scriptures. Consequently, it is against Phantasiasm, which he ascribed to the body. Indeed, the body of the Savior is real.' Here, we observe the abundance of grace and the veracity of the Spirit that examines the depths of God. He does not confine himself to expressions, as it is noticed many times, in order that the body of Christ is understood as a phantasy, but as real. For his body is like our own body."

Basil the Great, in his conversation with the people of Sozopolis about the spirit with the same grace, considers the passions naturally contrary to those who make them a phantasy. Here it is clear that, in his incarnation, the Lord accepted natural and not imaginary passions. It is possible to consider everything natural as real, but not everything real as natural.

The aforementioned views are supported by the holy Cyril in his commentary on the Gospel of John. In Book Eight he says, "It was necessary that nature should have revealed that he (Christ) became man from a woman, and this is not a delusion or a fancy." Cyril ascribes to him human things except sin, like fear, anxiety, and natural passions free from sin.

¹⁴¹² See portions of the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus in *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 85-86.

BOOK NINE

Similarly, Proclus, (Phromos in the manuscript) bishop of the capital (Constantinople), supported the same idea. In his letter to the Armenians, he says, "Let them choose one out of two: either they deny the natural passions and go the way of Mani and then will be counted among the hypocrites, or accept the benefits of the Incarnation if they confess passions commensurate with nature."

Still addressing the emperor, the bishops continued saying, "And what we ourselves your servants are supposed to do. We do have plenty to say to the wise king (emperor), not that he might know but what is in his ability to know. As to you, you have already learned from God as its clear from your letter. Therefore, our saying that, 'by nature is not same as saying by grace'. You have indeed acted wisely by declaring publicly that nature is the foundation. However, the case is not the same when saying by grace. For it is necessary that reason should comprehend the expression of nature as Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) testifies about Christ that he is of the nature of God the Father. In this case, the father is the nature."

Ambrosius, bishop of Milan says in the fifth treatise on faith that, "The body is passible but the divinity is far from death. The passion of the body falls within the boundary of the natural law." Basilus follows this in his treatise on faith. He says, "Since the Lord accepted hunger, it was necessary that he had (taken) real food. He felt tired when the dampness in his body ceased to exist. When he tired, the arteries and veins expanded because of the fatigue of the road. The divine nature is not subject to tiredness, but the body accepted the symptoms that come from nature. He (Christ) sweats, because he allowed the symptoms of the nature of the body to appear."

An example is the evidence, Basil and his brother Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, presented in the fourth treatise on the Beatitudes. They said, "That one (Christ) shared everything except sin, namely the pangs of hunger but without sin. He did not drive away from him the temptation of passion, but accepted the vigor of the growth of nature through food, as he remained forty days without food. Later, he hungered." This means that when he willed, he allowed the body to do its own acts.

Let us now come to the expression: "The natural and the voluntary passion." The blessed Athanasius says in his treatise on faith against Apollinaris, "This is how death came about because the body accepted it by nature. However, the Word was sublimated by will, allowed the body to receive passion in a natural way on our behalf, and then resurrect by divine power."

Now if we leave these and other matters within us, we would have raised you above all the believers. In order that delusion would not take the place of reality under the term 'incorruptible,' we allow passion the property of delusion. For he (Christ) is holy and the creator of life; he is not susceptible to decay. We know that the body was united with the Word hypostatically in the womb (of Mary) without sin, and with the mediation of the rational soul. We also know him to be of passible and dying nature, because this is how he assumed the body, that he would suffer passion with what suits passion. The Word, who is not subject to passion, took what is ours and paid the debt of death on our behalf, and made us not guilty. He will, then, be liberated from his body without corruption.

John of Constantinople (Chrysostom) summarizes all that has been said in his commentary on (St. Paul's) letter to the Romans. He says, "Christ did not have a sinful body; he had a body like our sinful body with the same nature of our body, but without sin. Here we learn that the nature of the body is not evil. Jesus did not take another body instead of the first. This did not change his essence. It prepared him to fight anew. It left him established in the nature in order to win the crown of victory against sin. After victory, it raised him and made him unsusceptible to death."

"Following in the footsteps of our holy fathers, we have mentioned to your piety everything in a complete manner. They say, 'He is passible and mortal before the resurrection but impassible and immortal after the resurrection.' They (Phantasiasts) use possibility and death in the name of corruption and impassibility and immortality in the name of incorruption. If we would display their proofs, we fear that we might scratch your piety's ears. However, as we cite these honorable fathers for supplication, we appeal to you in the honor you possess from God, and beseech with tears your holy blessing to reproach those who created strange and unusual spurs for the church of God. We also beseech you to refute the false and

nonsensical remarks in order to restore the hearers to their senses and protect in peace and with perfect heart the wondrous faith. What will you say in this regard, will be a subject of pride for you like Hezekiah who said, 'Remember, O Lord, how I have walked before you faithfully and with wholehearted devotion and have done what is good in your eyes.'¹⁴¹³

"May the Chief Shepherd grant you the crown of righteousness instead of his sheep. May you live a life of righteousness and the ranks of priests shout Amen and Amen for a Christian monarch who is more righteous than all the people."

It is said that when the Emperor (Justinian) received this memorandum, he became furious against the bishops and had them banished. Others say that he felt remorse and repented. He overlooked both heresies (Chalcedon and Phantasiasm) and became established in orthodoxy, but his life drew near and he died by God's order after having ruled thirty-eight years.

At the death of Justinian, someone who is known for piety saw in a vision a vast wilderness and in its midst a furnace of fire whose flames rose up to heaven. He was frightened and asked about what he had seen and was told that, "This furnace is a sea into which Justinian will be cast because he, out of ignorance, corrupted the faith. But he is rescued because of the generous works of charity he did for the poor, and for building churches."

Here ends Book Nine, which covered a period of 118 years. During this period, six kings ruled over the Romans and five kings over the Persians. It is the year 6703 from Adam and the year 567 of the Christian Calendar.

The following is added in the Garshuni translation of the British Museum Or. 4402.

It is requested from each father or brother in every age who may read this book, to be gracious in offering a word of prayer for the sinful writer who is immersed in the mire (of sin). Amen.

¹⁴¹³ 2 Kings 20:3.

BOOK TEN

WITH THE HELP OF OUR LORD GOD JESUS, WHO SAW IT COMMENDABLE TO BE NAMED IN HIS INCARNATION WITH THE LETTER YUD, THE TENTH LETTER (OF THE SYRIAC ALPHABET THAT IS YESHU), I BEGIN BOOK TEN WHICH COVERS THE PERIOD FROM THE YEAR 568 OF THE BIRTH OF THE SAVIOR FROM THE VIRGIN MARY, AND THE YEAR 6703 FROM ADAM, AND THE YEAR 878 ACCORDING TO THE GREEK COMPUTATION (567 A.D.)

1414

Chapter One:¹⁴¹⁵

Justinian died in the year 878 of the Greeks¹⁴¹⁶ and was succeeded by his nephew (his sister's son) Justin II(565-578), who assumed power with his wife Sophia in the month of Teshrin (October). Justin II was from Thrace. He suffered pain in his legs. He was distinguished by being strict, and thus, criminals disappeared and no disturbance took place in the country of the Romans.

In this period, Chosroes ruled the Persians. At the beginning, people enjoyed a real peace. According to the usual custom when they rose to power, kings exchanged gifts. In the second year of his reign, Justin II dispatched John the Patrician of Callinicus, with gifts to the Persian king in order to disseminate peace and achieve unity among the churches. Later, however, the Persians began to tighten their grip on the Armenians who were under their control in order to force them to worship fire like the Magus (adherent of Mazdaism). The Armenians rebelled against the Persians and appealed to the Romans for help. The Romans responded by sending help to the Armenians who triumphed over the Persians. Chosroes sent a message to Justin asking him to restore the Armenians to his rule. He said to him, "It is inappropriate to extend your hand to rebellious people against their king. If you will not hand the people to me, at least restore the region which is subject to the tribute." Justin replied, "I will not hand to you a Christian people who have run away from the worship of demons and sought asylum with me." Chosroes wrote the second time saying, "If you will not restore the people to me and do not hand back the region, at least pay the amount of money which your kings are accustomed to pay on behalf of the Armenians, that peace may continue between us." Justin replied with vehemence, "I demand from you the money which you have exacted at one time. He who seeks peace should pay the tribute. How dare you demand the northern region while we want Nisibin, which was under the Romans and was given to the Persians under conditions as it is recorded in the books?"

In the first year of Justin II, which is the year 878 of the Greeks (567 A.D. while it should be 565 in which Justin II took office) in the month of July, there appeared in the northern part a tremendous fire which rose up to the sky like an awful flame.

In the same year, there appeared in the sky several times a fiery meteor. The people said about this phenomenon that it looked like the sign of a blood. The emperor ordered an object like a huge mangonel (bullista) made of hard wood to be brought from Zmorni (Smyrna). Some people held fire with their hands artfully and went up and down the mangonel before the crowds who came to see this frightful spectacle. On that night, fire kindled in the north and in the east of the sky. Finally, that game ended. On the next day, the people congregated and many suffered horrible death because of that phenomenon. The ropes used to pull the stones were cut off because of their heavy weight that rolled downward, and their bones were splashed by their blood.

That same fire appeared in September and October, and its flames were more dreadful. On September 5, an earthquake took place and shook the earth as a tree. This phenomenon was repeated after a few days. Also in September, soot fell down from heaven as if it was from a fire that resembled the soot of

¹⁴¹⁴ The entire Chapters of Book Ten are not numbered in the Syriac text. The numbering is mine.

¹⁴¹⁵ (There is no title of this Chapter in the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex).

¹⁴¹⁶ Justinian I died in 565.

reeds or burning paper. The length of this soot was about three fingers. The people filled a number of baskets from it and kept them in their homes. Many repented because of this phenomenon.

As to the emperor, when he was on his way to the bath, he departed the city from fear and went to the church of the Mother of God, known as "She of the Horn." In all the churches, supplications were offered with weeping and sighing. In addition, children, pupils and righteous women offered supplications. When supplication was offered on Friday morning at the Great Church, a great cross suddenly appeared at the third hour. It looked like a luminous cloud encircled by flaming fire. The emperor, the patriarch and the people shouted, "Lord have mercy". The people wept and sighed until the fire lifted. On the next day, the patriarch went into the presence of the emperor and said to him, "The cross has appeared to you in the sky as it did to Constantine. You should obtain a piece of the cross which is in Apamea in Syria." Immediately, the emperor commanded one of his generals to go to Apamea. After trying hard, and with the help of the bishop, he took the wood of the cross by force from the man with whom it was hidden and brought it to Antioch. It was sawn lengthwise, and one of the halves was sealed and kept in Antioch with the intention of sending it back to Apamea. The other half was sent to the capital (Constantinople). The emperor and the entire city went out to receive it on December 10. For ten days, they kept parading it through the churches for the people to be blessed by it. The emperor had a golden chest made in which the wood of the cross was placed and adorned with different jewels. He had it deposited in the great church of the city.

When Justin II (565-578) reigned, he wanted to achieve peace of the churches. In fact, he was concerned about this matter since the time of his uncle. When Pope Theodosius wanted to have an audience with him, the emperor ordered that he should present himself in his patriarchal vestments. He welcomed him and promised to work for peace and restore him to his see. However, the holy Theodosius passed away in that year. The emperor ordered a solemn funeral for him. He was eulogized by the monk Athanasius from the royal line. The emperor openly condemned the Council of Chalcedon and ordered the bishops who were under forcible residence in Antioch to be released.

When the news of the emperor's gracious treatment of Theodosius and his promise of peace and unity became public, well-known leaders and personalities came to the capital. The emperor summoned the bishops in Constantinople, and ordered both groups to search for the truth. He asked them to unite. Both groups spent about one year in the patriarchal residence discussing and listening, but the church found no peace because of sins. The Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) appealed to the emperor to work for peace. He said, "We are quite ready to send a patrician to the East for the sake of the church's peace. Go in peace and meet with him when he arrives in the East." However, they went ahead of the patrician to the East awaiting his arrival.

Bishop Jacob (Baradaeus. d. 578) arrived in the capital and met with the monks who were there. He went secretly to meet with the Empress Sophia and urged her to work for the peace of the churches. The empress welcomed him with great honor. She summoned Yuhanon (John the Patrician) and commanded him in the presence of the Metropolitan (Jacob Baradaeus) to work for the peace of the churches. She wanted Jacob to present himself to the emperor in order to hear from him (about the peace), but Jacob refused to do so. The emperor wanted to send John of Asia with John the patrician, but John of Asia could not go because he was busy baptizing the heathens.

In this time, another schism took place. The reason was that Paul who was residing with Pope Theodosius received the laying of hands from Jacob (Baradaeus) and Eugene for the See of Antioch. Consequently, he coveted the See of Alexandria. The Alexandrians wanted Athanasius, grandson of the Empress Theodora to be their bishop), and Paul wrote to the Alexandrians vilifying Athanasius. Upon learning this matter, Athanasius began to search through the life story of Paul. Then, the Alexandrians wrote a memorandum filled with calumnies against Paul, and confirmed its veracity because he was a native of their city. Athanasius informed the emperor of the memorandum. Paul, however, bribed the Alexandrians from the money he inherited from Theodosius. When this yielded no benefit, he went to Harith ibn Jabala. Harith ordered that the name of Paul be proclaimed in the Orthodox churches. The Alexandrians not only

suspected Paul, but also the Metropolitan Jacob who ordained him without the consent of the rest of the dioceses.

Chapter Two: On the consequence of the visit of John the Patrician to the East

The Emperor Justin (II) dispatched John the Patrician to Chosroes (king of Persia), carrying instructions concerning the peace of the churches. When John arrived in Callinicus (al-Raqqā), he met with crowds of the persecuted (non-Chalcedonians) and extended to them the good news of the peace the emperor was ready to achieve. They informed him, with eyes filled with tears, of the persecution and the hardships they suffered from the Chalcedonians. The patrician told Bishop Jacob (Baradaeus), "When I return from Persia, we will meet in the city of Dara."

Jacob made an effort to gather the bishops, the archimandrites and monks. When the patrician returned, they met with him in Dara. While they were engaged in discussing peace, letters of the emperor addressed to John (the patrician) arrived urging him to achieve peace of the churches before he left. Therefore, John urged Jacob and those in his company to go ahead of him to Callinicus while he visited the governors of the emperor. Meanwhile, the emperor sent Eugene, bishop of Cilicia, and the monk-priest Abouy from the capital. Many groups of people arrived in Callinicus because the meeting was for the sake of peace.

Here, another quarrel took place. Some opposed Eugene asking him to anathematize everyone who used the term "essences." He said to them, "The time is inappropriate for this." They did not desist because for a long time they were criticizing him in secret, but now in public. As a result, a controversy occurred among the believers and they were divided into two groups: one group sided with Conon, Eugene, Bishop Tauna, Athanasius, Abouy and the monk Phocas; the other group sided with Jacob (Baradaeus), Theodore, bishop of Arabia, Paul and John of Asia, Stephen, Longinus, Elisha, and Ptolomaeus. The two groups exchanged vilifications. The partisans of Jacob accused the partisans of Conon with polytheism, while the partisans of Conon accused the partisans of Jacob with "Sabellianism."¹⁴¹⁷

When the patrician John arrived, he summoned Palladius, archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Basus, Antiochus, bishop of Arabia, John of Qartmin and other known dignitaries and clergymen. He said to them gracefully, "Our emperor, the lover of peace, desires unity. I hope you would receive his desire with good intention. We know from books that the fathers were not alone who surrendered many things despite their eloquent, but have established the dispensation for peace for the wellbeing of the people. Indeed, even the apostles did this as it is written in the Scriptures. For example, evangelize Timothy first according to the Jewish custom that by the circumcision, and then introduced him to the New Testament. He did this because Judaism was still in control and Christianity had not yet spread, but when it spread, he decreed the annulment of the circumcision. As to Titus, he was a heathen (Greek) and did not object to circumcision. And when Paul saw that the glad tidings of Christ were spreading more, he wrote to the Galatians, "I Paul tell you that if you let yourself be circumcised, Christ will be of no value to you at all."¹⁴¹⁸ Therefore, he who circumcised Timothy out of fear of the Jews, himself proclaimed that circumcision was of no value to people. For the same reason, St. Cyril accepted John of Antioch, who was implicated in Nestorianism for merely confessing that Mary is the Mother of God. He addressed to him a letter of acceptance and received him into his communion. Cyril did this not by the power of eloquence but by condescension for the benefit of people. Therefore, it is impossible to achieve whatever you want to be accomplished in the churches while you are outside your sees. However, when God permits, especially that our victorious emperor has ordered to be executed, all of you will accept it and thus become part of the family. In time, other matters will be solved. But since I know the will of the emperor, that he will never endeavor for the peace of the churches while the controversy stands, I have indicated to you to accept whatever good will he has (offered), lest the peace of the churches vanishes if you insist on your position. Finally, you will be sorry and

¹⁴¹⁷ They were named after the heretic Sabellius, who taught that the three persons of the Holy Trinity are one and the same person and being.

¹⁴¹⁸ Galatians 5:2.

be forced to engage in other issues. Whatever we beseech you to accept today, you will later search for it and it will never be given you.

Having discussed these and other matters with the people and the archimandrites, the patrician John was asked to inform them of the emperor's plan. He sent them the emperor's proclamation carried by Zachariah, the archdeacon and chief of physicians. They said to him, "We only accept the document of the definition of the faith established by the 318 members of the Council of Nicaea and confirmed by the Councils of Constantinople and Ephesus. We do not accept any other definition. We believe in one God, etc. We confess two births of the Word: one is the birth from the Father before all the worlds, the second from Mary at the end of time. We confess the one true Word of God who did not change in the Godhead, and it is he who suffered in the body and mad miracles by his divinity. He is not another or some other. He is not Christ who is something and God who is something else. He is one from two natures, divine and human. He is one *qnumo* (hypostasis) and one person, and he is not two *qnume* (hypostases) or two persons. He is not two Sons but one person of the Incarnated Word. We anathematize all heresies especially those of Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, and Nestorius who was condemned by the Fathers Celestine (bishop of Rome) and Cyril (bishop of Alexandria). We also anathematize Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus) and the letter of Hiba (Ibas) and the writings of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and all the hypocrites who follow them. We accept the blessed Patriarch Mor Severus and absolve him of the condemnation imposed upon him. We also absolve verbally the condemnations imposed upon the holy Cyril whether they are first or last.

The Memorandum of the Bishops

Upon reading the proclamation, the bishops presented a memorandum saying, "We are quite confident that your serenity is concerned about the unity of the churches, that your will is pure and Christ-loving, and that you give spiritual matters a paramount place. We have great hope that the Lord shares your intention and makes your glorious endeavor easier. We hope that all this movement is for the good of the faith to which is connected the salvation of souls. We also hope that you will accept what we write with understanding and patience, and that every procedure should be taken after investigation and deliberation. Before anything else, we inform you that the proclamation of your eminence is good, but two terms should be added to it. We say, 'One nature from two *qnume* (hypostases).' This means one *qnumo* (hypostasis) of the Incarnate God the Word. It should not be said two Sons, two *qnume* and two natures as recorded in the proclamation. For the Twelve Chapters (Twelve Anathemas) of Cyril condemn anyone who reasons opposite of what they contained exactly as the anathemas mention, and condemn persons on both sides. It is self-evident that the name of the holy Severus (of Antioch) should be listed in the Diptychs¹⁴¹⁹ and the decision against him and against Anthimus, Peter and Zu'ra should be annulled because it is unjust. Therefore, if there is no difficulty in adding these two items to the proclamation, we will then accept the *Henoticon* of Zeno, which contains the anathematization of anyone who generates another definition or instruction to the faith in any council, in any place or time. Otherwise, it contradicts the definition of the 318 Fathers (of the Council of Nicaea). If the name of Severus is listed in the Diptychs and the mentioned unfair decision is annulled, and joy prevailed, then the names of the entire bishops who were martyred in the persecution should be added to the Diptychs. If Anastasius accepts the unity, he will remain in his see. Otherwise, someone else should replace him."

This memorandum was prepared at the Monastery of Mor Zakai with the unanimous vote of those assembled to be delivered to the patrician John. However, some monks were agitated and demanded to read it saying, "If what has been written is right, we will accept it or else we will not." The bishops intimated that the memorandum should be read, but the monks began to clamor. One of them, named Cosmas, nicknamed Bar Hraniata (son of the other ones?) from the Monastery of Mor Cyrus of Callinicus, had the audacity to tear up the memorandum in the midst of the assembly, and trouble began. When the patrician John learned of the matter, he became furious. He crossed the Euphrates leaving the meal that had been

¹⁴¹⁹ The Diptychs are two lists of the names of the living and the dead fathers of the church read out at the Eucharist.

prepared for him. The whole thing was the work of Satan. The people were distressed because the unity of the churches had not been accomplished. Immediately, some notables went to see John. They beseeched him to accept another memorandum, which the bishops would write instead of the torn up one, and he agreed. Jacob, Theodore, Eugene, Abouy and Phocas went up to John saying, "The peace of the church should not be destroyed by a controversy stirred up by some insolent men who hate peace," and John was calmed down. They wrote another memorandum. When Jacob and those in his company went back and told the monks that another memorandum was written and handed to John, they said to Jacob, "If you do not condemn that memorandum and vow not to accept it, we will condemn you and will not have you as our bishop." Thus, Jacob was forced to condemn the memorandum. Furious, the patrician John returned to the emperor and informed him of what had happened. The emperor overlooked the memorandum and began to persecute the believers. Those persecuted congregated and cursed the patrician John. On the same day, Satan entered him while he was in the presence of the emperor, and he collapsed. He opened his mouth like a goat and died. Fear gripped those present.

When the emperor learned that the monks were behind the trouble, he became once more concerned about peace. He addressed a letter to Sargona, governor of Dara¹⁴²⁰ as follows:

"By order of our majesty, let Jacob (Baradaeus) and Theodore come unto us for matters connected with church. Make effort to have our command executed. We, God is a witness, desire the church to be one. Therefore, you should not be slow in this matter for the salvation of souls. We do not like to persecute these orthodox, or such a thing will happen in our time; we cherish reconciliation. It is because of our sins that some wicked mediators destroyed the peace. Expose the bad behavior of Paul "the Lisper." He plundered the possessions of Pope Theodosius of Alexandria, of blessed memory, and fled to Alexandria claiming he was a bishop. He was rejected, returned to Antioch and was also rejected. I wonder, who would accept that demon if whatever was said about him is correct. He is the anti-Christ. May God put him to shame. We order that his name should not be mentioned in the churches. We instruct that his name be removed from the Diptychs. We have cast into prison Stephen and Longinus who defended Paul. They have guaranteed to have him appear before us, but he did not. So, we arrested both of them lest the partisans of Paul might claim that they were imprisoned on account of the faith."

"This is what we have found necessary to inform you. God forbid that we should arrest anyone or throw him into prison because of faith. Make a great effort to send Jacob and Theodore to us. We have written to Stephen to pay their expenses." Sargona delivered copies of the letter to all quarters, and joy prevailed. Theodore went up to the emperor and was welcomed with great honor. Jacob, succumbed to the rebellion of the monks and did not go, a matter which displeased the emperor who became extremely wrathful.

Chapter Three: On the controversy which took place among the bishops of Syria and the confusion regarding the observation of Lent

In the year 881 of the Greeks (570 A.D.), which is the fourth year of Justin II¹⁴²¹ and the end of the nineteenth year according to the calendar of Eusebius, which is the year (5032), a controversy, took place concerning Lent, and the Easterners addressed a letter in this regard to John, patriarch of Constantinople. The feasts were determined according to the afore-mentioned calendar. Accordingly, Christmas and Epiphany were fixed, but other feasts were not yet fixed. Lent was supposed to begin in that year on February 23, while some observed it on February 16. Still others observed it on February 29. Finally, it was decided to celebrate the Passover by all people at the same time. The Jewish Passover was observed on April 6, at the end of the period of 16 in order that another period of 16 would begin on March 25. This year terminated with the end of the year 19 on Sunday April 5/6. Concerning us, the end came with the year 13. Now, if the Jews celebrated their Passover on Sunday, we will celebrate ours on the following Sunday,

¹⁴²⁰ The text is not clear about this letter to Sargona. However, from the context of the letter, it must have been addressed to Sargona.

¹⁴²¹ As Justin II came to the throne in the year 565, the fourth year of his reign should be 569.

because our Passover should be observed after that of the Jews. This is also because after the Jewish Passover, Christ, who is our Passover, was slaughtered. Thus, the Jews celebrated their Passover on April 5 and we celebrated it on April 6. Such confusion occurred in the year 976 of the Greeks (665 A.D.), when the difference between this and that was five years in the year 209 of the cycle 532. After 190 years, a similar confusion about the commencement of the fast occurred in the year 1166 of the Greeks, which is the year 399 of the cycle of 532 years.

In this period, a severe earthquake took place between Samosata and Edessa and all the inhabitants were its victims. In addition, severe calamities occurred.

In this period, Anastasius, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, was removed and a Nazirite¹⁴²² named Gregorius was set up in his place. Gregorius was meek and humble, and took care of the sick and the strangers. He was also greatly concerned with solving the problems of the people. He welcomed pious monks and also welcomed us, the Orthodox, with love. He desired to live in peace with everyone.

As to Paul and Eugene, they were enemies insulting each other unashamedly. They never received communion from each other. They traveled through the regions of Conon preaching the idea of “essences.” They attempted to collect testimonies from the books of the fathers to prove their sick doctrine.

As to Jacob (Baradaeus), he roamed through Syria moving from one place to the other for fear of the emperor. He performed ordinations in secret. When he learned from letters what the partisans of Eugene, who never quit quarreling, were publicizing, he twice addressed to them letters but they did not obey. Finally, he summoned the bishops of Syria and signed the anathematization of Conon, Eugene and everyone who used the term “essences” for the Trinity. He gave them three days to think the matter over. When the partisans of Conon and Eugene learned of this, they in turn wrote an anathema of Jacob and his partisans and sent it to the East. The bishops who were with Jacob were more numerous than those with Conon and Eugene. As they anathematized each other, the partisans of Conon and Eugene took advantage of the situation and appealed to the emperor to investigate the reasons for which they were condemned by Jacob. They said that Jacob, like Sabellius, maintained one *qnumo* (hypostasis) of the Trinity. The emperor sent them to the Patriarch John to look into their case. When they presented themselves before John for discussion, they started vilifying each other, and John could not make them reconcile. Thus, they left humiliated because John did not exonerate either side. The partisans of Jacob and Paul accused the partisans of Conon and Eugene of being “Tritheists.”¹⁴²³ Meanwhile, the partisans of Conon and Eugene accused the partisans of Jacob of being “Sabellians.”¹⁴²⁴ The emperor rejected all of them. When they beseeched him to work for peace, he said, “How do you want me to endeavor for your peace while you are divided because of peace?” For this reason, the emperor oppressed us and persecuted us even more.

Finally, the partisans of Conon and Eugene repented saying, “The cause of the problem is the term “substances.” What we ask for is to remove from us the anathematizations.” Jacob and his partisans said, “If the anathematizations are lifted, the opportunity will become even greater for many to believe about the Trinity what they wish.” Thus, controversy continued between the two sides. However, when the emperor saw that Paul, Stephen, John of Asia, Ptolomaeus, Longina and Elisha contended with Eugene, Conon and Theonas, and learned that the cause of the controversy was the love of occupying a patriarchal see and human pride, he became furious against them. He forced some of them, and promised others to work for the peace of the church through the effort of Patriarch John. He also obliged them to accept his proclamation and the Council of Chalcedon. They took communion at the Great Church in the presence of the congregation. He also wrote to all the cities to disdain the Orthodox.

¹⁴²² A Nazirite is a person consecrated to God by vow not to drink wine or cut his hair.

¹⁴²³The Tritheists maintain that the persons of the Trinity are three distinct deities with distinct substances.

¹⁴²⁴ The Sabellians maintained that Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one and the same being, in the sense that three names are attached to one substance. See Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, second edition Oxford University Press, First United States reprint 1981), 38.

At the beginning of the third part of his history, John of Asia, like the groaning and lamentation of Jeremiah over Jerusalem, lamented the church of God and the calamities that afflicted the believers.¹⁴²⁵

In the sixth year of Justin II, the Orthodox enjoyed peace for forty years. They assembled in the capital with great freedom. John of Sirmin, motivated by wickedness, stirred up the wrath of the emperor against them. He banned their assembling, destroyed their altars and cast the clergy and the chief priests into prison. Thus, a violent storm blew up against the ship of the holy and peaceful Orthodox Church. It was like the vapor of dense and dark clouds that rained hailstones. Some of them were imprisoned with murderers, some in the praetorium (the court's floor), some in the diaconates,¹⁴²⁶ some in the basements of hospices, some in prisons in exile, and still some in the houses that belonged to the churches. Many of them managed to escape and were scattered everywhere. Worse still, the persecutors reordained the chief priests (of the Orthodox or non-Chalcedonians), and demanded from them to submit their confession of faith. The tongue is incapable of describing what the Orthodox endured in the prisons. More harsh than this treatment, was that the Chalcedonians allowed no acquaintance of the bishops to visit them or even talk to them. The food provided them was barely enough to mitigate their hunger. The persecutors particularly tightened the grip against the prisoners in the monasteries, if they could be called monasteries. They eyed them with hatred and sprinkled them with the water of washed dishes. They were given vinegar instead of wine, or what was thought to be wine. They gave them to drink murky water soiled with mud with the intention of shortening their lives.¹⁴²⁷

Presbyter Stephen, an old man inflamed with divine zeal, was imprisoned. He publicly condemned the Chalcedonians, and they delivered him to the prefect. He told the prefect, "You, wicked hypocrite, and those who delivered me to you. Why do you pretend to be a Christian like those who sent me to you, but like a heathen, you condemn the Christians? You are not one of the living beings if you do not hasten to roast me, I the Christian old man, and eat me." The prefect became frightened and sent him to the bishop, who in turn, cast him into prison in Heraclea of Thrace, where he remained for two years. They never allowed any of his acquaintances to visit him, neither was he given a tunic to change his clothes. He was tormented by lice and fell sick, close to death. He warned not to be buried by the Synodites (Chalcedonians) and none of them to pray over him. However, God made ready some Orthodox Romans who buried him. *Here the manuscript is defective and there is a lacuna.*¹⁴²⁸

The storm of persecution extended to the monasteries and convents of men and women. Like wolves, the Chalcedonians attacked the convents and tore up the ewes of Christ. They offered them their Sacraments, but they fled from their presence like sparrows. Some of them were caught and communion was placed in their mouths by force. Some fell down with their faces to the ground crying and condemning anyone who tried to have them take communion by force. Some were handed over to the Roman soldiers to do with them what we prefer not to mention.¹⁴²⁹ *End of the account.*

Chapter Four: On the edict of Emperor Justin II, and the persecution of the believers by the heretics, and the affliction of the Orthodox in the capital

After the Orthodox enjoyed peace and tranquility for forty years in the capital as we said earlier, the storm of wrath was raged against them. The instigator of this evil was John of Sirmin, who was set up a patriarch for the Synodites (Chalcedonians) in the capital. When John saw that the emperor was diligently seeking peace and thinking of sending a delegation to Rome for this purpose, and that Paul, former

¹⁴²⁵ See *Part Three of the Ecclesiastical History of the holy Mor Yuhanon (John), Bishop of the City of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1853), Book One, Chapter Four pp. 3-5. The Syriac text was discovered and published by the Syriac scholar William Cureton, and the English translation of the same by R. Payne Smith under the title *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford at the University Press, 1860), 2-3. In many instances, Smith does not give a verbatim translation but a summary of events. This source shall be cited throughout as John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, and English.

¹⁴²⁶ Diaconates were a kind of hospice run by pious women for the care of the poor and afflicted people. See below p. 560

¹⁴²⁷ See John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 3-5, English, 3-4.

¹⁴²⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 6-7, English, 5-6.

¹⁴²⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 9-10, English 8-10.

patriarch of Antioch, John of Asia, Theodore, Longinus, Stephen, Elisha and Ptolomaeus, were ready to depart, he became furious because the emperor did not entrust him or his partisans with this task. He summoned his supporters and went to see the emperor. They told him, "If the Pope of Rome does not agree with the delegates you have dispatched, they will depose him and set up someone else in his place. This what Alexandria will confirm because the Patrician Narses is of their idea." The emperor believed this deception and stopped sending the delegation. In fact, he was inclined to persecute them. When they refused to submit, he was furious and handed them over to their enemy John of Sirmin. John went about visiting the churches and the monasteries. He also urged the emperor to do the same and to force the congregations to draw them into the abyss. This bishop (John of Sirmin) was possessed by the spirit of malice and controversy, which distorted his vision so that he could not see straight anymore. A great number of our clergy (non-Chalcedonians) submitted to him and served many times, each one in his own rank. Then, he contrived another terrible stratagem. He began to behave like an impetuous, reckless and arrogant young man drunk with his priestly authority. He ordered those who agreed with him to be reordained as priests. Thus, he declared their priesthood invalid although they had served with him and before him as priests thirty-six times since their first ordination. He also wrote to other quarters to do the same, lest he be blamed alone for this action.¹⁴³⁰

In those days, a vision appeared to a righteous man. He saw a huge mountain and on its southern part stood a row of splendid churches. Suddenly, John of Sirmin arrived and demolished all of them.¹⁴³¹

This same John summoned a simple, old bishop, named Paul, and bound him in iron chains. After forcing him to submit to him, he ordered that he should be reordained in Antioch, Syria. According to their (Chalcedonian) belief, he divested him of his first priesthood and then ordained him a second time. John became a subject of mockery even by his partisans, who nicknamed him "he of two characters," and he died from grief. When he tried to force Elisha, Elisha said to him, "I became a bishop without being worthy. You cannot reordain me. If you believe that the canons can divest me of the priesthood that you may reordain me, you should also divest me of my baptism." John told him deceptively, "I will only cover you with the cloak." However, when he did not obey, he was banished. Then John summoned Stephen from prison after having afflicted him with many torments. Stephen reproached him for the reordination, and John sent him back to prison. He ordered the jailors to torture him without mercy until blood flowed from his body. Afterwards, he summoned him again and coerced him to accept reordination. Stephen cried out saying, "You devil! I refuse absolutely to be divested from my priesthood unless you also deprive me of my baptism." Accordingly, a great sedition took place. Stephen managed to enter the presence of the emperor shouting, "Christianity has vanished and the canons and ordinances have been trampled on. I have been a bishop for twenty years and he (John of Sirmin) is trying to deprive me of the orthodox priesthood, especially that I have obeyed your command. He wants to reordain me according to his own method. Let him prove what canon has authorized him to do so. Either he does not know church canons or steps over them with arrogance with the result that your serenity will be blamed on his account. However, if he has taken this procedure by your intimation, then command that we become divested of our baptism and be rebaptized. Canon Nineteen instituted by the 318 Fathers (at Nicaea) indicates the rebaptism of the partisans of the heresy of Paul of Samosata and will then receive the priesthood." The emperor was astonished as if he had just woken from slumber. He rejected this procedure and had it stopped. Immediately, he issued an edict preventing the divestment of priesthood, with the exception of what applied to the heresies, as stated by the canons.

Then John of Sirmin summoned the Patriarch Paul, John, Stephen and Elisha, pretending that he called them to achieve unity. They rebuked him and challenged him concerning faith and the divestment of the priesthood. They said to him, "Whence did you learn to deprive from the priesthood priests older than

¹⁴³⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 10-12, English 8-12.

¹⁴³¹ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 12-13, English, 12-13.

your father and reordain them? Worse still, you do this to those who have served with you thirty-six times.” Stumped, he began to utter foolish things.¹⁴³²

Chapter Five: On the edict of Emperor Justin (II), and the persecution of the believers who returned to Orthodoxy, by the heretics in the city of the kingdom (Constantinople)

The Edict of Emperor Justin (II)

“My Peace I give unto you, says the Lord Jesus, our very God, my peace I leave with you’¹⁴³³ this is what he proclaimed to all mankind. Now this is nothing else than those who believe on him should gather into one and the same church, being unanimous concerning the true belief of Christians and rejecting what contradicts it. For, before anything else, the salvation of men is associated with the true faith. Wherefore we also, following the evangelical precepts and the holy symbol of doctrine of the holy fathers, exhort all persons to unite in one and the same church and sentiment. This we do, believing in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, holding the doctrine of consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead and one substance, both in terms and reality; one power, influence, and operation in three *qnume* or persons; into which doctrine we were baptized, in which we believe, and to which we have united ourselves. For we worship a Unity in trinity and a Trinity in unity, peculiar both in its division and in its union, being Unity in respect of substance Godhead, and Trinity with regard to it proprieties or persons. For it is divided indivisibly, so to speak, and is united divisibly. There is one thing in three, namely the Godhead and the three things are one, namely, those in which is the Godhead, or, to speak more accurately, which are the Godhead. We acknowledge the Father to be God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God. We hold the doctrine of consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead both in terms and reality, or nature and substance. Whenever each of these persons is regarded by itself, the thought in that case separating the things that are inseparable, the three persons, when viewed as being conjoined, are one God by sameness of motion and of nature. Therefore, we believe in one God and confess the three persons, subsistences) and their proprieties. We also confess the only begotten Son of God, the God-Word, who, before the ages and without time, was begotten of the Father, not made. Who in the last of the days, for our sakes and for our salvation, descended from heaven, was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and was born of her. Who is our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit. The Holy Trinity did not admit the addition of a fourth person, even when one of the Trinity, the God-Word, had become incarnate. But our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same, being consubstantial with God the Father as respects the Godhead, and at the same time consubstantial with ourselves as respects the manhood, passible in the flesh, and at the same time impassible in the Godhead. For we do not admit that the Divine Word who wrought the miracles was one, and he who underwent the sufferings was another. However, we confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, namely, the Word of God become incarnate and made perfectly man, and that both the miracles and the sufferings that he voluntarily underwent for our salvation belong to one and the same. Inasmuch as it was not a human being that gave himself on our behalf, but the God-Word himself, becoming man without undergoing change, submitted in the flesh to the voluntary passion and death on our behalf. Accordingly, while confessing him to be God, we do not contravene the circumstance of his being man. While confessing him to be man, we do not deny the fact of his being God. Therefore, while confessing our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, composed of both natures, namely, the Godhead and the manhood, we do not super induce confusion upon the union, since he will not lose the circumstance of being God on becoming man like ourselves, nor yet in becoming by nature God, and in that respect incapable of likeness to us, will he also decline the circumstance of being man. However, as he continued God in manhood, in like manner, though possessed of Divine supremacy, he is no less man, being in both one, God and man at the same time, one Emmanuel. Further, while confessing him to be at the same time perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, of which

¹⁴³² John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 13-18, English, 13-22.

¹⁴³³ John 14:27.

two he was also composed, we do not attach to his one complex subsistence a division by parts or severance. Moreover, we signify that the difference of the natures is not annulled by the union, for neither was the Divine nature changed into the human, nor the human nature converted into the Divine. However, each being the more distinctly understood and existent in the limit and relation of its own nature, we say that the union took place according to subsistence. The union according to subsistence signifies, that the God-Word, that is to say one subsistence of the three subsistences of the Godhead, was not united with a previously existing human being, but in the womb of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, formed for himself of her, in his own subsistence, flesh (body) consubstantial with ourselves, having the same passions in all respects except sin, and animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul. He retained his subsistence in himself, became man, and is one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ, united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Further, while considering his ineffable union, we rightly confess one nature, that of the divine Word, to have become incarnate, by flesh animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul. On the other hand, while contemplating the difference of the natures, we affirm that they are two, without, however, introducing any division, for either nature is in him. We confess one and the same Christ, one Son, one person, one subsistence, both God and man together. In addition, all who have held or do hold opinions at variance with these, we anathematize, judging them to be alien from the Holy and Apostolic Church of God. Accordingly, while the right doctrines that have been delivered to us by the holy fathers are being thus proclaimed, we exhort you all to gather into one and the same Catholic and Apostolic Church, or rather we even entreat you. Though possessed of imperial supremacy, we do not decline the use of such a term on behalf of the unanimity and union of all Christians, in the universal offering of one doxology to our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, and in abstinence for the future on the part of all from unnecessary disputes about persons and word---since the words lead to one true belief and understanding---while the usage and form which has hitherto prevailed in the holy Catholic and Apostolic church of God, remains forever unshaken and unchanged.”¹⁴³⁴

This is the edict proclaimed by the Emperor Justin II. He ordered that no one should provoke the discussion of the faith at all, but that everyone should believe in what it contained. Those who do not accept it should be driven out wherever they were.

Chapter Six: On the persecution stirred up by the Emperor Justin II against the bishops who apostatized and then returned to Orthodoxy

The Emperor Justin II delivered his edict to the imprisoned bishops to see whether it needed revision.¹⁴³⁵ The bishops returned it after making some revisions. Patriarch John and his party read the revisions, became outraged and went to see the emperor. The emperor approved the revisions, while John and his party were even more riotous. The emperor realized that their ideas were similar to those of Nestorius. Outraged, he threatened Anastasius saying, “I will cut off your head if you did not bring me back this evening twenty copies of the revised edict.” The Nestorians were scared and differed with each other. They began dinning like wasps. They persisted imploring the emperor to give them a choice, and he did. When the edict reached the bishops and they did not see the revisions except for trivial corrections, they neglected it because it was distorted by the opponents. On the one hand, the edict opposed the Council of Chalcedon, and on the other, defended it. The bishops said, “If the Council of Chalcedon was removed from the church, union would have been achieved a long time ago. However, whenever you bring in the council, we cannot unite with you. Guilt is tormenting us because we said we would unite with you without putting aside the council.”¹⁴³⁶

¹⁴³⁴ The entire text of the edict is in Evagrius, *History of the Church*, Book Five, Chapter Four, the English translation, bound together with the history of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), pp. 426-430. No name of the translator is mentioned.

¹⁴³⁵ The emperor sent the edict directly to the bishops imprisoned in the patriarchal palace by the hand of Zachariah, a learned man, literally a sophist. See John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 24-27, English 28-30.

¹⁴³⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, pp. 27-28, English, 28-32.

A Special Narrative about John of Asia

When John of Asia, who had converted the heathens was in prison, the emperor and the patriarch sent him a message saying, "Come and join your brethren Paul and Elisha and you will free yourself from this misery." However, John anathematized the messengers. On the next day, the emperor and the patriarch sent messengers to him to come for the sake of the unity of the church, and he, likewise, cursed them.. He then went secretly to Stephen and informed him of the torture inflicted on him, but did not slacken his determination.¹⁴³⁷

During his imprisonment, John was inflicted by boils in his legs and hands so that he lay like one dead unable to turn from one side to the other. Lice and fleas filled his cell and the fetid smell of the hospital attracted infinite numbers of flies and gnats, which settled upon him. Bugs and ticks appeared at night and covered his bed and even his beard, until his face and eyes were inflamed and swollen, while the bugs stung him like fire. Likewise, mice made their nests under his pillow, and were scratching and squeaking all night. It may be that the record of these things will excite the laughter and ridicule of those who have never been tried. However, in the words of the Lord, they should rather watch and pray that they enter not into temptation.¹⁴³⁸

Amid these temptations, he saw a vision at midday. A youth of beautiful appearance, clad in a white tunic with fringes of spotless purity entered his cell while the door was shut. He said to him, "Peace be to you father. Why do you cry?" He was astonished when he saw him and thought that he was one of the twelve great attendants standing before the emperor. Then he said unto him in a sad voice coming from a man faint of heart who had lost every hope, "See in what great torture I am." The young man said unto him, "Cheer up, father, and let not your spirit be sad, but give thanks unto God. Be sure that I will convey to the ears of the emperor the torture which you are in." With these words, the young man encouraged him. Then he said to him, "Are you thirsty?" John said he was. The young man left and returned bearing a cup that held a wondrous mixture. He drank it with joy and delight, his spirit was refreshed and he thanked God. John said to him, "May God be merciful to you my son, in that you have done unto me this kindness, and have visited me, and comforted me." However, the young man continued to console him with many words and exhorted him not to be faint of spirit. He explained to him that the orthodox doctrine is true and well established and those who deviate from it will lose much. He supported his words with testimonies from the Scriptures. John was astonished and asked in his heart, "How a soldier and young man knows the Scriptures so much?" Thus, for eight days the young man came to see him once a day and said to him, "Be strong and cheer up for you will be compensated for all this torture." After the young man visited John eight times, the syncellus of the patriarch also visited him to see how he was doing, but John received him with curses and anathemas. He told him, "Even if your faith (the faith of Chalcedon) was true, we will never unite with you, for when you saw me in great misery, you did not grant me even one of my servants to wait upon me." The secretary said, "Curse us no more. We did not even know that you were sick." He then sent a servant to wait upon him. From the time he had a servant to wait upon him, the young man never showed up again. When John asked the jailor about the young man, he said that he has not seen him. They collected all the attendants who said that they had never seen a young man resembling the one he described. The keeper said, "Father, if a man has the power to appear secretly in the form you describe, half of the city would have been stirred up by his appearance. Be sure that either God sent one of his saints or angels to visit you." John remembered he words of the young man that he would leave the prison on that certain day. Exactly on that day, he was released from prison, having spent in it a year and nine days. They sent him to an island in the sea where he converted heathens for twenty-eight months. After this, they brought him back to the capital and he was placed under guard for three years, until the death of John of Sirmin.¹⁴³⁹

¹⁴³⁷ John of Ephesus, III, Syriac, 69-71, English, 90-92.

¹⁴³⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 70-72, English, 92-93.

¹⁴³⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac 68-77, English, 93-99.

John swore that what he had written is the truth. He said, "I bear witness before God that these things have actually taken place and before people. They are not at all imaginary."

When the new definition in the (emperor's) edict was read, the bishops assented to the Council of Chalcedon. At the beginning, Paul of Antioch endorsed the council. However, when he realized that he could not obtain what he was aspiring for, he regretted what he did. After once having communion with the Chalcedonians, he reconsidered and anathematized the council. He fled and hid to escape capture.

As to Stephen, he endorsed the council and had communion with the Chalcedonians, and they appointed him a bishop for Cyprus. Shortly afterwards, he repented and fled Cyprus. The Chalcedonians appointed Ptolomaeus an administrator of a Martyrium. Elisha kept living in the capital. Longinus fled to the region of Logmin where he first was a bishop of people called Blemyes. John of Asia (John of Ephesus) communicated with the Synodites only once believing that the emperor would reject the council. However, when this did not happen, he repented and separated himself from them. The emperor threatened him and cast him into prison. When he did not yield, but rather declared that his communion with the Chalcedonians was attached to a condition of their promise, and was not simply his acceptance of the council, they banished him. Eugene and Thoenas escaped. Conon, bishop of Cilicia, suffered greatly from the Chalcedonians but did not yield. The emperor handed him over to Photius in Palestine who cast him into prison. Jacob (Baradaeus) alone remained in the East establishing churches. Theodore ended his life in the East.

In this manner ended these affairs in the fifth year of Justin II.

On the Persecuted Bishops in the Fifth Year of Justin II

The historian John of Asia mentions another episode concerning the persecuted bishops in the fifth year of Justin. He said that after thirty-three days of debating with each other, the Chalcedonians summoned the (non-Chalcedonian) bishops from prison and proposed to them to have union with them. They said to them, "Examine your conscience, for you do hinder the union." However, the bishops in grief and deep sorrow said, "Were matters justly tried, and by upright rulers, it is not we who hinder union, but you, while the very center of your heart is full of corruption, opposition and dissension introduced at Chalcedon, who wish to make it appear that we are the hinderers. What you fraudulently require is that we should unite ourselves to all the falseness of Chalcedon." But Patriarch John (of Sirmin) and those with him answered, "As we have often said before, both we and our king (emperor) give you our word, and our oath as in the presence of God, that upon your union with us, the synod shall immediately be put away, and whatever comes out of our mouths shall not be changed." When agreement was reached upon this basis, those who did not wish peace began to criticize the bishops on both sides. When the (non-Chalcedonian) bishops accepted communion with the Chalcedonians, they openly condemned the Council (of Chalcedon). However, upon pressing the question of ejecting the synod, (Chalcedon) the patriarch and his council began to twist their words and make excuses, saying, "We have written to the pope of Rome and if he assents, we will eject the council; for we cannot, just for your sake, separate ourselves from Rome." The non-Chalcedonian bishops sadly replied, "O Lord, is this not what I said when I was still at home, etc.?"¹⁴⁴⁰ Thus, it appeared that the (non-Chalcedonian) bishops were not an obstacle to union.

How can one suffer to write in detail the grief that came upon them after they had thus fallen into communion with the heretics? For the moment, their eyes were swollen and blinded from weeping. They could no longer even eat their usual food and despaired of life. Upon hearing about their state, the emperor summoned them and said, "Why have you lost hope as if you have sacrificed to idols? We trust God to please you." However, they argued with him for being untruthful to them. He finally said to them, "As we are preparing to go to the hot baths, wait for us for twenty or thirty days, and be assured that we will return at once for your sakes and content you." After one month, the emperor returned, but before he had reached the city, the Patriarch John accompanied by his partisans, went out to meet him. They brought fresh

¹⁴⁴⁰ Jonah 4:2.

accusations against the bishops. Thinking that they could deceive them for the second time, they sent to them messengers saying, "Your consent is of great importance to us. We have sent you a schedule of the most famous cities. Choose each one of you the city that pleases him." They said, "We did not sacrifice ourselves for the sake of being made bishops of cities, but in expectation that the promises of unity are fulfilled, and the synod (the Council of Chalcedon) is ejected. If the synod is not ejected, we will have no communion with you forever." Upon hearing the bishops' reply, the emperor became furious. On the morrow, they (non-Chalcedonian) bishops were summoned to trial, and required to continue in communion with the partisans of the synod. However, they stood up, and strove powerfully in contest with them. Without fear, they openly convicted them of all their deceitful promises and false oaths, and anathematized publically to the senate the Council of Chalcedon. Ablaze with wrath, the patriarch (John of Sirmin) commanded that they should be dragged by the throat, separated from one another, and sent into exile. No one of their acquaintances saw them again.¹⁴⁴¹

The author of this account is John of Asia who was one of these bishops. He wrote what he saw and heard from the emperor and the patriarch, not relying on hearsay. Whatever he wrote is only a small portion. The bishops swore an oath not to have communion with the Chalcedonians, and were banished for the third time.

When the monk Paul was confined in the Monastery of Mor Abraham, he wrote down the events of what John of Sirmin did to the church. Nonetheless, he was caught writing, and the book was taken from him before it was finished. They (Chalcedonians) carried it to John (of Sirmin), who took it and read it before the emperor. Upon hearing it, he found that his own acts against the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) were regarded with disapproval, he was greatly enraged and commanded that they should take the book to Paul and ask him whether he was the author. Paul confessed and did not deny that he was the author. The emperor decreed that he deserved death.

Stephen, however, bishop of Cyprus, ventured to offer a petition on Paul's behalf to the emperor, praying that he might be pardoned. The emperor accepted his intercession, and promised that if he would take communion in his company, all his offenses will be forgiven him. Stephen fraudulently induced Paul to accept the emperor's command, and he accepted it out of fear. John of Sirmin, then, assembled a large number of the inhabitants of Alexandria and made Paul receive the sacraments from his hands just for the sake of mocking him. From this time, Paul became very close to the emperor because he was a wise and intelligent man, and well-read in books. John was not a little alarmed of him and left him unguarded. Paul fled and no longer communicated with the Synodites (Chalcedonians).¹⁴⁴² *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Seven: On the soldiers and laymen who were persecuted in this period for their faith; and on the persecution stirred up against the Christians in Persia for the same reason; and on the Armenian catholicos who visited Constantinople because of the persecution

The Magians said to Khusro (Chosroes),¹⁴⁴³ King of Persia, "The Romans in your kingdom require from everyone to worship according to their own faith. Those who do not comply will receive the sentence of death. Why do not we do the same?" Khusro began to persecute the Christians. He seized three bishops and a congregation of believers and had them tortured. He ordered the bishops skinned, and they received the crown of martyrdom. He demolished the churches and the monasteries, and ordered that a temple for fire worship be built in Armenia. He forced the Armenians to worship him. The people, however, would not let him build a temple for the worship of fire in their country, and engaged in war with the Persians for six years.¹⁴⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴¹ Michael Rabo produces this rather lengthy account in brevity. For a full account, see John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 32-46, English, 32-49.

¹⁴⁴² John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 65-68 and 79-80, English, 18-28.

¹⁴⁴³ He is Khusro Nushirwan, or Anusharwan 531-579. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Tenth Edition, Macmillan, 1970, p. 308.

¹⁴⁴⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 96-98, English, 118-119.

The Armenian catholicos of the city of Dvin (Dowin), in the Persarmenia, together with a group of bishops, met without difficulty the patriarch of the city. They had not yet heard of the corruption of the synod (the Council of Chalcedon), which the Romans had adhered to. Then, when the news of the council became public in their county, the bishops threatened the catholicos and those with him saying, "If you communicate with the Synodites (Chalcedonians), we will never accept you, and will anathematize you." They separated themselves from the rest and assembled alone in one of the houses. Two years later, the Armenian catholicos died in Constantinople.

The persecution of the Christian under the rule of the Persians intensified in Khusro's lifetime. As much as the reports of the persecution reached the Romans, the more the Persians persecuted the Christians.¹⁴⁴⁵

In this period, a group of Alexandrian sophists and scholastics journeyed to the capital. They spent one year in discussion, and the Chalcedonians could not seize them because they (Alexandrians) exported wheat to them (Constantinople). For this reason, they departed in peace.¹⁴⁴⁶

In this period, Conon was at the head of the Tritheists who held the belief in the multiplicity of natures and substances and Godheads and Gods (in the holy and consubstantial Trinity). They (the Chalcedonians) wanted him to sign a document in which he admitted that he is a heretic, and swore that they would never accept him until he signed such document.¹⁴⁴⁷

Photius, son of the daughter of Belesarius,¹⁴⁴⁸ was a soldier. He had assumed the tonsure and became a monk. Shortly afterwards, he joined the emperor's service. He became a thief and a spoiler of possessions, which he delivered to the emperor. He exacted from each bishop a quantity of pounds of gold. The bishop, who refused to pay, was tortured without mercy either by having him tied to a rope fixed either behind his head, or to his elbows. Photius continued these reprehensible practices, especially with the Orthodox, for twelve years. Finally, he was afflicted by a severe blow and was greatly tormented and died. Then, when John of Sirmin saw that the persecutor of the Orthodox had perished, he went into the presence of the Caesar Tiberius to inflame him against the Orthodox. Caesar replied, "Tell me now the truth: who are these persons about whom you ask me, and whom you urge me to persecute? Are they heathens?" The patriarch said, "Heathens they are not." "What then," said he, "Are they heretics?" "No my lord," he replied, "neither is they heretics." "Well then," said Tiberias, "As you yourself bear witness, they are Christians." "They are so indeed Christians of the Christians," he replied. "If then, as you bear witness," said the Caesar, "they are Christians, why do you urge me to persecute Christians, as if I were Diocletian, or one of those old heathen kings? Go sit in your church and be quiet, and do not trouble me again with these things."¹⁴⁴⁹

The emperor (Justin II) forced Andrew, the queen's chamberlain and purse bearer, to accept the Council of Chalcedon, but he refused while others, under heavy threat, weakened and accepted the council.¹⁴⁵⁰ The emperor asked him to either take the communion from the Chalcedonians or get out of the palace. Andrew immediately divested himself of his robe of office, and laying it at the emperor's feet, said,

¹⁴⁴⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 95-98, English, 118-119.

¹⁴⁴⁶ This paragraph does not make much sense. It seems that Michael Rabo had a rather inadequate quotation of the original text of John of Ephesus. John, who was discussing the persecution, said that a message was sent (by the Chalcedonians in the capital) to Alexandria, then the center of orthodoxy. They asked them to send some of their learned men known then as sophists and scholastics, together with some of the ship-owners who were the richest and most powerful class in that city. The purpose of summoning them to the capital was allegedly to discuss the unity of the church. In truth, they wanted to compel them to accept the Council of Chalcedon. The Chalcedonians treated them mildly, but finally required them to endorse the Council of Chalcedon. However, they refused, and resisted for a whole year, and would not submit. Finally, they let them go. The reason is that those in authority thought that if they treated them with coercion, this might provoke unnecessary violence, which would interrupt the shipment of wheat from Alexandria on which Constantinople depended. See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 49-50, English, 69-70.

¹⁴⁴⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 46, English, 52. The case of Conon and the Tritheists extends to p. 66.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Actually, Phoitus was the son of Antonina, wife of Belesarius. See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 47, English 66.

¹⁴⁴⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 47-49 and 52-53, English, 65-69 and 72-74.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Most of these were lay commissioners who served in different capacities at the court.

“Never have you shown me a greater kindness by saving me from the bondage of men and making me serve my creator.” So saying, he left the emperor’s court and was confined in the palace of Hormizda.¹⁴⁵¹ After sometime, they (the Chalcedonians) sent him messengers to see whether he would yield and have communion with them. He resisted and they removed him and imprisoned him in the Monastery of Dalmatus, which was most distinguished of all the monasteries. His imprisonment lasted three years after which he was set free, but was not restored to his office at court.¹⁴⁵²

Three men of consular rank, named John, Peter and Eudaemon,¹⁴⁵³ had also endured torment with patience. After beating and scourging them, they were returned to their sees. In addition, Sergius the presbyter and historian, and another Sergius who was also a presbyter, endured severe beating and scourging by the Chalcedonians, but did not slacken. Finally, they were cast into prison.¹⁴⁵⁴

There was also a presbyter named Andrew.¹⁴⁵⁵ The Chalcedonians broke open his hiding place, pulled him out and dragged him out in the streets. He began to cry out, “Satan! I am a Christian.” Still, he was tormented. Some zealous men tried to kill the persecutors, but they fled into hiding. Andrew managed to escape.¹⁴⁵⁶

The Orthodox had two diaconates¹⁴⁵⁷ in the capital. One of them was founded by Paul of Antioch, and no Chalcedonians assembled in them. But, when the Orthodox were betrayed that they were assembling in them, Thallus, the superintendent, sent away the clergy and monks in order not to give an opportunity to those (the Chalcedonians) who were ready to find fault, and he resolutely continued to care for the sick.¹⁴⁵⁸

The superintendent of the other diaconate was a clergyman named Cometes, but was expelled for the faith sake with many others. However, one who admired his virtues bequeathed to him a large hall, capable of being turned into a diaconate. At the time, however, of the persecution, an accusation was brought against him of holding assemblies for the administration of the Holy Communion. Accordingly, the hall was confiscated and formally closed by an imperial brief suspended on the door. Cometes himself was banished to an island and all his fraternity, except few, dispersed. However, his fate did not deter those from continuing their labors. They retired to another place, and devoted themselves to ministering and tending the poor.¹⁴⁵⁹

Less unfortunate were the two women Antipatra, mother-in-law of the consul John, and her daughter Georgia, John’s wife, who was also of consular rank. After having been immensely tormented by the Synodites (Chalcedonians), they were placed in nunneries. They shaved off their hair and swept the convent.¹⁴⁶⁰

Sophia, the Orthodox empress, used to receive the communion from the presbyter Andrew, who celebrated the Eucharist in her house. When he was reserving the consecrated elements, she used to tell him to leave out one pearl, as the particle of the consecrated bread was called, and place it upon the paten under cover. Sophia thought Justin himself would take it, as he also had an aversion to the communion of the Chalcedonians. Finally, Sophia accepted the communion of the Chalcedonians.¹⁴⁶¹

Before she accepted communion with the Chalcedonians, Sophia saw a pleasant visions, as she said. Her thoughts were disturbed because of the increasing controversies in the capital concerning the Tritheists

¹⁴⁵¹ This palace is called after Hormizda who fled to Constantinople to escape the cruelty of his brother, King Sapor of Persia.

¹⁴⁵² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 80-84, English, 100-105.

¹⁴⁵³ They were chief members of the Orthodox party at Constantinople.

¹⁴⁵⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 86-87, English, 107-109.

¹⁴⁵⁵ He is not the Andrew mentioned above. He had shut himself up in one of the towers of the city walls.

¹⁴⁵⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 91-92, English, 112-113.

¹⁴⁵⁷ The diaconates were a charitable institutions for the care of the sick and persons in distress. They were mostly run by pious women to help the suffering members of Christ’s flock.

¹⁴⁵⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, 92-93, English, 113-115.

¹⁴⁵⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 93-94, English, 115-117.

¹⁴⁶⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 87-89, English, 109-110. The menial work which these women were ordered to perform is much more than what Michael Rabo recorded.

¹⁴⁶¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 106, English, 105-106.

and that the churches, the clergy and the congregations were in distress. In a vision, she saw the Mother of God saying to her, "Look daughter! Beware of the Tritheists who maintain three Gods and three substances." Sophia said God forbid my lady." She rejoined, "I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: one God." The mother of God held her hand and said, "You have made a good confession." Sophia was astonished. She awakened the emperor and told him the vision.

Chapter Eight: Concerning the matters that took place between the Persians and the Romans in the eighth year of Justin; and on the chief priests

In the eighth year of his reign, Justin II made his aunt's son, Marcian, Caesar (Patrician), and dispatched him to Nisibin with Roman troops. Upon reaching the city of Dara, Marcian sent some of his force to the Persian territory. They destroyed and pillaged plenty of possessions and returned to Dara. The Persians, who became mightily fearful of the Romans, delegated the marzuban (provincial governor) of Nisibin to the borders to meet with Marcian.¹⁴⁶² He convinced him to postpone the war for four more months. During this period, the Persians informed their king of the happening and brought into Nisibin plenty of provisions. They also spoiled the orchards about a throw of an arrow's distance and drove out the Christians inside the city. The emperor ordered Marcian to proceed to Nisibin immediately. After observing Easter in Dara, Marcian advanced in mid-April to Nisibin, and encircled it from all quarters until it was thought that it would fall into his hands. However, just as they (Romans) were ready to storm the city, a violent rash man arrived, named Acacius, who, for no just reason, was sent by Emperor Justin to deprive Marcian of his command. Realizing that the man was wicked and had come without just reason, Marcian told him, "Wait for a while. You see how many high mounds, and towers and mangonels we have built. The city is in distress and it is about to surrender to us by God's grace. Just grant us a delay of two days and we will capture it, and then you may fulfill the emperor's order." Acacius became furious and in hot wrath, he laid hands upon Marcian, pulled him about and tore off his sash. When the soldiers saw this, they thought that the commander of the army had been relieved and the emperor had died. Thereupon, the whole army fled in every direction.¹⁴⁶³

At the beginning no one knew the reason the emperor was wrathful against Marcian. Later the reason became known. Apparently, following the death of Harith,¹⁴⁶⁴ king of the Tayoye (Arabs) and father of King Mundhir III (569-581), came and settled in Hirta (al-Hira). At that time, the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) were of two groups: one of them Christian Tayoye (Arabs), the other a Persian Tayoye (Arabs).¹⁴⁶⁵ It happened that the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) of Persia entered the domain of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) under the Romans and pillaged their cattle and camels. Harith, the king of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs), marshaled his forces and attacked them and only few were saved. He kept pursuing them until he entered the domain of Qabus.¹⁴⁶⁶ Mundhir chased after them and camped in Qabus' territory. When Qabus's troops arrived and saw the camps, they thought that they were the men of their King Qabus. Mundhir captured them, killed them and pillaged their belongings. Shortly afterwards, however, he handed back the pillaged cattle, camels and baggage to Qabus. Meanwhile, Qabus marched to fight Mundhir but was defeated. He then went to the Persians asking them for help. When Mundhir learned of Qabus' action, he demanded gold from the emperor (Justin) to distribute to his army in case the Persians came back to fight him. However, Emperor Justin foolishly thought of putting Mundhir to death because he demanded gold from him. He addressed two letters, one to Mundhir saying, "We have written to the patrician Marcian, asking him to

¹⁴⁶² Marzuban is a Persian title equivalent to the German Markgraf and the English Marquis. It signifies the Lord of the marches or the borderlands.

¹⁴⁶³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 341-344. English, 367-369

¹⁴⁶⁴ Al-Harith II ibn Jabala of Ghassan (529-569).

¹⁴⁶⁵ These two Christian Arabs were the Lakhmids or Manadhira under Persian rule, and the Ghassanids the allies of the Romans. The Lakhmids had a small state in al Hira in southern Iraq, while the Hassanids had a established a small kingdom in Hawran between Damascus and Palmyra.

¹⁴⁶⁶ He is al-Nu'man III Abu Qabus (580-602) who was converted to Christianity and became the first and only Christian Lakhmid king of al-Hira. He was under Persian rule.

discuss with you important matters which cannot be discussed in this letter. Therefore, upon reading this letter, proceed to meet him in the military camp surrounding Nisibin." The second letter was addressed to Marcian saying, "We have written to Mundhir to proceed to meet you. As soon as he arrives, cut off his head and write to us."

As this was apparently a wicked deception, it was reversed whether by mistake, or by a strange effect, or by the permission of God. What happened is that the name of Mundhir was inscribed on the letter addressed to Marcian, and the letter intended for Mundhir was inscribed with the name of Marcian. The messenger took the two letters and departed. He first came to Mundhir and opened the letter and read it to him. Mundhir was alarmed. He said, "Is it for my activity of helping the Roman country I am rewarded by having my head cut off?" Filled with anger, he ordered that the Roman soldiers in his army be expelled.

When the Persians and the Tayoye (Arabs) under Persian rule heard the news, and realized that they had nothing to fear from Mundhir, and that he would not pose a threat to them, they invaded the Roman territory and laid it waste with fire and sword as far as Antioch. The emperor was furious against Marcian thinking that he was the one who told Mundhir of the case. He issued an order for his arrest and dispatched him to Dara. When the troops saw that Marcian's tent was lifted, they thought that he fled before the Persians. They deserted their camp and fled. The Persians came out of Nisibin and plundered the Roman camp, and the Roman's end was disgraceful.¹⁴⁶⁷

In the 8th year of Justin, in the month of June, a severe earthquake took place. The earth swung as a tree sways in the wind. Nevertheless, no report of destruction was known in any quarter. This was because of God's providence who administered everything by a motion of his hand. It was likewise a warning to those of little faith to realize that God disciplines, in one way or another, whenever he wills and wherever he wills. He gives command to destructive blows. Also, since this earthquake at this time did not create fear in the people who experienced it, as if it were a transient dream, or that it has never happened, God in his wrath repeated his blow and chastised the people with the plague which was about to afflict the whole earth. From Constantinople alone, three thousand corpses left the city daily.

In Rome, the 57th bishop was Pelagius.

In Jerusalem, the 59th bishop was Eustathius.

In Antioch, Anastasius was the 59th bishop

In Constantinople, the 55th bishop was John of Sirmin. He was the one who afflicted the Orthodox with woes. Upon his death, Euty chius returned to the see. As a monk, he seemed to be chaste, but when he occupied the (patriarchal) throne for twelve years, he was ejected when he was exposed and John of Sirmin held the episcopate for thirteen years. Upon John's death, Euty chius returned once more and was received with honor by the people who heaved a sigh of relief from the wickedness of the arrogant and savage John.¹⁴⁶⁸

The Archdeacon of Rome wrote as follows, "If Euty chius is really received (as a patriarch), then John would have definitely been dropped from the priesthood. If John was still considered a priest, then Euty chius was not a priest at all, for they mutually anathematized and deposed each other from the priesthood. Therefore, both cannot be called patriarchs. It is necessary that one of them be deposed from the priesthood. In fact, according to the canons they cannot be considered chief priests." The king rebuked the archdeacon saying, "Don't trouble yourself about the exact letter of the canons." Thus, they (the Chalcedonians) trampled underfoot the rules of the canons.¹⁴⁶⁹

When Euty chius was in his monastery in northern Amasea,¹⁴⁷⁰ he penned a foolish book containing the teaching of quaternity instead of the Trinity. Then, on his arrival at the capital, he published his book that created great tumult. Then, he was scared and withdrew the book, although he still maintained his

¹⁴⁶⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, 342-353, English, 367-379.

¹⁴⁶⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 118, English, 85-89. The author's main concern is to show the antagonism of John of Sirmin against his own part, the Orthodox.

¹⁴⁶⁹ John of Ephesus, III, Book Two, Chapter 32, pp. 119-120.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Amasea was in the province of Pontus.

belief. He became drawn to the heresy of the partisans of John Grammaticus of Alexandria who maintained the numbering of substances and natures in the Trinity. Originally, he belonged to the heresy of the Samosatians (partisans of Paul of Samosata), but not long afterwards, he fell into the heresy of those who denied the resurrection of the body. He maintained that it is not these same bodies that arise from the dead, but they are changed into other bodies, which come in their stead to the resurrection.¹⁴⁷¹ On this account, the whole city was excited, and expressions of scorn and ridicule were heard against him. Frightened, he attempted no longer to teach his opinion while he thought that the orthodox alone had insulted him, and therefore he decided to destroy them.¹⁴⁷² He let loose upon them on the celebration of the Eucharist, the more violent members of his party. They attacked them not like Christians, but like murderers and barbarians, plundering their possessions and dragging them with violence to prison, overturning their altars, throwing down their oblations, and pouring out the consecrated wine. However, these actions brought general disgrace upon them (Eutychius and his party), because, like heathens, they had thrown down and trampled the consecrated bread, and even cast it into the fire and burned it.¹⁴⁷³ Eutychius had almost obliterated the orthodox, if it were not for the Emperor Tiberius, who stopped him. He had an audience with Tiberius and spoke much against the whole party of the believers. However, Tiberius gave him the following for answer, "We have enough to do with the wars against the barbarians, who surround us on every side. We cannot stir up another war against Christians. Go and sit quiet. If however, by words and admonition, you can persuade them, do so. But if not, let them alone, and do not persecute them, nor trouble me, who am exposed to the attacks of war from every quarter." He was rebuffed and kept quiet.¹⁴⁷⁴
End of the narrative. Pray for me by the love of God.

Chapter Nine: On the blows which afflicted John of Sirmin; and on Justinian II and all those who persecuted the believers; and on the calamities which afflicted the entire empire

As the Synodites (Chalcedonians) destroyed the churches and the meeting places of the Orthodox in the capital, the Lord stirred up against them barbarian people of unshorn hair¹⁴⁷⁵ who reached the walls of the city. They razed it to the ground and plundered the churches (of the Chalcedonians) throughout Thrace. They set them on fire and desolated the country. Thus, God punished them many folds more for their wicked deeds.

When in the year 881 of the Greeks (571 A.D.) which is the 9th year of Justin II, the Persian King Khusro (Chosroes), was informed that the Roman army had departed Nisibin, he came to the city and found the engines, mangonels and other war materials that were left by the Romans shamelessly. He seized them and then marched to Dara. He commanded the stonecutters to make a cutting through a mountain that lay on the east of the city outside the aqueduct in order to divert the water. When they found that it was hard, they lit fire and poured on it hot vinegar, and so made it soft. Khusro fought against Dara for six months. He had two towers erected and surrounded by walls of bricks. When he could not invest the city, he demanded from its citizens five talents (of gold) as a ransom so he could withdraw. However, the messenger did not convey the king's order to the inhabitants of the city. Then, when the king did not receive the ransom, he became angrier and attacked the city again. The Romans, thinking that he would never be able to capture it, came down from the walls and engaged in eating and drinking. When the Persians saw that the wall was no longer guarded, they set planks (ladders) until they reached the wall and took the Romans by surprise. When the Romans saw that the wall was seized by the Persians, they rushed to the gates to escape, but they could not find the keys because the generals had hidden them. The Romans

¹⁴⁷¹ For more on John Grammaticus or Philoponus, see Uwe Lang, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century* (Leuven, 2001).

¹⁴⁷² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 123, English, 147-151 and 313, English, 56-57.

¹⁴⁷³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 124-125, English, 150-151.

¹⁴⁷⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 181-182, English, 200-203.

¹⁴⁷⁵ In his English translation of the history of John of Ephesus, R. Payne Smith calls these barbarians Avars. See *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford: at the University Press, 1860), 142.

were compelled to fight seven days more until the city was full of corpses. When they saw that they could not defeat the Persians, they climbed the wall and proposed peace. The foolish Romans believed them, laid down their arms and the two sides mingled with each other. However, the pagan Persians reneged on their vow, captured the Romans, took the people captive and collected five qintars of gold.¹⁴⁷⁶ Khusro called for the chief men of the city and said to them, "May God require from your hands the blood of all the people who have perished because you did not pay the gold we demanded as ransom." They swore that the messenger (Cometes) did not tell them about the payment of gold. Khusro became furious against the messenger and gouged his eyes. The number of those taken captive amounted to 90,000, and those killed amounted to 150, 000. Even so, Persian casualties exceeded those of the Romans.¹⁴⁷⁷

Khusro sent the Marzuban (provincial governor) Ardamon (Adarmon, Adormahun) and he invested Beth Balash, Qinnestrin, Beth Dama, Gaboloye, the environs of Qinnestrin, the Jazira and the mountain and the province of Antioch. On a previous occasion, the Persian king had once before laid siege to Apamea, and the people went out to welcome him. He entered the city to watch the equestrian horserace in the Hippodrome, and did not do the city any harm. For this reason, the citizens went out also to receive the marzuban dressed up in white garments, but he dealt with them treacherously. He stealthily entered the city, blocked the doors and took the men captive. He plundered the affluent city and set it on fire. Those taken captive numbered 292,000 all of whom were carried to Persia. Then, he (Ardamon) returned to Khusro. Khusro's army was made up of 123,000 horsemen and 104,000 foot soldiers.¹⁴⁷⁸

The number of years from the founding of Dara by Anastasius until its destruction is seventy-two years. Upon taking the people captive and plundering the city, Khusro left in it five garrisons and departed. When Emperor Justin II learned that Dara had been captured, he was immensely grieved. He ordered the shops closed, and selling and buying stopped. He tried to journey to the East, but he became demented. For this reason, Zachariah sent a messenger to Khusro asking for peace. The messenger carried with him 650 talents of gold, just for Khusro not to attack Dara again for a period of fifteen months. Khusro agreed.

The severe persecution and exile of the Christians by the Synodites (Chalcedonians), and the numberless evils they committed, were soon met by the wrathful chastisement of God falling upon John of Sirmin and Justin, who acted in sheer cruelty and knew not how to heed the fear of God. Both men were possessed by evil spirits.

In addition to his misery, John of Sirmin was further punished by ailment of the bowels and boils, so that all the care of his physicians was in vain. He realized that this blow was from God. With sighs and tears, he said to his physicians, "Why weary yourselves, my children, about me? For you cannot cure my maladies. They are inflicted upon me by the just sentence of heaven. As I without mercy smote many, so am I now scourged without mercy by the hand of God?" Finally, his bowels came away piecemeal. His torment protracted for two years, he stabbed himself with a knife and died.¹⁴⁷⁹

While John (of Sirmin) was intoxicated with power, he took down all the pictures of the Orthodox fathers, and fixed his own pictures everywhere in their place. Thus, Abimelech was punished for the wickedness he had done in slaying his brethren.¹⁴⁸⁰

Theodolus¹⁴⁸¹ was a deacon who appeared to be pious and virtuous, which caused Emperor Justin to appoint him his almoner, and entrusted him with large sums of money to distribute to the poor. However, like John (of Sirmin), he acted wickedly. He felt pleasure torturing the believers (Orthodox). God severely scourged him, for soon his wife and sons drowned in the sea. He remained tormented for three years while confessing with bitter tears and saying, "Woe to me! For the curses of those whom I oppressed have

¹⁴⁷⁶ A *qintar* is about 100-pound weight. See Hans Weir, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Cornell University Press, 1961), 793.

¹⁴⁷⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 353-360, English, 381-385.

¹⁴⁷⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 360-363, English, 385-387, and Evagrius, Book Five, Chapter 10, pp. 435-436 of the English translation.

¹⁴⁷⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 108-110, English, 132-134.

¹⁴⁸⁰ See Judges entire Chapter 9: especially 56-57; John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 110-112, English, 134-136.

¹⁴⁸¹ A satellite of Patriarch John of Sirmin.

overtaken me.” Besides this, he offended his vestryman, who was in charge of his possessions. The vestryman went to the emperor and informed him about the gold his master had collected. The emperor demanded three talents of gold from Theodulus. However, he swore that he has not even one talent of gold. Shortly afterwards, he died and more than hundred talents of gold were found in his possession. Theodulus was buried followed by curses.¹⁴⁸²

Another chief persecutor of the believers (Orthodox) was Anastasius, the quaester¹⁴⁸³ of the emperor. While he was worshipping at the festival of the Invention of the Cross, a demon entered him. It was then discovered that he was not truly worshipping the Cross, because he was a Samaritan. He had become the disciple of John of Sirmin and persecuted the believers in order to curry favor of John. When the demon entered into him, the people began to shout, “*Kyrie eleison*,” and terror fell upon the entire city.¹⁴⁸⁴

In this period, a miracle appeared in the capital. The Magians gave elephants to the Christians by the intimation of God. Whenever these elephants passed a church, the foremost elephant turned around towards the east, bowed down his head and trunk, and made obeisance. Then, raising up his trunk, he waved it round and made the sign of the cross. He was followed by the rest of the forty elephants that did the same. The historian (John of Ephesus) says, “We have seen this with our own eyes, while we wondered and praised God.”¹⁴⁸⁵

There was another similar practice of these animals equally wonderful and astonishing. Whenever the customary horseraces were held in the Hippodrome, these elephants were brought in, each with his conductor on his neck. Standing in the Hippodrome opposite the emperor, they bowed down and made their obeisance to him. Then each one made the sign of the cross with his trunk, and signed himself before the emperor. All of this was done for the glory of God, while people, especially church leaders and kings, denied it.¹⁴⁸⁶

When Justin lost his mind and committed excessive crimes, God visited him with severe chastisement. He had priests killed and altars leveled by the hand of John (of Sirmin). God sent upon him “Indignation, and wrath and tribulation”¹⁴⁸⁷ by means of an evil angel who entered into him. For suddenly, it destroyed his reason and his mind was agitated and darkened. He even began to utter the cries of various animals. He barked like a dog, bleated like a goat, mewed like a cat and crowed like a cock. As the evil spirit filled him with terror, he rushed about from place to place, or crept under the bed or hid himself among the pillows. When the horror came upon him, he would rush out with violent speed to the windows to throw himself down. His attendants ran after him saying, “The Bogle is coming for you,” and he would be scared and still for a moment.¹⁴⁸⁸ He remained in this condition for five years.¹⁴⁸⁹

In this disordered state, those about him devised some kinds of amusement to divert his attention. One of these was a little wagon with a throne upon it for him to sit; another one was an organ or guitar, which they played near his chamber. One day, the patriarch paid him a visit. He drew near to him to sign him with the cross, but Justin said to him, “An evil end is yours. Go and sign yourself that your devils may get out of you.” He jumped at the patriarch and took from his shoulders his miter (probably stole) and wrapped it around his neck. Another time, standing at the window, he began to cry like those who go about hawking crockery, “Who’ll buy my pans,” and other absurdities.¹⁴⁹⁰

¹⁴⁸² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 112-114, English, 136-139.

¹⁴⁸³ An official who handled finances.

¹⁴⁸⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 114-116, English, 139-141.

¹⁴⁸⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 138-139, English, 161-163.

¹⁴⁸⁶ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸⁷ See Romans 2:8.

¹⁴⁸⁸ The Bogle is Gabolo that is Harith son of Jabala, king of al-Hira.

¹⁴⁸⁹ On the insanity of Justin, see Evagrius, Book Five, Chapter 11, p. 436.

¹⁴⁹⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 149-155, English, 166-170.

Chapter Ten: On the messenger Justin delegated to the Turks; and on the Christian virgins whom the Persian king offered as a gift to the king of the Turks and who threw themselves into the river

Khusro (Chosroes), the Persian king, being intoxicated by the spoils he gained by capturing Dara and other Roman territories, gave orders that 2000 virgins should be selected from the captives. He commanded that the virgins should be adorned like brides in splendid and royal, costly, gilded garments, and sent as a present to the barbarian Turks who dwelt in the heart of Persia, in order to hire them to fight the Romans. He instructed that they should not be hurried on their journey, but travel quietly at their leisure lest they grow thin and lose beauty. However, these chaste virgins were in deep grief because they were removed from Christian teaching, and their bodies would soon be defiled by the barbarians. All of them with one consent prayed for death instead of life with tears and lamentation. When they had traveled within five leagues of the barbarous people, they came to a very wide and rapid river, and they encamped upon its bank. They took counsel with one another and all decided to despise death. They unanimously resolved to die rather than have their bodies defiled by the barbarians. They asked their keepers to stand at a little distance that they may wash themselves. The keepers left them and withdrew. Then, the virgins gained strength, signed themselves with the cross of the Savior, cried with one voice, "Lord Christ! Have mercy on us and receive us." Then they threw themselves into the river and drowned. When the keepers heard their cries, they rushed to them but found them drowned.¹⁴⁹¹

The primary cause for the continuation of war and broken peace between the Romans and the Persians was the Armenians. The second cause, was because in the seventh year of his reign, Justin sent an embassy to the king of the Turks,¹⁴⁹² at the head of which was a prince named Zemarchus, to hire them to fight the Persians. These Turks had at that time nine kings (chiefs). When he met the first king and told him about his mission, the king began to weep bitterly. When he calmed down, the ambassador and his soldiers asked him the reason for his weeping. He said, "We have received a tradition from our forefathers, that whenever we see an ambassador of the Romans in the west enter these lands of the Turks, the whole world will pass away, and people kill each other. And when I saw you, I remembered the words of our forefathers, and lamented and wept for the destruction to come." Then he asked the ambassador, "Is it true what the Persians say, that the king of the Romans is their slave, and pays yearly tribute as a slave?" The ambassador said, "They speak falsely. For many Roman kings invaded their land, devastated them, and took their people captive. And when Trajan, a Roman emperor,¹⁴⁹³ invaded them, and erected a statue of him in their country, no one of them to this day, ventured to pass before it on horseback." The king of the Turks summoned a group of Persians and they debated the Romans in front of him, and the Persians were defeated by the Romans. The king became furious and dismissed them in anger, and honored the Romans.¹⁴⁹⁴

...lacuna of two and quarter folios...

their kingdom came to an end. Eighteen Greek kings (emperors) rose to power in the first kingdom, which ceased to be since Kronos the Macedonian, ending with the Persians in the year 288. It has since disappeared in the year 886 of the Greeks (575 A.D.), when Tiberias began to reign.

Chapter Eleven: On the reign of Tiberius as joint emperor.¹⁴⁹⁵

...lacuna... some Egyptian bishops did not anathematize the blasphemies of John Grammaticus (the Grammarian), but ridiculed his impure teachings. They also included presbyters and deacons. If you

¹⁴⁹¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 360-363, English, 387-391.

¹⁴⁹² Actually, John of Ephesus says that the ambassador was sent to the barbarous tribes who live in the interior of the Persian dominion, and whom they call Turks. See footnote below.

¹⁴⁹³ 98-117.

¹⁴⁹⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 395-398, English, 424-428.

¹⁴⁹⁵ This whole Chapter, except the following passage, is missing. The reader may consult *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, English translation of Ernest A. Wallis Budge (1932), 81.

know this, beloved, you should adhere without hesitation to your holy church wearing the loincloth of the orthodox faith. Doing so, you will then protect the faith and attain to the heavenly kingdom by grace, mercy and the affection of Christ, our God.

Chapter Twelve: On the events which took place during the illness of Justin; and when Tiberius Caesar was in charge of the Roman Court

Khusro (Chosroes), King of the Persians, intoxicated by his vanity at the successful conquest of the city of Dara and having no war to fear in Syria, boldly invaded Armenia with the intention of penetrating the rest of the Roman's land. The Roman army met him in the field and defeated him, so he marched to another city. The Romans chased after him and drove him away. When he saw that matters were not advancing according to his wishes, he marched to the mountains on the northern frontier towards Cappadocia with the intention of attacking Caesarea. The Roman armies marched towards those mountains and repelled him, and he could not stand against them in war. However, by means of a trick, he managed to escape and return to his own land. Leaving Cappadocia, he attacked Sebastea and burned it with fire, but could not take captives because the inhabitants had fled before him. In any event, the Romans went after him. It was then that he was compelled to flee in haste to the mountains leaving behind his camp and members of his family. The Romans hastened and seized his camp, and looted it including the moveable fire-temple in which the Persians worshipped with awe and sanctity. Had it not been for the dissension that existed among the Roman (generals), they might have destroyed all the Magians (Persians) and their king. However, their dissension, as usual, devoured them, and Khusro fled to Melitene and set it on fire. The Romans (actually the generals) sent him a message as he was crossing the Euphrates, saying, "It is inappropriate for a king to burn cities or roam around behaving like a robber. We are mere servants of the king (emperor), and we reject such deeds. How much more, you as a king should reject them? It is the custom of a king to stand up in battle. If he conquers, he will be glorified, but he should not enter cities like a robber and burn them down."

When Khusro heard these things, he gave orders for battle the next day on a plain to the east of the city, at some little distance from it. In the morning, the two sides approached one another in battle array. They stood in their ranks facing one another until the ninth hour, but did not engage in battle, and not a man moved from his place. However, during the night, before the day dawned, Khusro and his army fled and made for the Euphrates, which is six miles distance from Melitene. However, the Romans were upon his track (intending to drive him into the river). At the sight of the Romans, the Persians hurried (on horseback) into the river, and more than half of them sank there, and were drowned. Only few were able to cross with their horses (Khusro among them) to make it to the other side and eventually to the lofty northern mountains through which they traversed with utmost hardship. Khusro finally arrived in his country in great distress. There he published an ordinance, and made a law that the king henceforth should not go out in person to war, except against another king.¹⁴⁹⁶

After their triumph, the Romans subdued the northern tribes and carried their devastations into the enemy's territory, spoiling everything, and especially carrying off their elephants. When, however, the Persian king withdrew to his dominions (in the year 577 A.D.), the Romans thought that the war had ended. They put off their arms, and sent their horses away to pasture. Suddenly, their outposts came in, and said, "Be on guard! The Persians are coming." They paid no attention nor troubled themselves to get ready, and the Persian army was upon them. When they saw the Persians approaching, they were terror-stricken. They dropped their arms, and began to flee at full speed for they had not brought in their horses. The Persians followed them at their leisure, jesting and ridiculing. They gathered up their arms, coats of mail, their breastplates, shields and other equipage. The cause of their defeat was that the Romans had made God angry. When they entered the northern territories (of the Persian realm, where the people are all Christians), the people and the priests went out to meet them, carrying the Gospel and bearing crosses, but they paid

¹⁴⁹⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 363-370, English, 391-398.

them not the slightest reverence. They killed the monks and tormented the people, and mutilated them saying, "Bring us gold and silver." They even violated the nuns without shame. Finally, for impious sport, they went so far as to seize hold of little children, one by one leg and another by the other, threw them as high up in the air as they could, and then caught them as they fell on their spears and swords, and running them through, cast them to their dogs. It was because of these atrocities, God broke them before their enemies and they could not stand up against them.¹⁴⁹⁷

In this time, fear of the Persians gripped the Roman northern territories. The artisans labored day and night, even on Sundays and festivals, to build the walls of the city and its towers. They were in utter distress.

In this period too,¹⁴⁹⁸ the heathens of Heliopolis (Ba'albak), were plotting to kill the Christians by the sword. When the news reached Tiberius Caesar, he sent Theophilus with a great number of troops. He captured many, crucified some and slaughtered others by the sword. The people also informed him of those heathens who were scattered everywhere but not known. Among them was Rufinus of Antioch, and Antipharcus, the deputy procurator. Theophilus (dispatched his secretary, Theodore) to summon the heathen Rufinus, but it was found that he was in Edessa celebrating a feast of Zeus. The heathens were alarmed and fled, but Rufinus, realizing that he had no place of refuge to escape to, drew his knife, and smote it into his heart. Then he split his abdomen and died.

When Theodore (Theophilus' syncellus, notary) arrived, he was detained by Anatolius, procurator and governor of Edessa, and thus stirred up turbulence, and all the heathens were exposed. It is said that Anatolius did this together with Gregorius, patriarch of Antioch, and Eulogius who later became a patriarch of Alexandria. He claimed that he was with them when they slaughtered a child at Daphne, and that the entire city trembled for his slaughter. When this incident became known, the people (of Antioch) presented a report to Caesar (Tiberias), while others claimed that they kept the matter secret in order to honor the priestly offices and present the priesthood from being disgraced.

As for Anatolius, he set up a picture of the Lord in his house in the hope that people would believe that he was a Christian. He invited a number of Christians to come and see it, but as he was showing it, the picture turned around with its face to the wall. Anatolius, however, turned it back again, to put it right. But suddenly, a second time it turned round, and again a third time. Upon this, they examined it closely, and found skillfully introduced into the back a likeness of Apollo, so carefully done as not to be visible. Horrified at the sight, they killed him, and killed Theodore lest he expose the bishop.¹⁴⁹⁹

The heathens were also searched for in the capital. Inflamed by zeal, the people set up an incinerator to burn down the entire city and the heathens. They burned by fire a heathen man and his wife. They ran to the prison and broke open the locks and the doors, and set the prisoners free, shouting, "You let the heathens go. Why do you keep Christians in prison?" When the emperor entered the city, he ordered that the heathens should be burned by fire.

The heathens connived against Euty chius, bishop of Jerusalem, because he stood against them, and was iniquitously deprived of his bishopric.

In the mountain near Tralles was a monastery that had been built by John, the historian (John of Ephesus), in the time of Justinian. On the site, there were 1500 idols. They were leveled to the ground by the grace of God, and on their site, John built the monastery of Derira. However, from the start the devils who used to dwell there settled in swarms like flies upon putrid ulcers, openly showing up and contending with the builders. They even went so far as to lay hold upon one of the masons who was in holy orders. They lifted him up in the air, and threw him down on a rock below from which he was dashed to one even more precipitous cliff still further down. He fell foremost on his face, and rolled down from cliff to cliff less than a thousand cubits below. As they watched his descent, they thought that his limbs had shattered, but

¹⁴⁹⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 370-373, English, 398-402.

¹⁴⁹⁸ The second year of Tiberius, which is 579 A.D.

¹⁴⁹⁹ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 188-193, English, 209-215, and Evagrius, *History of the Church*, Book Five, Chapter 18, pp. 441-443 of the English translation with variance.

they ran to him and found him whole, and thanked Almighty God who had saved him from the devils. As long as the monastery of Derira was in the hands of the orthodox, wondrous miracles never ceased to take place in it.¹⁵⁰⁰

Inasmuch as during this period warfare multiplied among nations, the warfare among the churches quieted down.

Jacob (Baradaeus) was in Syria when Paul, allegedly patriarch of Antioch, who had communion with the Chalcedonian for the pretext of unity (of the churches), arrived also in the same country. When he came to Syria and presented his repentance in writing, the old man Jacob received him after three years through the mediation of Mundhir, son of Harith, after he anathematized the Council of Chalcedon. In fact, he professed two natures of Christ after their union (in the Incarnation). Upon hearing that Paul was received by the council of the Easterners, the Egyptians (Alexandrians) intended to split, which caused the Syrians to depose Paul. The Alexandrians wrote to Jacob while he was moving from one place to another, saying, "If you received Paul, we will separate ourselves from you, and will never have you as our bishop." Jacob was now in a difficult situation because the monks of the province of Antioch wanted Paul. He wrote the Alexandrians saying, "We are proceeding to you and will do what is in the interest of the people." With this, the two sides quieted down.

The reason the Alexandrians were so suspicious of Paul, is that the Eastern Council had sent John, bishop of Mor Bas (the Monastery of Mor Basus), and George Urtoyo, to Longinus and to Theodore, bishop of Philae, to consult them respecting the reception of Paul. When they came to Longinus in a place called Mareotis, he received them with joy, for he was ready to ordain a patriarch for Alexandria. He told them that he and they have the same wish of setting up a patriarch for Alexandria. However, they said, "How can we make a patriarch without the command of our own patriarch of Antioch?" Thereupon he sent them to bring Paul. While they were assembling, Longinus ordained Theodore as patriarch for Alexandria, but he was not accepted by the Alexandrians. As for Paul, he swore that he never participated in the ordination of Theodore. He was not yet exonerated of his offense, and the Alexandrians suspected him because he ordained a patriarch without their knowledge. When Longinus' letter was received by the Alexandrians, and they learned that Theodore was made a patriarch and that he did not dare enter the city for fear of the men in authority, they all the more rebelled against Paul. They brought an old man named Peter and made him a patriarch as we explained earlier. Because of this confusion and the foolishness of the ignorant people, evil fell upon both sides for fifty-eight years.¹⁵⁰¹

John (of Ephesus) the historian says, "Just as the man who is weak and diseased in the eyes cannot easily see with accuracy, and as one who is burning with fever cannot do anything like a healthy man, so also those who are carried away by passion, and controlled by anger, can neither discern nor judge what is fitting, nor can they execute anything in a firm and steadfast manner. This is exactly what happened to the wise clergy of Alexandria who were by no means short of knowledge, had not the gall of anger agitated them and wrath made them stumble. They live to be an example of the Scripture that says of those tossed by waves and winds and tempests, and 'They reeled and staggered like drunken men, and all their wisdom perished.'¹⁵⁰² Indeed, in their hasty and uncanonical proceedings, and because they did not know that he (Paul) had been consecrated as a bishop for them, they took a violent course and consecrated another (Peter) as their second bishop. However, it was an inappropriate time to have another patriarch consecrated. What they ought to have done was that during the whole ten years that had elapsed since the death of Theodosius, they should have set up a patriarch for themselves, not after learning that Theodore had become a patriarch. It was then that they made Peter a patriarch in the heat of their anger. For Peter, whom they elected, was immediately regarded by many as an adulterer who had committed adultery with his friend's wife. He was ordained by the personal endeavor of two bishops, contrary to church laws and

¹⁵⁰⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 206-210, English, 146-151.

¹⁵⁰¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 229-234, English, 259-269, and Ignatius Jacob III, *Al-Mujahid al-Rasuli al-Akbar Mar Yaqub al-Baradi'i* (The Great Apostolic Combatant Mar Jacob Baradaeus (Damascus, 1978).

¹⁵⁰² Psalm 107:27.

canonical order. To strengthen his position, he ordained no less than seventy bishops, as it was said. Although he was seeking laborers to till his field, he would have found it not so an easy matter to bring together at one time so many men fit for his purpose. What then shall we say about those, who with much care and examination, they should have selected and appointed to the priesthood? However, as the beginning of the matter was troubled and confused, and contrary to established precedents, so was the end. They hurried Peter into malignant proceedings that caused a schism between the churches of Syria and Alexandria. For he ventured unjustly and uncanonically to depose Paul who was consecrated patriarch of Antioch. Furthermore, he brought accusations against Jacob, to the effect that Paul and his party had communicated with the Synodites (Chalcedonians). But those who he calumniated solemnly abjured the charge, and they anathematized the authors of the scandal and themselves, if ever knowingly and consciously, either in secret or in public, they had been guilty of that of which they were accused.¹⁵⁰³

Chapter Thirteen: On the state of uncertainty left by Peter of Alexandria which caused schism between Jacob and Paul

Although the Chalcedonians' persecution of the Orthodox abated because of the warfare among nations, Satan stirred up another division between the party of Jacob and the party of Paul the Black. Some bishops, clergy and monasteries, great and small, joined either Jacob or Paul. Each faction set itself to injure, revile and speak evil of the other. Both sides were filled with the spirit of contention, in contempt of order, judgment and the fear of God. They rent the people asunder, produced schism in the churches and tore the congregations into pieces. This course of hatred and rancor was stirred up among them by one (Satan) who asked to "sift men as wheat."¹⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, with all his savagery and brutality, Satan ventured to speak so reproachfully as believers did to one another, at the very time when in matters of faith there was no difference or dispute between them. When this savage and violent state of things prevailed, Paul wrote to Jacob, by the hands of numerous messengers, saying, "Why is there this entire disturbance in the church of God? Let us hold a conference with one another, and examine canonically and legally the matters in dispute between us, and if I am guilty according to the canons, instead of one sentence and one canon, I am ready to be chastised three-fold more than I deserve. But if, on the contrary, the fault rests with you, even so for your sake I will submit to it." However, those who were with Jacob would not let him give way, or consent to see or reconcile with him. Jacob therefore said, "I have come to terms with and received the Alexandrians, and drawn up writings of agreement with them. I cannot turn away from them, and without their consent neither shall he (Paul) see me nor I him." The believer Mundhir, son of Harith, (king of the Tayoye (Arabs), urged and supplicated both sides to cease from their wrath and make peace, but the party of Jacob would not consent while Paul was wanted, truth revealed. Since the intercession of Mundhir was not heeded, the Tayoye (Arab) tribes were split. Some of them joined Paul while others took the side of Jacob.¹⁵⁰⁵

John (of Ephesus), the historian, says, "We do not intend to exonerate one side and throw blame against the other." Forty years ago, this John of Amid was ordained a bishop by the venerable Jacob at Ephesus.¹⁵⁰⁶ After the death of Pope Theodosius (of Alexandria), he was entrusted with the care of the Orthodox in the capital, which was his seat, and other quarters. Upon observing that the grudges harbored by the party of Jacob against Paul were insignificant, John shunned neither side, but rather counseled both of them.¹⁵⁰⁷ Both sides, however, attempted to sway him in their direction. He said to them that the servant of Christ is not supposed to fight against the truth. The venerable old man Jacob was known for his simplicity and innocence. He was, however, too much under the influence of the crafty and designing men

¹⁵⁰³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 235-238, English, 268-272.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Luke 22:31.

¹⁵⁰⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 245-252, English, 282-285.

¹⁵⁰⁶ He was ordained a bishop for the Orthodox of Ephesus in the year 588, and for this reason, he was called John of Ephesus or John of Asia.

¹⁵⁰⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Book Four, Syriac, 238-239, English, 271-273.

around him, who turned him every way they chose like a child. After exposing Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, for having been ordained uncanonically, and that in his letter he called him a new Gaianus and vainglorious, Jacob changed his mind and wanted to have communion with him, and abandoned Paul.¹⁵⁰⁸ Therefore, his partisans, and those who loved confusion, prevailed upon the old man to visit Alexandria, persuading him that he would thus establish unity between Alexandria and Syria, for they were well aware of the old grudge and unappeasable unity against Paul, of which the sole root was envy. However, many advised him that he should not go there alone, and should not become involved in this dispute without consideration. Still, those around him were deaf to persuasion, and took him to Alexandria, where he fell among “barbarous” people.¹⁵⁰⁹ Next, they induced him by trickery to submit to communion with Peter, and he consented to the deposition of Paul. Indeed, this act delighted them and gratified their feeling of enmity. They hoped that the yoke of their patriarch Paul would be taken from their necks, and they, therefore, wrote and gave their assent to that. The old man Jacob, however, persuaded them that the deposition (of Paul) should not be accomplished by an act of excommunication.¹⁵¹⁰

On the completion of this turbulent business, they (Peter and his partisans) asked Jacob to allow three of his bishops to accompany them to Syria to publicize the excommunication of Paul. Thus, schism took place in the church. Many of those who supported the old man Jacob and tenaciously adhered to him were now called “Jacobites.”¹⁵¹¹

Because of dissention and disturbance everywhere, Longinus and Theodore went to the lands of the East. Theodore remained with the adherents of Paul in Tyre with the view of entering into a judicial examination of the matter with the partisans of Jacob. Longinus went to Hira, founded by Gabala (Jabala), son of Harith, to find Mundhir, the son of Harith. After he had conversed with him and told him the whole truth, Mundhir was the more anxious to get them together and reconcile them, but the partisans of Jacob rejected his mediation. Finally, however, the partisans of Jacob and himself assembled in the Monastery of Hananya (Za’faran Monastery)¹⁵¹² in the wilderness. One of them, a bishop named John, was sent with a fraudulent purpose to Longinus and his companions, saying, “Inasmuch as the old man, my lord Jacob, has come to this place, and wishes to converse with you, come to him quickly for there will be present only us three, myself, and you, and Jacob, and we will talk the matter over.” Longinus believed him. He started accompanied by the rest of his party, and arrived there. However, no sooner had they come, than they conducted him and his company into a place where there was sitting no small crowd of monks, laymen, jurists and lawyers. They presented to him a written document and asked him to read it. He said, “I have been invited here by fraud and falsehood, and I will not read it.” Upon looking round for a means of escape, they laid hands upon him and seized him. When they began to read, he put his fingers into his ears that he might not hear. Thereupon, they began to pull him this way and that, and he cried out, “Woe, woe, what have I done? Why then am I to be treacherously murdered while I have a king?” Strife arose, but he (Longinus) managed to free himself from among them and flee away without seeing Jacob.¹⁵¹³

¹⁵⁰⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 241-243, English, 273-275.

¹⁵⁰⁹ John of Ephesus, copied by Michael Rabo, says that Jacob fell among *lo'uzo* people. According to *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, of R. Payne Smith, ed. J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Morgoliouth), p. 243, *lo'uzo* means “of distant or strange speech, of a foreign tongue.” R. Payne Smith, in his translation of the *Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*, p. 279, translates this term as “barbarous.” In a footnote, he says that, “Plainly, John intends by it “savage” or “barbarous.” He further says that John must have taken from Psalm 114:1, which says, “When Israel came out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of foreign tongue.” He is followed in this matter by J. B. Chabot in his *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien*, Vol. 2, p. 324. However, Chabot gives Psalm 113 as a reference.

¹⁵¹⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 245-246, English, 278-279.

¹⁵¹¹ John of Ephesus, III, Book Four, Chapters 18-20, Syriac, 247-250, English, 282-284. In this last page of the English translation the term Jacobites first appear. The split into two parties of Jacobites and Paulists appears on p. 288.

¹⁵¹² This monastery is known today as the Za’faran Monastery near Mardin in Turkey. It is still active and has a metropolitan and a small seminary. This translator, his wife and sister visited it in October 2010.

¹⁵¹³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 252-254, English, 284-287. Unfortunately, the rest of this Chapter and the next eight are lost.

After passing a year in Syria with no benefit, Longinus returned to Egypt (Alexandria). As for Peter, he died three years after he became a patriarch.

The Alexandrians, who passionately hated Theodore, refused to set him up as their patriarch, but chose an old man named Damian of Syrian origin. Damian approved what Peter had done and sent a document concerning this matter to Jacob. Concerning Damian, the Chronicler Qura (Cyrus), said, "Damian was a decorous man and preoccupied with monastic living."

In the year 889 (of the Greeks,¹⁵¹⁴ the armies of the Persians and the Romans met on the side of the ruined Dara to discuss the reasons the two countries were in the state of war with each other. They remained for a whole year exchanging accusations without reaching a conclusion. After prolonged discussion, the Persians demanded from the Romans a payment of gold, which the Caesar Tiberius rejected. However, in the course of the discussion for peace, Tiberius demanded that Dara should be handed over to him, while the Persians demanded that Armenia should be handed over to them. Caesar (Tiberius) was much grieved because he did not want to surrender the Christians of Armenia. Thus, they separated from each other and both realms prepared for war. When the Persians returned to Persia and the Romans to their country, the Marzuban Adormahun (Adormanes), the army general of Khusro, the king of Persia, collected his troops. He began to pillage and waste the towns of Dara, Tella,¹⁵¹⁵ Rish 'Ayna and Tell Bsam, and returned with much booty. Tiberius summoned the Count Maurice and appointed him as commander-in-chief of all his forces, to put the troops in order. Upon hearing the news, the Persians were scared (to meet the Romans in battle), and so contrived a stratagem. They pretended that they were marching to Armenia, while they sent the inhabitants of Theodosiopolis¹⁵¹⁶ a message that after thirty days they should be ready to meet them in battle. When the Romans received this message, they prepared for war, but the Persians immediately gathered their forces and crossed over secretly to a place near Miyapharqat¹⁵¹⁷ in the Roman territory. They began to devastate and burn all the land of Sophene, and especially the churches and monasteries. In the same manner they treated the district of Amid. On approaching the town itself, they burned all its suburbs, up to its very walls. They besieged it for three days. However, when they saw that they could not take it, and were afraid that Maurice should come upon them with his army, they raised the siege, went on devastating and burning the whole land of Mesopotamia, and returned to their own country.¹⁵¹⁸ On hearing this inroad, Count Maurice gathered his whole force and marched into Arzen, a province of Persia. They wasted the region as far as the Tigris. As for the Christians who were there, he moved them safely to the Roman land.¹⁵¹⁹

At a subsequent time, Maurice and Mundhir¹⁵²⁰ marched into the Persian territories. However, on arriving at the bridge, they found it cut away, and could do nothing but return. Maurice thought that Mundhir had sent information to the Persians to break down the bridge, a suspicion that was false.¹⁵²¹

When the Persians saw that the Romans and the Tayoye (Arabs) with Maurice and Mundhir had penetrated their territory, Adormahun (their Marzuban), with a large force crossed into the Roman provinces, and entered the districts of Tella and Rish 'Ayna destroying and spoiling. Then, the Persians marched into the fertile district of Edessa and ravaged the whole province of Osrhoene. Meanwhile, the Tayoye (Arabs) under their rule gathered all their forces and set out to fight Mundhir. When Mundhir learned of their intention, he fell upon them suddenly, and destroyed them. Only few of them escaped. Then, Maurice regrouped his Roman force, joined by Mundhir and his Tayoye (Arab) troops, and entered

¹⁵¹⁴ According to John of Ephesus, it is the year 887 (A.D. 576). See footnote below.

¹⁵¹⁵ Also called Tell Mawzalt and Constantina.

¹⁵¹⁶ Rish 'Ayna.

¹⁵¹⁷ Martyropolis near Diyarbakir.

¹⁵¹⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac 375-38, 403-411.

¹⁵¹⁹ According to John of Ephesus, Maurice sent these Christians to the island of Cyprus, and they had lands allotted to them, and dwelt there. John of Ephesus, Syriac, 381-382, English, 411-412.

¹⁵²⁰ Son of Harith king of the Arab tribes.

¹⁵²¹ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.* Syriac, 383, English, 413.

the Persian territories burning, ravaging and taking captives and enormous booty, and then returned to their own land. All these events took place in the year 889 of the Greeks (A.D. 578).¹⁵²² *End of this narrative.*

Chapter Fourteen: Regarding the Council of Damian, Pope of Alexandria, extracted from his letter (below)

To the believers and holy everywhere, our true brethren Jacob and those in his company, the bishops, presbyters, deacons, archimandrites and pious monks, and the entire congregation of the East, Damian, by the love of God, bishop of Alexandria.

It is fitting and proper to iterate with admiration and conviction the words of the divine Prophet David, "Who is like the Lord our God, the one who sits enthroned on high, who stoops down to look on the heavens and the earth? He raises the poor from the dust and lifts the needy from the dunghill; he seats them with princes, with the princes of their people."¹⁵²³ This is also true of me, I, the mean and the last. From the beginning, I loved the life of solitude without mingling with others. I cherished the life of tranquility and strove for it with all the power I was given in order to seek virtues. I endeavored day in and day out to cleanse myself from the stains of sin by the tears of repentance. I was ready to leave this world and stand before the awesome throne, which no one can lie to or revile. For I sighed and wept with bitterness how I was called, from the highest place of the beloved city of tranquility which is beloved to me, by the fighter and chief priest, our Father Peter. He handed me to the clergy of this holy and great city among the cities of the Alexandrians. He granted me the dignity of the priesthood, not by the laying of hands by means of coercion, but by love and by the laying on of his blessed hand. After he was transported to God, God enrobed me with his incomprehensible mercy; the very God who administers our affairs with wisdom and without our knowledge by the laying of hands, and by the election of the holy chief priests, lovers of God, and by the archimandrites, the pious servants of God, and other great men and jurists who are a segment of the pious and believing congregation, and by the consent of the not so small number of bishops who are found in this time, made me worthy to occupy the throne of St. Mark the Apostle, and the theologian and the blessed. Thus, I had to contemplate the greatness of his evangelical see and the service rendered by the chief priest, and to discern what is needed of sophistication and virtues for he who would undertake such a service. As much as I ponder the apostolic law, and the perfection it demands, I tremble and begin to dig the ground with my finger and contemplate my weakness and unworthiness. Likewise, when I muse over the church of God, the schism, and the controversy of the heretics, and the division that envelops it, I ask support for my weakness by him who is patient with the lowly in spirit, as it is written, "To revive the spirit of the lowly and to revive the heart of the contrite."¹⁵²⁴ I seek refuge in your righteous supplications and intercessory prayers, which are offered in a true and constant manner to God on behalf of your people in order to gain victory, you who glorify God, and the reverent bishops in your company. Therefore, as I derive encouragement from you, I do encourage myself and rely on the good hope; and after God, I receive strength from you and your prayers as I have said, and the prayers of the rest of the spiritual disciples among whom are the chief priests who lived with you and have adorned themselves with virtues. Their strife is like that wonderful strife of the Apostles. You have all striven for a long time for the love of God, a strife that is not wanting compared to the contention of the holy fathers. Here I can say even more that all of them everywhere were raised in the bosom of the church, and all of them exclaim with one voice.

Therefore, I find it very necessary, as I adhere to the teachings of the fathers, to write this brotherly letter of peace: first, to present myself to your God loving holiness, and second, for the sake of the orthodox faith, declaring that my opinion is the same as yours. I follow the faith defined by the Council of the 318 at Nicaea, and the Council of the 150, which assembled at Constantinople, and the fathers who assembled at Ephesus.

¹⁵²² John of Ephesus, Syriac, 383-385, English, 413-415. According to John of Ephesus, the year is 887 of the Greeks/A.D. 576. See previous footnote.

¹⁵²³ Psalm 113:6-8.

¹⁵²⁴ Isaiah 57:15.

I believe that the holy Trinity is one God consubstantial in essence and uncreated. It is of one substance, by word and deed, according to the apostolic Athanasius who said, “Three epiphanic and perfect *qnumi* (hypostases, substances, persons) ever-existing without confusion, but of distinct characteristics. For the Father is not the Son, or the Son is the Father; or the Holy Spirit is the Father or the Son. Each hypostasis maintains its attributes in a perpetual manner without being interjoined or confused with each other. The property of the Father is Fatherhood, for he is not born from anything else, and thus, he is unborn. The property of the Son is Sonship that is before all the worlds. He is everlasting and was born by the Father without a medium. The eternal and incomprehensible property of the Holy Spirit is the Procession from the Father in constant and ineffable manner. Neither the Father changes to become the Son or the Spirit, nor the Son changes to become the Father or the Spirit, nor the Holy Spirit transforms into the properties of the Father and the Son. The properties of the hypostases are everlasting and not confused or changeable. For the Holy Trinity is consubstantial and uncreated. However, the essence of the Godhead is one and not subject to plurality. Thus, it forms three *qnume* (hypostases, persons): the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit without confusion, and are distinct from each other by their properties when we say, “one everlasting Godhead of the three persons.” We do confess this, by word and deed, following the path of the apostolic Athanasius who wrote in his *Treatise on Faith* saying, “We believe that the Son is equal to the Father and the Holy Spirit. In addition, we anathematize he who does not confess the unity of the essence of the Holy Trinity by word and deed. Likewise, we anathematize that Grammarian (John), who proclaimed the plurality of essences and natures in the Holy Trinity. In fact, he divided the *qnume* (substances), and the essence that is indivisible. That impudent says, “equal essences” and heeds no concern to the fathers.

We do not want those, who are used to slander, to think that we have accused him falsely, or that we stealthily threw the blame upon him who is blameless. We will ask them first if they have examined, even superficially, the insanity of his writings and then we will establish his blasphemies. Indeed, not all of these men want him to be condemned, but it is sufficient for us to be spared the blame of those who think wisely.

Indeed, who would not enwrap with anathemas the one who had the audacity to speak with such profanity and to contend in such a way against the Fathers who pronounce the mysteries of the Church, by saying in his comments, that “the divinity and the essence who is in the adorable Trinity is in actuality not one, but only in reasoning and expression. Therefore, one conceives one single God, but there are three essences of God. The essences and the natures divide themselves depending upon the persons. Therefore, God the Father is different, God the Son is different, and different is God the Holy Spirit. In the same way, as with the general sense of the word “essence,” we conceive that all of us have one single essence, even though we understand that we are, in reality and in fact, several men. In the same way also, there is one single God only with the generalization of the essence, and it is solely in our mind. In reality, however, and in fact, there are three of them. The divinity divides itself into persons; it is itself just a generalization”.

At least, these are the only blasphemies he (John Grammarian) made. However, did he go further against the theologians who speak the mysteries of the Church? No! On the contrary, he formulated against them multiple accusations. In his *Second Treatise on the Trinity*, he writes that, “Gregorius says he does not deny three consubstantial essences, because such is the common belief of everybody. In effect, however, essences are not consubstantial and are of different natures.” One sees the clever invention of those who vainly make us object to the consubstantiality of the essences. In fact, the words “We must not talk about essences,” exclude the essences which are not consubstantial and which are of different natures.

John does not talk differently in the first chapter entitled, *On the Trinity*. He says, “Because the plural number of the persons corresponds to one of the natures and the essences, and that the doctors call them such, we have sufficiently proven it.” He also says, “If what one calls the three hypostases of the Trinity, or of the Godhead, are not accidents, they are absolutely considered essences and natures. Therefore, it was within my right to talk everywhere employing the plural number, and to call the persons “natures,” in the plural. Indeed, he who removes the number of the persons destroys the entire true faith of the Christians, and what is like unto them also.” John goes on to vomit more bitter venom regarding similar things. He says

in the same book, "That it is not a property, that is to say of this one being Father, the other being Son, and the other being the Holy Spirit, because these things differ specifically and are distinct one from the other. It is neither a common thing to say of the Father being God, the Son being God, the Holy Spirit being God, and they are consubstantial. The reason is that when, to the expression 'God,' is added the property of a person respectively to the other, it constitutes it in a different species in relation to the other one. In the same way as animality is in general attributed to all of those who differ specifically by the addition of 'reasonable' or 'non-reasonable.' By the same token, in the Godhead, the addition of 'Father,' of 'Son,' of 'Holy Spirit,' constitutes a God Father, a God Son, and a God Holy Spirit."

We drew those few words among many others, like a glass from the sea, in order to show with their bitter taste, at those who think like him, all the bitterness of his belief and how much it differs from the sweetness of the fountains of the Father's. However, where does he reject the holy Basil who says, "In common is the divinity which is the property of the Fatherhood?" What does he do with the words of the apostolic Athanasius who censures those insane words by saying, "One is the essence, that is to say the divinity of the three persons of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: consubstantial hypostases. Unique is the essence, because the divinity is unique?" Indeed, the teachers of the Arian heresy always showed the signs of their impiety, up and down, in what they call the hypostases "essences," in order to introduce the diversity of essence, when they want to establish their impiety and tear into pieces the preaching of the orthodox faith. Severus, about whom the Fathers talk, in the first book against John of Caesarea teaches those things, saying, "Also in the holy Trinity, the unique essence contains the whole divinity of the three hypostases of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: each of the hypostases participates equally to the essence, and is perfect God. Concerning the consubstantial hypostases, there is no difference. With the particular notion of the Fatherhood, the filiation, the procession, they distinguish themselves, each property remaining incommunicable." He continues, "From those, we learned that there is no mutual convertibility of the hypostases in the holy Trinity. However, each of the hypostases exists in the essence of the Godhead because of its own concept. It exists relatively to the other consubstantial persons because it possesses the community of essence. It is immutable, similar, and it is one single and the same. It is without confusion, because of the property."

For us, who are in agreement with the theologians who speak the mysteries of the Church, we confess that the hypostases of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit are one single Godhead and not three essences of the same or different nature. They are not three natures or three kinds of nature, either equal, or different, or similar, or dissimilar. They are neither three gods nor three kinds of gods, neither are they three divinities nor three kinds of divinity, according to the miserable Grammarian, who liked to speak not theological things but fiction, neither common nor particular, neither absolutely essences or natures. He liked to divide the unique essence of the holy Trinity into essences, natures and divinities.

If some of them, in their impiety, invert the expressions of the Fathers on the premise that they do not understand, and if they contend to deduce, in their insanity, divinities or the plurality of essences or natures, we do follow Theodosius who, like the apostles, labored like no one else, and who knew the opinions of the Fathers. We reject the numbers of natures or essences, of gods or divinities, and maintain that the Trinity is equal in essence and in glory.

That is why we place under the anathema of the great Athanasius those who do not profess the same. In this we agree with him, because he taught us to profess that one is the essence and nature of the Trinity, one is the principality, the majesty, the glory, the virtue, the operation, the power, the dignity, the will, the advice, the notion and any other possible attributes of the holy and consubstantial Godhead: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, unique Godhead and unique God. Even though it is unapproachable, each (person) can be considered in itself, when the mind separates the things that are inseparable, as says Gregory the Theologian. We profess one God, essence, nature, life, truth, or any other statement used by the theologians of the Church for the holy and not created Trinity.

We anathematize also those who say that the holy Trinity embodied itself through one of its hypostases. We also anathematize those who do not profess that one of the three hypostases, God the

Word, was incarnated and became man, and that the Father and the Holy Spirit were not under corporeal composition, and that they were not incarnated and became flesh.

We say, as we have often repeated, that the holy and consubstantial Trinity is one single God, one single essence, in word and in reality. We call it at the same time Unity, because the unique essence is the indivisible divinity. We call it Trinity because of the distinction of the hypostases without confusion. Indeed, the distinction of the persons does not destroy the consubstantiality. Moreover, the equality of essence does not remove the distinction of the hypostases. One cannot say in words their communication or their distinction. Gregory the Theologian says in his Treatise called *Ex Agrou* (From the Country), "How is it that you considered the same essence as one, and yet found it triple? How is it that, the one who is not engendered, and the one who is engendered (and the one who proceeds) is one single nature, and three properties of one single God above everything, in everything and in all of us?"

Since we agree on theological matters with Egypt (Alexandrians), we find it imperative to discuss succinctly with your piety the Incarnation of God the Word, who is a person of the Trinity. He is of the essence of the Father before time, and has shined before all the worlds. He is the creator of all things visible and invisible. He has everything that is the Father's except the Fatherhood. When he saw that we had fallen from the image of God in which he created us, and forfeited the bliss of Paradise and immortality which God offered us by grace, and imposed on us just death, he restored to us, as a gift, the joy of Paradise and that image which we had before. He willed to lift us up to heaven and translated his desire to action. He came down from heaven to earth but never left heaven or the bosom of his Father from which he takes the fullness of everything. He is in everything and above everything. He is the infinite that was contained by the womb of the Virgin and was born from her and the Holy Spirit in a body like ours and under suffering as we are save sin, change or confusion. His body is endowed with a rational soul. Thus, God was born, was incarnated, and became flesh as the Virgin perceived after giving birth to him. Therefore, we believe that she is truly and canonically the Mother of God. After all, Christ was not born a mere simple man, as those who envy us for our salvation and deny his Incarnation say. It is wondrous how she who gave birth to him remained virgin.

We confess two births of the only son: one from the Father before all the worlds done without a mother, and the second, at the end of time from the Virgin Mary without a father or human medium, and he is what he is. We do not say two Christs, two Sons, two natures or two operations, but one Son, and one nature of the Incarnated Word, one hypostasis, one person and one operation. He was and still is the one who was born, and took the semblance of a servant, and consented to by like unto us and for our sake. He who is above all the creation became flesh without being transformed to the nature of the body, but remained in his own nature while assuming a nature that was not his. He is one of a perfect two. He is a compound of the divinity which existed before all the worlds, and which he brought into existence from nothing, and of the humanity which was inherent in the Word itself from the beginning, and in whom it had a beginning, as the apostolic Athanasius said in his letter to Jovian Augustus, "In an instant, the body of God the Word was (existed). And in an instant was a rational soul. And in an instant the body of God the Word was of soul and reason in which he existed. Therefore, we confess that he is of two perfect natures, as said earlier. We believe that he is one Son, one nature, and one hypostasis (person), to him belong miracles and passions.

We would like to ask those who divide Christ into two natures after their union, (this is an allusion to the *Tome* of Leo), or determine for him two natures as a final form after the union, and say, "Which one of the two natures was raised on the wood (the Cross)?" We count these people among the Jews, the murderers of God, those who said to him, "We are not stoning you for good works, but for blasphemy, because you, a mere man, make yourself God."¹⁵²⁵ They should stop engaging in the subject of duality, get rid of the natures, and confess that he who was born of the Virgin is a true God. If they do not drop the duality, they should deny the hypostatic union and never call the Virgin the Mother of God. For it is not

¹⁵²⁵ John 10:33.

possible that either of them can transform into the other. In fact, they only deceive themselves and no one else, and project false union to disturb the conscience of simple people. It is because of this deception regarding the faith, we anathematize the impious Council of Chalcedon and all those who proclaim two natures after the union. This council had become the cause for assembling a council to renounce the impious Eutyches. It confirmed the false claims of Nestorius and invalidated the sayings of our Father, the Archpriest Cyril. If anyone says that these sayings are the constitution of the orthodox faith, he would not be far off the truth. They renounced the expressions of "from two natures" and "one nature of the Incarnate Word of God," which were the subject of controversy between the great Father (Cyril) and the impious Nestorius, and replaced them with other expressions. Instead of "one nature," they introduced "two natures." Instead of "from two natures" they said, "Reason reveals that it should be in two natures."

The expression of "from two natures" indicates the combination of the difference between the operation and the complete union. It is not permissible that union should take place for the mere difference of expressions like this absurd expression, which they reiterate. Indeed, we anathematize those who approve this evil trick like Deodore, Theodore, Nestorius, Theodoret, Hiba (Ibas), Andrew, and Irenaeus who was notorious for having a second marriage, and the impious *Tome* of Leo and those who follow them. In the meantime, we confirm the acts established by the holy Archpriest Dioscorus, which were affirmed by his orthodox successors, the pillars of the councils of the church, of these are the distinguished Timothy of Alexandria, Theodosius and Peter. We likewise anathematize the schismatics and the impious who contrived the idea of "Phantasiasm" and those in the vanguard who proclaimed it, namely Marcion, Valentinus, Mani and Eutyches, who drank from this filthy vessel. These men say that the body of the Lord is impassible and immortal after the union. They do not believe that his passions are natural, voluntary and acceptable like hunger, thirst, sleep, fatigue, sorrow, disturbance and the voluntary crucifixion. Thus, the creator of life suffered in a body capable of suffering and death. They maintain that he did away with our sufferings by an impassible and immortal body. This is sheer insanity and deficiency of reason. In fact, he took upon himself our sins lawfully, and not by compulsion, in order to enter the combat. He took our body, which had become feeble, save sin and corruptibility, in order that by the weak body he would triumph over what had been lording over us, and to grant us impassibility and immortality with what is passible and mortal. It is not an extraordinary thing or strange that death is annulled through an impassible and immortal body. Otherwise, it would have not been possible to conquer death by such passion, if it had run away from an immortal body. For the body of the Word of God, who was incarnated for our sake, is holy and the maker of life. Before the resurrection, he was capable of suffering, death, corruption and other properties such as feeling tired from traveling. However, he changed after the resurrection, and was rendered incorruptible, immortal and impassible. He was no more in need of food and drink. Although, after the resurrection, he was seen eating, he did this not because he was in need of food, but to confirm the evidence of the resurrection. So when he resurrected from the dead, he was freed from all the qualities of corruptibility, as the theologian Cyril had said. However, if someone based on these particulars, attributes to him lack of knowledge and wisdom, and does not believe that the body of the Lord which is of rational soul had been enriched by its union with the divine glory and with every act, like knowledge and wisdom, appropriate to the Holy Spirit, we reject them as we reject other heretics, and anathematize them, especially Arius, Eunomius, Eutyches, Sabillius the Libyan and his treatises. We accept our chief priests Theodosius and his successor Peter, who are an example of the ordination, which is consummated by the flowing of the faith and the grace of God. I, for one, accept the anathema that was issued by you, O pious ones, and by the Egyptian bishops against those who declined to anathematize John the Grammarian and Paul, who brought upon the true faith and the church a great damage. We ourselves do not encumber the clergy with any burden.

We have been greatly delighted by your reply. We have sent so-and-so, which is enough. They will inform your holiness with the living word of our love and desire. We, today, are quite sure of your love that your faces might always be cheerful, and that you may apprise us of your health for which we pray. We also pray for the establishing of your peace and the peace of the entire world in order to submit to you if it

becomes one body. We ask you to supplicate God that through his Christ fill your hearts with love, and fill the church with peace and concord, in order that we may live the life of piety, goodness, peace and tranquility which we desire.

Signature. Damian, by the mercy of God, bishop of Alexandria, has signed. I sent greetings to your lordship in the unity of the Trinity that is may our God preserve the indivisible union. Amen.

Damian sent this letter to Jacob (Baradaeus) as Qura of Batnan says. John of Asia says, "Jacob sent a reply to Damian confirming the same truth and union. But the letter of Jacob is not in our possession; it is preserved with the Egyptians." *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Fifteen: On the sickness of Justin(II) which lasted five years, his crowning of Tiberias, and the intensification of disturbance in the church of the Orthodox between Jacob and Paul Ukomo (the Black)

As the sickness of Emperor Justin (II) worsened, and he suffered immensely from strangury (urine retention), he came to his senses and wept bitterly saying, "God will take revenge of those who deceived me and made me persecute the holy believers."

In the year 886 of the Greeks (Friday, December 7, A.D. 574), he called Tiberius Caesar and began to speak unto him in words of wonder and astonishment. He said that an angel whispered these words in his ear. He went on weeping bitterly and saying, "O son Tiberius, come and take the kingdom of the wretched Justin, who has made God angry, so that he has cast him out of the royal estate while still living. Come, my son, and displace him who has set his creator at naught, that creator who gave him the kingdom, from which his own eyes now see him rejected and fallen." When he had spoken thus, he sat weeping, and those present wept too. He turned around and said to the soldiers posted there, "Open, my children, your ranks, and let whoever will come in, and see the wretched Justin stripped and fallen from his kingdom, because he has provoked to anger and wrath that true and eternal king who has bestowed upon him, unworthy as he was, the kingdom. Now, O Tiberius let my fate be to you an alarm and trembling. Fear the Lord the eternal king and stir him not up to anger by the evil deeds of mine, which have brought upon me this terrible chastisement. While I still live, I am stripped and ejected from my kingdom, because I have acted iniquitously. Beware, lest this apparel and royal dress lead you astray, as it has led me, and fill you with pride, and bring upon you the wrath of God, as it has upon me. You will be stripped, and fall from your kingdom, as I this day. Look at him who stands by me and whispers to me in my ear. Be sure and aware within yourself that, what is now spoken to you by me is not of me, but from this angel of God. Look therefore on me and take an example of alarm for your own heart. Beware lest you give way to wicked men, who will counsel you unto evil. See, my son Tiberius, and learn that this blessing is from God and not from me. So, honor it that it may honor you. Honor your mother who was your mistress. Do not take pleasure in the shedding of blood, and have no association in murder. Do not repay evil with evil, and imitate my iniquities. I have fallen in many wicked deeds, foremost of which was my persecution of believers. My judgment and the judgment of those who counseled me and led me astray will be before the tribunal of Christ. Honor the creature that the Creator may honor you. Consider what you were, and what you are now. So do not be ever carried by pride. For you know what I had been, what I am now, and what I had become afterwards. If you consider these things, you will not commit great iniquities. All who are standing by here are your children. When you look at them, you would have in fact looked at your entire people. Do you know that I have magnified you more than any of my immediate family? Take care of the army, and accept no slander. Pay no attention to those who tell you to act like those who preceded you. I say this in consideration to what has happened to me."¹⁵²⁶

Meanwhile, Tiberius fell on his face weeping and plucking his hair. Justin ordered that he be raised up. He invested him with the royal insignia and the crown, and called him Constantine. Turning toward the people, Justin addressed them saying, "If you are pleased with this emperor, whom God has given you, let

¹⁵²⁶ See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 368-369.

us go up to the circus and you and I will celebrate in a royal spectacle. We will also pray for the success of Constantine Tiberius Caesar, the son who God has given us in order to make him triumph over his enemies, and to be gracious to those under his authority.” Meanwhile, the notaries were recording everything said. However, we only wrote down some of the spoken words, and omitted many others because of their great length.¹⁵²⁷

After this, Justin lived only nine days. His strangury (urine retention) was aggravated and he wailed from pain. He even called out to those around him to bring a sword to kill him. For death, he would say, is better for him. They brought him physicians who asked his permission to cut off his penis. He took a razor by hand and gave it to them, begging them to show him no mercy, but to let him depart from life. When he was mutilated, he went on wailing and saying, “Just are your judgments, O God, for all the sins which I committed with my body openly requited in your anger upon the members whereby I wrought them.”¹⁵²⁸

During the illness of Justin and the end of his life, Paul the Black, who had been patriarch of Antioch, when realizing that he was rejected in the East and the West, I mean in Syria and Egypt, he traveled from one place to other creating mischief. In the meantime, Sergius, the Syncellus (the right-hand man) of Jacob (Baradaeus) and Bishop Julian, went up to the capital and began to criticize and slander the party of Paul. As a result, some of the devout adherents of Paul left him and joined the party of Jacob. Both parties continued slandering and cursing each other for a whole year. The Alexandrians, who went up to the capital, held meetings and cursed Paul. Some of these met in the name of Jacob, others in the name of Paul; still others exploited the name of Peter. Thus, controversy took place in the capital, and we, the disputants, became a disgrace to our Chalcedonian enemies. They took advantage of the conflict and stirred up persecution against us. They had Bishop John thrown into prison in chains for a whole year. The antagonists themselves admitted that he was a predictor of future events. They coerced him to join their communion promising to release him from his chains, but he said, “Do not be over concerned to have me unchained, for I, on a certain day, will be free against your desire.” He died on the very day he had mentioned, and was buried with great celebration. Both parties participated in his funeral, and both Orthodox and Chalcedonians received blessing from his body.

The principal monasteries, both in the east and west, were engaged in mischief that often ended in bloodshed. Many monks were dragged in chains and cast into prison and courts. Aged monks with flowing beards reaching the hems of their garments, stood before the judges to answer to the crime of bloodshed. Who would not tremble and lament over deeds so horrible? Who would not mourn as the jackal, over salt that had not only lost its savor, but itself became foul and rotten, and therefore was cast out and trodden under foot?

During this period of conflict, (the author means the conflict between the parties of Jacob and Paul.) the abbots of monasteries appointed three of their active partisans to make a patriarch for them (in Paul’s stead). In the meeting which was held at Mor Hananya, (today, the Za’faran Monastery), several of the bishops would not consent to create a patriarch while Paul was alive, and not canonically condemned.¹⁵²⁹

Soon, however, the blessed Jacob, urged by zeal, suddenly decided to go to Alexandria for the second time. Some of them thought that he was intending to set up a patriarch of Antioch there. Others thought that he went to make peace with the partisans of Paul. However, his views were not really known. When the bishops in Jacob’s company reached the great Monastery of Cassianus on the borders of Egypt, immediately, John, the pious bishop of Qartmin (today known as the Monastery of Mor Gabriel.), died. He had reconciled the schismatic people of Edessa concerning the expression of “substances.” Three days later, the aged Jacob (Baradaeus) died. He was followed by his deacon who also died. Before this, his syncellus Sergius also died. These three men died within twelve days. The old man Jacob died on July 30, 889 of the

¹⁵²⁷ The entire above account of Justin II and Tiberius is in John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 155-159, English, 171-175.

¹⁵²⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 159-161, English, 176-178. It should be noted that the original Syriac does not say that the physicians intended to cut off Justin’s male organ, but to remove the stones, which obstructed his bladder. A deep incision was then made in both his groins, and the whole operation was barbarously performed.

¹⁵²⁹ The assembled bishops could not agree on selecting a patriarch, and the meeting dispersed without accomplishing anything.

Greeks (A.D. 578). He served thirty-three years as a chief priest, ordained 100,000 bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as mentioned in his memoirs. Damian and the clergy hastened to Cassianus, but arrived after the old man had died. He wanted to carry his holy remains to Alexandria, but the inhabitants of the monastery would not consent, and he was buried in the Monastery of Cassianus. Damian addressed a letter of consolation to the people of Syria about the death of great Jacob.¹⁵³⁰

After Jacob's death, the disturbance within the church did not end but rather intensified. Some of Paul's party claimed that God took him because he was intending to set up a patriarch instead of Paul. The followers of Jacob claimed the contrary. They said that God took him because he was intending to restore Paul to his see lest he becomes part in his condemnation, and the soul of this man of God would perish.¹⁵³¹
End of the account. I implore every noble brother who reads this to pray for me with love.

Chapter Sixteen: The commencement of the reign of Tiberius, the first emperor of the Greeks, who is the 51st of the Romans; the death of Khusro (Chosroes), king of Persia; and the beginning of the reign of his son, Hormizd; and the events of the Church in this time

Tiberius administered the kingdom of the Romans for five years, but did not proclaim himself an emperor since Justin was still living, as we said earlier. After the death of Justin, Tiberius (II) received the crown on September 26, 890 of the Greeks (A.D. 578).¹⁵³²

In this period, the desire of Khusro, king of Persia, was not to destroy the peace between the two kingdoms. It was even said that when he was marching against Dara, the parchments on which were inscribed the terms of peace, were tied up to a lance and suspended towards heaven, while he himself said, "O great God, who dwells in the heavens, I am not the reason for the destruction of peace, or the wars which take place on earth. Neither have I entered the lands of the Romans by my own will, but they (the Romans) have forced me to do so." When Tiberius sent him a message saying, "We have not given a single talent of gold which the Romans gave the Persians in order that there may be no peace," Khusro was not a little alarmed. Then Tiberius threw upon him a second slight, saying, "If you will not give us back Dara, we will never make peace with you." At this, the Persians were irritated and the peace ceased as they prepared for combat. Just then at that very time, Khusro died after a reign of forty-eight years.¹⁵³³

Among the Persians, Hormizd was famous for his many good deeds. However, the reports of him show that he was a ferocious and savage youth, and only slightly endowed with understanding. At the commencement of his reign, being proud and deficient in sense, he was arrogant as to not even send to the emperor of the Romans the usual symbols of having succeeded to the throne, according to the custom of kings. For when Tiberius was appointed Caesar, although the two kingdoms were at feud and war, he sent to his father Khusro the customary gifts, as Khusro presented Justin with gifts upon his ascending the throne. However, this man, in his senselessness, did not send gifts. Moreover, he sent back the ambassadors of the Roman emperor to him with insults. He would not even permit them to travel by the direct road, but sent them with guides to take them over lofty mountains in order to die. They said to the guides, "Why did you not openly slay us, instead of bringing us here to die of fatigue among these mountains?"¹⁵³⁴

Shortly afterwards, Hormizd foolishly stirred up war in the region of Persarmenia. This led Qouris, the general commander of the Roman army to gather troops in the evening and attack the Persians in the morning, like fire that kindles in the forest and the flames that consume the mountains, as it is written.¹⁵³⁵ He destroyed them completely, and only few were saved. The Persians returned to their country with shame. Qouris returned to his country with captured mighty Persian notables. For the Lord brings down the

¹⁵³⁰ The above episode is in John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 255-258, English, 288-292.

¹⁵³¹ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.*

¹⁵³² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 139. See footnote 7 on the different dates of Tiberius' assumption of power.

¹⁵³³ Khusro died in the year 890 of the Greeks (A.D. 579) and was succeeded by his son Hormizd. John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 391-393, English, 420-423.

¹⁵³⁴ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.* English, 423-424.

¹⁵³⁵ Psalm 83:14.

haughty, shames the proud and breaks down the horn of their haughtiness. There was great joy and consolation of the Roman army, and indeed, of all the people and tongues under Roman rule.

Prior to the death of old man Jacob (Baradaeus), Khusro, king of the Persians, read the books of philosophers and examined all faiths. He praised immensely the teachings of Christianity. Therefore, he brought together the Nestorians and the Orthodox in an assembly. The Nestorian catholicos spoke at length, and was answered by Bishop Ahudemeh, leader of the Orthodox. Khusro appreciated his words tremendously and said, "This is the truth." Nestorius was disdained. The holy Jacob went to Persia and visited Khusro. There he set up a catholicos for the Orthodox and established many churches in Persia.

After the death of the holy Jacob at the Cassianus Monastery, as said earlier, Damian, bishop of Alexandria, addressed a letter of consolation to Syria containing the following:

To the God-loving and pious bishops, presbyters, archimandrites and the entire clergy under the jurisdiction of the East, Damian,

The tongue trembles and the word startles as they try to convey to the believers in all quarters the news of comprehensive sorrow. This time needs the Prophet Jeremiah or one like him, to lament sufficiently. You may have heard about this mishap through vision, or tremor, or some calamity, or through distress that rests upon the souls, and through whatever similar means. We have been accustomed to take the initiative in proclaiming such enormous calamities, but not with the role of a harbinger of evil. Today, however, I will assume the role of a harbinger by conveying the tragic news concerning the sweet name of the holy Jacob (Baradaeus), the crown of the priests, the ascetic from childhood, not by wearing rough hair but by the spirit. Jacob is the foundation of the believers and the confirmer of churches. He is mighty in enduring persecution and courageous in oppression. He was more concerned about what belongs to Christ than to himself, and lived not for himself but for the one who suffered on our behalf. He forgot what is behind and heeded what is ahead. Like Paul, he directed the deficient (in faith) until Christ was manifested in them. This man, Jacob, has departed us and soared high to be transported to Jesus. How then can we find that priestly expression, "the captain of the host of Israel," who had everything under his control by the power of love? That man felt sick with the sick, and burned like Paul in order not to make anyone stumble even in the slightest matter. He looked upon constant recurring distress as an orchard filled with flowers—all this for the service that Christ had trusted to him. Without grumbling, he endured the persecutions that forced him to move from one place to the other and roam through the mountains and the caves. No hunger or thirst, no dry land or sea, and no different dangers could separate him from the love of Christ. What shall I say? I lament with the prophet and cry out, "My bowels, my bowels! Oh, the agony of my heart! My heart pounds within me."¹⁵³⁶ I cannot keep quiet for my tents have fallen down by the death of the steward of the mysteries of God. The roads of Sion are desolate, as the prophet says, for God has taken the dear one from their midst. Time has called me and deprived me from a helper, for this I lament and my tears flow heavily like water because the comforter and the helper of my soul is distant from me. Sion stretched its hands, and no one comforts her except the Lord, the God of Israel. He has drawn unto himself the blessed one and left us our lords the Bishops John Mor Sergius, Mor Jirjis (George), and the rest whom we know of the dear brothers. With them my soul is satisfied as was satisfied the soul of Elijah with Elisha.¹⁵³⁷ These are the ones who direct you and assist you. Be steadfast, dear brothers, and never be shaken. It is not proper that your sacerdotal community constantly remembers death and hastens to the heavenly chambers to disturb the faith of that upright man who has been transferred to eternal rest, far away from the leaven of heretics and schismatic men. He has preserved the bond of the unity of the Eastern churches, and of our churches in Egypt during his earthly life, leaving us himself as an example. God shows that when he was among us, not only did he adhere to the unity of the churches like a firm anchor, but even after his transportation from this world, he kept holding on to the same will. He did not want to see division within the churches. Indeed, when he was with us or when he tarried among you, he cemented the bonds of affection. So, do not grieve

¹⁵³⁶ Jeremiah 4:19.

¹⁵³⁷ 2 Kings 11-15.

BOOK TEN

that righteous soul which has risen to heaven. Neither waver to the right or left, nor step beyond the eternal boundaries set by our Fathers. After all, what is the law of boundaries? It is first and foremost, to run away, declare as foolish, and anathematize all past and present heresies, especially the impious Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo and everyone who proclaims two natures after the ineffable and incomprehensible union, and divides the great mystery of godliness.¹⁵³⁸

In addition, Julian of Halicarnassus should be anathematized because he was entangled in the heresy of Phantasiasm, considering the passions of the Incarnated Word a fantasy and not real. He also considered the body of the Incarnated Word a fantasy. By means of deception, he tried to revive the ideas of the impious Mani and those who dare attribute lack of knowledge, in any shape or form, to Christ our true God, and the entire heresy of the Tritheists, who claim that because of their number, the essences (of the Trinity) are three Gods.

As to Paul the Black, there is no need to write to you about him. For we know that you do not pay him much attention. You do not count him among the clergy, or as a member of your communion or ours. He was not short in fighting the holy church, as you well know. Since you have the mind of Christ, you are able to teach others.

These are the things we beseech you, to keep precisely that peace between you and us so it may remain firm. Moreover, may the soul of him who is of good memory be refreshed among the righteous. That man, who until the last breath never quit supplicating God to avenge me against Paul. Even those present were mightily astonished how he always attached his supplications with sighs, saying, "Lord, judge between me and Paul." Brethren! Endeavor not to build on the same foundation. But what is it to build? It is that you request our brethren and fellow-ministers, the bishops everywhere who found the departure of our holy brother very dear, to set up a believing chief priest who, as it is said, would know how to behave in the house of the Lord, which is the church,¹⁵³⁹ that the enemy may not scorn you. I have intimated to the brethren and fellow-ministers, the Bishops John and Sergius, something in secret that I found improper to write down here. They will convey it to you verbally, for they are competent to relay it you with haste that it may be a consolation for the loss of that righteous man of God. Although we weep for him being physically separated from us, we rejoice that he is interceding for us in heaven. As he never slowed down to pray for all the believers when he was still living, so he is all the more interceding on our behalf and seeks to gain the mercy of him who is merciful in his nature. Some forceful circumstances, and the problems which engulf me, detain me from coming to you to console you and console myself. The grief is deep and comprehensive. Please do not consider my fellow-ministers the Bishops John and George less important than me.

The divine apostles said, "Brothers, we do not want you to be ignorant about those who fall asleep, or to grieve like the rest of men who have no hope."¹⁵⁴⁰ If this was such for the entire believers, how it should be, I wonder, for that soul which was raised unto heaven and which every hour longed for it. That soul constantly desired to rid itself of the burden of the body and hasten to the heavenly chambers. It had no permanent abode here, and therefore, longed for the heavenly Jerusalem that God had prepared.

May God deliver you from all temptations and from the demons. May he keep your endeavors blameless and your abodes without confusion by the prayers of all the saints? Amen.

I beseech you to pray for my unworthiness, and for all the clergymen among us, who because of the Orthodox faith, were taken to the capital, that God may endow them with patience and truth in order to build and confirm the Orthodox Church in all quarters.

Damian, by the mercy of God, Bishop of Alexandria, and this letter is signed by my hand. *The End.*

¹⁵³⁸ 1 Timothy 3:15.

¹⁵³⁹ 1 Timothy, entire Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁴⁰ 1 Thessalonians 4:13.

Chapter Seventeen: On the events which took Place between the kings and the priests in the second year of Tiberius

In this period, an infraction of the law took place in the Roman kingdom as follows:

Queen Sophia, wife of Emperor Justin II, would not permit the wife of Tiberius to enter the capital for the period of five years,¹⁵⁴¹ during which Tiberius administered the affairs of the empire when Justin was sick. Then, when Justin gained his senses, he reproved her saying, "You have done wrong by not permitting the wife of Tiberius to come and dwell with him. For he is a young man, and the flesh is hard to rule." However, she answered, "I have not lost my mind as you did and given my kingdom to another as long as I am alive." Tiberius' wife remained dwelling in Hormizda palace.¹⁵⁴²

Upon the death of Justin, Tiberius requested Sophia to send for his wife, but she refused. The foolish patriarch, who had no faith or respect for the canons, made proposals to him that he should put away his wife and marry either Sophia herself or her daughter. Thus, it became obvious that the Chalcedonian clerics had no concern for canons, laws or faith, they only cared for mundane and vain, worldly concerns. Tiberius, however, was very sad and indignant for the proposal of the so-called patriarch. He said to him, "Don't you fear God? You want me to leave my legal wife, by whom I have had three children, and who took me before the throne of the church of God to share all she had when I had nothing? Now that God has raised me to power, am I to leave her and take another? God forbid if I do such a thing. It appears to me, O patriarch that you have no concern for the dignity of the canons, and you have no orthodox faith." The patriarch who was very stunned, said, "The responsible men of the kingdom forced me to make such a proposal for the safety of the empire." Tiberius said, "I would rather give up the kingdom than trample upon the canons." The patriarch left embarrassed.¹⁵⁴³ Upon hearing what has been said, Queen Sophia was scared and sent after Tiberius's wife to bring her to the capital. Accordingly, Tiberius's wife entered the capital with great pomp and was greatly honored by the people who hailed her as Helena. In the meantime, Tiberius treated Queen Sophia and her daughter with great deference, and added by allowing them to reside in their palace.¹⁵⁴⁴

When Tiberius was Caesar, he distributed presents lavishly, saying, "What good is all this gold hoarded up here, while the whole world is choked with hunger?" Thus, he spent and squandered without restraint. When, however, he became emperor, he opened the great treasury and spent no less than 7200 pounds weight of gold, besides silver and dresses of silk and other things. He confined his benefits, however, to the rich, and did nothing to benefit the poor. In the next year, he tightened his hand and did not offer assistance to anyone, and permitted no one to have access to him for help.¹⁵⁴⁵ Tiberius did well by changing the coinage. Justin had introduced in the coinage a female figure, which was generally compared to Venus. However, Tiberius had a cross struck on the reverse side of his coin. This act, as he himself said, was dictated to him in a vision.¹⁵⁴⁶

In this time, Mundhir, son of Harith, upon hearing of the death of Justin and Tiberius had become emperor, went up to the capital and had an audience with Tiberius. The emperor blamed him for failing to attack the Persians to retrieve the spoils from Apamea. As he went on blaming Mundhir of other matters, Mundhir said to him, "Everything you said is true. But you ought to know the reason for my reluctance." He then showed him the letters that Justin had written, as we have explained in the former chapters. Justin had written two letters, one addressed to Mundhir; the other to Marcian when had laid siege against Nisibin. Now, if the contents of these two letters were carried out, the Christians would have suffered the worst calamities. However, God who felt compassion for mankind, made the copier change, inadvertently and unknowingly, the names of the addressees. He put the name of Mundhir to the letter addressed to Marcian,

¹⁵⁴¹ According to the Syriac text of John of Ephesus, this period was four years. See footnote below.

¹⁵⁴² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 161-163, English, 178-179.

¹⁵⁴³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 161-163, English, 171-181.

¹⁵⁴⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 164-166, English, 181-183.

¹⁵⁴⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 168-169, English, 185-187 and Syriac, 172-173, English, 189-191.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Syriac, 173, English, 192.

and the name Marcian to the letter addressed to Mundhir. Mundhir showed the letter to Marcian which was addressed to him, to Tiberius. In it, Justin said, "I have written to Mundhir to come to you. See, directly that he comes and take off his head." In the other letter, Justin wrote, "I have written to Marcian, go therefore to him."¹⁵⁴⁷ Tiberius was astonished, and glorified God who exposed Justin's deception. He honored Mundhir immensely and lavished on him gifts. Mundhir pledged to fight the Persians ferociously.¹⁵⁴⁸ Mundhir requested the emperor to address letters to all quarters, which he did. One of these letters was addressed to Gregory, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch concerning the peace of the churches. The emperor decreed that people could assemble as they wished and wherever they wished. He immensely assisted the Orthodox because he was one of them. Gregory of Antioch, however, would not consent to the peace of the churches, or to the reading of the emperor's letter. However, Mundhir was very much concerned that the letter should be read everywhere. The ambassadors sent by his sons informed him that the Persians were intending to enter his own territory. Mundhir hastily departed, leaving behind the case of the peace of the churches. Thus, the heretics (Chalcedonians) impeded the emperor's decree and began to do the believers more harm.

In this period, Damian, patriarch of Alexandria, arrived in Syria and went around visiting the monasteries. The bishops crowded to greet him. He went to Edessa to visit his brother, the prefect of the city. Upon returning to Antioch, he entertained the foolish idea of ordaining a patriarch for Antioch in the place of Paul while he was still alive. He thought of this in imitation, as it seemed, of his own appointment and that of Peter while Theodore was still alive. He summoned the Syrians to join him in appointing a patriarch of Antioch, but they refused saying, "Unless Paul is not condemned and canonically deposed, we cannot consent to appoint another in addition to him." However, others agreed with Damian. They summoned one, two and three persons to be ordained, but Damian rejected them. At length, however, they found a silly man named Severus, and Damian with two other bishops, took him with him, and entered Antioch by night. He sent secretly to the sexton of the church Cassian, and promised to give him eighteen darics if he would leave the church open at night, that he might ordain Severus as patriarch. When this stratagem was discovered by the Chalcedonian patriarch of the city, he immediately sent men to arrest them. They seized three monks, but Damian, his bishops and some others managed to descend to the basement. Pressed by fear, they descended to the latrina and scrambled out by a window, and so made their escape, but both their persons and their dress were covered with filth and excrement. They were ashamed at having had to encounter this uncleanness than at the failure of their subtle plan.¹⁵⁴⁹

Having escaped, Damian journeyed to Constantinople.¹⁵⁵⁰ At the capital was Mundhir, son of Harith, on a visit to Tiberius who had recently become emperor. Mundhir summoned the clergy of both parties (The Chalcedonians and the Orthodox), and advised them to quit their schism and reconcile with each other. They did reconcile during their presence at the capital. Damian vowed to Mundhir to remove whatever doubts the Alexandrians had against Paul. Mundhir, who had been honored by the emperor, interceded before him for the Alexandrian clergy who were at Constantinople under arrest, and he let them go. Moreover, Mundhir begged the emperor to stop the persecution, and the emperor did. However, no sooner had Damian and his clergy returned to Alexandria, than they turned around and were faithless like their fathers, and went on vilifying Paul.¹⁵⁵¹ When Mundhir learned their perfidy, he was sorrowful that they changed from truth to falsehood. He wrote to each one of them by name reproving them for their falsehood against God, himself and the whole church. However, being ashamed of what they had done, they did not receive his letters or even write an answer.¹⁵⁵²

¹⁵⁴⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 347, English, 372-375.

¹⁵⁴⁸ See above Chapter Eight: Concerning the Affairs between the Persians and the Romans in the Eighth Year of Justin, and John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 342-353, English 367-379.

¹⁵⁴⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 268-272, English, 300-304.

¹⁵⁵⁰ He made it to the capital in disguise.

¹⁵⁵¹ Their fathers here is a reference to Damian.

¹⁵⁵² I have here followed the original Syriac because Michael Rabo offered rather a mutilated and hard to understand account of Mundhir and Damian and his clergy. See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 273-275, especially p. 274, English, 306-312.

At the capital was a group of wicked troublemakers who desired no peace. They assembled and addressed letters to Syria and Egypt, which caused more disturbance and schism among the believers, whose endeavors took a turn backward because of factious conflict.

Meanwhile, the Syrian monks assembled at the Monastery of Mor Hananya¹⁵⁵³ in the wilderness, and made a young man named Peter, son of Paul of Callinicus, a patriarch of the See of Antioch. Twice, Jacob (Baradaeus) in his lifetime wanted to ordain him a patriarch, but he refused saying, "I will not accept this position while there is another one (Paul the Black) who has not been condemned canonically." Now, he yielded, and Damian ordained him while Paul was still alive. After his ordination, the chief priests addressed a letter to John, bishop of Ephesus, who was dwelling in Constantinople to accept the ordained patriarch. Nevertheless, John rebuked them strongly and told them that they behaved outside the boundaries of the canons. He said, "I am mightily grieved over the conflict going on among us. God, who examines the innermost secrets of man, is my witness that I found no charge against Paul. Thus, neither have I abandoned him, nor Jacob."¹⁵⁵⁴ *The narrative is ended by the help of our Lord and God.*

Chapter Eighteen: On the time of Tiberius, and what took place between the kings (emperors) and the church

In the days of Justinian I (527- 565), people of long hair (called Avars), made their first appearance in the Roman territory. Justinian gave them rich presents of gold and silver, but often on various pretexts, they sent embassies, and received gold and returned home. This continued until the senate and the people began complaining that the emperor was stripping the whole kingdom and giving it to the barbarians.¹⁵⁵⁵ On one occasion when they came to receive gold, Justinian told them, "We will no longer give you a thing." They were displeased, and Justinian imprisoned them for six months in Chalcedon. He later released them and sent them away. Afterwards, they sent him ambassadors who cunningly asked him to provide them with artificers and masons to build a palace and a bath for their king. The emperor fulfilled their request gladly thinking that, this way, he would win their loyalty. On the arrival of the artificers and masons, they (the Avars) drew their swords saying, "Unless you build a bridge by your art over the Danube, there shall not one of you alive." They said, "Who could possibly build a bridge over a river as wide as a sea?" Upon this answer, two of them were immediately beheaded. The rest were terrified and began to work. They asked for as many large timber-trees as possible to be brought, and they build a strong bridge. When Tiberius became sole emperor, and learned that a bridge had been built over the River Danube, he decided to cut it away. At the time, he was not able because of engagement in war with the Persians, a war that protracted for twenty years. The Romans, however, were greatly distressed because of these longhaired barbarians, the Avars, also the Slavonians and others, called the Lombards, who were under the dominion of Khagan, king of the Avars, who built another bridge on the Danube.¹⁵⁵⁶

In the third year of Tiberius, the accursed people, called the Slavonians, overran the whole of Hellada (Greece), Thessalonia and Thrace. They devastated, burned, and made themselves masters of the whole country. They captured the emperor's horses and they learned how to fight, although they were rude savages who did not venture to show themselves outside the woods and the coverts of the trees. As for arms, they did not even know what they were, with the exception of two or three javelins or darts.¹⁵⁵⁷ They made themselves masters of the whole country for a long time. Moreover, the Avars sent a message to Tiberius demanding he should surrender to them the city of Sirmium and ransom its inhabitants by money, or else they would take it by sword and exterminate its inhabitants. The emperor began to procrastinate with words and various promises, hoping to have the Lombards attack them in the rear. When the Lombards did

¹⁵⁵³ Present day Za'faran Monastery.

¹⁵⁵⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 275-280, English, 308-310.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Up to this point, Michael Rabo is correctly using the account of John of Ephesus about the Avars in the days of Justinian. What follows until the end of the story of the Avars, took place under Justin II, who succeeded Justinian. See footnote below.

¹⁵⁵⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 398-402, English, 428-433.

¹⁵⁵⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 402, English, 432-433.

not appear, he was compelled to surrender the city to the Avars after two years of starvation. Because of the extremity of famine, the people ate their cattle and finally were compelled to feed upon cats and other animals. They suffered privation no less bitter than that of Samaria. Then, the barbarians entered the city, and seeing the misery of the people, they showed compassion upon those who were tormented by hunger. They condemned the Christians who did not care for them. They gave them bread to eat and wine to drink, but after the emptiness of hunger had endured for a period of two years, they seized upon the food and ate it greedily, and many immediately fell down dead. Finally, the survivors had to depart from the city, and the barbarians dwelt in it. After about a year, however, a fire broke out in the city, and it became desolate.¹⁵⁵⁸ When the Romans saw what has happened to Sirmium, they retracted a little from their evils.

In the year 892 of the Greeks (A.D. 581), a certain Marzuban of the Persians, who being blinded in one eye, and was carried by pride, told the Persian king, "I will immediately enter their (the Romans) territory and destroy it." However, the Lord, who humbles the proud, disdained him. When he reached the town of Tell Mawzalt, he was met by the Roman troops. A courageous captain named Constantine, had captured a spy and learned from him the appearance of the Marzuban Tam Khusro. When he spotted him in the center of the Persian army, he charged vigorously and smote him with his lance. He threw him off his horse, smote him once more, and killed him, but the mighty man was himself slain. Upon seeing this, the Persians fled, but the Romans pursued them and killed thousands of them.¹⁵⁵⁹

When Paul (The Black), the patriarch of evil days, found that the bellows of enmity had roared because of him, he disappeared. Some thought that he dwelt in the mountain of Isauria. Finally, the facts proved that he was concealed in the mountains near the capital for four years. When he became sick, he entered the capital in secret and died there. He was buried in a certain convent. Some of his partisans swore that it was not he. With such haste, these two wondrous men, Jacob and Paul, departed this life.¹⁵⁶⁰

As to Peter, he had been against his will made a patriarch of Syria, in Paul's place when Paul still lived. Because he was an eloquent, intelligent, well versed in two languages (Greek and Syriac), and well known for his good conduct, he was reproved by his own conscience for having uncanonically occupied the patriarchal throne. He entered Alexandria and began to say, "Let there be no quarrel on my account. I will withdraw and live in confinement." However, the Alexandrians opposed him, and he departed in sorrow. At that time, however, a report of Paul's death was known, and Peter was confirmed in his see. However, some Alexandrians thought that Peter had knowledge of Paul's death, had cunningly entered Alexandria and deceitfully said that he would withdraw, and that Paul should be confirmed in his see.¹⁵⁶¹

At this time, when the people called Alodaei, in the interior of Ethiopia, learned that the people called Nabodae (Nubians) were converted to the Christian faith, they requested the king of the Nubians to send them the bishop who converted them, to come and convert them in like manner. When the Alexandrians learned of this request, they tried to have Longinus¹⁵⁶² rejected. Accordingly, they wrote saying that Longinus had been anathematized, and thus, he was not eligible for this mission. The king of Nubians was not convinced of the Alexandrians' claims. The Alexandrians, however, had the audacity to address to the people of Alodaei in the interior of Ethiopia, whose king was still an infant, letters of vilifications against Longinus. Furthermore, they sent two bishops who said that, "Longinus has no authority to baptize, or practice sacerdotal matters, and that God has taken revenge of him." The Ethiopians replied, "We know not who you are, nor can we receive you, but we will receive him who instructed the people of Nubia in the faith." Meanwhile, Longinus baptized the king and the entire people. Indeed, they welcomed him, as is evident from the letters of the king of Alodaei to the king of Nubia. These things were done in the year 891 of the Greeks (A.D. 580).¹⁵⁶³

¹⁵⁵⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 411-414, English, 442-445.

¹⁵⁵⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 403-405, English, 433-435.

¹⁵⁶⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 280, 294-295, 297-299, English, 312-313 and 327-334.

¹⁵⁶¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 302-305, English, 334-337.

¹⁵⁶² The bishop who had converted the Nubians to the Christian faith.

¹⁵⁶³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 283-288, English, 315-320. For the letter of the king of Alodaei to the king of the Nubians,

Emperor Tiberius was not well versed in doctrinal matters. For this reason, the Chalcedonians pressured him to persecute the believers (non-Chalcedonians), but he hesitated to do so. Eutychius went to see him daily and instigated him against the “distinguishers.” (This is how the Chalcedonians labeled the Orthodox). The emperor answered, “Trouble me about such things no more. I have as much as I can do with wars I am engaged in. You act in church matters according to what you think is right at your own risk. Look to it yourself. I am free from guilt in this matter.” Eutychius intensified and widened the persecution of the Orthodox. He destroyed their altars, plundered their possessions and sent them into banishment.¹⁵⁶⁴ He poured out his vengeance, with apparent arrogance, upon the phrase “You who was crucified for us” which was added to the Trisagion. His wrath extended to the Eastern nuns who carried out their services as usual. According to John of Ephesus, these nuns had fled from Antioch at the beginning of the persecution, and lived in various parts of the capital. According to the tradition of the East, they used in their service the phrase “You who was crucified for us.” Eutychius paid them a visit and threatened them with punishment if they did not stop using it.¹⁵⁶⁵ He paid them a visit and began to threaten them, but they were discourteous to him. When the clergy in his company saw their audacity, they said to him, “Let us leave this place for it is time for the liturgy.” He left them to their own.

Eutychius widened the extent of persecution. He seized John the historian, bishop of Asia (John of Ephesus) and his companions, and cast them into a place in a prison (called the *chancery*) which was in such a bad condition that the water ran down at the corners, and after rain dripped continuously for two days or more, owing to the ruinous state of the roof so they were as if thrown into a pool. Furthermore, the Diphysites (Chalcedonians) disputed with them daily. John had an easy chair on which he used to sit because of the gout in his feet, but Eutychius took it from him. According to John of Ephesus, he tore it up. The band of persecutors assembled and attacked the church of the Orthodox in Beth Marianum, and arrested many worshippers. They went up to the altar, lifted it up, overturned it, poured out on the ground the consecrated wine, and scattered the Eucharistic bread. After causing destruction and ruin throughout the church, they tore down the pictures of Severus and Theodosius, dragged off the clergy, and carried them, as in mockery, head foremost. Having learned of this, the emperor reproached Eutychius who slightly abated the vehemence of his cruelty. John and his companions were let out of prison. Shortly afterwards, Eutychius resumed his persecution of the Orthodox. This time, God struck him with wrath, and he died immediately.¹⁵⁶⁶

Chapter: Nineteen: On the Romans’ perfidy against the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) State; the death of Tiberius; and the events that took place in this year in the churches; and on the chief priests

A quarrel ensued between Mundhir, king of the Tayoye (Arabs)¹⁵⁶⁷ and Maurice, the Roman Caesar (582-606). The reason is that Maurice imagined that Mundhir had passed information to the Persians, and accordingly, they broke up the bridge on Great River in their country. Feeling animosity toward each other, Maurice went up to the capital and made accusations against Mundhir to the Emperor (Tiberius).¹⁵⁶⁸ The Syrian curator, Magnus, who was a friend of Mundhir, promised to seize him. He journeyed to Syria and prevailed upon Mundhir to come to him. He sent him a message saying, “I have come to inquire about your

see Syriac, pp. 288-289, English, 324-327.

¹⁵⁶⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 182-183, English, 201-203.

¹⁵⁶⁵ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 179-181, English, 198-20.

¹⁵⁶⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 173-176, English, 192-195.

¹⁵⁶⁷ This king cannot be Mundhir, son of al-Harith the Ghasanid who was a Christian Orthodox and ally of the Romans. Logically, he must be Harith IV, son of Hairth III, king of al-Hira who was a heathen and allied to the Persians. See note on p. 236 of Payne Smith’s English translation.

¹⁵⁶⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 213-214, English, 236-240. Later, he reiterates the unsuccessful expedition of Maurice and Mundhir against the Persians in the year 580. It was at this time that Maurice became suspicious of Mundhir for passing information to the Persians. But when Tiberias failed to reconcile both men, Maurice went to see him in Constantinople. John of Ephesus concludes this episode saying, “whether or not he (Maurice) accused Mundhir is not known for certain.” See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 383, English, 413-414.

health. Had it not been for my being tired with the journey, I should have come and paid my respects to you.”¹⁵⁶⁹ Mundhir believed him because he was his friend. He set out immediately attended by a very small escort. Magnus asked him to send these people away. In the evening at suppertime, Magnus arrested him and delivered him up to a Roman army that took him to the capital.¹⁵⁷⁰

Upon learning that his father had been captured, Nu'man assembled his forces and attacked the Roman domain. He plundered gold, silver and other things, but without killing, burning or taking captives. Meanwhile, the emperor commanded Magnus to rule the Tayoye (Arabs). He also ordered him to seize the sons of Mundhir.¹⁵⁷¹ Magnus, using fraud, tried to entrap Nu'man saying to him, “If you come to me, I will make you king instead of your father.” Nu'man had one of the boys of his companions dressed like him and sent him with others to Magnus. When Magnus saw him, he asked him, “Are you Nu'man?” The boy said, “I am he. I have come according to your order.” Magnus said, “Here is the king's representative, throw him in iron chains.” The boy cried out, “Inasmuch as you wanted to deceive me, I have likewise deceived you. By Christ, I am not Nu'man.” When Magnus wanted to kill him, the boy said, “I would have been killed by my king if I refused to come to you, and will be killed by you because I did come. My death is a great honor for me.” Magnus had him tortured and then set free. Afterwards, Magna, the wicked murderer, died. Then, Nu'man, stepping on his own pride, went up to see Maurice Caesar. Maurice welcomed him with honor, and vowed to him if he would fight the Persians, he would release his father from exile. Further, he asked to receive communion from the Synodites (Chalcedonians), but he refused saying, “The entire Tayoye (Arab) tribes are Orthodox, if I receive communion from the Synodites, they will kill me.” With this, the animosity between the two worsened. Upon his departure, Nu'man swore that he would never see the face of the Romans again willingly. When he was on the road, the Romans seized him and sent him to the same place of exile as his father, Mundhir. Consequently, the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs) was divided into fifteen princes, most of whom joined the Persians. At this point, the kingdom of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) ended, because of the perfidy of the Romans. Heresies spread among the Tayoye (Arabs).¹⁵⁷²

In the year 893 of the Greeks, (A.D. 582), the fourth year of Emperor Tiberius in which his life ended, bread vanished in the Western countries, especially in the capital (Constantinople), and none could be found in the marketplaces. The emperor ordered the barley in the storehouses be distributed by assignments, but it was finished in three days. He further ordered the feed of the emperor's horses, together with the feed of horses in the entire kingdom, be distributed to be baked. He also ordered the provisions found in the storehouses of lentils, chickpeas, rice, and even bread crusts, be mixed and ground with the barley and baked. This detestable bread, which appeared in the morning, was sold at exorbitant prices. Furthermore, the emperor had corn brought from many countries like Egypt and Thebaide, but famine also afflicted those countries. Great distress prevailed throughout the whole world to the extent that human beings were nearly wiped from the earth. Death overwhelmed the young men and women for two reasons: first, lest they wallow in the mud of sin; and second, it was a reproach to the old people who have reached the mouth of the grave but did not repent. In brief, death had dominion over all ages. Finally, the mercy of the loving God prevailed. Sea fishing increased in abundance, especially of the fish called tuna. People began to gather it as if gathering piles of wheat in an abundant season. Thus, people alleviated their hunger. The tuna fish was so cheap that each one was sold for a penny, after it had cost nine dinars. In places remote from the sea, God provided plenty of vegetables like lettuce, melons and others on which the people fed.

¹⁵⁶⁹ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 213-215, English, 236-238.

¹⁵⁷⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac 213-216, English, 236-240.

¹⁵⁷¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 217-219, English, 240-242. At this point, thirteen chapters of the Syriac manuscript published by Rev. William Cureton are missing. The last bit of information in Chapter 43 is that, Magnus was successful making Mundhir's brother king. However, ten days later, death overtook him and deprived him of the power to commit further frauds. See pp. 242-243 of the English translation.

¹⁵⁷² The above narrative must have been taken from the lost chapters of Book Three, especially Chapters 52-56. See Ignatius Jacob III, Patriarch of Antioch, *Mor Yaquub (Jacob) al-Baradi'i (Baradaeus)*, (Damascus, 1978), p. 22, note 18.

In this period, fire broke out in the capital. In addition, a severe earthquake took place, especially in the eastern section of the capital. It was accompanied by cries coming out of the earth. Moreover, in this period, locusts appeared in great swarms and caused damage.

After Eutychius, John, who was a curator of John of Sirmin, was set up as patriarch of the Synodites (Chalcedonians) in the capital. He declined the position, but Emperor Tiberius forced him to accept it. He was a constant faster who kept vigil, and loved solitude. When he was pressed to accept the position, he stipulated that he would never violate his order of life, and receive no one until the ninth hour. Thus, he retained his way of life. He spent all day long prostrating in prayer. He was thin and dry like a piece of wood. He forbade the Chalcedonians to plunder the possessions of the Orthodox. He sought peace and connected deeds of mercy with his fasting and ascetic living. Quite often, he was slandered as being a follower of Severus because he did not surrender to the ideas of the evil men (Chalcedonians). The Chalcedonians betrayed him to the emperor to stop him from his wont of lavish giving lest he would not need squander the church treasury. He replied the emperor saying, "Don't tire yourself and those who instructed you. I have given no one, not even a penny of the treasury of the church." When this John was heavily pressured by the Chalcedonians to persecute the Orthodox, he never did. However, these wicked men never ceased stirring up different seditions. They even had the audacity to spit in the faces of the believers and lead them to the courts, while they endured their evils for the sake of God. The Chalcedonians, however, treated the patriarch insolently, and said to his face, "If you do not persecute the Orthodox, as Eutychius did, we will count you as one of them." He paid no attention to their wickedness.

In the time of Justin and Tiberius, the Synodite (Chalcedonian) chief priests were:

In Rome, John, was the 58th patriarch.

In Constantinople, Eutychius, after John of Sirmin, who were the 25th patriarchs for nine years, returned to the see for eleven years, and then died. Then, John the ascetic, followed as the 26th patriarch.

In Antioch, after the death of Gregorius, who was the 56th patriarch, Anastasius returned to the see.

In Alexandria, John was set up.

In Jerusalem, Eustathius was the 59th patriarch.

In Edessa, Epiphanius was the 40th patriarch, followed by Severus of Palestine.

As to the Orthodox, they joined Alexandria. After Pope Theodosius, they set up Theodore as their patriarch, who was deposed. In his place, Peter was set up for three years. Then, Damian was made patriarch.

In Constantinople, John of Asia (Ephesus) superintended the affairs of the Orthodox.

In Syria, Jacob (Baradaeus) was in charge of the Orthodox. He had been ordained a bishop for Edessa, and he is the one who confirmed orthodoxy. With the collaboration of Orthodox bishops, he ordained Paul the Black a patriarch of Antioch, who was later ejected for his communion with the Synodites (Chalcedonians). In his place, they set up Peter (of Callinicus), who was the 46th patriarch.

Chapter Twenty: On the death of Tiberius, and the wars of the Persians and the Barbarians

Before his death, Khusro chose his younger son, Hormizd, as his successor. He supplied his older son with necessary provisions and sent him away in order not to be killed. However, intelligence about him frightened Hormizd. Meanwhile, a Persian impostor claimed to be Khusro's son. He went to the Roman army in Armenia, said that he was Khusro's son, and had come to deliver the Persian kingdom to the Romans, if the Roman emperor supplied him with troops. Tiberius was joyful with this report, and offered the man money and royal garments. He gave orders that he be brought to the capital with great pomp. When he arrived at Chalcedon, the emperor sent Spatharius of the king of Persia to examine him and see whether he was false or not.¹⁵⁷³ Immediately, he recognized him (as an impostor). He seized him by the hair,

¹⁵⁷³ Spatharius, is an ambassador of the Persian king who was at the time in Constantinople negotiating peace with the emperor. Of course, he knew who the sons of Khusro were, and Tiberius asked him to examine the man and see whether he was false or not.

lifted him up and threw him off the throne.¹⁵⁷⁴ He said to him, "How dare you, an impostor, sit on a throne while the princes (of the Persian realm) stand before you?" He smote him, and thus brought his falsehood to light. Finally, this miserable impostor became Christian for fear of death.¹⁵⁷⁵

At this time, while the barbarous Avars and Slavonians were causing havoc in the Roman lands, the Roman army was engaged in combatting the Persians. Evidently, the Marzuban Adormahun had marched into Roman territory and reached Edessa. He set fire in its eastern section, and burned many churches, monasteries and villages over a distance of fifteen miles. He then moved to its western section and set on fire the Church of Confessors. On the fourth day, the Persians killed all the Christians and burned their bodies, and the smoke rose up and covered the sun. Some said that they cut down trees and lit the fire. Others said that they did this by means of Adormahun's magic power, who was chief of magicians in Persia. Finally, the reason for the burning of bodies was brought to light. The Persians moved to the other side and set fire in their camp. They battled the city for three days. However, realizing their inability to continue the fight, they turned towards Callinicus where the Romans and the Tayoye (Arab) troops in the company of Maurice Caesar had arrived. They fought the Persians killing many of them. On the next day, they were about to annihilate them, but the Persians set fire in their camp and left it, and then fled.¹⁵⁷⁶

Tiberius was usually compassionate to the poor.¹⁵⁷⁷ He ordered the remission of one-fourth part of the taxes in all parts of his dominion. It was the procedure to exact one flagon of wine upon each cask of wine brought into the city, which brought in many talents. Tiberius abolished it and ordered that wine should be distributed free to the city magistrates to obviate their extortion.¹⁵⁷⁸ Furthermore, he ordered the custom houses closed down.

In the fourth year of his reign, Tiberius suffered from intestinal dysentery. Realizing that his death was imminent, he called Maurice, from Arabisus in Cappadocia, and married him to his daughter, Augusta. He summoned the senate and asked its members to pray for him. He spoke to them at length. Then, he placed the crown over Maurice's head. He died two days later.¹⁵⁷⁹ The whole city mourned the death of the man of charity, endowed with the youthful handsomeness. Many say that no other emperor had a magnificent funeral like his. He, of excellent memory, was much lamented by everyone for being gracious.¹⁵⁸⁰

In this time, Epiphanius, Chalcedonian bishop of Edessa of notorious memory, died. He afflicted the Orthodox with many evils, and the see of the city remained vacant for nine months. Gregorius wanted to appoint a bishop from his own clergy, but the Edessan Chalcedonians would not accept. They appealed to Emperor Tiberius not to appoint for them a bishop from the province of Antioch, but someone of his own acquaintance. Tiberius sent to them Severus of Eleutheropolis, a man known for good character and conduct. Gregorius ordained him a patriarch of Antioch against his will, but when he arrived at the city, the congregation welcomed him with great joy. Soon, however, their joy turned into sadness because some of the inhabitants of Edessa had fled to Antioch because of disputations. Severus promised them good and accompanied them to the magistrate who threw them into prison. The bishop was stunned, and the inhabitants of the city were overwhelmed by sorrow.

A short time before, the emperor assigned a church to a large body of Goths who were of the heresy of Arius.¹⁵⁸¹ When they defeated the barbarians, they requested the emperor, upon their return, to assign

¹⁵⁷⁴ Apparently, the impostor was sitting on a lofty throne as a king.

¹⁵⁷⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 409-411, English, 439-442.

¹⁵⁷⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 375-381, English, 428-432.

¹⁵⁷⁷ In Book III, Chapter 14, p. 172 of the Syriac, English, 189-191, John of Ephesus says that Tiberius restricted his benefits to the rich and well fed, and did nothing to benefit the poor.

¹⁵⁷⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 172-173, English, 189-192.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Maurice became emperor in the year A.D. 582.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Most of this information is in the lost Chapters of the *History* of John of Ephesus. However, there are glimpses by the same author in, Part III, Syriac, 320-321, English, 349-351.

¹⁵⁸¹ The original text says that a church was assigned to the Arian wives of the Gothic men who were dispatched to fight the Persians. See footnote below.

them another church. The emperor said to them, "We will see the patriarch, and talk the matter over with him." When this story spread throughout the whole city, the people were outraged and imagined that he was an Arian. When Tiberius proceeded to the great church at Constantinople to pray, the clergy shouted, "Out with the bones of the Arians. Out with the bones of all heretics, and of the heathens, too." Upon hearing this, the emperor was very surprised. He left the church and went to his palace. He called unto him the patriarch and the clergy and said to them, "Brethren! What have you seen in me like the Arians in order to consider me an Arian?" After making many apologies, the emperor released them. He published an edict ordering that the Arians were to be captured and evicted from the city.¹⁵⁸²

John of Amid, known as John, bishop of Asia (and also of Ephesus), penned three volumes of history commencing with Justinian I (527-565) and ending with Maurice (582-602), where the blessed completed his endeavors. He further wrote the life-stories of saints who were his contemporaries. Of these are forty-five biographies recorded in my other book of history. Here, however, we shall only record the names of saints. They are Yeshu', bishop of Paitar, Mor Z'ura, John the ascetic, Abraham Sa'run, Sergius and Simon, Paul the anchorite, Addai Tubana, the Chorepiscopus Harpat, Abay the solitary, Simon the ascetic, an anonymous saint, Aho, bishop of Fasirin, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Zachariah, Aho the sage, John, bishop of Tella, John, bishop of Hephæstous, a solitary, Dehla the zealot, Thomas the bishop, Simon of Amid, the persecuted monasteries of Amid, Mara the solitary, Leontius the presbyter, the aged Abraham, Bassianus, the Patriarch Severus, the blessed old man Jacob, bishop of Dassius, Peter Photius, on the Monastery of Mor John of Amid, the layman Abraham, Thomas and Stephen, Thomas the Armenian, Addai and Abraham, Simon, Illiyya (Elijah) and Theodore, Ahron, Tribonius, the blessed Issac, the blessed Paul, the sons of the leaders of Antioch, Caria, Mara, bishop of Urtoye, Theodore, the Empress Theodora, Susanna, Miriam the ascetic, the blessed Cosmas, Casasria the patrician, Susina, the two sisters (nuns) Maria and Euphemia. *Here end the biographies.*

These life-stories show that those who rejected the error of the Council of Chalcedon, were distinguished, like the Apostles, with wonder works in support of the true faith taught by the divine Apostles. It is the faith of those who rejected the impious council (of Chalcedon), and adhered, like the Apostles, to the orthodox faith, held fast by our own church.

Remark

Zachariah, the Rhetorician (Zachariah of Mitylene), commenced his history from the time of Theodosius (375-395), to Justinian (527-565). Qura, the presbyter of Sarug, also wrote a chronicle in fourteen books beginning with the epoch of Justinian to the death of Tiberius. John of Amid, bishop of Ephesus, commenced his history from Constantine, who built Constantinople, to the time of Maurice, in three volumes. The late Patriarch Mikha'il (Michael), made use of these five books, and separated the profane events from the ecclesiastical ones. He confined, as was possible, the ecclesiastical events to the first column, as we have already mentioned, and the table of kingdoms in the second column. In the third column, he recorded the extraordinary natural phenomena. He exerted a great effort in separating these different events. He also mentioned that he recorded some events ahead of others because of the chaotic times under which they were written. This is specifically true of the books of the Saint Bishop John (of Ephesus), as he remarked, for the great persecution he had suffered, and the fact that he constantly moved from one place to another. Therefore, we see that John records what happened under the former emperor in the time of his successor. Moreover, since these matters cause confusion for the readers, especially of little experience, Michael did as much as possible to distinguish the different events, and put them in proper order. This is especially true to the number of years in the books of Mor Jacob of Edessa, and the solitary John of Atharb, and from the book of Ignatius of Melitene. As to the extensive narratives concerning the chronicles of kings, or the church, the patriarch (Michael) recorded them page after page. This is what exactly we did in this context lest the readers become lost in a maze of events. As to the events succinctly

¹⁵⁸² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 170-171, English, 188-189.

written, they are placed in the column following the order of the book. They are distinguished by chapters, so that a chapter is ended with the end of the narrative. Concerning the three chronicles of Zachariah the Rhetorician, Qura of Sarug, and John, bishop of Ephesus, they covered the historical events until this time in which we conclude our chronicle, because their activity in this life has ended, and they have been transported from this world.

This elucidation was made by the late Patriarch Michael himself, to show that their writings had ended. In addition, the writings of ancient and middle writers like Africanus and Eusebius ended.

Here begins the history of Patriarch Dionysius nicknamed Tell Mahre. First, is his Introduction¹⁵⁸³

Your proud soul, my spiritual son and most beloved Metropolitan Iyawannis (John) of Dara,¹⁵⁸⁴ is not satisfied or restrained by collecting gems of wisdom, for the divine teachings and the orthodox doctrines that you have pursued since childhood, even to your old age, are plentiful. Therefore, if one said that you are like a river from which flow the waters of life, and bring joy to the city of God that is the holy Church, he would not be far from the truth. For I perceive that you are over voracious for all kinds of knowledge. However, you should invigorate yourself and endeavor to learn more about world events, and gather from them a treasure sufficient to satisfy your ravenous appetite. Do not place on me, the weak, this burden. Why don't you think of the old age, which began to weigh down on my head? Many things, especially the official matters of the church, and the labors of my miserable soul, prevent me from even breathing air with pleasure. I cannot stay in one place, but constantly move from one village to another and from one quarter to another in extended travels. Furthermore, I have to stand at the doors of sultans, and fall down on my face, with all the humiliation and disdain that follows. However, in the light of your zealous insistence, and your high-mindedness, I recalled that I, too, have a voracity to tell the truth. I prevailed upon some to record, the events of our own time, for the coming generations but they declined. Therefore, I decided to bear this task myself, despite my waning strength. Moreover, as I throw my reliance on God, I venture into this field of endeavor.

Some learned men did write about past generations from the beginning of the creation to the time of the believing Emperor Constantine. They discussed the innovation of the world and the creation, and the successive lineages from Adam and the years they lived. They further wrote about kings who ruled and the durations of that rule. However, what they had written cannot be considered an ecclesiastical history, but a general, or profane history. Of these are the histories of Josephus, Andronicus, Africanus, Anianus, George the Raghthi (Ragtiya), John of Antioch, and finally Eusebius and Pamphilus. The first, however, to write down an ecclesiastical history was Eusebius, and then Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoret, Zachariah, Iliyya (Elijah), and John of Asia. The last writer was the presbyter Qura of Batnan (Sarug). Jacob of Edessa arranged a table of years, as did also John the Stylite of Atharb, as well as Daniel, son of Musa of Tur Abdin, another one called the son of Samuel from the western region, and still another called Theophile, and Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa. However, these men wrote their chronicles with brevity without heeding the reality of circumstances and the chronological order of events. Theophile of Edessa, was Chalcedonian whose hatred toward the Orthodox was generic. He falsified everything whenever a member of our community was mentioned. We, however, have followed in the footsteps of the ancients by beginning where Qura of Batnan had ended. From his writings, we derived some of the true state of affairs. *This narrative is ended by the help of our Lord.*

¹⁵⁸³ Dionysius Tell Mahre died in 845. For his biography see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 386-387.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Died in 860, for his biography see *The Scattered Pearls*, 390-392.

Chapter Twenty-One: The commencement of the reign of Maurice, the second emperor of the Greeks

After the death of Tiberius in the year 894 of the Greeks (A.D. 583, more correctly 582) Maurice from Arabissus reigned (582-602). Tiberius had appointed him before his death and married him to his daughter, Augusta.¹⁵⁸⁵

Maurice commenced his reign on August 5, 893 of the Greeks (A.D. 582) and was confirmed in his position as emperor on August 4, 894 of the Greeks (A.D. 583.) On that day, his wife, Augusta, gave birth to a son, born in the purple and was named Theodosius.¹⁵⁸⁶

At this time, the Romans rebelled against Maurice and set up a governor named Garmis (Germanus). When Hormizd, king of the Persian, heard this, he sent an envoy to them with pledges to attract them to his side. They, however, despised him, and went to fight against Hormizd. They killed a group of Persians, took captive 3000 slaves and sent them to Maurice. They were placed under his authority by their free will, and Maurice welcomed them with gladness, and showered Germanus with abundant gifts.¹⁵⁸⁷

In this time too, Maurice ordered Arabissus, his city, to be built. It is one of the cities in the region of third Armenia. After some of its magnificent buildings were completed, it was destroyed by an earthquake in the year 898 of the Greeks (A.D. 589.) The emperor ordered, and it was rebuilt under his own supervision grander than before. However, a second earthquake, more severe than the previous one, destroyed it.

In the sixth year of Maurice's reign, Priscus the Roman general, leading the Roman army, marched against Persia. The army, however, rejected him, and Emperor Maurice appointed Philip, his brother-in-law (the husband of his sister) a general in his place. Philip exhibited many splendid triumphs. Meantime, the army pressured the emperor to fire Priscus for his cruelty and insolence. Now as the army was wont to rebel, it began to plot against Philip also. They even thought of removing the emperor himself and setting up another. After their war with the Persians, they returned to Antioch and wintered there. While they were wintering, an earthquake took place in Antioch, destroying most of it, and the soldiers were scattered round about the city. Furthermore, the horsemen rebelled against the emperor, and he asked the bishop to have them reconciled. They were reconciled and accepted the leadership of Philip, the emperor's brother-in-law. After the Romans came into agreement, they learned that, in Nisibin, the Persians had won the governor (guardian) of Miyafarqin by showering him with gifts, and he handed the city over to them. Many Romans within the city perished. Philip and his army marched from Antioch against Miyafarqin, captured it by assault, and slew the Persians who were in it, and stationed the Romans. Upon his return, Philip passed through the city of Zugma and had a church built in it in honor of the Mother of God. It is said that on the day of her feast, they locked its doors, but they were opened by themselves. It was reported that the Mother of God herself opened them. The Chalcedonians, however, said that such a thing is not true. Others maintained that the clergymen opened the locked doors with a technical means.

In the eighth year of Maurice, the Persians rebelled against their King, Hormizd. They seized him by treachery and blinded his eyes, and he died. Ten months later, in the ninth year of Maurice, reigned Khusro, son of Hormizd. Those who killed his father because of the multitude of his evil deeds made him their king in the year 902 of the Greeks (A.D. 591). *End of the narrative.*

In this period, Maurice built a fortress in the province of the Sopenians called Shemkoroath.¹⁵⁸⁸ Sixty camel loads of willow, called in Greek Bsila, were made ready for the building of the fortress.

¹⁵⁸⁵ See above p. and John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 320-321, English, 172-173.

¹⁵⁸⁶ See previous footnote, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 140.

¹⁵⁸⁷ See *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, translated Ernest A. Wallis Budge, 83-84.

¹⁵⁸⁸ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 416, English, 446-447. According to John, the fortress takes its name from a lofty and strong mountain. Emperor Maurice stationed in it a garrison and supplies of provisions.

In the year 894 of the Greeks (A.D. 583), the Romans seized the fortress of Oqbo (Ocba) and destroyed it. The Persians, however, attacked the Romans and took many of them captive, and rebuilt the fortress.¹⁵⁸⁹

At this time, the Romans sent an ambassador to the king of Persia, but the king despised him greatly. He killed in his presence all the Roman captives and sent him away with humiliation. Thus, the enmity between the Romans and the Persians intensified for twenty years. Then bands of abominable barbarians, who from their long hair, were called Avars, and who came from the remotest regions of the East, and also the Slavonians who came from the West, and still other people, the Lombards, who were under the rule of Khagan, king of the Avars, captured two cities of the Romans, and the rest of villages. They said to the natives, "Plant and harvest, and we will take from you only half of the tax." Had it not been for the emperor who built a big fortress outside Adrianople, they would have focused their attention on the imperial city. The emperor and his troops were alarmed by these barbarians, so he stationed a force on the outer wall about sixty miles' distance. When the emperor was hard pressed, he was forced to enroll into the army, even the clergy. He sent commissioners to all quarters to carry out the conscription. But they abjectly abused their mission. They snatched children from their parents, caused great damage to the regions, and even confiscated beasts of burden, oxen, and even chicken from all over the country.

At this time, the Slavonians ravaged several regions, plundered the furniture of the churches and the great ciborium¹⁵⁹⁰ that was dragged out by carts. They also used the church of Corinth as their dwelling place instead of their tents. The Romans, however, hired the people of Antes, (the Avars) and fell upon the capital city of the Slavonians, seized it and spoiled it. They brought out its treasures only to set it on fire. The city of the Slavonians was situated to the west of the Danube River. When the Slavonians heard that their city was spoiled, they became indignant and roared like a lion ready to pounce upon its prey. They assembled by the thousands and waged a ferocious war (against the Romans). When, however, they failed to restore their capital city, they marched against the city of Anchiales and the warm baths near it. They massacred a great number of Roman forces there. Finally, they destroyed its walls and discovered the purple cloth which Anastasia, wife of Tiberius, had donated to the church, which she had put on as she went to the warm baths. The Khagan (of the Avars) put it on saying, "Whether the Roman emperor likes it or not, the kingdom has been given to me." However, he received instant reports that the Turks were targeting him. He went out to Sirmium fearing that the Turks might plunder his country and his people. He sent to them eight qintars of gold, and they retreated.

In this period, three brothers from the internal region of Scythia, commanding thirty thousand Scythians, marched for sixty days from the foot of the Mountain Imaeon until they reached, in the winter, the River Tanais, which flows from Maeotis Lake and pours into the Pontus (The Black Sea.) Upon reaching the Roman boundaries, one of them, Bulgarius, taking with him ten thousand men, separated himself from the rest. He crossed the River Tanais into the River Danube, which also flows into the Pontus (Black Sea). He asked Emperor Maurice to give him land for his dwelling that he might become an ally of the Romans. Maurice gave him upper and lower Moesias and Dacia, which were impregnable regions. As the Avars were destroyed in the time of Anastasius, Bulgarius and his men lived there and became guards of the Romans, and the Romans called them Bulgarians. As to the other two brothers, they went to the country presently called, Bersalia, where the Romans had built the cities Caspia, also called Port of the Turanians, Bulgaria and Poguria. In the past, the inhabitants of Bersalia were Christians. However, when the alien people controlled that region they were called Khazars after the name of the eldest brother, Khazarig. These people became strong and spread all over.

In this period, the patriarch of Antioch of our church, we the Orthodox, was Peter of Callinicus (al-Raqqa). This was so because, although Paul the Black was ordained patriarch by Jacob Baradaeus with the participation of Patriarch Theodosius, he was ejected for two reasons: first, for having communion with the Chalcedonians; second, for ordaining Theodore of Romnin, patriarch of Alexandria, without the knowledge

¹⁵⁸⁹ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 416, English, 447-448.

¹⁵⁹⁰ The vessel where reserved elements were placed.

of the Alexandrians. Furthermore, Paul had not yet been absolved of the charges launched against him by the Syrians and the Egyptians. As Paul went around in the East and the West making trouble, the Eastern bishops, in agreement with the Alexandrians, ordained for themselves a patriarch, the illustrious Peter,¹⁵⁹¹ at the Monastery of Mor Hananya (present Za'faran Monastery) between Balash, or Balas,¹⁵⁹² and Callinicus (al-Raqqa) in the wilderness. At that time Damian, whom we previously discussed at length, was patriarch of Alexandria, and also discussed the manner Peter was made a patriarch for three years after the ejection of Theodore, and then Damian himself.

In this period, there was a sophist named Stephen (Niobes) who said that, "If we confess one nature in the Lord Christ, it would no longer be possible to say that the difference between the properties of the two natures still exists." For this, he was rejected despite Damian's advice. However, he would not submit to the truth, and continued to argue and confirm his point of view. He kept saying that, "It is not possible to admit the difference of the natures of Christ, without admitting the distinction of these natures."¹⁵⁹³

When Peter, patriarch of Antioch, went to Alexandria to discuss the question of Paul (the Black), he was accompanied by the archimandrite Yuhanon (John) Barbour and Probus. These men were sophists and of Stephen's theological opinions. Probus, however, changed his mind and wrote a refutation of Stephen. Both John and Probus aspired to become bishops, but the patriarch refused to ordain them bishops. Frustrated, both men began to see Stephen. The patriarch (Peter) advised them not to see him, but they rejected his advice and remained in Alexandria. They began to see Stephen after the patriarch returned to Syria. They engaged in discussion with him forgetting what they said against him. They fell into the snares of his teaching. John, the archimandrite, tried to play both ways. He changed his views depending on whom he met. Probus tried publicly to build up what had been pulled down. When Damian expelled him (from Alexandria), he went to the East (Syria) and began to propagate the doctrine of the sophist, Stephen, but he was ejected from the church. When the archimandrite John, learned that Probus was thrown out of the church, he began to help him and defend him. Meanwhile, a council assembled at the Gubba Baraya (Outer Gubba) Monastery to investigate John's ideas. The council found that his defense was wrought with the blasphemies of the sophist Stephen and Probus. He was suspended of his (sacerdotal) services. The Patriarch (Peter) wrote a treatise deposing both men and refuting their teaching. He relied on the teachings of the church's doctors who taught that the distinction of the natures of Christ persists after the union without the plurality of confusion of these natures. When archimandrite John, and Probus, saw that they were rejected, they joined the Chalcedonians. They went to see Anastasius, the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch, and endorsed the heresy of the Council of Chalcedon. When John was discarded by his monastery, he went to stay in the Monastery of Eustathius in Artah until Patriarch Peter passed away. John and Probus asked (Anastasius) to invite the Antiochian monks to assemble in order to debate them. They claimed that Peter was wrong maintaining that the definition and the distinction of the properties of the natures of Christ persist (after the union of the natures of Christ), and that he did not profess the plurality of the natures.¹⁵⁹⁴ After arguing and debating ten letters, their falsehood was exposed. Ashamed, Probus went to Constantinople where he deceived the patriarch of Constantinople who ordained him as bishop for Chalcedon. Then, he fell ill. Realizing that his end was near, he asked his disciples to go out into the streets or to the nearby cities to bring him an Orthodox (non-Chalcedonian) priest to absolve him of sin, but they could find no one. When they failed to find a priest, the soul of the wretched was in distress and he became more remorseful. He sent them again to find if possible a simple monk or even a layman, but they could find no one. One of his disciples asked, 'How can a simple monk forgive the sins of a bishop?' Probus

¹⁵⁹¹ He is Peter III, patriarch of Antioch, 581-591. For his biography, see *The Scattered Pearls*, 309-310.

¹⁵⁹² At present Balash is called Maskana in western Iraq.

¹⁵⁹³ What Stephen intends is that in the incarnation, the two natures of Christ were so united with each other that the properties of both of them could be no more distinguished from each other. In other words, one of these natures, most likely the divine, absorbed the other nature. See Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse University press, 1986, p. 84, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005. Cf. Adrian Fortescue, *The Lesser Christian Churches* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1913), p. 208.

¹⁵⁹⁴ See Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 85.

replied, "Yes, Yes, even an Orthodox layman can absolve the sins of a heretical bishop." His disciples said, "Then, we are all heretics." He said, "Yes. This is the truth." He died without forgiveness. His disciples abstained from communion with the Chalcedonians. They returned to Syria and reembraced the Orthodox faith. *End of the Chapter.*

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning the controversy which took place in our church because of Damian, pope of Alexandria and Peter, patriarch of Antioch

As we have shown earlier, the chief priests in our church, we the Orthodox in this period, were Patriarch Peter (III of Callinicus) of Antioch and Pope Damian of Alexandria. It then happened that a group of Tritheists were agitated, wrote down objections and demanded a response. The believers presented their objections to Damian as a man capable of responding to them. He, in turn, sent his response with Byzantine¹⁵⁹⁵ envoys to Peter of Antioch to examine them and make corrections if necessary. When Peter of Antioch examined these objections and Damian's response, he found them fraught with strange expressions incompatible with the teaching of the doctors (of the church), concerning the properties of the persons of the holy Trinity, which he considered as *qnume* (persons, essences). Peter did not want to blame him promptly, but wrote in a symbolic manner, saying, "I have found in some chapters of your response ambiguous expressions. I wish you would clarify them." Peter's intention was to have him explain himself in order that he might ferret out his intention of using those expressions worthy of condemnation. He wrote to Damian with the intention of understanding whether what he had written was exactly what he was thinking, or if it was a great challenge to the Tritheists.

At the outset, Peter used kind words lauding Damian lest he become indignant and obdurate. He said to himself, "May be whatever he had written was for lack of knowledge, and that he will feel sorry for it." However, when Damian agreed to the principle of negotiation, and learned that Patriarch (Peter) did not agree with his opinions, he attributed his disagreement to malice, and became outraged. Damian was invited several times by the patriarch and the Eastern monks to discuss the matter wherever he wished. Damian never responded. Finally, he was compelled to attend a council that assembled at Paralos near the confines of Egypt. Peter and the Eastern monks arrived at the place, and discovered that the (Egyptian) monks had annulled the meeting. They decided to assemble at Arabia of Palestine to discuss the conflict. Arbiters and mediators also arrived at the place. Damian feared a prompt examination, and demanded that it should be conducted through the exchange of letters. Peter responded, "This is not the path to peace but to toil and hardship. We agree to have the examination conducted wherever you see fit, and in the presence of the council." Damian agreed to do so. He journeyed to Arabia and then to Egypt. Peter followed him to Alexandria hoping that the examination would be conducted there, and that Damian would accept his amendment. In fact, Damian did not want to attend any meeting or have an examination of the matter. He fled and began to move through the monasteries. Peter and his retinue remained in the city (Alexandria), and whenever he summoned Damian, Damian dodged the invitation, or found an excuse not to attend. This confirmed Peter's belief that Damian wanted no examination of the matter. Again, he addressed to him a treatise in three books criticizing his opinions. This took place in the year 898 of the Greeks (A.D. 587).

Two years after the deposition of Probus and John Barbour, Patriarch Peter addressed a letter to some Syrians who were dwelling in Alexandria. He explained to them the events that took place upon Damian's visit to the East. Following are extracts from the letter:

This, our letter concerning past events is rather belated. Now, we have learned what you have written about the falsified reports, and are sure of the unfairness of what they said against us. Indeed, they have no concern for peace, and they do not want to discuss matters in a lawful manner, minute investigation or direct discussion. However, in their defense, they resort to agitation and discord in order to escape discussion. For this reason, we found it necessary to write to you now and send our greetings in the Lord to you and to all our believing brethren where you are. We will convey to you gradually everything in truth as

¹⁵⁹⁵ This is the first time the term Byzantines occurs in the Chronicle of Michael Rabo.

much as possible. However, you ought to know that Pope Damian and his retinue arrived in the East (Syria) in secret, and not openly. A few days later, after the pious archimandrite and those in his company bade you farewell, Damian and those in his company followed them to the sea of Gazza and left him there, but he reached Tyre. Shortly afterwards, the pope and his retinue arrived there and met with the archimandrite and his companions in their bishop's house. They asked them to proceed to meet us, but they refused to do so. They said that they would dispatch some of them to my unworthiness in the Gubba Baraya Monastery, and they informed us of this. Upon learning of the sudden coming of the pope's envoys, we found it appropriate to send two bishops to welcome them. We also decided to send the archimandrite and those in his company to Gazza to inform the inhabitants of the holy monastery there of the arrival of these dignitaries, and inform the natives of the province whom you deemed necessary to be present, apprise them of what would happen and prepare them to be present there. Our delegated two bishops met with the two bishops who were sent by Pope Damian. On the way to us, they met John of Anazarba, another John and Bacchus. They welcomed them with great amity and brought them to Sarin. They said that they could partake in holy mysteries with them. However, upon learning of their arrival, we dispatched bishops to ask them in what manner we should receive them. Should we receive them as fellow brothers of our ministry, or as strangers? Should we ask them whether they came for peace or just to probe the situation? Still, should we treat them as brothers with the hope that they might return to the right path? When we inquired of them, they said, "We will pray and take our meals together with you, but will not partake the Holy Communion together." Our bishops said, "If this is the case, let us act separately in everything, since you have separated yourself from us." Thus, we prayed alone and went about performing other things.

Following a lukewarm greeting, Pope Damiana's envoys handed to us letters. Upon reading them, we were astonished for the calumny and vituperation their preamble contained. We thought that by attending the meeting, Damian would at least reduce his hardness a little. Thus, we preferred to keep silent. Then, we said in a friendly manner, "We should have been informed about your coming in order to do what is necessary. The envoys remained with us more than twelve days awaiting the arrival of their bishops. We tried to do whatever would please God and our two congregations and then correspond to you." The envoys said, "We could have not corresponded with the pope (Damian) during this whole period." We said, "Same as the pope came to the East (Syria) according to the consultation of the leaders, so also we perform our affairs according to the consultation of the elders. If anything should happen beyond our will, we will bear the shortcoming with all fairness. I believe that Arabia is a fitting place for the meeting because of fear of the rulers." They said, "Antioch is a better place for the meeting." We said, "Since we assumed this awesome position (as patriarch of Antioch) of which we are unworthy, we cannot come close to the city for long time." Then, the envoys insisted that we should go first to the pope (Damian) in Arabia, and he would then accompany us to any place we wished. However, they did not stand firm to their word, and did not await the arrival of the bishops. When we learned that the pope intended to stir up trouble by addressing letters to the archimandrites to draw them unto his side but failed, we journeyed to Arabia.

Extracts from the letter of Patriarch Peter

Finally, we hastened to journey to Arabia submitting ourselves to Christ our Savior, and affirming our concern and esteem for the wellbeing of the believers. This is the truth. When we drew near, we sent to him (Damian) a few bishops requesting him to advance to the monastery, which was far away from the village. He came but did not enter the monastery. We arrived and found him with the bishops and those in his company sitting outside. We then realized that he was not keen on making peace. Nevertheless, we greeted him and blamed him kindly for not entering the monastery. He said, "I will not enter the monastery without your permission." I said to him, "But you have already entered the monasteries of your choice without permission." We then took him to the monastery, and offered him (Pope Damian) the first seat and sat with him. When the place where we were to assemble was discussed, he and his retinue said, "We should first think of the dignitaries who are with us, and then think of the meeting place." They asked us to assign the place of the meeting. We said that it would be in the vicinity of the Gubba Baraya (Outer Gubba)

Monastery near Mabug, Aleppo and the province of Antioch, where we have a great number of followers in agreement of our faith. Upon hearing this, the pope and those with him began to speak with fury and indignation. They said that they would not attend these places because their inhabitants are barbarians. When we reminded him that a short while ago, he (Damian) was in this region visiting his own brother the governor of Edessa, he said that visiting his brother was a church business. We said, "This is also a mission and not mere church business, it is also meant for the wellbeing of the Christian faith." However, he and his retinue insisted on not going to this region. We learned from their argument that they did not want an open discussion, but an exchange of letters. Finally, they agreed to wait for the illustrious Gophna of Mabug to arrive and decide the place of the meeting and the manner of discussion. When those in the company of the pope noticed his weakness even in simple and insignificant matters, they understood the truth about him. However, they did not want to criticize their indecision, but rather covered up the weakness of the pope by screaming and agitating.

Gophna arrived on Monday of Passion Week. We informed the pope (Damian) that either he should accompany us to see him in order to fix the place of the meeting, or send three delegates along with our own followers. He said as if he had forgotten what had happened, that we ought not to discuss the place of the meeting unless we have designated those who will assemble. Apparently, he was counting on a group of men from Tyre whom he had already convinced that they might help him. We agreed to his suggestion, but also recognized their duplicitous behavior. Nevertheless, we thought that it was necessary to deal with them in a friendly manner. When Philarcus came to know this, and realized their ill intention, he personally interfered in their own affairs. However, they were at their wit's end, whether concerning the venerable Philarcus or us, and they met with us for the second time at the church of Mor Sergius in Gbitha (the elect one). The discussion was a little prolonged to cover the conflict that had taken place in Egypt. When the pope (Damian) was unable to defend what had been said about those in his company, I said to his partisans, "You should keep silent while I or the pope has the floor. You should resemble the brethren in our company and let the God-lovers listen to what is said." The pope found what I said hard to swallow. He said, "I need one to remind me if I failed to do what should be done." I said, "There is nothing to prevent them from reminding you if they adhered to order." However, Philarcus and his men could not keep them silent, but realized that the pope's supporters kept agitating in order to cover up his weakness. However, Philarcus was anxious to join his forces. This is why he said, "If you find it proper, proceed to the place we have assigned for the meeting, otherwise, let me depart." The pope changed the subject to discuss persons. Philarcus said, "It is not fair that we laymen should reproach you." At the end, the pope was indignant and departed. He neither yielded nor consented to the document he had written concerning the place of meeting.¹⁵⁹⁶

The truth is that at the third meeting, the pope spoke with avid indignation. I beseeched him and those with him to resort to quietness. I said to his companions, "This is not proper behavior. All of you should keep quiet so the chief priest (Damian) might communicate with my weakness." They said, "We have not come to be silent." Those who were near the pope said, "Why do your partisans not let things take their proper course?" The pope said to me, "Your bishops do not keep silent because they do not understand, otherwise, you and I will keep silent and give the opportunity to the bishops to speak." I said to him, "Therefore, you have not mastered the art of communication, and do not consent to speak alone." He was embarrassed, and said, "Let us discuss matters in writing." Then, he and those with him went to a corner and pretended to write something. It was reported to us that they were inviting Maximus the Grammarian to come and help them say what they wanted to say. When Maximus delayed, and would not show interest concerning the place of the meeting or the persons, I wrote to him saying, "Those who desire a dialogue should write in an orderly manner and not in a confused manner. They should also write in conformity with the instructions laid before them, and associate their words with charity and reconciliation. Now, if you will, do accompany us to the mentioned quarters to discuss the matter in the presence of those

¹⁵⁹⁶ Cf. John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 302-305, English, 334-337.

who are illustrious, learned and free, or else, we will go with you to any place you desire." However, those partisans of the pope who were gathered in the corner would not listen to what we suggested. They rather said, "We will read whatever we have because we put forth the charges." I said, "You are required to abide by what concerns the faith because you are the ones to be blamed, and you should defend yourselves. It seems that you coming to the East was not to apologize but to blame." They became agitated and held us with contempt and humiliation, like those who have no God. They even rubbed their heads with their hands to ridicule my weakness. Then, I turned my cheek to them saying, "I am ready not only to accept insults but also beating." They became more agitated and furious against us, but the brethren, while distressed, kept silent. Some of them, fired with zeal, said to the pope, "It is improper that your partisans behave so boisterously, while wearing priestly garments, and these are keeping silent." The pope rebuked them and accused them of being biased. I beseeched him to forbid them to misbehave, but he did not respond. In order to calm him down, I asked John the Armenian to proceed to the middle and talk to them as they talked to me. While John was defending what was written in the spirit of humility, they clapped, and seized the pope, shouting that they wanted to kill him. As they departed, the Metropolitan Paul saw them and said to them, "It is not fair that you should depart, but should remain and think of what is more preferable." They rebuked him and pushed him to the wall. A deacon from Atou rushed to help him, but they ganged up against him beating and wounding him. They further caused us a great deal of harm for very trivial reasons. Some of them hastened to the venerable Probus in Tyre, and slandered us with obscene and repugnant words, which caused him to be immensely worried. We sent the archimandrite John to acquaint him with the details of the matter, and request him to come to Arabia and offer counsel to both sides. We are awaiting his coming.

This is the letter of Patriarch Peter detailed in the book of Dionysius Tell Mahre. We have recorded here in brief which is sufficient to show the cause of the trouble which took place between the Egyptian and the Syrians, and what conclusion that confusion reached before it came to an end.

Chapter Twenty-Three: On the time of Maurice; and the peace made with the Persians; and the churches affairs during this period of peace

Emperor Maurice made his son Theodosius a Caesar in a very splendid ceremony. The patriarch placed the crown over his head.

In the same period, Khusro, son of Hormizd, ruled the Persians, but no one of the army generals in the East submitted to him. They disdained the young king and rebelled against him. When Khusro saw that Bahram had rebelled and with him a multitude of people, he resorted to Maurice, the Roman Emperor. He addressed to him secretly a letter carried by the Roman army general Iyawannis (John) of Rasafia, informing him of what had happened. He also showed his willingness to pay him a visit if the emperor granted him permission. Maurice rejoiced and pledged to extend to him any help. Khusro, very pleased, went to Edessa, and Iyawannis Rasafia welcomed him to his house with great honor. Khusro wrote to Maurice that he would be like a slave, but Maurice replied that he would be treated as a friend, and pledged to honor him as a father honors his son. Khusro remained in Rasafia's house until he received a reply from the emperor. Maurice supplied Khusro with 20,000 troops commanded by Iyawannis, captain of the host of Thrace, and 20,000 more Armenian and Bulgarian troops commanded by Anastasius. He sent with them forty talents of gold for his expenses. Khusro received the gold and returned to his own country.

Now when the rebels heard this, they prepared to fight, and the Persian Hormizan with 10,000 soldiers joined Khusro. The rebels were defeated and fled, but they were captured and killed with the exception of those who joined Khusro. Thus, all of Persia was subjected to Khusro, who gave many gifts to the Roman troops. Moreover, he gave each soldier 400 drachma and sent them back to their country. He sent great gifts and precious stones to Maurice, and gave back Dara and Rish 'Ayna to the Romans. Khusro asked Maurice, he gave him Maria, his daughter, as wife, and bishops and laymen went with her. Khusro

BOOK TEN

built three great temples (churches), one to the Mother of God, one to the Apostles, and a third to Sergius, the martyr. Then, peace prevailed between the two kingdoms.¹⁵⁹⁷

In the fourth year of Maurice the Roman emperor, which is the year 899 of the Greeks (A.D. 588), John Barbour and Probus were excommunicated. In the sixth year of Maurice, the conflict between Damian, patriarch of Alexandria, and Peter of Antioch was stirred up, as we have sufficiently shown earlier. Peter wrote three treatises against Damian resulting in a controversy that lasted throughout their lifetime.

In the 9th year of Maurice, which is the year 902 of the Greeks (A.D. 591), Peter of Antioch passed away on April 22, at the Gubba Baraya Monastery. Damian of Alexandria also passed away, but the conflict between the two remained.

In Edessa, there was a bishop called Sergius the Armenian. He and his brother John criticized the writings of Peter saying that they should not be accepted.

Julian, the eloquent and virtuous man, was ordained to succeed Peter. He was from the Monastery of Qinnesrin and a syncellus of Peter. When he saw what Sergius and his cohorts had done to split the church and entice many to their side, he censured them and expounded the expressions in which they were stumbling. They hardly quit their blind antagonism and objection, and the conflict ended.

In Alexandria, Anastasius succeeded Damian.

In Rome, the Chalcedonians had a bishop named Sozos.

In Constantinople, the bishop was another Anastasius.

In Edessa, the Chalcedonians had a bishop called Sawera (Severus). He built a palace and porticos over the river and several other edifices. However, when Narsai rebelled against the Emperor Phocas (reigned 602-610), and came to Edessa, some people slandered Bishop Severus to Narsai as a friend of Phocas. Phocas summoned Severus to the house of Marini where he was staying. After questioning his intention, he ordered that he be stoned, and died. The Chalcedonians set up Theodorus, of Edessa, a bishop in his stead. However, the believers of Edessa set up Peter to succeed Sergius.

In the 14th year of Maurice, the year 905 of the Greeks (A.D. 594), Patriarch Julian passed away. He served three years and five months as a patriarch. In the same year, Athanasius, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin, was chosen as patriarch. In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Maurice, the year 906 of the Greeks (A.D. 595), he was ordained a patriarch for the Orthodox See of Antioch.

In the year 17th of Maurice, the year 910 of the Greeks (A.D. 597), Maurice summoned Domitian, bishop of Melitene, son of his brother Peter, and authorized him to persecute the followers of Severus (of Antioch). It is said that this was originally the idea of this wicked bishop who loathed the flourishing of the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) in Melitene and its regions. Like a ferocious beast, he went up into Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), seized churches, and handed them to the Chalcedonians. He went to Edessa and summoned the monks of the Eastern monasteries unto him. He cajoled them and threatened them to endorse the Council of Chalcedon, and forced them to receive his communion. When they did not submit, but used harsh words against him, he ordered the soldiers to drag them to the ditch outside the Sun Gate and slaughter about four hundred of them. The believers gathered their bodies and buried them in the very spot where they were martyred. This impious, however, continued the persecution of the Orthodox for a long time, forcing them to receive his own communion. Although some of them did partake of his communion, the majority resisted courageously and never accepted the wicked heresy of two natures. They even insulted the emperor and Domitian. A soldier called Asphartius said the he had heard the monks insulting the emperor and his nephew. This is why he had them killed, and drove away a great number of them.

On that same day, May 10, the sun eclipsed and darkness prevailed from the third hour to the sixth hour. People said this took place because of the murder of the monks, the servants of Christ. On April 2, a severe earthquake took place and many cities were destroyed in different quarters. The earth cleft and people were buried in it. Plague and tumors spread. Death also plagued the royal city (Constantinople) and

¹⁵⁹⁷ Bar Hebraeus says, "And Christianity spread throughout Persia." See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 85.

about 318,000 lost their lives. John, patriarch of Constantinople, was one of its victims. The plague extended to Bithynia and entire Asia.

In the next year, there was drought and extreme dryness in all of Syria and Palestine, and olive trees and other trees dried up. In the following year, swarms of crawling locusts, the like of which had not been seen before, attacked Syria and destroyed the crops, the fruits and the trees. Three years later, there was famine because of the scarcity of food.

Because of these chastisements, the Romans stopped the persecution of the Orthodox and also stopped their odious barbarianism. *End of the three accounts.*

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the murder of Maurice and his deeds together with the deeds of other kings; and what happened between him and church leaders

As Khusro, king of the Persians, honored Maurice as a father, and Maurice honored him as a son, peace and safety prevailed all over the Roman and the Persian countries. Christianity spread throughout Persia, and churches were built in the cities villages, and the inhabited quarters. Then, Maurice became arrogant and treated the hosts of the Romans and of the army with contempt, and would not give them their pay. The situation became worse when the Bulgarians began to ravage the country of Thrace. The Roman troops commanded by Philippicus marched against them, defeated them and returned home. Despite all this, the emperor did not give them their pay. The troops sent a message to him, saying, "God has given peace in your days, but peace alone will not feed cavalry men unless they receive their pay. If you do not give us our pay, behold that we are from now your enemies." Like Rehoboam,¹⁵⁹⁸ he paid no attention to them and held them with contempt. They asked his brother, Peter, to rule over them, but he refused and went to Maurice to make the matter known to him. When Maurice heard this, he was scared, fled and hid himself in Chalcedon. When the army reached the royal city (Constantinople) and did not find Maurice, they set up as their emperor a common old man named Phocas.¹⁵⁹⁹ They went out, found Maurice, and brought him to the city. They killed his sons before him and then killed him.

Maurice ruled twenty years. He was killed in the year 914 of the Greeks (A.D. 602) the same year Phocas ruled.¹⁶⁰⁰ He was the 27th Roman emperor, and the third among the Greek emperors, first of who was Tiberius.

On Athanasius

It is not fitting to pass over the life story of the Patriarch Athanasius haphazardly.¹⁶⁰¹ His father died and left him and his brother Severus orphans in the care of their mother Janyha. She was pious, practicing constant fasting, and lover of strangers. She distributed the fortune left by her husband to the poor and to the churches. She raised her sons to be modest. As they were too young to travel with her, she visited the churches and the martyriums by herself, where the relics of saints, crosses and icons were stored. She touched them with her cape, and, when she returned home, she spread it over the heads of her sons. When she met with a bishop, a priest or a monk, she would take off her scarf and ask him to pray over it and sign it with three crosses. She would fold the scarf and carry it as if she was carrying something heavy. When she returned home, she would pour the blessing over the heads of her sons. After they were raised in this good manner, she vowed them to God at the Monastery of Bar Aphtonya known as the Monastery of Qinnestrin. At the monastery, they received their high education, and never neglected to serve the monastery in different capacities.

¹⁵⁹⁸ For the story of Rehoboam, son of King Solomon, who foolishly despised the counsel and listened to the advice of the youth his companion, and thus, the kingdom was split into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, see 1 Kings 12:19.

¹⁵⁹⁹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 141.

¹⁶⁰⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 141.

¹⁶⁰¹ He is Athanasius, a native of Samosata. He became a monk at the Monastery of Qinnestrin. He was given the task of carrying salt from Gabbul to his monastery on camel back. This is why he was nicknamed Gamolo (Arabic, al-jammal), meaning he who drove camels. He was made patriarch of Antioch in 595, and passed away in 631. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 318-319.

It is reported about Athanasius, that in order to subdue his pride, he crept at night without being seen, to the place where the monks usually gratified their natural urge. He gathered their waste in a basket, carried it on his back, and emptied it in the River Euphrates. With such deeds, he trained himself and subjugated the body to the soul. For this reason, God called him to become a chief priest.

Upon the death of Patriarch Julian, the bishops assembled in a monastery of the western region. They fasted and prayed for three days with the intention of choosing a new patriarch. They beseeched God to choose whom he selects. On the third night, some of them heard someone saying in a vision, "Ordain the first monk you see when you open the door of the monastery in the morning." When they opened the door of the monastery, they saw Athanasius leading a camel to bring salt from Gabbula. They talked to him, and finding that he was learned and belonged to a famous monastery, led him by force and ordained him as patriarch while he cried and wept. He asked them to swear an oath to leave him first finish the duration of his service entrusted to him by the brethren. They did, and he left and went to the Gabbula to load salt and then returned to his monastery. He did not reveal his secret to any one, not even to his own brother Severus. When he completed the period of his service, the bishops went to take him along with them. They found him standing next to a pile of clay and handing it to the brethren there in order to level the roof of the compound of the camels in which he served. One year after completing his service, he informed his brother and the monks of his case, and they blamed him for concealing it from them. This is the first virtue of the life story of Athanasius who ordained his brother a bishop for Samosata. Both of them had shined and stood firm against the two kingdoms of the Romans and the Persians who antagonized our faith. When their mother passed away, both of them went to offer her their blessings. That God-loving woman was buried by a patriarch and a bishop. *This account is ended, O discerning reader.*

In this period, two beasts in the likeness of human beings, like a man and a woman, were seen on the Nile of Egypt. They were only seen up to the navel, and the rest of their bodies were under water. They appeared many times and then disappeared and were seen no more.

Emperor Maurice instructed Stephen, bishop of Harran, to persecute the heathens of the city. He did and converted many of them to Christianity. Those who resisted, he had hanged in the marketplace of the city. He then discovered that the governor of the city was offering sacrifices to the gods in secret while pretending to be a Christian. His syncellus betrayed him to the bishop. When the charge was proven against him, he was executed. In his place a bishop was ordained, the man who betrayed him. His name was Iyar, from whom the family of Iyar descended. Iyar was an orphan whose parents abandoned him in a Colonya in First Armenia, a village in the region of Nicopolis. It was there that he learned how to write. Then he attached himself to Acindynus governor of Harran. When the governor was betrayed, as said earlier, for being a pagan who sacrificed to the idols, he was replaced by this Iyar.

Chapter Twenty-Five: On the commencement of the reign of Emperor Phocas of the Romans, and the war Khusro waged in the Roman countries with the pretext of the murder of Maurice, and on church affairs during these years

When Khusro heard that the Romans had killed Maurice and his sons, he wore the mourning garments and ordered the leaders of the kingdom to do likewise. He observed a lamentation for him, which lasted a few days. Beside the lamentation, he reminded the Persian people of the good things Maurice had done to Khusro and the Persian kingdom. Then, he waited for the right opportunity to seize the Roman kingdom. He pretended to take revenge of those who wronged the emperor. He addressed the army as it assembled saying, "Great men and generals of the armies of my kingdom! Which of you is ready to fulfill my desire of the revenge I am about to inflict upon the Roman kingdom?" Instantly, Romizan, a courageous man experienced in war affairs, jumped out and stood in the middle with hands crossed. He said to the king, "I am ready to fulfill your desire, oppose the Romans and have no mercy on old people or children." The king rejoiced and said to him, "From now on you shall not be called Romizan, but Shahrbaraz (wild boar)." He assembled a multitude of people and marched against the Roman lands.

In the year 915 of the Greeks, which is the second year of Phocas (A.D. 604), the Persians seized Dara, entered Tur Abdin and stayed in Hisn Kipha for two years. However, he did not harm anyone save the Romans whom they killed whenever they found them. Hisn Kipha fell into the hands of the Persians. When the Romans in Mardin heard of this, they abandoned the citadel and fled. The monks entered the citadel of Mardin and the Persians came to fight against them. They asked Basilius, bishop of Kafartuta, to allow them to kill the Persians.

In the year 918 of the Greeks (A.D. 607) the rebellious citadel of Mardin, and Amid, were handed to the Persians.

In this year, there was plenty of snow and ice, and the Euphrates and other rivers were frozen over.¹⁶⁰² The crops and olive trees also perished.

In this same year, the Bleus and the Verts (Veneti and Prasini) fought against each other, and the cities became desolate. Phocas sent an army general with troops to Syria, where he killed many.

In the 7th year of Phocas, the Persians seized some Roman regions up to the Euphrates. In this 8th year, which is the year 921 of the Greeks (A.D. 611), the Persians crossed the Euphrates and seized Mabug (Manbij), Qinnestrin, Beroea (Aleppo), and Antioch. As they were seizing these cities, Phocas was murdering the nobles and many others to the point that the number of free and fighting men dwindled immensely. Meanwhile, reports were circulated that Phocas had died.

In Africa, two powerful patricians, one called Gregorius, and the other Heraclius, made a covenant to rebel against Phocas, and dispatched their sons with the armies. They planned that one army would pass through the sea, and the other through the land. The one who arrived first should be proclaimed an emperor, and the other a Caesar. Now Heraclius, son of Heraclius, arrived first at Constantinople by sea, as the sailing wind was favorable. When the inhabitants of the city heard this, they greatly rejoiced. They rushed to welcome him and brought him into the city with great pomp and ceremony. Phocas was killed by the Romans. He was treated with the same method he had treated others.

Heraclius ruled in the year 922 of the Greeks (A.D. 612). The Persians ravaged Syria, Phoenicia, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Palestine. They also seized Galatia and Paphlagonia, and even Chalcedon.

While the Romans were busy killing each other, the Jews of Antioch stirred up sedition, and killed many people including Anastasius, the Chalcedonian patriarch.

In this year, winter was so severe that the even the seashores were frozen over.¹⁶⁰³

After Maurice and his son were killed by the Romans, Phocas reigned. His son-in-law Philippicus said bad things about him, and attributed to him the reason of his fall. He asked for the restoration of his dignity. Phocas said, "Philippicus, you are then ready to become our friend." Philippicus said, "Yes my lord." The emperor said, "How can you be a loyal friend while you could not become a good son-in-law. Go away. He, who could not be trusted as a son-in-law, will never be trusted as a friend." Thus, ejected by the state, he became a monk.

When Phocas reigned (602-610), Narsai, and a great number of Roman soldiers, rebelled against him in Edessa. Hearing of this, Phocas sent the army and invested Edessa. Narsai, by treachery, surrendered to Iywannis, the army general, after the latter pledged to pardon the Edessans.

Khusro had previously come to Edessa, and received a grand honor from the two leaders Marinus and Iywannis Rasafia. One day, while Khusro was contemplating the magnificent palace of Iyawannis, he desired to enter into it. Iywannis invited him with the nobles to see the palace. However, Iywannis, urged by vainglory that he was wealthier than Marinus, brought out the gold and silver vessels normally used in banquets, including trays, tables, plates, spoons, jugs, cups for drinking wine, goblets, jars and basins, all of which were made of silver, to Khusro. After eating and drinking, Khusro said to Rasafia, "You have greatly honored me. But there is a custom of the Persian kings when they stay in the house of a leader that the wife of that leader usually offers a cup to the king, and he will drink from her own hand." Iyawannis (Rasafia) was shy enough not to turn him down, and left the matter to his wife. When he informed his wife of

¹⁶⁰² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 86.

¹⁶⁰³ Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 86-87.

Khusros' desire, she despised Khusro in her heart. She said, "You are great O king. But Roman noble women are not accustomed to offering wine to a man." Khusro kept silent. After the banquet was over, a man went to Khusro and slandered Iywannis' wife, saying, "The wife of Iywannis said, 'How can I appear before a man who has been driven out of his country?'" Khusro was outraged, and swore by his gods to evict the woman from the country, and make the lice eat her up if he controlled these countries, because of disgracing him. When he did seize Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), he summoned her, and took her with others to Persia. He tortured her, especially by lice, and that noble woman suffered the worst death.

After peace between the Roman and the Persian kingdoms was suspended after the murder of Maurice, and the Persians' seizure of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Syria, Khusro dispatched bishops from Persia to control the cities of Syria. The Nestorian Aheshima came to Edessa, but was not accepted by the believers. Then the Orthodox Bishop Jonah arrived. When he was accepted, Khusro had all the Chalcedonian bishops expelled from Beth Nahrin and Syria, and the churches were handed over to the Jacobites. And all the churches and the monasteries that were usurped in the time of Maurice by Domitian, bishop of Melitene who stirred up persecution against the Syrians, and controlled the Chalcedonians for several years, were retrieved. Among the persecuted was the rhetorician Quriqa (Cyriacus) of Amid. While the Chalcedonians dwelt in the cities, Cyriacus and his companions roamed through the countries. Khusro ordered that the Chalcedonians be driven out of the Eastern regions. He also ordered the Orthodox bishops to settle in the cities, of these were Isaiah of Edessa, Samuel of Amid and the bishop of Tell Mawzalt. However, the villagers who lived outside these areas would not accept the delegated bishops, because they did not receive ordination from the patriarch of Antioch, but only from the metropolitan of the Mosul's region, and were subjects of the Patriarch Athanasius. When the patriarch saw that the villagers refused to accept the bishops, he instructed Cyriacus of Amid to visit the believers of Amid who dwelt in the province of Jazira, and authenticate their ordination and extend to them necessary help. In fact, Cyriacus was the only living bishop ousted from his see. Because of this, Samuel of Amid complained against Cyriacus.¹⁶⁰⁴ He was also opposed by the Eastern bishops. Cyriacus complained against them to Patriarch Athanasius, especially Samuel who was threatened by Khusro. Nevertheless, our bishops were the ones who administered the parishes while the memory of the Chalcedonians vanished from the Euphrates into the East. God hurled back their iniquity against them. What they had done through the Roman emperors, the same was done to them through the Persian kings of Athor (Assyria).

In this period flourished Tuma (Thomas) of Heraclea, (d. 627). He came from the Monastery of Tar'il, and became the bishop of Mabug (Manbij). He studied the Greek language at the Monastery of Qinnesrin. As a bishop, Domitian of Melitene persecuted him with the intimation of Maurice. He fled with other bishops to Egypt and lived in the Enaton (the Ninth-Mile Village) in the neighborhood of Alexandria. There he labored in punctuating and revising the books of the New Testament with precision after they had been commented on in Mabug by the effort of Metropolitan Philoxenus (of Mabug).¹⁶⁰⁵

In this period, the persecuted bishops of Syria, who had sought refuge in Egypt because of their persecution by the Chalcedonians, returned to their sees by order of Khusro, the Persian king, who had controlled Syria.

Athanasius¹⁶⁰⁶ journeyed to Alexandria and met with Anastasius, Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria. He restored the union that had been disrupted by the conflict between Peter and Damian.

Chapter Twenty-Six: Concerning the union effected by Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch with Anastasius, Pope of Alexandria, after the conflict between Peter and Damian

The pact of the union effected by the two Patriarchs Athanasius of Antioch and Anastasius of Alexandria about peace and union between them

¹⁶⁰⁴ Cyriacus died in 623. See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 142.

¹⁶⁰⁵ For a biography of Tuma (Thomas) of Harkel (Heraclea), see Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 317-318.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Patriarch of Antioch.

The great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, one of the persons of the Holy Trinity, who had in the past enriched his people with divine prophecy by which he affirmed his mercy saying, "And I will pour out on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and supplication,"¹⁶⁰⁷ now calls us to one spirit, one communion, one sheepfold and one company. It is pertinent to us what he had said in the past to his Father, "That all of them may be one, Father, as we are one."¹⁶⁰⁸ I wonder who would not wake up to the sound of the trumpet that calls for righteous deeds, go after the Lord God, and make his praises heard. Certainly, he would go after the Lord who destroyed our bonds, lifted from us the yoke of rejection and vicious tongue, and follow concord and equality in his magnification. Who would not go after the Lord God and meet in order to offer the fullness of the one glory, not as did every tribe that met in the past individually, and that Jacob should not be divided between Israel and Judah. For the dividing wall of enmity which part us asunder still stands between us.¹⁶⁰⁹ We strive that any difference of thought shall vanish, and every stratagem of the dragon (Satan), the enemy of good things who begrudges the harmony of the churches and their systematic order, gnash his teeth and never hesitates to sow dissension, shall perish. However, we should go together in full agreement to the house of God by the power and grace of him (Christ) who reconciled the heavenly things with the earthly things. He perceived that we have one mind, one saying, and one Orthodox creed of faith; that we hold fast to these matters like an anchor of the wakeful soul that enters through the door where Jesus went before us, on our behalf, as the divine Apostle Paul said.¹⁶¹⁰ God willed to bless his people with goodness, as it is written,¹⁶¹¹ raised for us a horn of salvation, redeemed his inheritance, and removed the disgrace from Israel. He promised through the tongue of the Prophet Ezekiel saying, "I will make a covenant of peace with them; it will be an everlasting covenant. I will establish them and increase their numbers, and I will put my sanctuary among them forever. My dwelling place will be with them, I will be their God, and they will be my people. Then the nations will know that I the Lord make Israel holy, when my sanctuary is among them forever."¹⁶¹² Now the sanctuaries that are the orthodox teachings of the fathers, who received them from those who witnessed and served the Word, are among us. The fathers are the torches that illuminated the holy church of God with the light of knowledge. They were not corrupted with anything by the grace of he who said that one Christian mind would dwell amid the two.¹⁶¹³ This will prompt Isaiah to come in and shouts with suffering and says, "Shout for joy, O heavens; rejoice O earth; burst into song, O mountains! For the Lord comforts his people and will have compassion on the afflicted ones;"¹⁶¹⁴ and "Sing for joy O heavens for the Lord had done this; Shout aloud, O earth beneath. Burst into song, you mountains, you forests and all you trees, for the Lord has redeemed Jacob, he displays his glory to Israel."¹⁶¹⁵ Jacob is then redeemed and Israel is glorified. Those who had been made the cornerstone, and were equally enriched by the one breath of the Spirit, that is the definition of the orthodox faith by the 318 in Nicaea, have spoken through the Spirit of God. They were confirmed by the 150 fathers of the Council of Constantinople against Macedonius, the enemy of the (Holy) Spirit. They were likewise, confirmed by those who struggled for the cause of the word of truth at Ephesus against Nestorius and his partisans, who worshipped man. He is that one to whom we surrender and follow in everything. We contemplate him in the light of the definition of the faith. With whatever trust we possess, we present proofs of the doctrine that we may save ourselves by harmony, unity of glory and love of the brethren.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Zechariah 12:10.

¹⁶⁰⁸ John 17:21-23.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Ephesians 2:14.

¹⁶¹⁰ Hebrews 6:19-20. The full quotation is thus, "We have this hope as an anchor for the soul, firm and secure. It enters the inner sanctuary behind the curtain where Jesus, who went before us, has entered on our behalf."

¹⁶¹¹ Psalm 29:11.

¹⁶¹² Ezekiel 37:26-28.

¹⁶¹³ Zechariah 6:13.

¹⁶¹⁴ Isaiah 49:13

¹⁶¹⁵ Isaiah 44:23.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son and the Word of God who is begotten before all worlds; and in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father, is consubstantial with the Father and the Son, and together with the Father and the Son, is worshipped and glorified. He has the same substance of dominion and Godhead. The Son and the Spirit are from the Father and did not come after him. The Son has the property of Sonship, and the Spirit the property of Procession: a Trinity worshipped, consubstantial in glory, and ingenerate. It is the creator of everything, distinguished by *qnume* (persons) but without mixture. The Trinity is one substance and one Godhead beyond distinction or formation. As St. Severus (of Antioch) says, "In unity, it is not separate, and separate when there is no unity. It is united in the Godhead, and separate in the *qnume* (persons). Therefore, the three persons of the Trinity are one in substance (essence), one in nature, and one in power, divinity, action, property, dominion, and will. Here is evident the insanity of Sabellius who considered the three persons as one *qnumo* (hypostasis, person), and one compound thing with three attributes and appellations, and that in later time it will assume its form according to the circumstance. We do not believe this at all. We do not believe that the Trinity sometimes assumes the person of the Father, and sometime of the Son, and still another time of the Holy Spirit. We maintain that the Father is Father and not the Son or the Holy Spirit, that the Son is Son and not the Father or the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit is Spirit and not the Father or the Son. We believe that the property of the Father is Fatherhood that is he was not born, the property of the Son is Sonship that is he was born of the Father, and the property of the Holy Spirit is that he is not born, but proceeded from the Father from eternity without beginning. In these properties is established the non-mixture (confusion) of the persons. Otherwise, the Father never remains a Father, the Son remains a Son, and the Holy Spirit remains a Holy Spirit. Now how can we associate a great mystery, like the mystery of God, with such credulous claims? Alternatively, how could Arius and Eunomius prattle by enumerating the natures of the Holy Trinity, a matter that does not even exist in the gods and the goddesses who are deprived of divinity? Moreover, how can we admit the idea of Sabellius, who reduced the three persons (of the Trinity) to only one person, and then divide it into three substances and natures?¹⁶¹⁶ On the other hand, believe it to be mere substances and natures, in one way or another, in order to avoid falling into the idea of the plurality of natures and substances? However, we reject the idea of the plurality of substances and natures. We magnify the Trinity believing that it is consubstantial in substance and nature. We truly confess that it is one substance, one nature, and one Godhead in word and deed, not by imagination or as something strange to us. This is what the ignorant and insane John Grammarian maintained, and whom we excommunicate for his improper thinking. Indeed, he introduced a teaching contrary to the Holy Spirit. He and his partisans had gone mad being influenced by Beelzebub, the prince of demons. They say that, "The particularized *hypostasis* (person) was found by the internal confusion in the properties and attributes that is by the compounding of the substance with the attribute. We, however, follow the inspired by God, Basil, with respect to the Godhead."¹⁶¹⁷ In effect, each one of the persons of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, is consubstantial. Because of their consubstantiality, we proclaim them to be one God in substance and nature. For the cause of their consubstantiality, we do not say three Gods, or triple Godhead, or three substances, or triple substances unequal in genres and not different in genres, unlimited and not unlimited, equal and unequal, neither particular nor universal, neither Gods nor a numerous Godhead, or substance or attributes of the consubstantial Holy Trinity. Indeed, we have learned from the teachers of the church, who spoke the word of truth with respect to the Godhead that they are three (Persons) not by fiction or pretension, but in reality and fact. They are one in the Godhead with different properties. Therefore, the Trinity is one in some attributes and distinct in others, or distinguished from each other so as not to confound the *qnume* (Persons). It is neither this nor that. The three Persons are one in Deity, as the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) said in his letter to Cledonius about the Trinity, "one and another," (*alius and alius*) in order to avoid the confusion of the Persons, and not "one and another," (*aliud and*

¹⁶¹⁶ See J. N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), 121-124, and Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford University Press, 1963, reprinted, 1981), p. 38.

¹⁶¹⁷ The reference here is to St. Basil the Great (d. 379).

aliud),¹⁶¹⁸ because the Trinity in these three Persons is one. The Holy Trinity is united in the Deity, and distinct in the Persons. It is both a unity and Trinity. This unity and distinctness is ineffable. We stay far away from the pitfall of the error of Sabellius and Arius, who blasphemed in contradicting each other, and deviated from the truth. We stand solemnly confessing the Holy Trinity that is three consubstantial Persons in essence and nature. We say that, “The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are one God veritably by word and deed: one substance and one nature, because they are consubstantial.”

In effect, Mor Severus (of Antioch), inspired by God said in Chapter 33 of his *Second Treatise Contra John Grammarian*, “Because the essence of the Godhead is “shared” according to the universal meaning of the thing, yet the essence of the Godhead is by no means incarnated depending on the universal meaning, that is to say that, concerning the essence, the entire Holy Trinity is incarnated for the sake of mankind. Or, like the impious Eunomius, who perverted the notion of what is shared in the Godhead by reaching the conclusion of the diversity of essences and *qnume* (persons), he tried to show that the ungeneration of the Father is his essence and person, and the generation of the Son is his essence and person. However, we say this, “We, by the grace of God, confess the common essence of the entire Trinity: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, is consubstantial. We neither say that the ungeneration of the Father is the essence and the person of the Father, nor the generation of the Son is the essence and the person of the Son, nor the procession of the Holy Spirit is the essence and the person of the Spirit. However, in refutation of the teachings of Eunomius, we say, “Just for mere definition, the ungenerated is the Father, and the generated is the Son, and that who which proceeds is the Holy Spirit. Thus, the ungeneration, and the generation and the procession, are but types of the essence, indicating the manner in which they exist, as the holy fathers taught. This is what we learned from the teaching of the holy fathers

The inspired-by-God Severus says in Chapter 1 of his *Sixth Treatise against John Grammarian*, “Since the consubstantial persons of the Holy Trinity are uncircumscribed by time, they are then eternal. As to the manner of their existence, it pertains to the origin and not to the communion of each person in what the other two have.” In Chapter 3, he says, “In his *Treatise against Eunomius*, Basil takes the essence instead of the particular person. He says that the expression of “ungenerate” signifies only the mode (of existence) and not the essence. It does not pertain to the nature of God as essence, but only to the mode of his existence. He proves that God did not exist from something, but that he existed without being generated.

Consequently, we confess this divine mystery and the difference between essence and person, and that each of the Persons of the Holy Trinity participates in the existence and the essence. As the essence is collective, so is the hypostasis (person) collective but in a natural and undiminished manner. If anyone believes other than this, we condemn him and cast him aside. We do the same thing to those who say that the divine in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, or the entire Holy Trinity, was incarnated in one of the Persons, and do not confess that only one of the *qnume* (Persons), God the Word, who was manifested by his own will, was incarnated. We also confess that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one Godhead and nature. We honor in them the unity of the essence that was incarnated and became flesh without the Father and the Holy Spirit united in the incarnation, or that they themselves became flesh. We further confess the attributes that pertain to the divine and the consubstantial Holy Trinity. We accept these attributes

¹⁶¹⁸ This quotation by Michael Rabo requires some explanation. He refers to the first “one and another” in the masculine, and the second one in the neuter. If we go to the Second Letter of Gregory to Cledonius, we find him saying that the Savior had two natures as God and Man but he is not two Sons or two gods. The Savior is made of (elements) which are distinct from one another, yet he is not two Persons. For both natures are one by combination, the deity being made man, and the manhood deified. He goes on to say that, different (elements) because it is the reverse of what is the case in the Trinity. There (in the Trinity) we acknowledge different Persons so as not to confound the Persons; but not different (elements), for the three Persons are one and the same in Godhead. The editors, in footnote 7, say that the distinction here is between neuter and masculine—in Christ there is manhood and Godhead (*allo kai allo*) in one Person, while in the one Godhead there are different Persons (*allos kai allos*). Thus, the reference of Michael Rabo to the first “one and another,” is to the masculine, and the second one to the (elements), the neuter. See *The Second Letter of Gregory of Nazianzus to Cledonius Contra Apollinaris*, translated by Charles Gordon Browne and James Edwards Swallow, in *The Library of Christian Classics: Christology of Later Fathers*, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954), p. 217, footnote 7.

according to the power of the testimonies of the holy doctors (learned church fathers). After presenting the testimonies concerning the Godhead, and laying down the doctrine of the Incarnation, they added saying, "Our document contained the expressions and the testimonies which we have already declared. We hold onto this (teaching) with the spirit of the fear (of God), and in conformity with the ideas of those who set them up, i.e. the inspired-by-God fathers, in order to obviate any controversy or doubt among us.

We found it more appropriate not to discuss what had happened and what had been written during a very difficult period, between the late holy Damian, pope of this city of Alexandria and the blessed Peter, patriarch of Antioch. The reason is to prevent the members of Christ from falling into difficulty and distress because of the provocation of this subject. However, as it is said, we should eliminate among us the roots of doubt and its fruits. So if one from the other side should ask us, "How can you understand what had happened during a difficult period between the blessed leaders of councils?" We reply in a general manner that, "Those who had written have been transported to God. We, however, are united according to the teachings delivered to us concerning the orthodox faith of our fathers, which are now in our hands. To this faith we direct your attention, and declare to all our faith which has brought us together and upon which we achieved peace." It is well known, that both sides protect the noble, pure and unblemished canons of the fathers. Furthermore, they are holding fast to the traditions of Egypt and Alexandria. We pray for a lifelong constancy in peace and charity and for the elimination of sedition and iniquity by the intercession of the holy Mother of God Mary, the holy Severus, Anthimus, and Theodosius, the holy (pope) of Alexandria, Peter, Paul, Julian of Antioch and Jacob (Baradaeus). They have held fast and confirmed the orthodox and unblemished teachings of the fathers. They accomplished a complete union with God and established the union of the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch without discrimination. Thus, we sign each one personally:

I, Anastasius, by the mercy of God, bishop of Alexandria, accept and reinforce the above orthodox and unblemished teachings. I pledge to work for harmony with you by the help of God. Dear spiritual brother, holy Athanasius, leader of the congregation of the Christ-loving city of Antioch. We extend to you the right hand of participation and of unity of mind. With the same breath, we beseech God to prolong your life for the sake of protecting the holy church. I am still your loyal and resolute brother. I signed with my own hand and so did the bishops with me.

Thus also signed, Athanasius, Polycarp and the rest of the Egyptian bishops:

I, bishop Quriqa (Cyriacus), signed in agreement with my Patriarch, Athanasius.

Also, signed Paul, another Paul, Sergius and Tuma (Thomas).

The Letter of Athanasius to Quriqa (Cyriacus), bishop of Amid, explaining the accomplishment of peace

The venerable, holy, and spiritual brother, Bishop Mor Cyriacus, the humble Athanasius. Rejoice in the Lord!

When I contemplate from the beginning, the many profitable contributions of your honorable brotherhood to our holy Church, which is the Orthodox Church, I find myself remiss in comparison to others in discussing your labors concerning evangelization, and the perils you endured for the cause of the Gospel as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, according to the command of the wise St Paul.¹⁶¹⁹ It would be fitting for you to iterate, if you wish, what he had said because you have labored more than they have. Therefore, our conscience compels us to view your old age with love, honor and diffidence more than the entire spiritual brethren. Hence, is the proclamation that we have circulated to all of you, especially that you have conducted the election in the regions of the East. We have also circulated to the chief priests concerning the canonical peace, which has been accomplished. This is more than what we can expect from God, who is gracious to his people and generous with his abundant gifts to the holy churches of Egypt and the East. We have sent it to the entire brethren and to your venerable brotherhood. I say that I am not satisfied with this. Therefore, we perceived to write to you separately and with more detail urged by sheer

¹⁶¹⁹ 2 Timothy 2:3.

love, in order to inform your holiness of it, hoping it would be a source for the common good. Thus, it is necessary for you to be acquainted with the true course of events in the church of God that, in turn, you may inform others, especially about this raised question. It will become a source of joy for the godly, if everything takes its proper course by the effort of believing brethren like you, who rejoice in their good works, and the revivification of virtues in the holy Orthodox Church. After all, the adversaries try to spread doubt and despair among simple brethren.

Your prudence well knows, honorable brother, that our church has many enemies who begrudge her and gnash their teeth against her, disturbing her affairs. They cannot endure to see peace and harmony in the churches. Likewise, their father, the slanderer (the devil), could not tolerate the former state of prosperity, peace and concord among our churches. They (the enemies) never abstain from stirring up trouble and contention against us. They care for nothing save the spreading of doubt among the simple folks, but they have failed to blot out this benefit, and their failure is this state of peace and the propagation of doubt among us. They might believe that the harm that afflicts us is because of the weakness of others, and not because of their courage. They forgot that the cause is, first and foremost, good luck as said by Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus). This is not all that there is. They further try to shove us into the perils of death by using every means to stir up the wrath of our rulers. However, they cannot cause us, or any other pious person, harm. They cannot shake the grace that is the holy church granted us by God, and by the prayers of the Mother of God and the saints. They cannot do this because of the true promise God extended to the church through the person of Peter, the prince of the Apostles, who said, "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell will not overcome it."¹⁶²⁰ The church is firm, safe and never convulsed, and of lofty stature. God will protect it until the end of the world, but how did this grace begin and end? Now it is a propitious opportunity to explain this, in brevity if possible, to your acumen in theological matters that urged us to this discussion, if your lordship would permit it.

After prolonged deliberations between us and the partisans of Damian, with frequent meeting of both sides and utter disappointment for not taking a step toward the union of our churches with their churches, it chanced that after a short period the honorable Patrician, the army commander coming from Aresnoe, arrived in Alexandria. He visited the venerable Patriarch Mor Nicetas with whom we discussed the same subject, but we found no hope in him. Immediately after he entered the city, some leaders from our faith met with him. One of them was Mara bar (son of) Shafni. They discussed with him matters concerning the peace of the churches urging him to come to our side and join us. He accepted their proposal with alacrity. He urged them to appeal to our weakness to extend to him guidance because he was determined to work with us concerning the peace of the churches. We met with him several times but to no avail, so we quit seeing him. However, we did not give up but sent to him Metropolitan Thomas lest he thought that we were holding him with disdain. We suggested that meeting him should be with complete privacy. In addition, we admonished him through the venerable Patriarch Nicetas. However, as the days went by, and he was waiting to proceed and execute what we had commanded him, he began to complain in front of those whom we had delegated to him, as if we were holding him with contempt while he was immensely concerned with this spiritual grace. Metropolitan Thomas replied that no one had summoned him and that he was delegated by us for this business. He spent several days in the city awaiting the order of his lordship. Then, he went to see him. After lengthy discussion of the doctrines by the two sides in front of him, the partisans of their side asked the metropolitan to listen to the discussion. This venerable man, our father Metropolitan Mor Thomas, displayed great interest in the discussion. He indicated the necessity of recording every section, which is the cause of dispute of both sides, and the comment of the fathers on it. Once they finished with the section, they would move to the other. When the examination went on for one or two days before him, they, on the next day, began to interpolate other demands in order to confuse the issues. However, he would not let them have their way, and swore to handle the issues with fairness and without

¹⁶²⁰ Matthew 16:18.

prejudice. Having carefully listened and understood the points in dispute, he asked the objecting disputants to explain the properties of the three Person of the Trinity, that is, their generation, ungeneration and procession. He said in harsh words, "You have failed in proving that the ungeneration of the Father is his own *hypostasis* (person)." He asked them a question regarding this point, but Damian, in all the years he lived after this question, could not prove that the ungeneration of the Father was his *hypostasis* (person).

Now let us leave everything aside. I am the one who entertains doubt concerning your stand from these issues. I would like you to provide me with only one proof by any father of the church who says that the ungeneration of the Father is his *hypostasis* (person), or, that the generation of the Son is his person. Since they fail to present a proof, why dwell on all this stupidity, injustice and hypocrisy? And why not put an end to the controversy, cast aside the conflict and make peace with our Eastern brothers? After much reproof, admonition and threat, he said to the reverent Metropolitan Thomas, "My lord bishop! Do you have any more reprimands? Our hope in God is to find a conclusion to the chapter of the properties and please you." Thomas replied, "We doubt many sections. If you really seek union, we should unite our doctrine in one thing, namely: that the Holy Trinity, i.e. the three Persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God, one substance and one nature. The venerable saint was astonished and said, "Who are those who do not confess that the three Persons are one God? God is my witness. I will not partake with them in the mysteries if they do not believe so. I will say this to them face to face."

When Thomas returned on the next day, no one of those who was inclined to separation was present. He beseeched Thomas to prevail on us to attend, but Thomas said, "Why should he (Patriarch Athanasius) attend if there was no development? Write down whatever you intend to do." He then dictated to his syncellus the following, "We believe in the Holy Trinity, that is, three consubstantial persons in nature, and we say that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God in truth and reality, one Godhead, one substance, and one nature." After they confirmed these sections with evidence, they moved to another section pertaining to personal properties. They wrote down, "Therefore, by the grace of God, we confess the consubstantial Godhead of the three Persons: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. We do not at all say that the ungeneration of the Father is his essence or person, that the generation of the Son is his essence or person, or that the procession of the Holy Spirit is his essence or person. They are simply an indication that the Father was not born, the one who was born is the Son, and the one who proceeds is the Holy Spirit, in conformity with the teaching of the holy fathers. They are only types of the (divine) essence and denote their status.

Then they moved to another section concerning the substance and person, or that which shares and is also shared. They wrote down, "We follow and confess the holy mystery, or the difference of the substance and the person. The three Holy Persons share one substance, i.e. the substance is common in all of them; the person is also common among them naturally and without deficiency. Anyone who holds a faith contrary to this, we anathematize him and reject him. We also anathematize and reject those who maintain that the entire Holy Trinity: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are incarnated by means of one of its persons (the Son), and do not confess that God the Word alone is incarnated and that the Father and the Holy Spirit were not united with his body, or were incarnated.

Upon receiving this record from the Metropolitan (Thomas), we examined it several times and discussed it thoroughly with our brothers the metropolitans and deacons. In addition, we collated it with what has been written before and found that its sections are so far from each other as the east is far from the west; in fact, they contradict each other. We found insincerity in the first section in which they tried to interpolate an innovation to show that the essence of the Godhead in the three Persons of the Trinity is another thing. The second section contained blasphemy and parting about the ungeneration, generation and the procession, and that the consubstantial and adored persons of the Holy Trinity are mere names and expressions. In the third section, it was said that it is not possible for the person (the Son) who partakes with the other persons of the Trinity to be of one substance, one genus, and one person. For example, we say God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, as it pleases the new and strange spirit. Regarding the fourth section, we say that the Godhead is absolutely not a metaphor according to their

blasphemous opinion. Indeed, the Godhead, the substance, and the nature, are original in each of the three Persons of the Trinity, so also, whatever proceeds from it according to the inspired orthodox teaching. They requested us verbally to inform them if we are truly adhering to this teaching. However, if we have doubt about any other issue, they would appease our mind. They further requested us to deposit such issues in the records compartment as a document showing the agreement of both sides in matters of complete faith. Furthermore, they requested us to expand the expression of "Godhead," discuss the dispensation of one of the persons of the Trinity, (the Son), in the flesh, and argue against heresies. However, sometime ago, we already found a complete record on this issue. Then we summoned the metropolitan and instructed him if he ...lacuna... and we arrived in the proper time to the city ...lacuna... and when they read it ...lacuna... we immediately arrived. If the troublemakers had known about this, they would have prevented the fulfillment of this grace. These three men, of whom is John, said to have lived in the Monastery of Aphtonya and become the syncellus of Damian, and whom they considered a messenger but now label him as the devil, parted their company and their communion. He told them, "You have forfeited the teaching of Damian." Some of them were not in agreement regarding these sections until they heard the man and those sent with him. It was then that they kept silent. Another John said, "I have testimonies from the fathers to be deposited in the records compartment." He thought that if he failed to interpolate his foolish ideas into the doctrine, he might do the interpolation by means of these miscellaneous testimonies. We reiterated, "We also have testimonies which we would like to deposit. However, there is no need for them because they are not history, but only a commitment to the agreement which we should implement concerning the teachings." Seeing that all his stratagems failed, he tried another artifice to introduce the tern *bayula* (primordial matter), but we found it cumbersome and not possible. Thus, all hope of peace disappeared. Our enemies rejoiced and mocked us clapping their hands. However, they did not enjoy rejoicing their contempt for long because God foiled what they intended, that is, "If the Easterners rejected what Damian had written, we will not agree with them." In addition, the patriarch deceived them saying, "Would you accept what Peter had written?" At one time, they said, "Yes." At another they said, "We cannot accept what is written against us." He silenced them concerning this issue, and said, "Therefore, the two sides should insert his name in the Diptychs."¹⁶²¹ Those with us did not agree and left. They beseeched us saying, "Have pity on us and on the church. Peace should not be annulled because of one person." After deliberation, we appreciated their words and said, "If the faith of both sides is one, let us then study what the fathers have done concerning such names." Finally, it was agreed that they would mention his name (Damian) according to their customs in their assemblies, and that he will participate with them without suspicion. As for us, we will proclaim the name of our Father Peter (III of Callinicus), and that they will participate with us without suspicion. When this was done, the wretched John and another secular man separated themselves from the rest. They asked that the records should be kept in the compartment after the conclusion of peace, and that no one should revile the other.

After we achieved unity with Pope Anastasius, he added nothing to the minutes or even signed them. However, he sent it to us to peruse it and authorized us to make whatever emendation we wished. This was actually done, and when we met at the Monastery of Caesarea Patricia, he handed us the documents, which were written and signed before the altar ...lacuna... and then with ...lacuna... one with the other ...lacuna... I, he and the rest ...lacuna... the Lord, the Lord loved ...lacuna... and all of them.

On Saturday, the pope celebrated the Eucharist, and I did on Sunday. Thus, we consummated a holy festivity and a spiritual celebration in honor of he who has visited us with his mercy. However, in case some simple brothers are found who have no experience in the dispensation and the concessions, or fear the name appended to the record, you should, with your wisdom and experience, explain to them matters on our behalf and on behalf of the people, and especially on behalf of the truth. For we have not anything which is not in conformity with the dispensation of the skillful fathers. We say this not for your omniscient prudence, but for the information of others who need to learn from your discernment. There is difference

¹⁶²¹ Diptychs is a list of names of church fathers read during the celebration of the Eucharist. It was considered so important that dropping the name of any bishop from it was considered a break-off of communion.

in the signification of reality, dispensation and concession as it was in the past. I do not say this in relation to the term “man” but to lofty teachings. We consider that the time is appropriate for the dispensation that the holy Patriarch Peter had written in the books and proposed to Damian in Parlos. If he had received him as brother and colleague, your lordship would have become sure and proved to others that the *qnume* (persons of the Trinity), are not simple attributes from which emanates two things, as we see in the generation, ungeneration and procession. Furthermore, they are not names or adjectives denoting descent or origin and devoid of action. However, the attributes constituted by them are rational, perfect, distinct by number, and not distinct in the divinity. They are three in one in the Godhead. This is what we have learned from the father inspired by God.

We and Anastasius, and the entire colleagues here, send greetings to your lordship.

This Cyriacus was from the Monastery of Mor Zakai. He was a disciple of Patriarch Peter. He is a pious and learned man. He administered the church for a number of years, but was deposed by the bishops who were sent by the Persian king to seize the sees of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) when he expelled from them the Chalcedonians. *This letter concerning the reconciliation between the Egyptians and the Syrians is ended by the help of the Lord of reconciliation.*

Chapter Twenty-Seven: On the encyclical letter circulated by Patriarch Athanasius to the Eastern bishops, and a portion of the letter of Pope Anastasius to Athanasius concerning the union they accomplished between the Church of Syria and the Church of Egypt

The encyclical letter of Athanasius

To the pious and holy brothers of one spirit and service, the bishops of the East, from the humble Athanasius. Rejoice in the Lord.

You who struggled for the cause of the Gospel, who are stewards of the mysteries of God, and have become skillful doctors (learned men) by the breath of the spirit from above for the confirmation of profitable matters ...lacuna..., and you are the chief priests ...lacuna... high and exaltedlacuna... fraught with abundant graces ...lacuna... to the orthodox and royal path.

It could be improper to inform you, you who are ahead in knowledge, of the graciousness of God to us and to his holy church, to which the Prophet Isaiah points clearly, saying, “I am bringing my righteousness near, it is not far away; and my salvation will not be delayed. I will grant salvation to Zion, my splendor to Israel.”¹⁶²² Such magnificent, glorious and supernatural things are granted us that all may be astonished by the magnitude of his gifts which call us to exclaim, They will speak of the glorious splendor of your majesty, and I will meditate on your wonderful works.”¹⁶²³ It is great to praise, along with another prophet, the majesties of God and his dispensing wisdom, saying, “Great is the Lord and most worthy of praise; his greatness no one can fathom.”¹⁶²⁴ He has granted miraculously from his fullness an abundance of permanent peace to those who were before scattered, nay, they were even enemies and adversaries. He led the doubters to godliness, and to one voice and to the orthodox teachings of the fathers. Now, if you are of one mind and accord, you will find that their former stand from the teachings was negative. So, magnify the Lord with us, and we will together glorify his name as it is written, “The Lord is capable of wonder works.” He said through the Prophet Isaiah, “See, I am doing a new thing! Now it springs up; do you not perceive it?”¹⁶²⁵ He sees our weakness. The Lord who builds Jerusalem and surrounds it by peace shall unite us: we from the East who dwell in Alexandria with the sons of this city, and with the entire congregation of Egypt in quiet and pleasant peace, and in unity of opinion in God. You will know the union after you have perused the document of doctrine and faith that we have published and sent to you. God is our witness that we are

¹⁶²² Isaiah 46:13.

¹⁶²³ New International Version: Psalm 45:5 and note b5.

¹⁶²⁴ Psalm 145:3.

¹⁶²⁵ Isaiah 43:19.

tremendously glad in spirit, we raise fullness of praise to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit our Lord and God, and that we do not add any innovation to the truths of doctrines.

Reverent brothers! Beseech on our behalf the Lord of peace, steadfast in good things, that we may remain as we are now until the end and that we will not revert to schism or the tares planted by the enemies of piety. This is what prompted us to inform you, O saints. We are holding fast to piety because of the teachings that we maintain. We respect the one brotherly law and surrender to the Prophetic saying, "Announce this with shouts of joy and proclaim it. Send it out to the ends of the earth; say, 'The Lord has redeemed his servant Jacob.' They did not thirst when he led them through the deserts."¹⁶²⁶

Therefore, we beseech you as you contemplate the splendid works of God and behold the number of people who gain safety through discernment. Do not despise or think improperly of the concession we made, especially that this concession was accompanied with profit and benefit. We have not done anything contrary to the order of the church that we have received from the fathers. Not even a name was fixed in the document that differs from our opinion, lest it create doubt for you. Our holy fathers had arranged these matters, and even greater ones, for the cause of the peace of the church, and for the prevention of the dissension or separation of the people of God. They have surrendered to some not counting it as a disgrace, or that it desecrates the communion of the orthodox people. You are now like skillful carpenters and engineers who close the gaps. You have experience in all matters, and in your position, you can also bear the burden of the weak because the circumstances demand this thing. Everything done in the right time is good. You, as educators and teachers of the multifarious grace of God, will build magnificent edifices for Zion that do not disdain the weak, lest the lame stumble, but wants for him recovery through perfect men and women. It does not want anyone to perish in hell, but as the Scriptures says, that (God our Savior) "Wants men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth."¹⁶²⁷

Therefore, if you examine closely these holy opinions, you will be able to take care of the people, as you desire, O reverent lords. So, as much as you can, do not let anyone falter on a stumbling block that the Lord of glory may commend you for your magnificent works in the great church, when all of mankind is brought into judgment. It is then that you and we deserve the gracefulness of God and the abode of our holy fathers, who taught us the word of truth with verity and perfect fear of God.

Extracts of the letter of Anastasius

To my lord, the holy and venerable brother and fellow-minister Athanasius, Patriarch of Antioch, from Anastasius, bishop of Alexandria. Let us rejoice in the Lord.

"How good and pleasant it is when brothers live together in unity!"¹⁶²⁸ The Psalmist David chanted this by the harp of the Spirit, as he perceived the children of one paternal stock and one source records their genuine origin. These are the people who had been separated from each other by the foolishness of the one who was jealous;¹⁶²⁹ who saw them tied by the unbreakable bond of peace, the indissoluble love, by means of the safety and serenity of the one who has an overflow of grace.¹⁶³⁰ How could he (David) not multiply his praise? Moreover, when he determines a matchless beauty like this, he actually nourishes faithfulness and assures a desire that has no semblance. Therefore, it is appropriate to say, "Let the name of the Lord be praised; both now and evermore."¹⁶³¹ Every one of the priestly rank, and every venerable officer (of the church) is an ornament of love. How adorable is it to sustain peace and unity among friends? How tender is the expression of harmony? Is there anything more noble and gracious than the beauty of unity in one faith and one communion? Our great God and Savior Jesus Christ says in the Gospel, "For where two or three

¹⁶²⁶ Isaiah 48:20.

¹⁶²⁷ 1 Timothy 2:4.

¹⁶²⁸ Psalm 133:1.

¹⁶²⁹ The reference here is most likely to the devil.

¹⁶³⁰ I believe the reference here is to God.

¹⁶³¹ Psalm 113:2.

come together in my name; there am I with them.”¹⁶³² Those who yesterday were split into two factions,¹⁶³³ they are today united in one people, and one indivisible faith whose medium is the Trinity in unity fitting to God. Those who yesterday were divided in the matters of the faith and contended against each other in word and deed, they are enriched today by the Holy Spirit in an indivisible unity. If we had spoken all the languages under the sun, we are now one language and one voice. Those who yesterday hated each other like Jacob and Esau,¹⁶³⁴ they are today like Benjamin and Joseph.¹⁶³⁵ We embrace those who yesterday separated themselves from us by their own will as if they were sent to witness the Promised Land. Today, however, we, like Caleb and Joshua, are of one mind and soul. We hasten toward the beautiful city above created by God and prepared for all the saints. Those who yesterday were as Judah and Israel split into two camps are seen today as one family. We ascribe this to the Lord of Hosts who is adored and glorified as king and priest. Those who yesterday fought each other with arrows and swords are seen today, as the Prophet said, “They will beat their swords into plowshares.”¹⁶³⁶ They are seen today with one voice preaching the Gospel everywhere under the sun. We do call to godliness those who are not from our fold when peace and charity flourish and shine in our midst instead of sedition and dissension. We should seek with affection the everlasting treasure of peace as disciples of the granter of peace (Christ), who reconciled the heavenly with the earthly and taught us, saying, “Peace I leave with you; my peace I give you.”¹⁶³⁷ Let us put on the divine sacerdotal garment of love. For nothing like love make us disciples of Christ. The Lord confirms this in his Gospel saying, “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another.”¹⁶³⁸ Who would then desire not to become a disciple of Christ by befitting works? You, who are dearer to me than anyone else is, let us, as we are bound by one divine spirit, greet one another by correspondence and conversation that could be preserved in collections in order to be read. Therefore, O chief priest, I have examined my own collection and find that it announces the glad tiding of the concord between the Egyptians and the Easterners. It eradicates the ancient roots of sedition and confirms in us the perpetual unity of word. We believe that it firmly establishes and confirms our faith until the last day. This is actually what has been restored to its original splendor by the holy and inspired-by-God, Severus (of Antioch), when he sent a collection of synodical letters to the holy Theodosius containing what we had hoped. Furthermore, we sent to him a collection of our synodical letters. The authority of the permanent kingdom is concealed in the evangelical throne above. In fact, the festival letters addressed to the whole world are still preserved to this day and will be preserved for the future. If anyone should view the origins of orthodoxy, he will never overlook them.

After he (Anastasius) discussed the theological matter concerning the Incarnation, he said, “We extend a virtuous hand to each other, and we rejoice for our indissoluble communion offering with joy thanks to Christ who has brought us together in this concord. We pray for the victory of our king (emperor) to assist Nicetas, the victorious army general, who exhibited great effort in urging and calling for harmony. He had bitterly criticized the state of our separation and urged us to agree with each other. May Christ reward him on our behalf, and make him triumph over the enemies, and subdue the barbarians that the wars launched against those obedient (to the faith) by the enemies of charity and concord, may come to an end. May God bestow on him good physical health, prolong his life, and offer him in the world to come what the eye has not seen for those who love him. Glory to him forever and ever.

Signed in confirmation of the unity of the Holy Trinity. May God protect your beatitude and preserve your body and soul. etc.

¹⁶³² Matthew 18:20.

¹⁶³³ The reference here is to the Churches of Syria and Alexandria.

¹⁶³⁴ See Genesis 27:41-46.

¹⁶³⁵ Genesis, Chapter 42.

¹⁶³⁶ Isaiah 2:4.

¹⁶³⁷ John 14:27.

¹⁶³⁸ John 13:35.

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He who seeks more information can understand from these correspondences how and when, and in what form the unity had been restored and established between the churches of Syria and Egypt by our Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch, Mor Anastasius of Egypt, the bishops of both sides, by Nicetas, the army commander, and other leaders and believers. May God make for them a good memory in all the orthodox churches until the end of the world, and record their names in the church of the firstborn in heaven forever and ever. Amen.

This union was consummated in the year 927 of the Greeks (A.D. 616) by the prayer of the holy saints through whose effort and that of other saints, God completed. May God have mercy on them and those who shared in this book. Amen.

Book Ten is ended. It contained the history of 43 years from 878 to 921 of the Greeks (A.D. 567-610). During this period, four Roman kings (emperors) and three Persian kings rose to power. This is the year 6114 from Adam, and the year 592 A.D. This Book consists of twenty-seven chapters.

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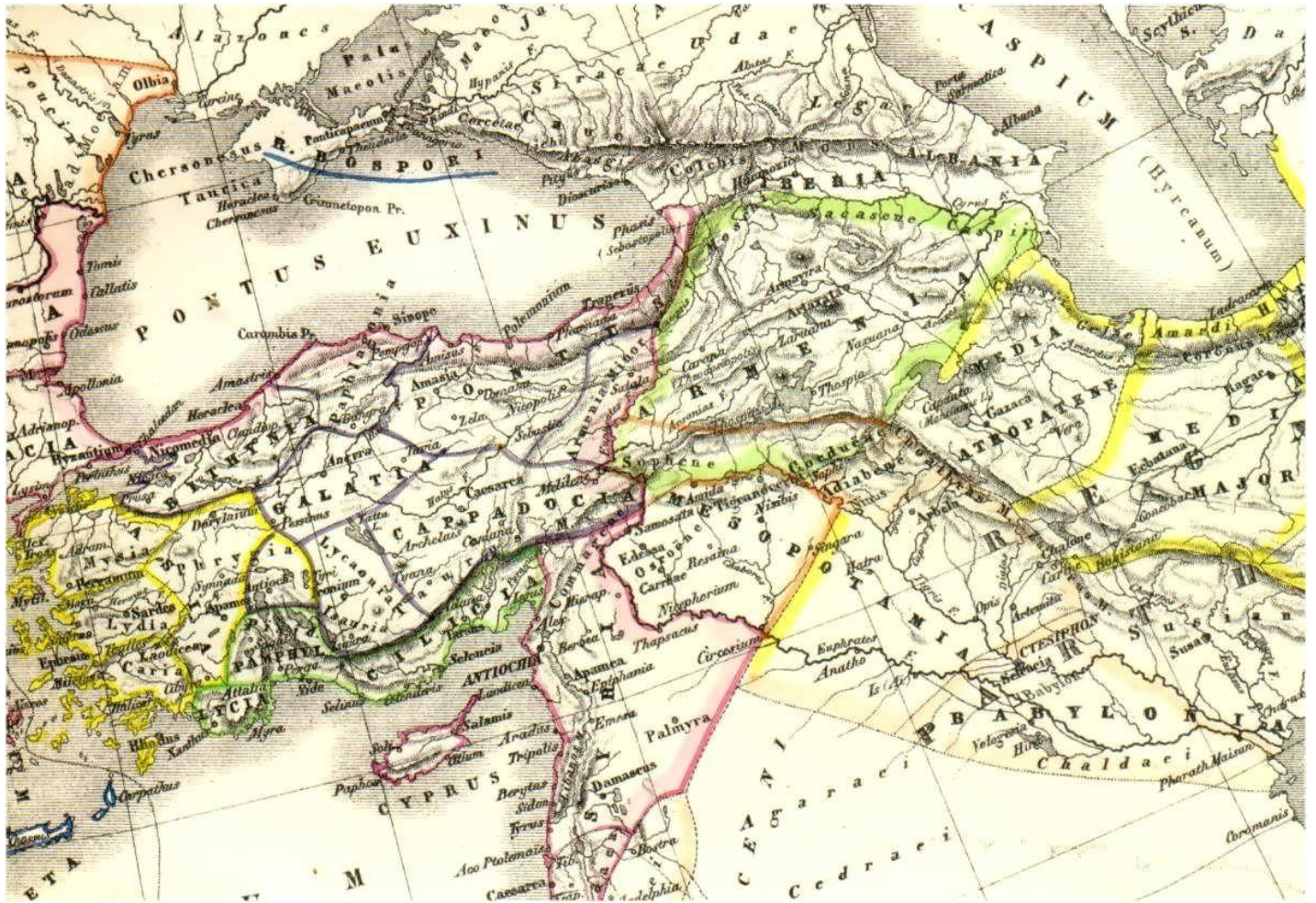
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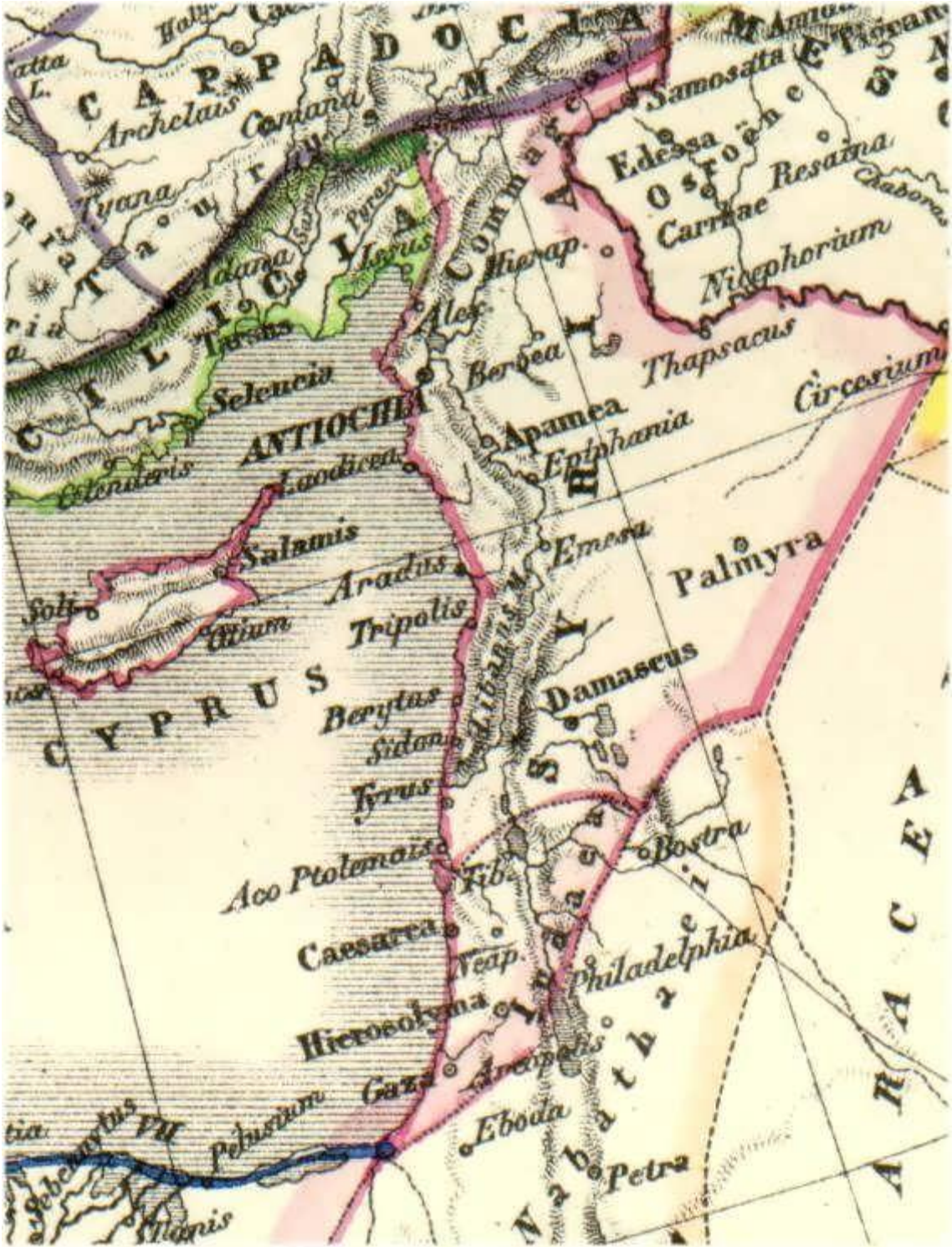
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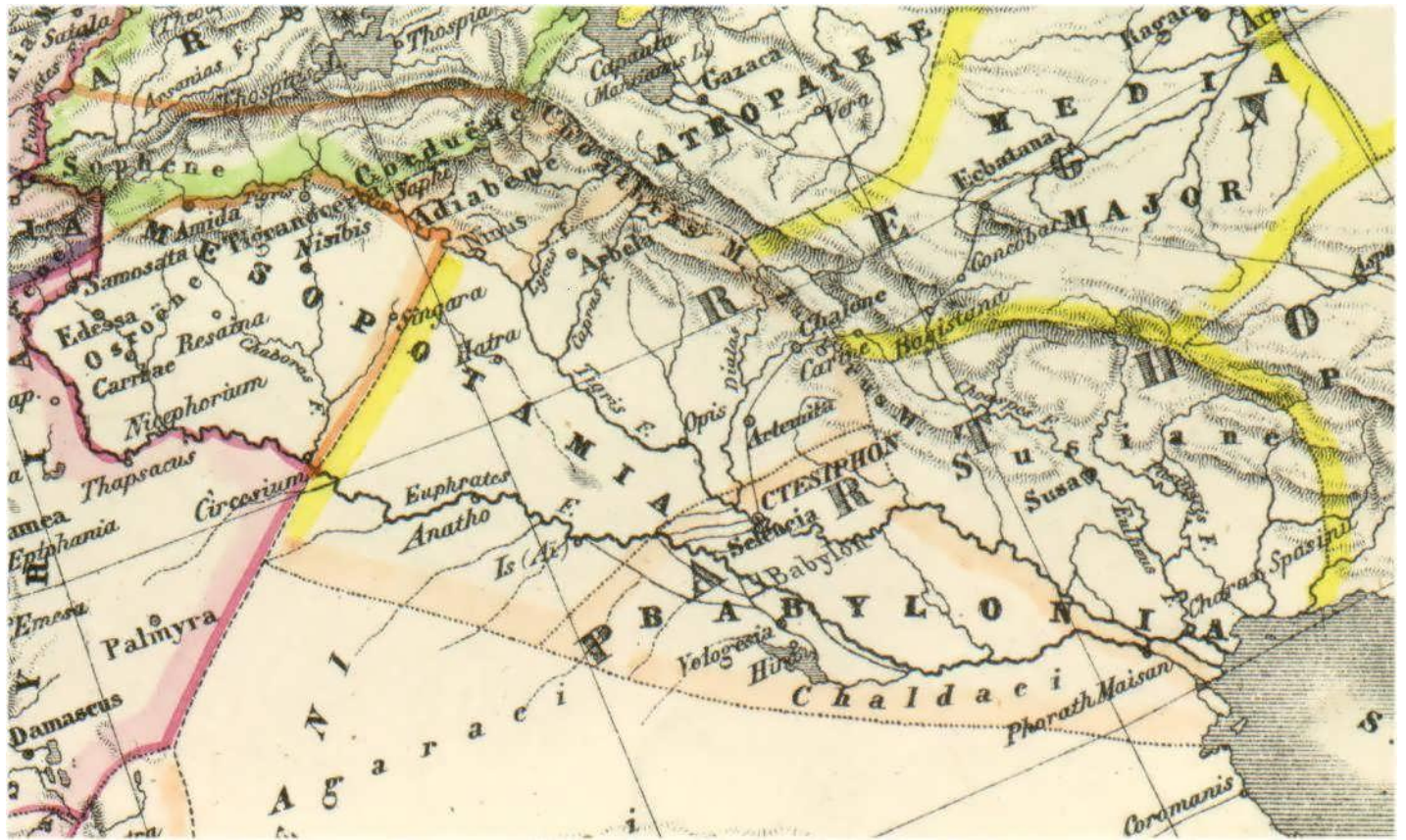
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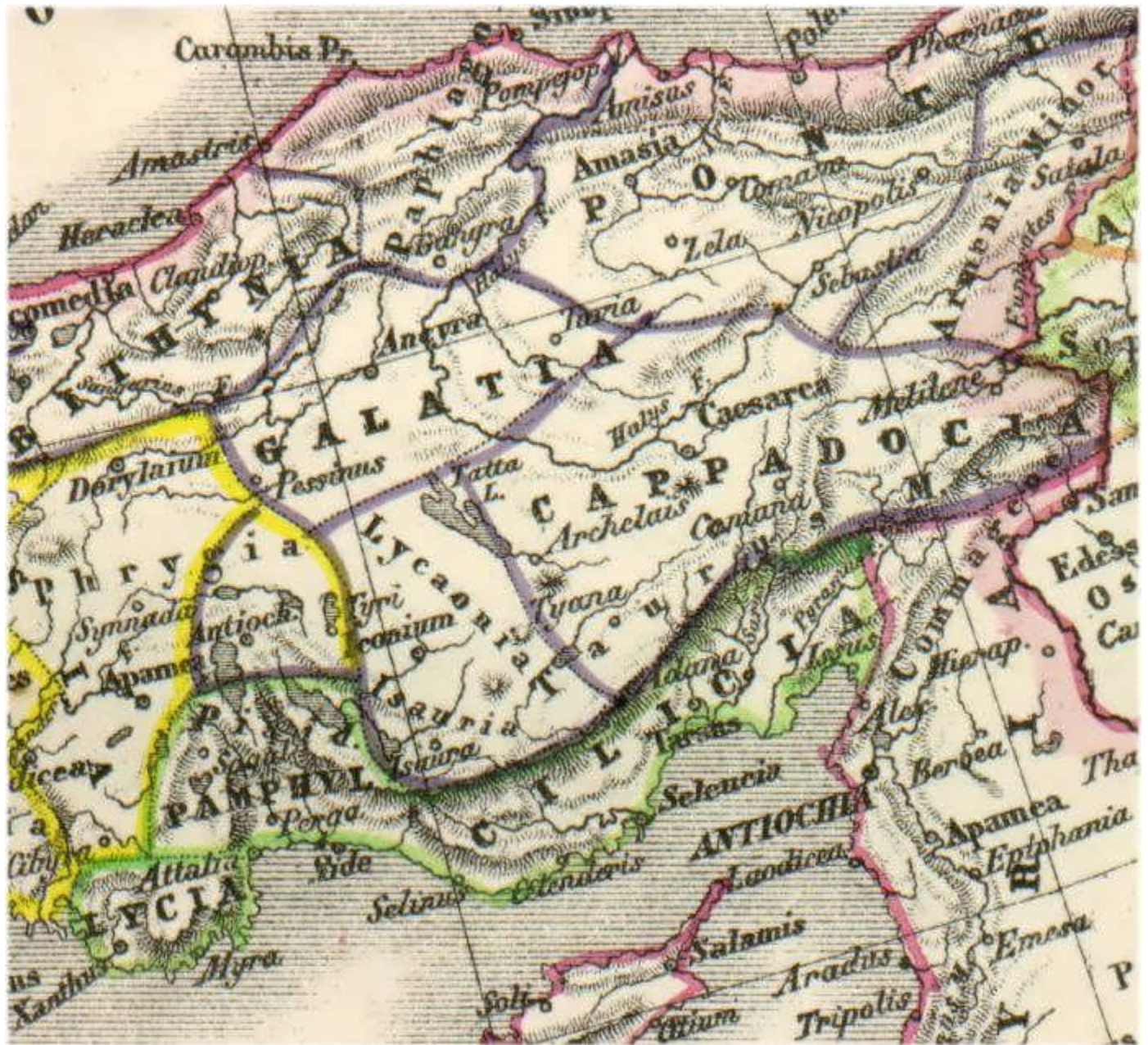
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