

The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined

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The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined

Father V.C. Samuel

Oriental Orthodox Library

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FOREWORD

This work by the late Father V.C. Samuel of the Indian Orthodox Church is the fruit of an entire life devoted to the study of the Orthodox faith. It is perhaps the most important study of Christology and the Council of Chalcedon to be published in the 20th century, and it is a privilege to be involved in its re-publication in the 21st century for a new generation of students and christians.

This new edition is published as part of the Oriental Orthodox Library. A major project which has as its aim the production of important theological works for members and students of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. It is hoped that the availability of such materials will aid the process of reconciliation between Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Christians, as they come to know and understand one another more clearly.

Peter Farrington
Oriental Orthodox Library

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PREFACE

The account of an event as reported by an admirer is bound to be different from the description of the same event as preserved by a critic. This indeed is as true of the council of Chalcedon and the split which it engendered in the Church as any other incident in history. Whereas scholars in the western world have sought to perpetuate a more or less appreciative view of the council, there are churches in the east which from those ancient times to this day have categorically repudiated it.

What is attempted in the present work is not a defence of either of these two positions. In fact, while being critical of the pro-Chalcedonian point of view, it expresses disagreement with the traditional standpoint adopted officially by the non-Chalcedonian churches on a few significant points. It contains, in short, the author's findings made on the basis of a study of the relevant documents in their originals, and it endeavours to show that the story of Chalcedon as it has been propagated by the western and the Byzantine ecclesiastical traditions needs clearly to be modified. It implies also the plea that the decisions taken in ancient times with reference to the Christological controversy, whatever justification men in the past may have seen in them, have to be re-examined and reappraised in our times.

This work has a history of its own. Its author, a member of one of the Orthodox churches of the east which have refused to accept the council of Chalcedon, has had his initiation into the study of Church history by his reading of the Syriac works on the subject by Gregory Bar Hebraeus and Michael the Syrian. This had enabled him to be conversant with the issues connected with the council of Chalcedon in a particular way. Subsequently, by the reading of the works of Duchesne, Kidd, Hefele, and others, he became acquainted with the pro-Chalcedonian version of the Christological controversy. But it is only during his studies both

at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and at the Yale University Divinity School—between the years 1953 and 1957—that he could work with the documents referred to by western historical scholars. He was introduced to this study by the Very Reverend Professor Georges Florovsky of the Byzantine Orthodox Church and guided in his research by Professor Robert L. Calhoun of the Yale University, to both of whom he is most sincerely grateful. Under the direction of the latter the author wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on the *Council of Chalcedon and the Christology of Severus of Antioch* which the Yale University Graduate School accepted in 1957.

Although some of the materials in the dissertation have been adapted and used in the present work, this is an independent book prepared after a great deal of further study and experience. During this latter period of study the author has utilized, in addition to the Serampore and Bangalore libraries in India and the Addis Ababa Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the British Museum Library, London; the Library of the Ecumenical Institute, Bossey; and the Library of the Jesuit College, Louvain. In this way he has worked with the Greek documents relating to the council of Chalcedon in Schwartz instead of Mansi which he had used earlier, most of the documents in Syriac published since the time he had completed his Ph.D. dissertation by the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* and *Patrologia Orientalis*, and a number of studies on the subject brought out in the western world during the last several decades.

Since 1964 the author has taken part in almost all the various meetings of the Unofficial Consultation of Theologians of the Eastern (Byzantine) and the Oriental (Non-Chalcedonian) Orthodox Churches, as well as in two meetings of the latter and the Roman Catholic Church presenting papers in each of them. The papers prepared for and read at the former meetings have all been published in the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, Brookline, Massachusetts, U.S.A., and those written for the latter have been brought out in print by Pro Oriente, Vienna, Austria. Besides, he has served as a member of a group of persons called together by the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches for a study, first, of the councils of the early Church, and later, of the council of Chalcedon. At the meetings of this group also he has presented papers, one of which was

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published in both the *Ecumenical Review*, Geneva, and *Abba, Salama*, Addis Ababa, in 1970. The insights which the author has gained in this way are incorporated in the present work, and he is grateful to all concerned for these memorable opportunities.

In the preparation of this book the author has received assistance in various ways from a large number of persons. They are too many to be mentioned by name. He is indeed grateful to all of them. It is through the initiative of the Indian Theological Library series of the Senate of the Serampore College that the book is being published. The author's sincere thanks go to its General Secretary and all others concerned.

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BIOGRAPHY

An Indian Theologian and Historian, Rev. Dr. V.C. Samuel

Fr. Dr. Vilakuvel Cherian Samuel (1912 - 1998), a priest of the Indian (Malankara) Orthodox Church, was one of the great scholars of theology, and an ecumenically committed and distinguished historian.

Dr. V.C. Samuel was born April 6, 1912, in the village of Omalloor, in the princely state of Travancore, now Kerala, India. He was the fifth of the nine children of the late E.I. Cherian MLC (Member of the Legislative Council) of the Edayil family, and the late Annamma Cherian of the Kizhakkethil family. His father was a teacher and educationist who established several schools for general education in the area. Raised in the faith, young Samuel actively participated in the Church activities and Syriac Language studies during his formative years and was ordained as a deacon. After finishing high school education he mastered the Syriac language and the important works of Bar Hebraeus and others. He continued for about thirteen years at the local monastery at Manjanikkara, where he started teaching as a “Malpan” (Teacher of Syriac language and ecclesiastical studies), and thus happened to be one of the founders of Manjanikkara School, once an important centre for the study of Syriac language and theology. He was ordained as a priest in 1937.

He devoted himself to sixteen years continuous University study and research. He completed BA, (first rank with gold medal) from Travancore University and MA (first class) from Madras University, both in Philosophy. After completing a Bachelor of Divinity degree from Union Theological College, Bangalore, gaining several medals, he proceeded to the United States for further studies. The question, why the Church remains divided,

kept reverberating in his mind from his young days at the monastery up to the doctoral programs. So he purposefully opted for his research on the teachings of doctors of the Church and early Councils especially the Council of Chalcedon, 451AD, in which the first major split in the Church took place, and has continued for the last 15 centuries. At the Union Theological Seminary, New York, he extensively studied Severus of Antioch and submitted an important paper "One Incarnate Nature of God the Word" and the thesis "The Christology of Severus of Antioch". In 1954, he received S.T.M (magna cum laude) from the same Seminary. After three years thorough research in the Divinity School of Yale University, New Haven he received the Ph.D. for his dissertation titled "The Council of Chalcedon and the Christology of Severus of Antioch". He subsequently pursued post-doctoral research in "Hindu Christian thought comparison" for three years, of which two years were spent in India and one year at Chicago University as a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow.

After reaching the highest levels of academic study, he submitted himself to the service of the Church. From 1960- 63, he served on the faculty of Serampore University, India. Out of his love for both the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Haile Selassie University, he went to Ethiopia. He served the University from 1963-66 and again 1968-76. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church appreciated his role as a theologian of Oriental Orthodoxy and expressed its recognition and confidence in him by appointing him as the Dean of the College of Theology, Addis Abeba in 1976. He also served as the secretary of the faculty council of the Theological College. From 1966–68 and 1978-80 he served as a professor at the Union Theological Seminary, Bangalore. In 1980, Malankara Orthodox Church appointed him the dean of the Orthodox Theological Seminary, Kottayam. For the next ten years he served at the seminary and Federated Faculty of Research in Religion and Culture. He also served as a visiting professor at many universities and seminaries globally.

While in Ethiopia, he had an important role in organizing the great council of the Oriental Orthodox Churches held in 1965 in Addis Abeba under the initiative of both, the Emperor Haile Selassie and the Patriarch of Ethiopia. In the council, a special commission namely, "The Commission of Oriental Orthodox

Churches”, was formed to take care of contemporary challenges facing Oriental Orthodox Churches. He actively represented the Malankara Orthodox Church in the commission and made several valuable contributions.

His was a pioneering effort to dig into the sources of the teachings of the Fathers of the early Church and of the reports of the minutes of meetings of early Councils in question. Sound knowledge of ancient languages of Syriac, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin and French, German, and English, helped him discover the truth about the controversy over the Christological Doctrine, and bring to light the suppressed truth. He came up with a concrete conclusion that the difference between the Churches was only verbal and not substantial. This was due to the cultural, linguistic and political pressures of the time. In the light of the definition of "One Incarnate Nature of God the Word", his unique and illuminating work paved the way to the cause of conciliar unity of the Churches. It is now divided mainly into Orthodox (Eastern and Oriental), Catholic and Protestant, for which he persistently made an ardent advocacy in several international ecumenical forums of leading theologians of the Roman Catholic, Byzantine, Oriental Orthodox and Protestant Churches. He actively participated in the Un-official Consultations of leading theologians of the Eastern (Byzantine) Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox Churches held in - 1964, Bristol, 1968 - Aarhus, 1969 - Geneva and 1971 - Addis Ababa. He also took an important role in presenting several important papers in the Un-official Consultation of theologians of Roman Catholic and Oriental Orthodox Churches in 1971, 1973, 76 and 78 - Vienna.

He had 30 years of association with the World Council Of Churches (WCC) as a delegate of Malankara Orthodox Church to its four World General Assemblies namely, Evanston - 1954, New Delhi - 1961, Upsala - 1968 and Nairobi - 1976. He was a leading scholarly member of the “Faith and Order Commission” of WCC for a quarter century and participated in the following world assemblies of the commission: 1963 - Montreal, 1967 - Bristol, 1971 - Leaven, 1974 - Accra, 1978 - Bangalore, 1982 - Lima. He also participated in many other theological consultations in different parts of the world. A few of them are: Joint Commissions between Roman Catholics and Eastern

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Orthodox Churches, such as "Apostolicity and Catholicity", "Authority of Bible", "The Councils", "Problem of Uniatism" etc., He was the founder Vice President of Ethio Hellenic Association - Addis Ababa.. He was a WCC representative to the Muslim-Christian dialogue held in Lagos – 1974 and Bangkok – 1975 and a consultant of the All Africa Christian Conference and Theological Education Fund,

In India, he held important positions and contributed much to the Theological Curriculum Committee, the Church History Association of India (CHAI), the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society (CISRS), the Centre for Advanced Research and Study, the Indian School of Theology, and the Theological Forum, all in Bangalore. Also the Indian Journal of Theology - Calcutta, the Federated Faculty of Research in Religion and Culture (FRRC), and the Saint Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI) - Kottayam etc.

Dr. V.C. Samuel was a pioneer in the above undertaking, with reference to the St. Thomas Christians of India, one of the earliest Churches in the world, which unfortunately has been divided into so many divisions in the evolution of its modern history. He was keen, in the first place, to promote the principle that the Church in India should really be Indian. Out of this concern he had a deep interest in comparing the roots of the historic faith with the philosophical and cultural heritage of India. Secondly, he realized that the claim of apostolic origins by the Indian Christianity had been submerged by its contact with western and middle-eastern Churches. Over the years he paid serious attention to the unbiased history of Indian Church, Indian Christian theology, indigenization, canon law, and autonomy, working towards a real Indian Church.

Apart from his mother tongue, Malayalam, and English, he had very good knowledge of Syriac, Sanskrit, Amharic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and German. A prolific writer, to his credit stands 20 books, hundreds of scholarly papers, essays, chapters and series of articles published in different languages, dealing with Theology, Christology, Church History, Ecumenism and issues of contemporary and national and international significance. Original and revolutionary thoughts, constructive reflections, clarity, and detailed analysis are the hallmarks of his

contributions. Some of his works in English and Malayalam include "The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined: A Historical Theological Survey", "Truth Triumphs", "Christianity and Indigenization", "Who Jesus Christ is?", "Is This An Indian Church?", "Church Grows", "Ramakrishna Movement - the World Mission of Hinduism", "Modern Indian Church" and "Swaanubhava Vedyil" (autobiography in Malayalam). He also served in the capacity of editor and member of editorial board of publications like Abba Salama, Eccleasticos Pharos - Addis Ababa, Greek Orthodox Review - Athens, Pro-Oriente - Vienna, Ecumenical Review - Geneva, Indian Journal of Theology - Calcutta, The Harp – Kottayam, and Malankara Orthodox publications like the Star of the East, Church Weekly, Malankara Sabha, and Encyclopaedia of the Malankara Church.

As a dedicated priest of sixty long years in the holy ministry of the Orthodox Church of India without discrimination or division, Fr. Samuel was the first full-time Vicar of the Orthodox congregation in Bangalore, India and with his initiative and guidance four more Churches were established and the community has grown up into ten parishes in and around Bangalore. He had the opportunity to impart pastoral service in different parts of the world. It is heartening that during 1960's he was appointed as an Ambassador to Ethiopia and other African countries by H.H. Catholicos and Malankara Metropolitan Mar Baselius Augen I. The year 1990 witnessed the elevation of Rev. Fr. Dr. V.C. Samuel, the great visionary and luminary, the grand "guru" and erudite scholar whose heart was ever for his dear Indian Church, to the list of the doctors of the Malankara Orthodox Church. 'The Pentecostal Tongue of Fire' glittering in his thought provoking writings, lively oracles, steadfast clinging to the Christian perspective and his endeavours of projecting the Indian Church in the International Forums will be always remembered by many Churches.

Fr. Samuel, an Indian (Travancorean) by birth, but international citizen by choice, was a dedicated priest, real "guru", prolific writer, thinker, philosopher, ecumenist and preacher of religious and cultural harmony. To his uncommon intellectual range, he adds a rare moral equilibrium. A scholar of wide and numerous interests, a methodical and untiring researcher, he was a man with a great heart and was in the best position to discover what is

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beautiful and good, wherever it may be found, beyond political and religious divisions.

One of the real disciples of Jesus Christ, a lover of humanity, this great and noble scholar breathed his last in the early morning of Wednesday 18th November 1998. We thank God for his sustained scholarship, for his ecumenical commitments, for his untiring life long service to the Church and Society and his exemplary self-effacing life.

Fr. V.C. Samuel Ecumenical Forum

INTRODUCTION

1. *Point of Departure*

The subject of this study is the split in the Church following the council of Chalcedon in 451. From the beginning of Christianity there had been many divisions in the Church, particularly during the first five centuries. However, none of them that happened till about the end of the fourth century could maintain any organized existence for a few hundred years beyond those ancient times. But in the fifth century there arose two divisions following the councils of Ephesus in 431 and Chalcedon in 451 which continue to our times. How this came about on account of the latter council, how the church bodies that refused to accept it organized themselves in separation from those that admitted the council, and what theological position they tried to conserve—these are discussed in the following pages. This is pre-eminently a historical-theological study based primarily on documents in Syriac and Greek of ancient times, though in organizing the materials modern works in the field have been consulted and used.

The council of Chalcedon has been ably defended by a number of scholars in our times. Thus in connection with the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the council in 1951 a symposium prepared by six American theologians was published in the July 1952 number of *The Ecumenical Review*. In commemoration of the same event *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon: Geschichte Und Gegenwart*¹, a massive work in three volumes containing contributions by Roman Catholic scholars, was brought out. In addition mention should be made also of *The Council of Chalcedon* by R; V. Sellers² and *Christ in Christian Tradition* by Aloys Grillmeier³.

In general, these scholars maintain that in the historical context of the fifth century the council of Chalcedon made a lasting contribution to the faith of the Church. In the words of Georges Florovsky, 'a Nestorian Christ' was a 'suitable Redeemer of a Pelagian man' and 'a Monophysite Christ' was a 'suitable Redeemer for an ecstatic monk'. But Chalcedon 'preserved the balance' and declared that 'Jesus Christ is one Person in two natures without confusion, change, or severance'⁴

A voice of dissent has, however, been expressed from the side of the council's ecclesiastical opponents. Tiran Nersoyan, for instance, asserts that in its historical context Chalcedon did not work out the balance claimed for it, and that this defence of the Chalcedonian position is plausible only with reference to a theological development which took place in the sixth century. This itself, argues Archbishop Tiran, was made possible by the unceasing criticism of the council by the 'Monophysites'⁵. Karekin Sarkissian shows that the council of Chalcedon did violence to the already established theological tradition of both the Armenian Church and a considerable part of Christian east. The theology underlying the council's formula, for instance, and the treatment of persons like Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa were such that the Nestorian school could feel gratified, and the *Tome of Leo* which the council declared a document of the faith was hailed by Nestorius himself as a vindication of his position. It was these facts, insists bishop Sarkissian, not any adherence to Eutychianism, which led many Christian communities in the east to repudiate Chalcedon.⁶ In this way, maintains Sarkissian, the council of Chalcedon created, what he calls, 'the ecumenical problem in Eastern Christendom'⁷

The fact about both Tiran Nersoyan and Karekin Sarkissian is that neither of them sees any value in the theological tradition which men of the Antiochene school sought to conserve. Moreover, the very nature of their treatment limits them both to be concerned with the question of the relation between the Armenian Church and the council of Chalcedon. They admit, for example, that the Church of Armenia had not been directly involved in the controversy centring round the council of Chalcedon. But neither the Coptic Church of Egypt nor the Syrian Church of the near east can advance this argument. In fact, their reason for opposing the council was different.

Therefore, a fresh study of Chalcedon, particularly from the point of view of the churches which played an active role in the controversy during those ancient times, is very much needed. Although the present study does not intend to tell the story of Chalcedon from this point of view, its findings may be of some value toward helping the churches concerned in understanding each other better.

This purpose has a particular relevance for the Indian Church. Even before Armenia was evangelized, Christianity had come to India, and it existed in the country ever since in its eastern character without any real understanding of Chalcedon. The advent into the country of Christianity in its western forms from the sixteenth century brought to India an awareness of Chalcedon, but the communities that came into being by the work of western missionaries have not gone beyond assuming Chalcedon to assimilating it. In India ecumenism lies in an earnest attempt to bring these broad traditions to meet each other within its cultural and intellectual milieu. In the face of this important task the question of Chalcedon and the split in the Church which took place in ancient times deserve attention. The facts brought out in this study should be of value from this point of view.

2. *What do Present Scholars say?*

The defence of Chalcedon, to which reference has been made, has behind it more than half a century of specialized study of the various aspects of the subject by a number of scholars in the western world. As a result of this work, many of them have shown themselves to be willing to modify traditional positions regarding several points bearing on the Christological controversy.

Traditionally, it had been held that Nestorius who presided over the see of Constantinople from 428 to 431 was a heretic as he had taught the foul doctrine of ‘two Sons’⁸, and that on this ground he was condemned by the council of Ephesus in 431. Extreme opposition to Nestorianism exposed the heresy of Euty-chianism. An abbot in Constantinople who could exert much influence at the court of emperor Theodosius II through his

nephew and godson Chrysaphius, the grand chamberlain, Eutyches maintained that Godhead and manhood were so united in Christ that after the union the manhood became absorbed in the Godhead. On this ground he was condemned as a heretic by the synod of Constantinople in 448. But patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria, in his desire to dominate the see of Constantinople, took advantage of the monk's political support and rehabilitated the heresiarch, condemning on a charge of heresy a number of orthodox prelates including patriarch Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum through the Ephesine *Latrocinium*⁹ of 449. In his high-handedness Dioscorus went so far as to prevent the reading of the *Tome of Leo*¹⁰ which the pope of Rome had composed and sent to the east with the specific intention of offering a clear directive in the doctrinal dispute. Now the council of Chalcedon which met in 451 condemned Eutyches and deposed Dioscorus. But the 'monophysite' party in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere in the east refused to accept the council, and organized itself over against the Church and continues to this day holding to varying shades of 'heretical' ideas.

It is this traditional description of the controversy that has been modified by many modern scholars at different points. The most important of them all is the treatment of the Nestorian question. Following the discovery and subsequent publication of Nestorius' great work, the *Bazaar of Heraclides*¹¹, the theology of the Antiochene school which Nestorius represented has received a decisively appreciative evaluation at the hands of a number of scholars in the present century.

The enthusiastic support of the Nestorian cause is indeed unique. Although nothing comparable to that has been shown to bring out the point of view of the opponents of Chalcedon¹², one can observe some change there also. Thus with reference to Eutyches, it is admitted at least by some that the widely held notion concerning his teaching is the creation of others. Two ideas granted in this way deserve notice. In the first place, Trevor Gervase Jalland remarks that the condemnation of Eutyches by the synod of 448 was a hasty action.¹³ Secondly, René Draguet, followed by Thomas Camelot and J. N. D. Kelly, concedes that Eutyches was not a confirmed heretic¹⁴. As for Dioscorus, both J. Lebon and R. V. Sellers admit that he was orthodox in his theological position¹⁵, and Jalland shows that he

had not prevented the reading of the *Tome of Leo* to the council of 449. Jalland and Honigman observe that the decisions of that council were not solely his work.¹⁶ Regarding the leaders of the movement against Chalcedon, Lebon and Sellers acknowledge that men like Timothy Aelurus of Alexandria (457-477), Philoxenos of Mabbogh (d. c. 523), and Severus of Antioch (512-538) were not teachers of heresy¹⁷. With reference to Philoxenos in particular, Andre de Halleux shows that this critic of Chalcedon had conserved all principles needed for a sound Christology¹⁸. Taking these findings seriously, it is possible to say that the council of Chalcedon and the division of the church in the east were much more complex than is usually acknowledged by writers of a pro-Chalcedonian persuasion.

3. *The Real Issue to be Faced*

These findings, although they are significant, do not go far enough to face the real issue. Dioscorus, for instance, and the leaders of the movement against Chalcedon raised no objection to that council because of the treatment which it meted out to Eutyches, or because it affirmed the dynamic continuance of the manhood without confusion or absorption with the Godhead in Christ after the union. Their point on the other hand was that the council contradicted the already established tradition of the Church. They meant by this that the council of 451 did not take sufficient note of the theological position adopted by the council of Ephesus in 431 in condemning Nestorius. Were they right in making this point?

The fact about the council of 431 is that the Antiochenes were not in full agreement with its decisions. Though this problem was externally solved by the reunion between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch in 433, the reunion itself was being taken in different ways by the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides. In that situation the synod of Constantinople in 448 condemned Eutyches as a heretic exclusively on the ground of the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion. Now the council of 449 expressed the Alexandrine reaction. The council of Chalcedon, without even examining the issue involved in the conflict, ratified the decision of the synod of 448, declaring the council of 449 unworthy even to be noted in the annals of the

Church's history. In so doing, the council of Chalcedon assumed that Eutyches was a confirmed heretic, and tried to make out that his rehabilitation by the council of 449 was indefensible. Even here, the leaders of the council of 451 arrived at the decision by putting the entire responsibility for the decrees of 449 exclusively on Dioscorus. Yet the council did not state, on the strength of evidence, what precisely was the teaching of Eutyches whom it condemned as a heretic.

The decisions of the council of Chalcedon were based on the central assumption that Eutyches was a real heretic. Here the council was unduly influenced by the verdict of pope Leo on the one hand, and the assertions of men who were personally opposed to the monk on the other. In his *Tome* Leo showed no understanding of the conflict between the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides which preceded the synod of 448. When once the assumption that Eutyches was in fact a heretic is admitted to be untenable, we have to look anew into the council and endeavour to interpret it by paying more attention to its critics, without assuming that they were all wrong.

The fact about the council of Chalcedon, which the present writer has shown elsewhere, may be noted here¹⁹: It abrogated the decisions of the second council of Ephesus without ever examining them against the background of their theological assumptions; it proceeded from the beginning by considering Eutyches a confirmed heretic, showing at the same time no concern at all to establish that fact against him in the light of evidence or at least stating in clear terms what his teaching was; it exonerated Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the president of the synod of 448 and the accuser of Eutyches respectively, without looking into the ground of their condemnation by the council of 449; it ratified a sentence of deposition passed against patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria by a section of the delegates, specifying no definite charge against him; it adopted a definition of the faith with the phrase 'in two natures' in the face of a determined opposition from a large majority of the council's delegates, including patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople; and it acquitted Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa, both of them highly controversial figures, without examining whether there was any ground at all for the charges that had been levelled against them in an impartial way, so that

the council of 553 had to pass a resolution justifying the decision, not of Chalcedon, but of Ephesus in 449.

4. *The Question of Monophysitism*

Even the scholars who acknowledge the essential orthodoxy of the eastern churches which repudiate Chalcedon refer to them as monophysite. A compound of the Greek words *monos* and *physis* used adjectively in English, the term ‘monophysite’ means ‘one-natured’ or ‘single-natured’. The way in which this etymological meaning is understood concretely can be noted in the words of Walter F. Adeney. ‘The Monophysites’, he writes, ‘had contended that there was only one nature in Christ, the human and the Divine being fused together. Practically this meant that there was only the Divine nature, because the two did not meet on equal terms, and the overwhelming of the Finite left for our contemplation only the Infinite’²⁰. This understanding of the word is still being propagated by reputable scholarship in the western world. Thus even the 1958 edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* describes *Monophysitism* as ‘The doctrine that in the Person of the Incarnate Christ there was but a single, and that a Divine, Nature, as against the Orthodox teaching of a double Nature, Divine and Human, after the Incarnation’²¹. The fact therefore is that the use of the term cannot be admitted even as a convenient label with reference to the eastern churches which have refused to acknowledge the authority of Chalcedon, without showing on the strength of evidence that they held this view.²²

Because of these reasons the eastern churches which opposed the council of 451 are referred to in the present study as ‘non-Chalcedonian’ rather than ‘monophysite’, and the churches which accepted the council as ‘Chalcedonian’, for the sake of convenience, without implying in the least any derogatory connotation with reference to either of them.

5. *Method of Procedure*

The council of Chalcedon made a number of decisions. The most important of them from the point of view of the present study are

:(a) The deposition of Dioscorus of Alexandria; (b) The drawing up of a definition of the faith; (c) The disposal of the case of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa. The way in which these points were treated by the council is very important for an understanding of the split in the Church, and that story is told in the second and third chapters of the present study. The council had a background which will illuminate the problem which its decisions raised in the Church, and this is taken up in the first chapter. The council was opposed by a great part of Christian east. Led by some of the ablest theologians of those ancient times, this movement gained strength despite persecution and disabilities of various kinds. The movement was so dynamic that some of the emperors of Constantinople themselves felt the need for trying to conciliate the council's critics. This story, along with the theological position which they worked out, is told in the later chapters, one of which compares their Christology with that of the Chalcedonian body and another with that of the Antiochene side. The concluding chapter contains the author's findings regarding how the division in the Church took place, and a discussion of the relevance of a study in depth of this subject today, particularly in the Indian context.

CHAPTER ONE

EVENTS LEADING TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

1. *The Context*

The Christian Church began on the foundation of a faith centred in the person of Jesus Christ, which it tried to conserve in the life of the communities in various ways including the adoption of brief statements, later called creeds²³. Considering them to constitute its rule of faith, the Christian community in each place had one or another of these statements taught to candidates for baptism and recited in its regular worship. From very early times this rule of faith had been expounded by Christian preachers and apologists to their contemporaries. In doing this, they emphasized that Jesus Christ was the Son of God through whom men and women could have a direct access to God, and from the time the New Testament writings were in circulation they could point to them as apostolic transmissions in support of their exposition.

In clarifying the nature of the faith several attempts made during the second and third centuries were rejected by the Church. Among these, some referred the 'Son' to one intimately related in dependence on the eternal God ; some to God himself in his relation to the world of nature ; some to a man like us who had the spirit of God working pre-eminently in him; and some to a perfect creature whom God brought into being before everything else. While such ideas were being propagated by their respective promoters. there was a steady stream of men in the Church who criticized them and tried to expound the faith in more acceptable ways. These men bequeathed to later generations certain patterns of thinking which came to be regarded by the Church as its basis for fixing the correct doctrinal standard. These patterns of

thinking however were not unified, and from about the second century at least three broad traditions, one in Alexandria, another in Antioch, and a third in the west, began to emerge.

There had been attempts from early times to unify the patterns of Christian thinking also. The first of them which came out successful was the one made in the fourth century in the face of the teaching of Arius and his associates that the Son was essentially a creature. Through the council of Nicea in 325, supported by a series of able men like Athanasius of Alexandria and the Cappadocian theologians, the Church accepted officially the affirmation that the Son who became incarnate in Jesus Christ was eternally and fully God in the same way as the Father, or the Holy Spirit, is God eternally and fully, without contradicting the emphasis on divine unity. This confession was incorporated by the council in a creed with the expression that the Son was 'of the same substance with the Father'. In a slightly expanded form this creed gradually replaced all other creeds in the east, affirming that the Son has eternally and fully the same being as that of the Father. In the fourth century, then, the Church could agree officially on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, by including in a consubstantial relationship the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. However, in interpreting the doctrine, though the Alexandrine and the Antiochene traditions were more or less in agreement, they and the west did not follow the same pattern of thinking. Whereas the east adhered to the theological heritage of the Cappadocians, the west stood in the position maintained by Augustine. This divergence, however, did not cause any division between the east and the west, as it happened in regard to the doctrine of the person of Christ from the fifth century.

The position affirmed by the Nicene theologians in excluding Arianism answered only one side of the person of Christ. The other side referred to the question of how his life in the historical plane was to be understood. Acknowledging his personal unity, it was necessary to interpret his human reality without prejudice to his divine status. This important point had not been affirmed by the Alexandrine and the Antiochene leaders in the light of a uniform pattern in thinking. The west also had its own tradition in dealing with this point, but it could accommodate the Antiochene heritage much more easily than that of the

Alexandrines. All the three of them, however, would officially accept the Nicene creed.

2. *The Council of Ephesus in 431*

A. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

In the controversy between men of the Alexandrine and the Antiochene theological traditions the council of Ephesus offered a decisive victory for the former. This council did not offer any doctrinal definition, but condemned Nestorius of Constantinople on the ground that his teaching contradicted the Nicene affirmation of the faith that Jesus Christ was God the Son, eternal and 'of the same substance' with God the Father, who had become incarnate and made man from Mary the Virgin by the Holy Spirit.

The Nicene position had been interpreted by men of the Alexandrine school, as Aloys Grillmeier shows, by means of their 'Word-flesh' Christology²⁴. Apollinarius of Laodicea had tried to systematize it in his own way during the seventies of the fourth century. In his concern to safeguard the unity of the Redeemer in the light of the Nicene affirmation, he insisted that Christ was one *hypostasis*²⁵ and one *physis*, and that everything recorded about him had been performed by God the Word, or God the Son. In conformity with this line of thinking, Apollinarius denied the presence of the human rational principle in Christ's flesh. Judging this view as heretical, he was condemned by all parties. But the Alexandrines continued to hold to the terminology employed by him. They retained the phrases 'one nature' or *physis* and 'one *hypostasis*' as also the emphasis that the words and deeds of Christ were expressions of his one *hypostasis*.²⁶

The Antiochenes, on the other hand, did not accept the Alexandrine phraseology popularized by the Apollinarian school. Their's was the 'Word-man' Christology²⁷ which Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia who died in c. 428 had worked out. He did succeed in excluding Apollinarianism, but not in establishing Christ's unity satisfactorily.²⁸

Thus during the first quarter of the fifth century there were two types of Christological teaching in the east, claiming continuity with the Nicene faith and expressing their rejection of Apollinarianism. However, neither of them had a real knowledge of the other.²⁹ The Antiochenes, for instance, could easily confuse the tradition of the Alexandrines with Apollinarianism, and the latter could see only a doctrine of ‘two Sons’ in the former.

a. *The Clash between the two Types*

Nestorius, a man trained in the Antiochene ‘Word-man’ Christological tradition, was made patriarch of Constantinople on 10 April 428. A few months later, his chaplain Anastasius preached a sermon in which he criticized the use of the title *Theotokos* which many in the Church had applied to the Virgin from about the second century.³⁰ Now contrary to popular expectation, the patriarch himself supported the priest.

When the incident was reported to Cyril, patriarch of the Alexandrine see, he wrote first an introductory letter and then a more doctrinal epistle usually referred to as the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius.³¹ Cyril tried to convince the incumbent of the Byzantine see that the term *Theotokos* had a significant bearing on the faith of the Church. Cyril argues that the Nicene creed, the inviolable norm of orthodoxy, affirms that God the Son himself ‘came down, was incarnate, lived as man, suffered, rose the third day, and ascended into heaven’. God the Son was therefore the subject of Christ’s incarnate life. This does not mean, however, that God the Son changed into a man, but it affirms that ‘having united to himself in his own person flesh animated with a rational soul’, God the Son ‘became man, and was called the son of man’. By this union the natures of Godhead and manhood, which are different one from the other, converged into the one Lord Jesus Christ, into an indivisible unity. Since God the Son, who is eternal, united to himself *hypostatically*³² at the first moment of his conception in the womb of the Virgin, she brought forth God the Son incarnate. She was therefore *Theotokos* (one who brings forth God), and the title is central to a sound Christology.

Nestorius refused to be instructed and proceeded to accuse Cyril of teaching heresy, and this led to further alienation between the two men. Meanwhile, Nestorius' attack on *Theotokos* was brought to the attention of both Coelestine of Rome and John of Antioch. The former in a Roman synod decided the issue against Nestorius and the latter advised his friend to accept the term and bring the conflict to an end. But Nestorius was not willing to take the advice.

Now Cyril whose orthodoxy was called in question by the patriarch of the capital began to prepare himself for a serious encounter. Being assured of Rome's sympathies in his favour, he convened a council and drew up twelve anathemas for Nestorius to endorse, in default of which he was to be ex-communicated. An uncompromising statement of Alexandrine Word-flesh Christology, it further elaborated the ideas found in the second letter. The anathemas were sent to Nestorius with a covering letter, which is referred to as the Third Letter to Nestorius.³³ This document insists that the union of the natures was not only *hypostatic*, but also one of nature. The letter affirms that 'both the human sayings and the divine were spoken by one person.'³⁴ The same point is made in the fourth of the twelve anathemas. Thus Cyril accepted all the three ideas emphasized by Apollinarius, making it clear at the same time that Christ's manhood was endowed with a rational soul. Nestorius rejected this letter as well.

c. *The Condemnation of Nestorius*

Emperor Theodosius II convened a council to settle the dispute, and it had its first session on 22 June 431, several days after the originally appointed date. This delay was in consequence of the fact that John of Antioch and his suffragans did not succeed in arriving at Ephesus on time. However, the council was not postponed till they came, but it began without John and the Syrian delegation. The imperial commissioner Candidian protested and left the assembly.

The council was presided over by none other than Cyril himself, and there were about two hundred delegates attending its sessions. Soon the issue concerning Nestorius was taken up. As

he was not present, he was officially summoned, On his refusal to comply, the assembly examined the writings that had been exchanged between him and Cyril as well as other pieces of evidence, and passed its verdict condemning him on a charge of heresy. In clarifying the faith of the Church in the light of which the step had to be taken, the council declared Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius with acclamation and approved the Letter with the anathemas also as an accepted document.³⁵

On 26 June the Syrian delegation made their long expected arrival. Seeing that Nestorius had already been condemned and that the Alexandrine theology as reflected in the letters of Cyril had been declared orthodox, they were enraged and protested against the decision. They now held a counter-council with John as president and attended by forty-three delegates. This meeting adopted a resolution deposing Cyril, Memnon of Ephesus and all those who accepted the anathemas of Cyril.

Both sides now appealed to the emperor, each seeking his exclusive support. The issue became so tense that the council itself was dragged on till 11 September of the same year. Meanwhile the emperor gave orders deposing Cyril, Memnon and Nestorius. But shortly thereafter Cyril and Memnon were called back and Nestorius was sent to the monastery of Euprepus. In 435 he was exiled to Petra in Arabia, and then to the deserts of Egypt, where he died by about the year 449. In this way Nestorius an Antiochene theologian who held to the 'Word-man' Christology, was condemned, simply because he remained unflinchingly loyal to his understanding of the Syrian theological tradition. The ground of this action was Alexandrine orthodoxy.

d. The Reunion of 433

The removal of Nestorius did not solve the problem. Communion between the parties being now broken, the emperor himself exerted his influence to re-establish peace. His efforts produced the expected result and in 433 John of Antioch sent Paul of Emesa to Alexandria with a profession of faith,³⁶ which Cyril accepted and sent back to Antioch his famous letter, *Laetentur Caeli*.³⁷ This incorporated a passage from John's confession, stressing the unity of Christ's person and the unconfused continuance of Godhead and manhood in him. It said that 'our Lord

Jesus Christ' was at once 'true God and true man', that he was 'begotten of the Father before all time according to the Godhead' and 'of the Virgin at the end of days' according to manhood, and that he was consubstantial with God the Father and the same consubstantial with us.

The fact about the reunion should be noted. The Antiochenes had raised three main objections to the council of Ephesus, namely (1) that Cyril's theological position as reflected in his writings, particularly in the anathemas, was heretical; (2) that Nestorius was not a heretic and therefore his condemnation was unjustifiable; and (3) that the council of Ephesus which had declared the first orthodox and decided upon the second was a heretical gathering. Of these three objections, the first was indeed the most important, and the Antiochenes tried hard to make Cyril withdraw his writings, aiming very specially at the anathemas. But he, without ever yielding on this point, referred the Antiochenes to his own explanation of the anathemas³⁸ and showed that they did not contain any heretical idea. They were aimed at, he said, the keeping out of the foul heresy of Nestorius'. John and the Antiochenes of his way of thinking were satisfied, and Cyril, on his part, did not insist on a categorical acceptance of any of his writings as a condition for reunion. Thus, though the Antiochenes did not positively accept the anathemas, they agreed that the Cyril of the anathemas was orthodox. As to the second and the third objections, the Antiochenes subscribed to the condemnation of Nestorius and agreed to accept the council of 431 unconditionally.³⁹

John went beyond the Antiochene premises on a fourth point also. Theologians of the Syrian tradition had, at least from the days of Theodore of Mopsuestia, been maintaining that the Virgin was by nature only *anthropotokos* or *Christotokos*, who may be referred to as *Theotokos* because the man whom she bore was indwelt by God.⁴⁰ Now the Antiochene patriarch agreed to affirm that she was *Theotokos* without adding the other terms.⁴¹

In John's profession there was one sentence which was to have far-reaching consequences. 'And with regard to the evangelistic and apostolic sayings concerning the Lord', it said, 'we know that theologians make some common, as relating to one person and distinguish others, as relating to two natures, interpreting the

God-befitting ones to be of the Godhead of Christ, and the lowly ones of his humanity'. Intended obviously to mitigate the difficulty which the Antiochenes felt about the fourth anathema,⁴² the sentence does not in fact contradict the position of Cyril. For it affirms only that *theologians* distinguish matters pertaining to our Lord in three ways. A very guarded statement, it does not say that Christ existed in three centres of being and activity, but only that the words and deeds of Christ are possible to be differentiated in three ways. As we shall see, Cyril himself had worked out a theory which would grant this possibility. In his view, as we contemplate on Christ, we can in our minds recognize some words and deeds of Christ as divine and some as human. Thus a careful examination of the facts will show the legitimacy of the Alexandrine point of view that the Formulary of Reunion did not nullify any decision of the council of 431. But it helped men like John of Antioch who had difficulty with the anathemas to accept the council without too much strain on their conviction.

f. *The Two Positions each in a Nutshell*

God the Son, affirmed the Alexandrines, became incarnate from the Virgin by the Holy Spirit. In the incarnation he united to himself real and perfect manhood endowed with its own rational soul. In this way God the Son took upon himself an incarnate state, in which Godhead and manhood converged into one person, our Lord Jesus Christ. The two natures of Godhead and manhood became united in him, without either of them changing into the other or together forming a *tertium quid*. This one person spoke the words and performed the deeds recorded about Christ in the gospels. But when we contemplate on Christ, we shall be able to say about some of the words and deeds that they were divine and about the others that they were human. The strength of this position lay in its emphasis on Christ's unity.

The Alexandrines developed a number of terms in order to affirm their theological position. In the first place, they maintained that the union was 'of or from two natures', making it clear that the manhood came into being only in the union with God the Son, and that in the union it did not undergo any change or reduction. Secondly, the union was *hypostatic* and natural, emphasizing that the union was inward and real. By this they

sought to exclude the notion that Jesus of Nazareth was only a man who lived in an unbroken communion with God the Son. Thirdly, because the union was *hypostatic* and natural, Christ was one *hypostasis* and incarnate nature of God the Word. In neither case the 'one' meant a simple one, but it was composite.⁴³ The phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' was taken by the Alexandrines as a convenient linguistic tool to maintain their view of Christ's unity. Fourthly, Christ was at once perfect God and perfect man. As man, he was like any one of us with the single exception that he was absolutely sinless. But, insisted the Alexandrines, he should not be spoken of as 'two natures after the union', or that he existed 'in two natures'⁴⁴ because that would imply that the union was something external, so that Christ was only a person similar to one of the saints or prophets.

The Antiochenes, on the other hand, clearly maintained that Christ was 'two natures after the union' as a central idea in their Christology⁴⁵ At the same time they did not admit that Christ was only like a saint or a prophet. The Antiochenes also affirmed that there was a union of the natures, but they did not accept the Alexandrine interpretation of the union. Whereas the latter saw the union in *hypostasis*, the former saw it in *prosopon*.⁴⁶ The fact therefore is that following the conflict with Apollinarianism, the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides sought to develop a Christological position, each in its own way, and that the two sides did not agree in their interpretations.

3. *A State of Tension*

The reunion of 433 did not really succeed in bringing about unity between the two sides. As for the Antiochenes, they were not all in agreement on the question of a rapprochement. Although men like John of Antioch and Acacius of Beroea accepted the reunion and continued to remain loyal to the terms of agreement reached in 433, there were others on the Antiochene side who were unwilling to comply with the Antiochene patriarch. This latter group consisted of persons holding to two positions. On the one hand, there were the Cilicians who were opposed to Cyril and the reunion, and on the other there were persons like Theodoret of Cyrus who would not accept the condemnation of Nestorius. The

emperor now intervened and many of them yielded. Yet fifteen recalcitrants had to be deposed. In 435 Theodoret accepted the reunion, without condemning Nestorius. An able controversialist, the bishop of Cyrus played a significant role in the conflict following the reunion.

A. *The Reunion Interpreted Differently*

The tension between the two sides was aggravated by the fact that the reunion itself was not taken by them in an agreed sense. The Alexandrines, on their part, regarded it as an incident which led the Antiochenes to accept the council of 431 unconditionally. Cyril himself had taken it only in this sense, and he made that point clear to the men on his side who asked him about it.⁴⁷ This Cyrilline view, as we shall see later, was ably asserted by Severus of Antioch in the sixth century.⁴⁸ The Alexandrines could offer sufficient justification for this position. Did not the Antiochenes, for instance, agree to the concordat withdrawing all their three objections to the council of Ephesus? Did they not also communicate with Cyril of Alexandria without making him formally give up the anathemas'?

Though the legitimacy of this Alexandrine defense cannot be gainsaid, Theodoret of Cyrus and his supporters were not willing to grant it. The latter, on their part, proceeded on the assumption that the reunion of 433 had cancelled all decisions of the council of 431 which they did not positively endorse. Accordingly they exerted all their abilities to build up a strong Antiochene theology on the foundation of the Formulary of Reunion and to appoint men in key positions to propagate it. This they hoped to achieve by admitting the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius as a document of the faith, in addition to the Formulary itself. In so owning the second letter, the Antiochenes may well have interpreted the phrase *hypostatic union* which it contained as a synonym for *prosopic union*,⁴⁹ though Cyril had rejected this phrase in that letter. In their effort to develop their theology it was felt that they should declare Diodore of Tarsus⁵⁰ and Theodore of Mopsuestia as their theological masters. Their works were published and even a defense of the men was brought out by Theodoret himself. As soon as this was produced, it was refuted by Cyril. The Antiochenes did also raise men in important sees from among their supporters. Ibas of Edessa was

one such person, and he was made bishop of Edessa in 435. The Antiochene side also could offer a justification for their activities. They could argue, for instance, that they were unable to make sense of the Alexandrine phrases like *hypostatic union*, *one hypostasis*, and *one incarnate nature of God the Word*, except to see in them an Apollinarian meaning, and that they had not accepted the anathemas of Cyril.

It was indeed natural for men like Theodoret to develop their theological heritage excluding the heterodoxy levelled against it. However, in so doing, the Antiochenes should have shown more appreciation for the Alexandrine tradition than they actually did, as they had agreed to communicate with Cyril and his associates. The Antiochenes were therefore more to be blamed for the tension than their opponents. The Alexandrines, on their part, continued to hold their own.

B. *Change of Leadership*

So long as Cyril and John were alive, there was peace between the two sides, at least on the surface. But John died in 442. Schwartz notes that he tried to establish a dynasty by appointing Domnus, his nephew, as his successor. ‘A characterless weakling’, as Schwartz describes him,⁵¹ Domnus was completely under the control of Theodoret who, every inch of him, was anti-Alexandrine and anti-Cyrrilline.⁵² Now, when the see of Antioch and the patriarch came within the sphere of his influence, Theodoret saw to it that only Antiochene partisans could find recognition in the orient. Among the many such instances, the appointment of count Irenaeus, a strong supporter of Nestorius from 431, to the see of Tyre deserves mention. Not being satisfied, Theodoret published in 447 his *Eranistes*, a book intended to distort and ridicule the teaching of the Alexandrine fathers. His activities aroused so much of opposition that on 18 April 448 an imperial edict was published in Antioch, proscribing Nestorius, his writings, and his supporters, and Theodoret himself was ordered to remain confined to his see of Cyrus. Another important figure who played a significant part in this tragic drama of ecclesiastical history was Ibas of Edessa, whose policy also aroused a great deal of reaction and he had to face strong opposition. In all these developments Dioscorus of Alexandria may well have had a hand. Having succeeded to the

Egyptian see in 444 after the death of Cyril, he had to play a delicate role. Schwartz's treatment of Dioscorus' activities before 448 contains three points.⁵³ In the first place, he endeavoured to build up a powerful Alexandrine orthodoxy on the basis of the Nicene creed as confirmed by the council of 431. Taking the reunion as a tool, he held to the anathemas and to the formula of 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'. Secondly, in this effort, he tried to remove all opposition by whatever means available to him. Thirdly, following his predecessors Theophilus and Cyril, he tried to dominate first the see of Antioch and then even the see of Constantinople.

Of these three points, the first should be underlined Dioscorus had inherited a theological tradition, and like the Antiochenes and pope Leo himself he engaged himself in promoting it. We may deplore the fact that everyone of these men was able to see only his tradition. The second point noted by Schwartz about Dioscorus was also true of almost all ecclesiastical leaders in those ancient times. But the third, point is the result of an oversimplification of facts. To say that in opposing the efforts of the Antiochene side to discredit the Alexandrine theological tradition, which for him was *the* faith of the Church, Dioscorus was led by a desire to dominate the see of Antioch or that of Constantinople is not borne out by available evidence.⁵⁴

4. *The Home Synod of Constantinople in 448*

It is against the background of the foregoing clash of ideas in the east that the home synod of Constantinople condemned Eutyches as a heretic.

A. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

The fact that Eutyches was not a theologian of any standing but only a reasonably intelligent old monk who had a hold in some of the monastic circles in the capital has been admitted by scholars, though its implications are seldom drawn by them. A friend of Cyril, he claimed to have received from the great Alexandrine theologian a copy of the decisions of the council of Ephesus in 431 and to have cherished it ever since.⁵⁵ He was an indefatigable supporter of the Alexandrine cause at the capital.⁵⁶ As the abbot of the monastery of Job in the seventh quarter of

the city, he had directed more than three hundred monks for over thirty years.⁵⁷ Through his godson and nephew Chrysaphius, the grand chamberlain of the emperor, he had direct access to the court. At a time when the ecclesiastical atmosphere in the east had been vitiated by the rivalry between the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides, Eutyches's undue zeal for the former may well have elicited opposition from the latter, and thus added to further tension.

The question how and why Eutyches was condemned is discussed below. In the present context it should be noted that in the light of the opinion that Eutyches was not in fact a heretic,⁵⁸ our evaluation of Flavian, the president of the home synod, and of Eusebius of Dorylaeum, his accuser, who left no stone unturned till his adversary was finally crushed by the council of Chalcedon, has to be modified.

With special reference to Flavian, it may be noted that he eludes classification. He certainly was not a bad character. In fact, he was drawn into the conflict by Eusebius much against his will. In theology, if the confession of faith which he submitted to the emperor after the home synod represented his real position, no Alexandrine theologian would have any quarrel with him.⁵⁹ For he maintains there not only the 'from two natures' and 'one *hypostasis*' of the Alexandrines, but also their 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'.

Eusebius of Dorylaeum, on the other hand, has not left behind him any recorded statement of faith, if he was the man who, as a layman, had challenged Nestorius in 428, he could not have been an Antiochene fanatic. Moreover, at a crucial moment in the council of Chalcedon he sided with the eastern delegates in clamouring for the adoption of the phrase acceptable to Dioscorus in the council's formula.⁶⁰ A teacher of rhetoric and a lawyer in Constantinople between the years 428 and 431, Eusebius was an experienced fighter and an unscrupulous controversialist. In the words of Jalland, this bishop of Dorylaeum was 'possessed of most of the qualities of which religious fanatics and persecutors are made',⁶¹ and Duchesne describes him as 'a man of litigious and headstrong temper'.⁶²

As bishop of Dorylaeum within the patriarchal diocese of Constantinople, Eusebius used to visit the capital on matters

relating to the church. On such occasions he had opportunities of meeting Eutyches and even of engaging himself in theological disputations with the old monk.⁶³

B. *Eutyches Accused by Eusebius of Dorylaeum*

Most disastrous events in history have simple beginnings. This is very true of the controversy which led to the council of Chalcedon and the subsequent divisions of the eastern Church. It began in a theological debate between a bishop who was a ruthless disputant and an old monk who could exert great influence at the court of Theodosius II but who could not be relied on for any consistent theological discussion.

On 8 November 448, while patriarch Flavian of Constantinople was seated in the drawing room of his episcopal residence for his usual home synod, Eusebius of Dorylaeum presented a *libel* against Eutyches, accusing him of holding and disseminating ideas contrary to the faith of the fathers of Nicea and Ephesus, and demanded that the monk be called for his self-defence.⁶⁴ Rather surprised at this unexpected accusation, the patriarch advised the bishop to meet the monk privately and settle the dispute between them. Eusebius, however, persisted and the other bishops suggested that the petition be accepted and a deputation consisting of presbyter John and deacon Andrew be sent to summon Eutyches.

Thus begun, the home synod had its several sittings from 8 to 22 November. Altogether thirty-two bishops took part in the proceedings, which belonged to two periods. In the first the monk was asked to appear before the synod and defend himself. As he refused to obey, he was summoned three times.⁶⁵ In the second period he made his presence at the seventh sitting of the synod, accompanied by ‘a formidable military escort, at the head of which was the patrician Florentius as the official representative of the emperor.’⁶⁶ On this occasion his trial formally began.

The synod had its first session on 12 November, and the bishops held a long discussion to clarify the nature of the faith which should be assumed as a basis for deciding the case of Eutyches. Cyril’s Second Letter to Nestorius and the Formulary of Reunion

were read, and the synod affirmed that the councils of Nicea and Ephesus, particularly Cyril of Alexandria, had conserved the faith, and that the synod should hold loyally to it.⁶⁷ After thus deciding upon the doctrinal standard, the synod had its next meeting on 15 November.⁶⁸ Presbyter John and deacon Andrew were asked to report on their interview with Eutyches. The monk, said John, denied all charges of heresy; considered Eusebius an old enemy; expressed his acceptance of Nicea and Ephesus; affirmed that ‘after the incarnation of God the Word, namely after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, he worshipped one nature, and that of God incarnate and made man’,⁶⁹ laughed at the accusation that for him the flesh of our Lord had come down from heaven; did not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ was *hypostatically* united from two natures, on the ground that this was not taught by the fathers; admitted that he was perfect God and perfect man: but insisted that the flesh taken from Mary was not consubstantial with us. According to this report, Eutyches accepted the faith of Nicea as interpreted by the council of Ephesus. This is the position which the synod also claimed to hold. But Eutyches was on the Alexandrine side, so he affirmed that Christ was one incarnate nature of God the Word. The report, however, read into him two ideas, namely that he rejected a union of two natures and that he refused to admit that Christ was consubstantial with us. The first of these is opposed to fact, because Eutyches always affirmed a union of two natures, but the second is based on evidence and Eutyches agreed to accept it only after some hesitation.

On the same day a second summons was sent through two presbyters, Mamas and Theophilus.⁷⁰ They came back reporting that Eutyches excused himself from complying on the ground that he was sick and that he had made a vow not to leave the monastery. The synod sent a third summons through presbyters Memnon and Epiphanius and deacon Germanos, and met again on 16 November.⁷¹ Archimandrite Abraham, accompanied by three deacons, came and reported that Eutyches was indeed sick, and that he had sent Abraham to answer on his behalf the charges made against him. This could not be allowed, and Eutyches himself tried unsuccessfully to send a written confession of the faith through the delegates. After a recess, the synod met on 20th November, Presbyter Theophilus made some remarks on this occasion, based apparently on his interview with

the monk. 'In which scriptures', asked Eutyches, 'is the expression "two natures" to be found?'⁷² Eutyches admitted, testified Theophilus, that Christ was perfect God and perfect man. At the same time he refused to affirm two natures or to argue about the nature of God.⁷³

c. *The Trial of Eutyches*

It was on the same day, at a later sitting, that Eutyches made his appearance⁷⁴ and his trial took place. In the presence of patrician Florentius the synod reviewed the proceedings till then taken.⁷⁵ From these minutes the Formulary of Reunion was read. It came to the passage quoted by Cyril from the letter of John of Antioch, affirming Christ's consubstantiality with us.⁷⁶ Eusebius intervened and exclaimed, 'This is what this man here does not confess.'⁷⁷ Now Florentius asked Eutyches what his position was,⁷⁸ and Eusebius came forward saying that the charge could be proved from the words of the deputies as well as from the testimonies of witnesses.⁷⁹ However, Flavian questioned Eutyches whether he confessed a union of two natures. 'Yes', answered the monk, 'of two natures'.⁸⁰ Eusebius now put the question more precisely. 'Do you confess, lord archimandrite, two natures after the humanization, and do you say that Christ is consubstantial with us according to flesh, yes or no?'⁸¹ Commenting that he had not come to argue on the subject of the faith,⁸² but only to make his own position clear, he held forth a paper, saying that it contained his confession and requested that it be read. But the document was neither received nor read.⁸³

The way in which the confession of Eutyches was ignored by those who judged him to be a heretic deserves our attention. When it was shown forth, Flavian asked him to read it himself, if he wanted. The monk answered that he would not do that. Now Flavian queried whether it was his own confession. Answering that it was, Eutyches added that it contained the faith of the fathers, implying that it included the creed of Nicea. Remarking, 'Which fathers?' Flavian answered that there was no need for any written statement. In this way the confession of Eutyches was omitted by the home synod. After his condemnation, Eutyches stated in his appeal to pope Leo that he had presented a

profession of faith along with a writ of appeal to the synod, and complained that it had not been received from him.⁸⁴ While mentioning this complaint in his letter to Flavian, Leo said nothing about the monk's confession of faith, but only that he had presented an appeal which the synod ignored.⁸⁵ In his reply to Leo, Flavian denied that Eutyches presented any appeal. Thus the confession of Eutyches came to be ignored.

As to the confession itself, Schwartz has shown that it must be the same as the one which Eutyches had tried to send to the synod through the deputies as also the one which he had circulated in the monasteries for signature. We may add that it was included in the appeal to both Leo of Rome and the second council of Ephesus. Schwartz offers an explanation in answer to the question why the synod did not accept it. Flavian and Eusebius, he says, may have guessed that the confession registered the monk's acceptance of the creed of Nicea, so that the admission of the document would of necessity require of the synod a decision as to whether it was orthodox. In the historical context of the synod a decision in favour of its orthodoxy could not be made. An opposite decision would lead to tragic consequences, which Flavian wanted to avoid. So the document was not accepted in order not to pronounce a judgment concerning the orthodoxy or otherwise of Eutyches' confession. This explanation may be considered plausible, though we may add that the admitting of the confession would have forced the synod to clarify whether it endorsed the Alexandrine or the Antiochene view of the reunion of 433, and Flavian thought it judicious not to take that up.

As his confession was not accepted, Eutyches made an oral statement.⁸⁶ 'Thus I believe', he said. 'I worship the Father with the Son, and the Son with the Father, and the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. Concerning his coming in the flesh, I confess that it happened from the flesh of the Virgin, and that he became man perfectly for our salvation. Thus I confess in the presence of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and of your holiness.'

The question of Eusebius contained two parts, namely whether the old monk confessed 'two natures after the union', and whether he affirmed that Christ was consubstantial with us. The

second part of the question was now pressed⁸⁷, and Eutyches tried to evade it. ‘Till this day’, he said, ‘I have not spoken of the body of our Lord that it was of the same substance with us. But I confess that the Virgin was consubstantial with us, and that our God became incarnate from her.’⁸⁸ Basil of Seleucia commented that if the mother was consubstantial with us, he himself, being called the Son of Man, must be consubstantial with us.⁸⁹ ‘As you now say’, said Eutyches, ‘I agree in everything’⁹⁰ When Florentius also made the same point, Eutyches gave his reason for hesitating to affirm Christ’s consubstantiality with us. ‘I considered (the body of Christ) to be the body of God’, he said. ‘I did not say that the body of God was the body of man. The body was human, and the Lord became incarnate from the Virgin. But since it was from the Virgin, if it would be permissible to say that it was consubstantial with us, I say it—except that he was God the Only Son, Lord of heaven and earth, who is master and king with the Father, and who is seated and praised with him. For I do not deny that the Son was indeed consubstantial with God. I did not say this previously. I say this now, because your holiness says it.’⁹¹ Flavian asked whether he was admitting it out of persuasion or out of a conviction that it was the truth.⁹² ‘Till this hour’, answered Eutyches, ‘I was afraid to say this, because I know him to be my God, and because I have not dared to investigate his nature. Now that your holiness permits it, I say this.’⁹³ Flavian reminded him that it was not any new idea but the teaching of the fathers. In this context Florentius asked Eutyches whether he affirmed Christ’s consubstantiality with us and that he was ‘of two natures after the union.’⁹⁴ It is in answer to this unexpected question of the imperial officer that Eutyches made the famous statement ‘I confess that our Lord was from two natures before the union, but after the union I confess one nature.’⁹⁵

The discussion around the phrase ‘consubstantial with us’ shows that Eutyches was reluctant to use it, not because he denied the reality and perfection of Christ’s manhood, nor because he refused to admit his real birth from Mary, but because Christ for him was God incarnate. The manhood which God the Son assumed in the incarnation was not the manhood of a *man*, but of God the Son who accepted on himself an incarnate state. In other words, Eutyches was trying in his own way to exclude a doctrine of two Sons, which he feared was implicit in the phrase. Even

though as an old monk with inadequate theological training in theology, he was not able to spell out this idea properly, he may well have been groping to give expression to it. If indeed he was, he was concerned with affirming a position which was central to the teaching of both Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian traditions.⁹⁶

In any case, the synod demanded that he 'ought to confess clearly the dogmas now read and to anathematize all who hold contrary views.'⁹⁷ 'But I have not found them clearly in the scriptures', said the old monk, 'nor have the fathers said all these things. So, if I anathematize, woe unto me that I condemn my fathers.'⁹⁸ 'Let him be anathema', cried the synod. Flavian, however, hesitated and Eutyches made it clear that he would not pronounce any anathema. At this juncture Florentius insisted that Eutyches should affirm 'two natures' and 'consubstantial with us.'⁹⁹ Now the monk answered: 'I have read the blessed Cyril, the holy fathers and the holy Athanasius. They speak of "from two natures" as referring to the before of the union. As for after the union and the incarnation, they no longer affirm two natures but one.'¹⁰⁰ Basil of Seleucia said that if he did not admit two natures, he would be maintaining confusion and mixtures;¹⁰¹ and Florentius gave his ruling that he who did not affirm 'from two natures' and 'two natures' did not have the orthodox faith.¹⁰² The synod now stood up and said: 'That which comes from persuasion is not faith. Many years to the emperors! To the orthodox emperors, many years! This faith of yours will triumph for ever, He who does not conform, why should he be persuaded?'¹⁰³ As president of the synod, Flavian gave the verdict that Eutyches was a follower of Valentinus and Apollinarius.¹⁰⁴ Thirty bishops and twenty-three archimandrites gave their signatures to the decree.¹⁰⁵

D. *The Theological Basis of the Home Synod*

In adopting its decision concerning Eutyches, the synod assumed a theological position to be exclusively orthodox. While clarifying it at the beginning of the synod, the faith of Nicea was repeatedly mentioned, though the creed itself was not read. The synod made no reference to the council of Constantinople in 381 or to the creed ascribed to it.¹⁰⁶ But the synod noted many times

the council of Ephesus and Cyril of Alexandria, and the Second Letter of the letter to Nestorius as well as the Formulary of Reunion alone were read. No mention was made of the Letter with the anathemas nor of the anathemas themselves. This shows that, in spite of the repeated reference to the council of Ephesus and to the teaching of Cyril, the synod accepted only the Antiochene view of the reunion of 433. It is this very position that the Alexandrines had all along been resisting with great determination.

To add to this was the demand of the synod that Eutyches should affirm 'two natures after the union'. This phrase had not so far been sanctioned by the Church. However, Eutyches was asked to accept the phrase and to condemn all who would not endorse it. In other words, the standpoint adopted by the synod was that the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion should be accepted by all. This may in all probability have been the basis on which Eutyches agreed to subscribe to the phrase provided the bishops of Rome and Alexandria would require him to do it.¹⁰⁷ Eutyches, as we have seen, hesitated about the affirmation of Christ's consubstantiality with us. This idea was there in the Formulary of Reunion, so that in expressing reservation about it the monk may well have shown his unwillingness to endorse the document.¹⁰⁸ The home synod, on the other hand, regarded the Formulary of Reunion as a document of great authority. The theological basis of the home synod, then, was the position worked out by the Antiochene side following the reunion of 433.

E. *Reaction to the Condemnation of Eutyches*

The condemnation of Eutyches produced a very tense situation in Constantinople. He had a considerable following among the monastic circles, and Flavian had to excommunicate their leaders.¹⁰⁹ On the side of Flavian also there were monks under the leadership of Faustus.¹¹⁰ The court of Theodosius II favoured Eutyches, so that Flavian was put in a most embarrassing situation.

Eutyches himself was convinced that, not only had he been unjustly condemned, but also that the theological basis of the home synod was opposed to the established norm of orthodoxy. So before the synod was adjourned, he told the bishops that he

had sent his appeal to the synods of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Thessalonica.¹¹¹ However, he did not wait for the decisions of these synods, but lodged a complaint to the emperor saying that the minutes of the home synod had been falsified.

The appeal of Eutyches to the emperor produced favourable results, and this could be expected with the help of the grand chamberlain. In the first place, the emperor ordered that an official enquiry into the minutes of the synod to see whether they had been falsified be held on 13 April 449 and an investigation to determine whether Flavian had dictated the sentence against the monk even before the final session of the synod in which it was pronounced be conducted on 27th April.¹¹² Further, on 27th April Theodosius required of Flavian to submit a confession of the faith and vindicate his orthodoxy.¹¹³ The patriarch did this, and it was the statement produced thus that elicited sympathy for him at the council of Chalcedon from a considerable section of the delegates.¹¹⁴ Secondly, the emperor responded to the appeal of Eutyches in yet another way. On 30th March, even before the enquiries were made, he wrote to Dioscorus of Alexandria summoning him to a council to be held on 1st August at Ephesus, with ten metropolitans and ten bishops.¹¹⁵ As Honigman remarks,¹¹⁶ similar letters must have been despatched to all metropolitans in the empire. Faced with this delicate situation, Flavian expressed his willingness to resign, but the emperor would not let that happen.¹¹⁷

The response of Rome to the appeal¹¹⁸ of the monk was different. Leo of Rome wrote to Flavian asking for the minutes of the synod.¹¹⁹ Flavian's reply was delayed.¹²⁰ When, however, it reached him, Leo prepared his doctrinal letter, the *Tome*,¹²¹ and sent it to Constantinople on 13 June 449. Anticipating opposition, as it were, the pope despatched five letters along with the *Tome* in order to canvass support from persons of importance in the capital. Jalland remarks that none of these letters reached their respective destinations.¹²² In any case, Leo's plan was not to work for the reconciliation of the parties, but to offer a theological statement for the east to accept, irrespective of its past tradition.¹²³ Accordingly, on receiving the emperor's letter of invitation to the council, he wrote back saying that the issue being quite clear there was no need for a council, but that he was

nominating Julius of Puteoli, presbyter Renatus and deacon Hilary as his delegates simply to satisfy the emperor.¹²⁴ Of these three men, Julius and Hilary alone reached Ephesus; Renatus died on his way to the council on the island of Delos.

These were days of anxiety for everyone involved in the dispute. No one was in fact sure of a final victory for his cause. Like Leo who wrote to persons of importance to ensure support, Eutyches himself despatched letters. One such was addressed to Peter of Ravenna, who advised the monk to accept the teaching of the bishop of Rome and be satisfied with it. He was not, however, willing to abide by the advice.

5. *The Second Council of Ephesus in 449*

Emperor Theodosius II who convened the council asked Dioscorus of Alexandria to exercise supreme authority over it as president¹²⁵ and required of Juvenal of Jerusalem and Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia to be co-presidents with him.¹²⁶ An imperial mandate was sent to Dioscorus asking him to permit Barsumas, an archimandrite from Syria on the Alexandrine side, to participate in the council¹²⁷ and Barsumas was also notified to this effect by a special missive.¹²⁸ The emperor gave instruction to Elpidius and Eulogius to attend the council as imperial commissioners, and wrote to proconsul Proclus of Asia¹²⁹ to release them for the job. Finally an imperial letter was sent to the council itself.¹³⁰ In this way all plans for holding a council to settle the issue raised by the condemnation of Eutyches were made by the emperor himself.

While all this was going on, there was another force at work in the Church which Theodosius may not have discerned. About seven weeks before the council met at Ephesus, Leo of Rome had sent his *Tome* to Constantinople where it had been well received by Flavian and the party opposed to Eutyches. At a time when Rome was well on its way to develop a theory of the papacy as the supreme authority over the Church as a whole,¹³¹ the *Tome* was intended by Leo to offer the final and infallible teaching of the Church on the person of Christ.¹³² Thus the document was not meant merely as a sound statement of the faith, but also as the only possible expression of the Christian

understanding of Christ's person, coming as it did from none other than Apostle Peter himself.¹³³ Leo put this idea in a very subtle way in the *Tome* and more explicitly in his letter to the second council of Ephesus.¹³⁴ In the *Tome* he referred to the confession of Apostle Peter at Caesarea Philipi and said that because of this confession our Lord called him blessed.¹³⁵ In his letter to the council of 449 he made the point that the emperor was concerned to consult the apostolic see to let Peter himself declare what he meant by his confession.¹³⁶ Thus the role which the *Tome* was intended to play was a dialectical one. On the one hand, it was presented as a statement of the faith for the advantage of the Church, but on the other and more significantly it was offered as a document with Petrine authority.

Dioscorus of Alexandria had a double role to play. In the first place, he was the nominee of the emperor with special instruction to investigate the condemnation of Eutyches in the light of the Nicene faith as ratified by the council of Ephesus. Secondly, he had his own theological conviction, derived from the Alexandrine tradition in which he had been brought up. Thus in regard to the conflict between the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides with reference to the reunion of 433, he was opposed to the latter, and on this issue there was agreement between him and the emperor. This fact needs to be underlined, particularly in the face of the view that Dioscorus was taking advantage of the support which Eutyches had of his nephew and godson Chrysaphius to dominate first the see of Antioch and then of Constantinople. In his essay on 'Le role de Saint Pulcheri et de l'unique Chrysaphios' Paul Goubert offers an expression to it in recent times.¹³⁷ However, the cogency of this view depends upon the prior assumption that Eutyches was in fact a confirmed heretic, and that there was no issue behind the position held by Dioscorus.

Both these points deserve serious attention. In the present context we may note that these assumptions have been shown to be untenable, at least in an unqualified sense, first by Thomas Camelot and the second by Paul Galtier. According to Thomas Camelot, Eutyches was not a heretic, and Paul Galtier shows that Cyril of Alexandria had never admitted 'two natures after the union' or its cognate 'in two natures'. Galtier argues that it was because of his fear of Nestorianism. If then, Eutyches was not a

heretic and if Cyril had avoided the ‘two natures after the union’ out of a fear of Nestorianism, our evaluation of the theology of Cyril’s immediate successor should show far greater sympathy, if not appreciation, than we have shown.

As for the second council of Ephesus, two of its decisions and its omission of the *Tome of Leo* have been declared great errors. Without attempting a detailed history of the council, we shall look into these three points. Before this is done, it is necessary to make it clear that our interest here is not to defend Dioscorus or his supporters. We believe that the evidence we have is sufficient to insist that the leading men at the council of 449 were persons who were in no way better or worse than Leo of Rome or Theodoret of Cyrus, not to mention others.

B. *The Rehabilitation of Eutyches*

Attended by about a hundred and fifty bishops,¹³⁸ the second council of Ephesus had its first session on 8 August 449. As the chief presiding officer and the patriarch of Alexandria, Dioscorus occupied the first place. After him in order were Julius of Puteoli representing the see of Rome, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch and Flavian of Constantinople.¹³⁹

Soon after the assembly was called to order, the various mandates issued by emperor Theodosius II in summoning the council were read. Following this formality, the council addressed itself to clarifying the faith. Thalassius opened the subject¹⁴⁰ and Julius, the Roman legate, expressed his agreement. Now Elpidius gave the direction that the faith should be confirmed first and then the minutes of the synod of Constantinople be read, in order to see whether the condemnation of Eutyches could be justified in its light. Dioscorus stated that the emperor had called together the council, not to define the faith because that had already been done by the fathers, but to examine what had arisen to see whether it tallied with the faith of the fathers, ‘Or do you desire’, he asked, to set aside the faith of the fathers?’¹⁴¹ ‘If anyone sets it aside’, cried the council, ‘let him be anathema. If anyone meddles with it, let him be anathema. We will keep the faith of the fathers’, Dioscorus now said that he was referring to the creed of Nicea as confirmed by Ephesus, and the council

responded, 'This saves the world. This confirms the faith'.¹⁴² 'Though two synods are named', added Dioscorus, 'they affirm the same faith'. 'The fathers have defined everything in perfection', replied the council; 'he who violates it, let him be anathema'.¹⁴³ When Dioscorus pointed out that on no account should the Nicene faith be violated, the council responded, 'To the great guardian of the faith, archbishop Dioscorus!' Quoting I Samuel 2: 25, Dioscorus said that the Holy Spirit was with the fathers, so that he who trespassed against the faith was disregarding his grace. 'We all say this', cried the assembly; 'he who trespasses, let him be cast out'. 'No one makes a new formula', said Dioscorus. 'These are the words of the Holy Spirit', answered the council; 'to the guardian of the canons! Through you the fathers live. To the guardian of the faith!'¹⁴⁴ This whole exercise had apparently the purpose of impressing on the members of the council that the Antiochene side was ignoring the council of 431, so that these exclamations had a polemical ring about them.

When the faith was clarified in this way, Elpidius suggested that Eutyches be called in.¹⁴⁵ As he came in, Juvenal and Thalassius assured him that justice would be done in his case.¹⁴⁶ Now Eutyches submitted his appeal to the council, and on the motion of Stephen of Ephesus¹⁴⁷ it was accepted and read to the assembly.¹⁴⁸ After an introduction, the appeal incorporated the creed of Nicea, and went on to affirm that the petitioner held it, having been baptized in, and having kept, it till that day. This faith, Eutyches stated, had been confirmed by the council of Ephesus, a copy of whose decisions had been sent him by Cyril. He accepted all the fathers, including those present at the council, and anathematized all heretics, Manes, Valentinus, Apollinarius, Nestorius and others back to Simon Magus, and particularly those who say that the flesh of our Lord and God Jesus Christ had come down from heaven.¹⁴⁹ Then he gave an account of his condemnation at Constantinople, and concluded by expressing his loyalty to the creed of Nicea as confirmed by the council of Ephesus in 431.¹⁵⁰ implying the Alexandrine view of the reunion of 433.

The appeal of Eutyches, as it is referred to here, is from the minutes of Ephesus in 449 as they were presented to the council of Chalcedon. This does not contain two crucial sentences

included by Eutyches in his confession, which he appended to his appeal sent to Leo of Rome after the home synod.¹⁵¹ There the sentences follow immediately after his statement rejecting those who say ‘that the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ had come down from heaven’. The question then how these sentences happened to be left out at Chalcedon is of some importance. It is impossible that Eutyches would have left them out himself from his appeal submitted to the council of 449. Moreover, one of the arguments of Severus of Antioch who considered Eutyches a heretic, in defending his exoneration by the council of 449, is that the old monk had presented a confession of faith which was thoroughly unblamable. Severus even refers to the two sentences, although they are missing in his writing as it has come down to us.¹⁵² We have in fact a clear basis in the minutes of Chalcedon to answer the question. In 451, when the reading of Eutyches’ confession came to where he expressed his rejection of those who say ‘that the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ had come down from heaven’, Eusebius of Dorylaeum his accuser who must have seen the document, commented that Eutyches ‘avoided the “from heaven”, but did not specify from where.’¹⁵³ It is in fact this very point which Eutyches answered most clearly in the two sentences that followed. But Eusebius made the comment at the right moment and engendered a debate,¹⁵⁴ after which, when the reading was resumed, it went on to say simply that Eutyches was holding to the creed of Nicea and that Eusebius of Dorylaeum accused him before Flavian.¹⁵⁵ In the face of these facts we cannot avoid the conclusion that since the two sentences contained an orthodox answer to the charge of Eusebius, they were deliberately left out at a council which, from the beginning, had proceeded on the assumption that Eutyches was a real heretic.¹⁵⁶ The two sentences were ‘For he who is the Word of God came down from heaven without flesh and was made flesh from the very flesh of the Virgin unchangeably and inconvertibly, in a way he himself knew and willed. And he who is always perfect God before the ages was also made perfect man in the end of days for us and for our salvation’.

Even apart from these sentences, as we have seen, the monk had made it clear that for him the body of our Lord had been taken from the Virgin in reality and perfection. The importance of these sentences should be seen from another angle. The first of them is indeed a successful effort to conserve the Nicene

affirmation of the incarnation, and the second contains the idea underlying the emphasis on Christ's consubstantiality with us.

At Ephesus, when the reading of Eutyches' appeal was over, Flavian requested that as the accuser of Eutyches, Eusebius of Dorylaeum should be heard.¹⁵⁷ It was Elpidius the imperial commissioner who answered the point by saying that as one of the judges of Eutyches Eusebius had already expressed his view in the matter, and that therefore the question to be examined by the council was only whether the verdict was right or wrong.¹⁵⁸ Thus asserting the appellate status of the council, Elpidius required the minutes of the home synod to be read. However, Dioscorus asked the delegates to signify whether the ruling of the state officer was acceptable to them. Eighteen bishops, including Juvenal of Jerusalem, Stephen of Ephesus, Thalassius of Caesarea, Diogenes of Cyzieum in this order—spoke in favour of this course of action,¹⁵⁹ and the assembly exclaimed, 'We all want the minutes to be read.'¹⁶⁰ In this context Dioscorus asked the Roman legates specially to express their view in the matter. Now Julius spoke agreeing to the procedure, on condition that the letters of pope Leo were read first.¹⁶¹ Hilary also asked for a reading of the letter of the pope. On this occasion Eutyches complained that the Roman legates were on the side of Flavian in opposition to him, and that he did not expect justice from them.¹⁶² In that context Dioscorus gave the ruling that the minutes of the home synod should be presented to the council first and then the letter of Leo be read.¹⁶³

The council listened to all the minutes. In the end Dioscorus asked the assembly to signify its judgment concerning Eutyches.¹⁶⁴ Now Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch, Stephen of Ephesus, Thalassius of Caesarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Diogenes of Cyzicum, and five others spoke acknowledging the orthodoxy of Eutyches. Including them, one hundred and eleven men voted in favour of acquitting the old monk.¹⁶⁵ No dissentient voice was expressed on the issue, Soon after the council voted for the rehabilitation of Eutyches, the clergy and monks of the monasteries in sympathy with him presented a petition to the council appealing that they also be exonerated against a condemnation pronounced by Flavian.¹⁶⁶ On receiving their promise that they would remain loyal to the Nicene faith as confirmed by the council of 431, and after an

expression of opinion by Domnus of Antioch, Thalassius of Caesarea, Eusebius of Ancyra and Stephen of Ephesus, as well as the acclamation of the assembly, they were absolved.¹⁶⁷

C. *Condemnation of Flavian, Eusebius and Others*

The council of 449 took up the case of Flavian and Eusebius in the context of a reading of the minutes of the council of 431 dealing with the condemnation of Nestorius.¹⁶⁸ After the reading, Dioscorus remarked that this was the way in which the fathers had confirmed the faith of Nicea, and asked the assembly to indicate its mind regarding the faith.¹⁶⁹ Beginning with Thalassius, sixteen men including the Roman legates Julius and Hilary, spoke expressing their agreement,¹⁷⁰ and the council indicated that all present accepted.¹⁷¹ In this context Dioscorus commented that Flavian and Eusebius had contradicted this faith and asked the assembly to signify individually the opinion of the delegates regarding them.¹⁷² In spite of protests shouted by both Flavian and Hilary,¹⁷³ Juvenal, Domnus, Thalassius, Eusebius of Ancyra and Stephen of Ephesus spoke declaring them to have trespassed against the faith of Nicea.¹⁷⁴ Following them, eighty-nine others supported the verdict by their individual expression of views.¹⁷⁵

In this way the council of 449 rehabilitated Eutyches and condemned Flavian and Eusebius. Without defending this action, we have to raise the question of the basis on which it was adopted by the council. In fact, as we shall see, at Chalcedon the bishop of Dorylaeum asserted that the second council of Ephesus had assumed the heresy of Eutyches as orthodoxy, and condemned him and Flavian. The view expressed by Eusebius has been repeatedly maintained by many in Christian history. However, the fact, as we can see clearly in this story, is that the council of 449 ratified the theological position which the council of 431 had adopted as its basis for condemning Nestorius, and in its light decided to acquit Eutyches on the one hand and to excommunicate Flavian and Eusebius on the other. In other words, the council of 449 asserted the Alexandrine view of the reunion of 433 as against the Antiochene interpretation which the synod of 448 had owned.

Aloys Grillmeier is of the opinion that the council of 449 erred in exonerating Eutyches because he had not maintained the Cyrilline theological position in its proper sense, He accepted the 'from two natures', for instance, only under pressure but gave it a wrong twist.¹⁷⁶ That Eutyches accepted the 'from two natures' only under pressure cannot be justified by referring to any of his own statements, but the point that he gave the phrase a wrong twist can be substantiated on the ground of his statement made at the home synod affirming 'two natures before' and 'one nature after' the union. Here the plain truth is that Eutyches had not understood the idea behind the phrase 'from two natures', so that he took the 'from' of the phrase in a chronological sense of a 'before' and an 'after'. However, although Leo of Rome declared the statement 'absurd and perverse', neither the home synod nor the council of 449 saw in it the idea which the pope saw in it. The home synod made no comment, so that Leo expressed surprise over it,¹⁷⁷ and the council of 449, following Dioscorus, stated that it was acceptable.¹⁷⁸ These assemblies, led as they were by eastern ecclesiastics, saw only the Alexandrine emphasis in the words of Eutyches, namely composed 'of two natures' Christ was 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'. In fact, in one of his oral statements Eutyches himself had indicated that this was all he meant.¹⁷⁹ Therefore, without intending to defend Eutyches beyond what he really deserved, it is possible to say that pope Leo's evaluation of the man was coloured by his lack of understanding of the Alexandrine tradition, and that Grillmeier's is a clear case of an able mind reading into a person inadequately trained in theology a position which he may never have meant to hold.

However, in exonerating Eutyches, even granting that it was done on the ground of the theological position adopted by the council of 431, the second Ephesine council's handling of the question of Christ's consubstantiality with us was not commendable. The fact that the idea behind the phrase could be found in Eutyches' confession was not enough to justify the council's silence on the issue, particularly when the account of the discussion at Constantinople was read from the minutes of 448. Since the emphasis on Christ's consubstantiality with us is found in Cyril and Dioscorus, the only way to explain the problem is to say that in its extreme opposition to the 'two natures after the union' which the synod of 448 asserted as

indispensable for the maintenance of orthodoxy, the council of 449 did not pay sufficient attention to this point.

The minutes of both the home synod and the council of 449 show that each of them admitted that orthodoxy consisted in the creed of Nicea as interpreted by the council of 431. But by these words they did not mean the same idea. Following the Antiochene side, the home synod would accept the council of 431 only insofar as the reunion of 433 had granted, and in conformity with the Alexandrine tradition the council of 449 insisted on an acceptance of the council of 431 *en toto*. Which of these two positions should be adopted by the Church? This was the question that needed an answer.

In the light of its own answer, the council of 449 took up in subsequent sessions the cases of Ibas of Edessa, Daniel of Carrhae, Irenaeus of Tyre, Aquilinius of Byblus, Sophronius of Constantina, Theodoret of Cyrus and Domnus of Antioch.¹⁸⁰ These men, whether they positively supported Nestorius or not, were promoters of the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion of 433, and from the Alexandrine point of view this was the result of a concern to defend the teaching of Nestorius without his person. The council of 449 tried to destroy it completely, and all these men were excommunicated on the charge that they were adherents of Nestorianism. Of the several men thus treated, Theodoret and Ibas will engage our attention again later.

D. *The Omission of the Tome of Leo*

One of the most damaging allegations against Dioscorus is that he had prevented the reading of the *Tome of Leo* at the council of 449. This was raised on the whole by persons representing western interests. Leo, for instance, wrote to emperor Theodosius soon after the council accusing Dioscorus of having deliberately withheld the letter.¹⁸¹ At Chalcedon the Roman legates noted in their verdict against Dioscorus that he had not permitted the reading of the papal letter to the council.¹⁸² Illustrations to this effect can be multiplied from pro-Chalcedonian writers down the centuries. To note a recent example, W. H. C. Frend maintains that 'though Dioscorus did not refuse to read the latter' (the *Tome of Leo*), 'he (or Juvenal)

saw to it that it was propelled down the agenda until lost sight of in the crowded moments that ensued.¹⁸³

We have evidence in Leo's letter to emperor Theodosius that a copy of the *Tome* had been sent to the council of 449 through the legates. In addition there is mention of another letter of the pope addressed to the council, though the letter so identified contains no indication that it had been written to a council. It is therefore possible that the document had originally been written to the senate in Constantinople¹⁸⁴ to seek its support for the *Tome*, and that a copy of the same was sent to the council of 449 later. At this council there were three occasions when the Roman legates requested that the papal communication be read to the council. If this letter had been brought by them, it must be that the mention of Leo's letter at the beginning of the council referred to it, and on the other two occasions the letter referred to must have been the *Tome*.

Soon after the council of 449 began, the letter of invitation sent out by the emperor was read. When that was over, the Roman legate Julius said that an imperial communication of the kind that was read had been addressed to 'His Holiness our Pope Leo of the Church of Rome.'¹⁸⁵ Now deacon Hilary made a longer speech. The bishop of Rome, he said, has not come to take part in the meetings of the council, because his personal participation in councils is precluded by custom. But he has sent his representatives with his letter, which may be read to the assembly.¹⁸⁶ Now in response to an order of Dioscorus,¹⁸⁷ it was received by presbyter John, the chief notary, who, instead of reading it, said that there was another imperial letter addressed to Dioscorus to be presented to the council. Juvenal¹⁸⁸ now ordered that the letter of the emperor be read. In this way the council moved on with its business, without reading the letter of the bishop of Rome.

As we have noted, there were two other occasions also when the Roman legates reminded the council of the question of Leo's letter. The first of them was when the council disposed of Flavian's request to give Eusebius of Dorylaeum a hearing in the case of Eutyches.¹⁸⁹ The council itself, as we have seen, voted down the request and asked for the reading of the minutes of the synod of 448. The second occasion was in connection with the

assembly's ratification of the faith of Nicea as confirmed by the council of 431. Julius spoke indicating that the apostolic see held the same view,¹⁹⁰ and deacon Hilary again asked for a reading of the letter of Leo.¹⁹¹ But this happened when members were expressing their acceptance of the basis of faith individually, so that the request was rather out of context and no one seemed to have paid any attention to it.

The fact about the *Tome* is that though the Roman legates asked for a reading of the papal letter at least three times, there was no one in the council to support them. Even at Chalcedon, when the minutes of 449 were presented, the veracity of the account at this point was not questioned by any of the delegates. So far as our record goes, at Ephesus, apart from the Roman legates, Dioscorus alone suggested the reading of the letter. Even then no other person asked for it. It was thoroughly a conciliar action. Dioscorus himself made this point at Chalcedon. Twice, he said, he had asked for presenting the letter of Leo to the council.¹⁹²

In trying to answer how the *Tome* came to be ignored by the council of 449 we should be reminded of the fact that the document had been given wide publicity in the east from about the middle of June 449, and that its contents had been known to the delegates to the council of 449 even before they had met. They had, in fact, learned that it was an able defence of the 'two natures after the union'. In the context of the conflict between the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides, many of these men would stand by the former in opposition to the 'two natures'. This is clear from the unstinting loyalty to Cyril and Dioscorus which the council expressed in vivid terms. In fact, it gave vent to its extreme opposition to this phrase on a number of occasions. To cite one of them from the minutes of 448, when the words of Seleucus of Amasia— 'We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ in two natures were read, the council shouted: 'No one says of the Lord that he is two natures after the union. He is not bishop of Amasia. Do not divide the indivisible.'¹⁹³ This being the real fact about the council of 449, the *Tome of Leo* with its theology of 'two natures after the union' could on no account find acceptance there. Therefore, to say that in his 'autocracy' and 'violence' Dioscorus had hindered its reading to the council is neither fair to the man nor borne out by any evidence, We have stronger evidence, on the other hand, to venture the

conjecture that the council of 449 did not read the *Tome* out of respect for the see of Rome. For if it were read there without an imperial backing, the result would not have been, as Leo tried to make out¹⁹⁴ and his legates asserted at Chalcedon,¹⁹⁵ an acceptance of either the document or its theology, but a more serious condemnation. The council, for instance, would have been constrained to apply the words which it had shouted against the bishop of Amasia to Leo also. So, in all probability, Dioscorus and the leading men at the council were trying their best not to declare the incumbent of the first major see in Christendom a heretic.¹⁹⁶

Leo of Rome, however, denounced the council as a *latrocinium*— a meeting of robbers—which Frend thinks ‘has stuck for all time,’¹⁹⁷ In rejecting the council in this way Leo may not have had in mind any iniquity which critics in later times spoke concerning it and which pro-Chalcedonian writers delighted in perpetuating. It is a fact that almost any defect that has been levelled against the council of 449 by its critics has been spoken against the council of Chalcedon by those who opposed it. Furthermore, if emperor Theodosius II had permitted Leo of Rome to hold a council in Italy as he had demanded soon after the council of 449, it would on no account have been above reproach. The real grievance of pope Leo, as the term which he employed clearly indicates, was that the council did not honour his *Tome*. He may well have seen in this an act of ignoring his papal authority and even robbing his see of the divine right which he was claiming for it. An assembly which dared to pay no attention to his papal mandate was for Leo a meeting of robbers, and not a council of the Church.¹⁹⁸

E. *Some Remarks on Eutyches*

In condemning Eutyches as a heretic, Flavian and the synod of 448 on the one hand, and Leo of Rome and the council of Chalcedon on the other, made out a number of points, which may be put together. In the first place, he is said to revive the heresy of Apollinarius and Valentinus.¹⁹⁹ Secondly, it is argued that for him ‘the Lord’s body derived from Mary was not of our substance, nor of human matter. Though he calls it human, he refuses to say that it is consubstantial with us or with her who

bore him according to flesh.²⁰⁰ Thirdly, Eutyches is reproached for saying that Christ was ‘two natures before’ and ‘one nature after’ the union.²⁰¹ Fourthly, it is asserted that he refused to affirm the reality of Christ’s manhood.²⁰² The basis of all these charges lies exclusively in Eutyches’ hesitation to affirm Christ’s consubstantiality with us on the one hand, and his insistence on ‘two natures before’ and ‘one nature after’ the union on the other. However, those who read these heterodox views into him never cared to verify whether he would accept them as his position; neither did they look into his oral statements or at least his confession with the two sentences noted above. So, in the historical context of the old monk, a more sympathetic and positive evaluation of the man’s ideas was indeed possible. But none of his critics took the trouble of offering it.

In rehabilitating Eutyches the second Ephesine council expressed the Alexandrine of reaction to the assertion of ‘two natures after the union’ by the home synod of 448. The basis of this decision was the oral and written statements of the man. But, as we have noted, this council did not pause sufficiently to look dispassionately into the positions which created difficulty for his critics.

We should say therefore that those who judged him to be a heretic took only some of his statements, which they interpreted in their own way, and those who acquitted him took some others and saw in them a position which did not deserve condemnation. In the face of this reality, the findings of René Draguet, Thomas Camelot and J. N. D. Kelly should be considered significant.²⁰³ The historical context in which he lived was such that whether he was, in fact a heretic or not, he had opponents who would not let him go free.

F. *Defence and Criticism of the Council of 449*

The council of 449 was adjourned, signifying an event of singular triumph for the Alexandrine understanding of the Nicene faith as confirmed by the council of 431, without the adoption of the Formulary of Reunion of 433. The emperor wanted such a decree and, on receiving the council’s report, he took steps to implement its provisions by requiring all bishops to

sign them, In this connection he wrote also to pope Leo asking him to accept the decisions, and published an edict in support of the council.²⁰⁴

Meanwhile a movement of opposition to the council of 449 was taking shape. After the first day of the council, the Roman legate Julius stayed away from attending the later sessions, and Hilary had taken himself back to Rome immediately after the first day. On his way he planned to meet the emperor in Constantinople and to register his complaints personally, but he did not succeed in his efforts. In the end, by the middle of September, both Julius and Hilary arrived in Rome, and submitted their report to Leo and to a synod which was then in session. This enabled the pope to ensure support from the synod to his measures against the council.

Leo could count also on collaboration in the east. While leaving Ephesus, Hilary had taken with him an appeal from Flavian. Similar appeals were lodged by Eusebius and Theodoret. The bishop of Dorylaeum and possibly also Theodoret²⁰⁵ himself made their personal appearance before the pope. In this way a powerful coalition was organized against the council of 449 with Rome as its centre of operation.²⁰⁶

The death of Flavian, which occurred probably not long after his condemnation, was an event which elicited sympathy for the cause of Leo, particularly in Constantinople. Following the then prevailing custom, Flavian was taken into custody by the state soon after the verdict of deposition against him and he died subsequently.²⁰⁷ This incident came to be interpreted in later times by the, opponents of the council of 449 as having been caused by physical injuries inflicted on him at the council, though no such story was told at Chalcedon in 451.

The omission of the *Tome of Leo* by the council of 449 was for the pope a thoroughly humiliating occurrence, and he tried to abrogate it in different ways. Soon after the legates came back to Rome, he wrote to Theodosius and protested against the council. Seeing that the emperor paid no heed, Leo wrote a second letter demanding a council to be held in Italy. Neither did this communication produce any effect on Theodosius. It was in this situation that the western emperor Valentinian III, with his

mother Galla Placidia and his wife Eudoxia, came to Rome. Their visit coincided with the feast of *Cathedra Petri*, and Leo took full advantage of the opportunity to complain that in their day the see of Peter had been dishonoured at the council of 449. He appealed to them to exert their influence on the eastern court in order to have the council nullified. They responded and despatched letters, Valentinian and Galla Placidia to Theodosius himself and Eudoxia to Pulcheria.²⁰⁸ But Theodosius answered that Leo's story was not the truth concerning the council.²⁰⁹ The pope, however, wrote to the monks and clergy of Constantinople, who were opposed to Eutyches, urging them to remain loyal to Flavian. When Anatolius, a priest from Egypt, notified in 450 of his election as patriarch of Constantinople in place of Flavian, Leo refused to acknowledge him. All the same he was made patriarch.

G. *The Death of Theodosius*

The imperial disfavour for Leo did not last for a long time. Before the first anniversary of the council of 449, Theodosius had a fall from his horse, and that caused his death on 28 July 450. Following an abortive attempt to put his young son on the throne, his sister Pulcheria gained control and her consort Marcian was declared emperor on 28 August of the same year.

A woman of remarkable ability and indomitable will, Pulcheria had practically managed the affairs of the state and even guided her brother in working out his ecclesiastical policy during the Nestorian controversy. But later there arose a rift between them, which enabled the grand chamberlain to take control of the situation in 441. This led to their further estrangement. Now on the death of the brother, she removed the eunuch from her way by a sentence of death, banished Eutyches to Doliche in north Syria, and asserted her leadership through her husband.

Pulcheria's ecclesiastical policy was dictated at this time by two motives. In the first place, she was determined to support Rome in its conflict with Alexandria for ultimate leadership in the Church.²¹⁰ This was to be expected, for Chrysaphius, her enemy, had till then been on the side of the latter. Secondly, she was decided at the same time not to let Rome enjoy supreme

authority in the Church. She wanted, on the other hand, to enhance the glory and prestige of her capital city by raising the status of its bishop to a level of equality with the incumbent of the Roman see itself. Thus Pulcheria gave up Alexandria, praised Rome, but planned to elevate the see of Constantinople.

On his accession to the imperial throne, Marcian wrote to Leo of Rome expressing his idea of convening a council under the pope's own presidency 'in order to do away with all impious error.'²¹¹ The empress also worked to help the bishop of Rome in his struggle for establishing the *Tome* as a document of authority. Her labours bore fruit, and on 21 October 450 Anatolius who had till then resisted the doctrinal letter of Leo and his synod signed it in the presence of two bishops and two presbyters sent by Leo as his representatives. Thereafter the document was taken everywhere.²¹² Meanwhile the body of Flavian was restored to Constantinople and laid to rest in great honour. The change thus brought about in the ecclesiastical scene by the new sovereigns was such that on 13 April 451 Leo wrote to Anatolius, asking him to delete the names of Dioscorus, Juvenal and Eustathius of Berytus from the diptychs, thereby excommunicating them on his own authority.²¹³ Leo demanded also that the case of other men who had taken part in the council of 449 be left for his decision. In this way he was able to take full control of the situation, and even work out the theory that Dioscorus and a few ignorant men had been solely responsible for the decisions of 449,²¹⁴ thereby hoping to bring the entire Church under his supreme authority without any council or proper consultation with his episcopal colleagues, particularly in the east.

But everything did not work precisely as Leo had planned. His effort to dissuade the emperor from convening a council proved unsuccessful, for he announced his intention of summoning it in the east, not in Italy as Leo had demanded in the days of Theodosius II.²¹⁵ But Leo could demand that the assembly should adopt the *Tome* as its doctrinal standard, without allowing any discussion on the subject of the faith which would imply a questioning of the authoritative character of his teaching. The imperial authority had no difficulty in granting Leo's wish on this point, although it had its own ideas to work out through the council.

The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined

On 17 May 451 orders were issued for the convening of a council to be held at Nicea, the very site of the first ecumenical council which at that time was held in the highest esteem by all parties in the east.

CHAPTER TWO

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

By 1 September 451 there arrived at Nicea delegates from many parts of the Church, mostly in the east, to take part in the council summoned by the emperors. But they were ordered to proceed to Chalcedon.

Situated on the eastern coast of the Bosphorus almost directly opposite Constantinople at a distance of less than two miles, Chalcedon was an ancient maritime town in the province of Bithynia in Asia Minor. An invasion of Illyrium by the Huns made Marcian seek a change of the council's venue from Nicea, which was about sixty miles from Constantinople, to a place near enough from the capital, so that he could attend personally to his duties as the head of the state and control the council. Constantinople itself was not chosen probably because, as Jalland remarks, he wanted 'to prevent the supporters of Eutyches from exercising undue influence on the proceedings of the Council.'²¹⁶

About five hundred²¹⁷ delegates assembled in the great church of St. Euphemia, and the first session of the council was held on 8 October, 451. As an indication of the unprecedented imperial interest in the council, Marcian and Pulcheria had nominated an imposing array of eighteen high-ranking state officials to preside over its meetings. Their seats were fixed in the church directly facing the altar, and on either side were the delegates to be seated. To the left sat in order the Roman legates,²¹⁸ Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Caesarea in

Cappadocia,²¹⁹ Stephen of Ephesus, and the rest of the delegates from the orient, Pontus, Asia and Thrace;²²⁰ and to the right were seated Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, the bishop of Heraclea representing Anastasius of Thessalonica, and the other delegates from Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine. At the centre of the assembly had been placed the holy Gospel.²²¹

The most important decisions of the council which have a bearing on the present study are (i) the deposition of Dioscorus; (ii) the acceptance of the *Tome of Leo*; (iii) the adoption of a definition of faith; and (iv) the exoneration of persons like Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa.

2. *The Deposition of Dioscorus*

Although the council of Chalcedon is believed to have condemned Eutyches, the man whom it really dealt with was not the old monk,²²² but patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria.

A. *Set apart and accused*

No sooner had the assembled delegates been seated, than the Roman legate Paschasinus demanded that Dioscorus be excluded from the council, on the ground that the bishop of Rome had so ordered.²²³ The imperial commissioners now intervened and pressed for a charge to be specified in order to justify the demand. Lucentius, another legate, did this by asserting that 'he had seized the office of judge and dared to conduct a council, without the authorization of the apostolic see, a thing which has never happened and which ought not to happen'.²²⁴ The point did not convince the commissioners, and after an exchange of words, they unwillingly²²⁵ required of the Alexandrine patriarch to move from his seat in the assembly to a place in the middle reserved for the accused.²²⁶

Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the accuser of Eutyches in 448, now came forward exclaiming that Dioscorus had ill-treated him and damaged the faith; Flavian had been killed; with Eusebius he had been deposed by Dioscorus. So saying, he presented a petition addressed to the emperors, Marcian and his western colleague Valentinian, indicting his adversary of two ecclesiastical crimes, namely that he had infringed upon the faith of the Church by trying to establish the heresy of Eutyches as orthodoxy through

the council of 449²²⁷ which he had dominated by means of a disorderly mob and bribery, and that he had deposed the accuser and Flavian of blessed memory, neither of whom had trespassed against the faith in any way.²²⁸

The charge implied both in the words of the Roman legates and in the petition of Eusebius was the same; it was a charge against a council. Since it was too uncomfortable to admit this fact, pope Leo and his eastern supporters had together agreed upon a plan of common action, whereby to single out Dioscorus from his associates in the east and to hold him exclusively responsible for the decisions of a council, without ever examining the decisions themselves against their historical and theological background. Patriarch Dioscorus answered the charge by saying that the council of 449 had been convened by the emperor, that it made its decisions after examining the proceedings of the synod of 448 which were all recorded in the council's minutes, and that the minutes might be read²²⁹ to see what had happened. Immediately the commissioners ordered the reading of the minutes. However, Dioscorus requested that before this was done, the subject of the faith itself should be clarified.²³⁰

This request of Dioscorus, although it has been taken lightly by many, was most significant. Eusebius of Dorylaeum, for instance, had argued that the theological basis of the council of 449 had been simply the teaching of Eutyches, and it was on the basis of this argument that he had challenged the orthodoxy of the patriarch. Therefore, any legitimate verdict on the council would be given only after settling the question of the faith. Besides, Dioscorus could refer to both the synod of 448 and the council of 449, not to mention the councils of Nicea and Ephesus, in support of his request. These assemblies had discussed the issues before them only after clarifying the nature of the faith.²³¹ In answer to his request, however, Dioscorus was told by the commissioners that because there were personal charges against him, they had to be investigated before the question of the faith could be taken up.²³² Since all these personal charges had been derived from the council of 449 which itself had been based on a particular understanding of the faith, this answer of the commissioners was indeed questionable.

The reading of the minutes of Ephesus in 449, which contained also the minutes of 448, was now permitted. It started with the seven mandates²³³ issued by emperor Theodosius II for convening the council. When they were all read, Dioscorus raised the question how, in the face of the fact that the emperor had nominated him, Juvenal and Thalassius of Caesarea as presidents, and since in regard to the decisions taken they had all been in agreement, he alone was set apart for a trial.²³⁴ Now the oriental party seated on the left side tried to make out that Dioscorus had been solely responsible for those decisions, by referring to the story of the blank papers.²³⁵

B. *The Story of the Blank Papers*

As Dioscorus raised the point of order, the oriental party shouted that nobody had agreed to the decisions attributed to the council of 449, but that they had been forced to sign blank papers, on which the arbitrary decisions of Dioscorus were later recorded.

In this context none other than Stephen of Ephesus made a statement to this effect. Elpidius, the imperial commissioner at Ephesus, had gone to his residence accompanied by soldiers and monks of Eutyches numbering about three hundred men, and severely reprimanded him for befriending the Antiochene side. However, the commissioners asked him to clarify the connection between this incident and Dioscorus.²³⁶ Now Stephen testified that these men were all followers of Dioscorus, and that they had not let him go out of the church until he took down the decrees made by Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius and other bishops.²³⁷ Theodore of Claudiopolis, a town in Isauria, reported that everything at Ephesus had been done by Dioscorus, Juvenal and the early signatories; he and the men with him as well as Flavian had not been permitted to speak; but they kept quiet from fear that they would be expelled; though the council had been convened by the emperor primarily to decide the case of Flavian, Dioscorus and his party conducted several meetings of their own and made decisions which had neither been endorsed nor been recorded, but Dioscorus and Juvenal extended to them blank papers.²³⁸

Faced with the challenge, Dioscorus made a statement. 'They say' he said, 'that they had not agreed to the things decided and

defined, but had simply signed blank papers distributed to them. Most certainly it was not necessary for them to sign if they were not in agreement. Since, however, they complain that blank papers were given to them for signature, I would request your excellency to order them to state what their words imply²³⁹. No one answered these words of Dioscorus, but the subject was changed to something else.

The charge was mentioned again on a later occasion. The reading of the minutes of 449 came to where the theological basis of the council was specified to have been ‘the teaching of the fathers’²⁴⁰ Now the oriental party, apparently realizing that their denunciation of the council of 449 was being exposed as untenable, exclaimed that such a thing had never happened, implying that this was part of the report recorded on blank papers. Immediately the commissioners asked, ‘Who wrote these things?’ ‘Everyone wrote with the help of his notary’, answered Dioscorus. Juvenal also confirmed the words of the patriarch, and added that his secretaries took down the minutes with the others. Take the report of Juvenal’s notary, said Dioscorus, or that of Thalassius, or for that matter of the bishop of Corinth, and see whether theirs is a copy of my minutes.

Again, without paying attention to the point made by Dioscorus, Stephen of Ephesus came forward with the report that while his secretaries had been recording the minutes, the secretaries of Dioscorus came and took away from them their writing tablets. Wishing to make them copy what they had with them, the latter tore off the former’s report. ‘I do not know what happened’, went on Stephen. ‘but that the same day, when the inspection took place, we had the papers inscribed. The bishops who had not taken down wrote from the pledged copy’.²⁴¹ According to this report, curiously enough, Dioscorus had not filled in blank papers on which he had collected signatures, as the original allegation had stated. But the writing had been done by the notaries of the bishops themselves. The minutes, then, had been taken down by the delegates at Ephesus in 449 in the same way as it used to be done at the councils in those ancient times. The bishop of Dorylaeum, however, felt triumphant. He came forward and requested the commissioners that Stephen be asked to say how the minutes had been recorded. On blank papers, testified the bishop of Ephesus. They were filled, he added, as

soon as the sentence of deposition was given. All these allegations were answered by Dioscorus. Let the account in the possession of Stephen himself be read, he said, to see whether I forced him to copy anything'.²⁴² But no one responded to him.

We have some evidence to say that the story was, in fact, withdrawn by the bishops who had told it.²⁴³ Even otherwise, it calls for three comments. In the first place, as we have seen, Stephen admitted that the writing of the minutes had been done, not by Dioscorus or his notaries, but by the secretaries of the bishops themselves. So the only possible objection to be made against the council of 449 would be that the bishops were not free to take down the minutes of the various incidents as they witnessed them. An allegation of this kind had been forestalled by the demand of Dioscorus to compare the different copies of the minutes that were available. Secondly, even granting for the sake of argument that there may have been some truth behind the story, the fact is that no one who said it accused Dioscorus alone to have perpetrated the crime. According to Stephen, for instance, the decisions of 449 had not solely been of Dioscorus, but of Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius, and 'the other bishops'; and Theodore stated that they had been the work of 'the early signatories'. It is therefore clear that the story as told by these bishops did not vindicate the Roman legates and the bishop of Dorylaeum regarding their assertion that Dioscorus had dominated the council. Thirdly, Eusebius of Dorylaeum was present at the council of 449. But in his petition read to the council of 451 on 8 October, which in all probability was the same as his appeal to emperor Theodosius II soon after the council of 449, he did not mention the story of the blank papers, although he noted it as an incident which had actually happened in his second petition submitted on 13 October. Is it, then, that the man who should be an eyewitness to the alleged story had to wait for over two years to hear it for the first time on 8 October 451 from the men who had signed the *Tome of Leo* and agreed to support it?

C. *Eutyches Condemned and Flavian and Eusebius Acquitted*

The way in which Chalcedon succeeded in arriving at these decisions, without even feeling a need for examining the basis of an opposite judgment reached by the council of 449, is indeed

amazing. The appeal of Eutyches was being read to the council from the minutes of Ephesus. When it came to where the monk affirmed the Nicene creed, his accuser said that he was lying, and Diogenes of Cyzicum²⁴⁴ commented that Eutyches should vindicate his orthodoxy by accepting the additions made by the fathers to the creed of Nicea with a view to excluding Apollinarianism.²⁴⁵ The statement of Diogenes was vehemently challenged by the delegates on the right side.

The reading of the minutes was resumed. When it came to where the monk expressed his rejection of those who say that ‘the flesh of our Lord and God Jesus Christ had come down from heaven’ the bishop of Dorylaeum commented that he had avoided the ‘from heaven’, but had not specified where it was from.²⁴⁶ On this occasion also Diogenes pointed out that Eutyches had no satisfactory answer to the issue in question?²⁴⁷ Now Basil of Seleucia observed that for Eutyches the mere affirmation that God the Word became man by assuming flesh was enough to confess the incarnation.²⁴⁸ Immediately Dioscorus stated that the words of Basil were his own without any recorded evidence in the minutes of 448. Nonetheless, he added, ‘If Eutyches holds notions disallowed by the doctrines of the Church, he deserves not only punishment but even fire. But my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith, not for any man whomsoever’²⁴⁹. Again no one answered the point made by him.

This remark must have implied three points. Firstly, the ideas read into Eutyches by Basil were in fact heretical. Secondly, Dioscorus did not believe that there was evidence in the minutes of 448 to say that Eutyches had really taught them. Thirdly, from his point of view, the real issue before the council was not Eutyches, but what the faith of the Church was. The words of Dioscorus cannot have been meant to offer a ‘conditional anathema’ against Eutyches, as Sellers observes²⁵⁰, but to call in question the propriety of the procedure adopted by the council.

Without paying attention to the words of Dioscorus, Basil of Seleucia stated his conviction. ‘I worship our one Lord Jesus Christ’, he said, ‘the Only Son of God, God the Word, as made known in two natures after he became incarnate and was made man.’²⁵¹ This statement made some commotion at Chalcedon. But the commissioners ignored it and asked Basil how, holding to his

position, he subscribed to the excommunication of Flavian of pious memory.²⁵² Basil answered that though he happened to accept the verdict of an assembly of a hundred and twenty or thirty bishops, in his view Flavian had not been justly condemned. Now the oriental party who had already made their submission and had even accused Dioscorus of having collected signatures on blank papers were ready to follow up the matter with appropriate expression. 'We all have sinned', they cried, 'we ask for pardon'²⁵³. This was indeed too much even for the commissioners to swallow, and they asked, 'Did you not complain that you had been forced to sign on blank papers the excommunication of Flavian?'²⁵⁴ In answer they repeated the words, 'We all have sinned; we ask for pardon'²⁵⁵. Thus they apologized both for agreeing to excommunicate Flavian and for fabricating the story of the blank papers. But they helped to prepare the ground for the acquittal of Flavian and Eusebius.

A second incident in the same direction happened in connection with the reading of the Formulary of Reunion from the minutes. The delegates from Illyricum expressed their admiration for Cyril of Alexandria. 'As Cyril, so we believe', they shouted. 'Everlasting memory to Cyril'. In this context Theodoret of Cyrus declared those who maintained the doctrine of 'two Sons' to be anathema, and the orientals exclaimed that the Formulary of Reunion had been accepted by Leo of Rome, Flavian and Eusebius. Soon the commissioners raised the question, How Eutyches who had not acknowledged the Formulary was acquitted and Flavian and Eusebius who had accepted it were excommunicated. Since the Formulary had not yet obtained any synodical sanction, the question of the commissioners implied the assumption which had been the cause of the rift between the Alexandrines and the Antiochenes, and Dioscorus asked for the reading to continue.²⁵⁶

The commissioners could gain their point in acquitting Flavian and Eusebius by means of a blunder committed by Eustathius of Berytus in his effort to defend the Alexandrine position. At the council of 449 he had commented, soon after the reading of the Formulary from the minutes of 448, that for an accurate understanding of Cyril's theological position, his letters to Acacius of Melitene, Valerian of Iconium and Succensus of Diocaesarea should also be taken into account²⁵⁷. The point of Eustathius

obviously was that the Formulary did not have the authority claimed for it by the synod of 448. He had insisted that it was not lawful to affirm 'two natures' on the strength of the Formulary, because Cyril who represented the Alexandrine side in the reunion of 433 had not adopted it, a fact which he had shown in these letters. Therefore, argued Eustathius, the Cyrilline position still maintained the 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'²⁵⁸, and confirmed the testimony of the blessed Athanasius.

When this report was read at Chalcedon, the oriental party shouted, 'Eutyches says these things!, Dioscorus says these things!' Now Dioscorus said, 'We do not speak of confusion, neither of division, nor of change. Let him who says confusion, change or mixture, be anathema'²⁵⁹. Although these words silenced the oriental party, the commissioners asked whether the position referred to by Eustathius was there in the canonical letters of Cyril read to the council.²⁶⁰ The exclamation of the oriental party and the question of the commissioners regarding the canonical letters' of Cyril show that the leaders of the council of Chalcedon were men who stood by the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion of 433.

Stung by the challenge implied in the question of the commissioners and possibly without even understanding their real point, Eustathius threw forward the Cyrilline writing which apparently he had with him and said, 'If I stated wrongly, see the work of Cyril. Let that be anathematized'²⁶¹. The Egyptian bishops supported Eustathius, and thus being encouraged, he continued, 'It is unlawful to affirm 'two natures'; one should say only 'one incarnate nature'. However, he added, 'If anyone affirms 'one nature'' in order to explain away the flesh of Christ which is consubstantial with us, he is anathema. So also he who speaks of 'two natures' in order to divide the Son of God is anathema'. Eustathius defended the position of the Alexandrine side very well so far, and had he stopped here, the exoneration of Flavian and Eusebius would not have been easy. But the bishop of Berytus went on unwarrantedly to say that Flavian had accepted the Cyrilline emphasis and presented it to the emperor.²⁶²

The commissioners got what they wanted. If he was orthodox, asked they, why was he excommunicated? 'I failed', blurted out

the trembling Eustathius. Without losing even a moment, the commissioners required of the delegates to signify whether or not Flavian was orthodox. Now the Roman legates, Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Caesarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, and Eustathius himself indicated their view that Flavian had been orthodox. 'The martyr Flavian held the right faith', exclaimed the oriental party. But Dioscorus asked for the minutes to be read, in order to see that Flavian had insisted on 'two natures after the union'²⁶³ and tried to raise the real issue. But there was no response.

In this context Juvenal of Jerusalem who had till then stood firm on the side of Dioscorus began to waver. He expressed the view that the Formulary of Reunion and the statement of Flavian referred to by Eustathius looked alike. But the fact is that neither of these documents contained the 'two natures after the union' which Eutyches had been asked to affirm by the synod of 448, that Juvenal also made the same mistake which Eustathius had committed. However, this confusion of the issues led Juvenal and his suffragans to the triumphant side, and were greeted with the words, 'God has guided you well. Welcome to you'. They were soon followed by the bishop of Corinth and a number of others.²⁶⁴

Now faced with the shrinking of his supporters, Dioscorus made a statement, remarking that Flavian had been condemned for saying 'two natures after the union', that he had with him passages from the writings of the holy fathers, Athanasius, Gregory and Cyril, forbidding the 'two natures' formula and sanctioning only 'one incarnate nature of God the Word', and that he was being cast out with the fathers. 'I stand with the fathers', he said, 'in their doctrines, and in nothing do I trespass'.²⁶⁵ In the confused atmosphere of the council at that moment, these words would have no effect, and the reading continued. It was noted there about Longinus of Chersones that at the synod of 448 he had insisted on 'from two natures after the union'²⁶⁶. Dioscorus signified his agreement and said, 'the "from two" I accept, but the "two" I do not accept'²⁶⁷. Again, when Julius of Cios remarked that no one should violate the faith of Nicea and Ephesus, but all should confess the one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ as two natures in one *prosopon*, Dioscorus clarified

his position by saying that in his view Jesus Christ was not two natures after the union.²⁶⁸

It is clear from the foregoing story that Dioscorus tried to make his position clear. He was opposed to ‘two natures after the union’, but he had no objection to ‘*from* two natures after the union’, so that he was not supporting the ‘two natures before’ and ‘one nature after’ the union of Eutyches. Holding thus to the Alexandrine tradition on the basis of the councils of Nicea and Ephesus uncompromisingly he endeavoured to have the council address itself to the real issue. So long as the two conflicting traditions representing the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides had not discovered an agreed theological standpoint between them, Dioscorus had every right to keep to his position. That the council of Chalcedon did not pay attention to what he had to say was indeed unfortunate. It certainly was not the fault of Dioscorus.

D. *The Verdict of the Commissioners*

The minutes of the council of 449 dealing with the acquittal of Eutyches and the condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius were all read to the council of 451. Before it came to a close, nay even before the council had ever met, the commissioners had arrived at the decision that Flavian and Eusebius had been unjustly condemned, and that Eutyches had not deserved exoneration. Now they gave their verdict, specifying who committed the crime in 449.

It said:²⁶⁹

‘Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus and Basil of Seleucia in Isauria—these were the men who had been really responsible for the decisions of the second council of Ephesus, and should as such all be deposed’.

These men were punished because they had joined together and used the council of 449 to excommunicate Flavian and Eusebius who had maintained orthodoxy by accepting the Formulary of Reunion and exonerated Eutyches who had trespassed against the faith by rejecting the Formulary. It is a fact, however, that

neither the *Tome of Leo* nor the Roman legates ever referred to this document. For Rome, the doctrinal letter of the pope offered *the* norm of the faith. But the emperors gave them the clue that the *Tome* could find support in tradition through the Formulary.

The verdict has a special significance in that it admitted the conciliar character of the decisions of 449. The Roman legates and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, supported by their eastern associates, had been endeavouring to establish the theory worked out possibly by pope Leo himself that Dioscorus had violently imposed his arbitrary decisions on the council of 449. The verdict of the commissioners did not approve this point of view.

H. *The Council Concludes its First Session*

As soon as the commissioners announced their verdict, the oriental party greeted it. 'This is a just sentence', they exclaimed. But the Illyrian bishops and the men on the right side pleaded for mercy. 'We all have sinned', they said, 'may we all be deemed worthy of pardon'. The oriental party, however, persisted in shouting that no mercy be shown to Dioscorus²⁷⁰. Before the first session came to a close, the commissioners required of every delegate to produce in writing at the next session a statement of the faith, bearing in mind that the emperor believed in accordance with the definition of the 318²⁷¹ and that of the 150²⁷²; with the teaching of Basil, Hilary, Athanasius and Ambrose; with the two canonical letters of Cyril which had been presented to and approved by the first council of Ephesus²⁷³; and with the *Tome of Leo*. It is clear that by this statement the imperial commissioners were indicating the standpoint of the emperors regarding the faith, and subtly requiring of the bishops to conform to it.

F. *A Special Meeting to Depose Dioscorus*

The verdict of the commissioners did not vindicate the attitude of Rome towards the Alexandrine pope, and thus the outcome of the council's session on 8 October was not fully in Rome's favour. The second session on 10 October²⁷⁴ did not produce better results. Despite the claim of pope Leo and his legates that when once a letter of the bishop of Rome was read the entire

council would accept it without any question,²⁷⁵ on 10 October there were men to raise objection to three passages in the *Tome*, and one delegate²⁷⁶ asked for time to compare it with the Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius and the anathemas which for Rome could not be more authoritative than the letter of the pope.

The second session was thus against the interests of Rome, and the legates of the western see with their associates in the east may well have sought to do away with its defects. So, taking advantage of a five-day recess announced by the commissioners²⁷⁷, they may have tried to secure acceptance of the *Tome* from all the dissenting delegates, including Dioscorus²⁷⁸. Their efforts may not have borne fruit with all of them²⁷⁹.

This may well have been the context in which the special meeting to cast out the Alexandrine pope from the Church was organized by the Roman legates. The five-day recess was not respected, but on 13 October it met under the presidency of Paschasinus. It was attended by neither the commissioners²⁸⁰ nor the six condemned men. The delegates who took part in it were also small in number²⁸¹, and it was held in the 'martyrion' of saint Euphemia.²⁸²

Although we have no recorded evidence to say why a large number of delegates then present at Chalcedon absented themselves from this meeting, there is some clue in the minutes to suggest a plausible answer. As the second session of the council broke up on 10 October, the oriental party with the anti-Eutychian clergy in Constantinople shouted, 'Dioscorus to exile; God has forsaken Dioscorus'. But the other party exclaimed, 'We all have sinned; have mercy on us all, Dioscorus to the synod; Dioscorus to the churches. May not any evil happen on your account'²⁸³. This shows that at Chalcedon there was a party of delegates who were not in agreement with the plan of the Roman legates, and opposed as they were to any special treatment being meted out to Dioscorus, they stayed away from a gathering which was going to do that very thing.

When the delegates were seated, archdeacon Aetius, the chief notary to the council, announced that there was a petition of Eusebius of Dorylaeum against Dioscorus requiring

investigation. Now Paschasinus made a statement in Latin which was rendered into Greek. The letter of the pope, he said, ought to be honoured: he who has opposed it should be brought to the middle in order that he may be examined by us; for this reason the petition of Eusebius should be admitted.²⁸⁴

The point made by the chief of the Roman delegation is clear. Dioscorus had refused to endorse the *Tome*, thereby rendering himself culpable. This required a mock trial of the man, for which the unscrupulous Eusebius was ready to offer his ungrudging assistance. Accordingly, in collaboration with the Roman legates, he prepared a petition against his adversary, containing practically the same charges as he had included in his earlier petition. The imperial authority did not want to be involved in an intrigue of this kind, and the commissioners stayed away from it. The issue was not heresy, nor even violence, but the fact that in clear conscience he could not accommodate the theology of the *Tome*.

Broadly speaking, the petition of Eusebius²⁸⁵ contained four charges, namely that Dioscorus held the same view as that of the heretic Eutyches; that he tried to force the monk's false teaching on the Church through the council of 449 by making use of a disorderly mob whom he had brought with him to the assembly; that he excommunicated the petitioner and Flavian, making a show that it was the action of the council by the signatures collected on blank papers, which he filled later; and that by means of these actions he violated the faith and canon of the Church. Therefore, the petition concluded, Dioscorus should be restrained and his doctrine should be condemned. On submitting the petition, Eusebius asked for the presence of the accused to answer the charges in person. There is only one additional point in the new petition which is not already found in the one submitted by Eusebius on 8 October. Whereas in the former instance he had stated that Dioscorus had used the council of 449 to force the heresy of Eutyches on the Church by employing a disorderly mob and by lavishing money, on the present occasion he noted the story of the blank papers, as though it had been proved against the accused.²⁸⁶

G. *Proceedings Adopted Against Dioscorus*

The assembly served on Dioscorus three summonses. The first of them was taken to him by three bishops—Constantine of Bostra in Arabia, Acacius of Ariarathia in Armenia and Atticus of Zela in Helenopontus—accompanied by deacon Himerius. Constantine delivered the assembly's call, and Dioscorus answered that he was being kept in custody, so that he could not go with them to the meeting²⁸⁷ unless he was given permission by the authorities. In the course of the conversation Atticus said that Eusebius had submitted a petition against him, so that his presence was necessary to deal with the matter. Dioscorus got the clue from this information and, when the deputies came back with state permission to take him to the assembly, he told them that he would come only if the commissioners were going to be present at the meeting.²⁸⁸ The envoys went back and gave their report to the assembly, which sent a second summons through a commission consisting of Pergamius of Antioch in Pisidia, Cecropius of Sebastopolis in Crimea, and Rufinus of Samosata in Euphratensia, along with Hypatius, one of the notaries. To these men Dioscorus said that he was sick and could not comply. When pressed by them, he asked whether the men condemned with him were going to be present. The deputies told him that Eusebius had accused him only and that there was no need for the commissioners or any laymen to be there.²⁸⁹ Dioscorus insisted that the question was one in which they all were involved, and that therefore they should be present.

When the deputies returned to the assembly, there were four men from Alexandria with petitions against the patriarch.²⁹⁰ Presbyter Athanasius, deacon Theodore, deacon Ischyriion and a layman Sophronius complained about Dioscorus :—(i) that he had ill-treated them all in various ways; (ii) that he had opposed Cyril both in theology and in other matters; (iii) that he led a dissolute life; (iv) that he challenged the authority of the emperor; (v) that he excommunicated Leo of Rome; and (vi) that there was much disaffection against him in Alexandria. After receiving from the men an assurance that they could prove the allegations, Paschasinus allowed the reading of the petitions, which were addressed to 'Leo the archbishops and patriarch of great Rome and to the holy and ecumenical synod'.

We have no way of ascertaining how much of truth there was behind the allegations contained in these petitions. The assurance

which Paschasinus received from the men cannot have meant much. For we know that in spite of these damaging charges and even his deposition at Chalcedon, Dioscorus was most warmly loved and honoured by a vast majority of the people of Egypt, who continued in their unwavering loyalty to him so long as he lived, and remembered him with profound respect even after his death. In fact, his bones were brought to Alexandria and buried with his predecessors. If he were the kind of character portrayed by his accusers, it is indeed strange that he was shown so much of esteem by the Christian community in Egypt even after his humiliation. Above all, it is a fact that the non-Chalcedonian tradition includes him among the accepted fathers of the Church, holding him in practically the same esteem as the Chalcedonian tradition defers to Leo of Rome. Taking all these facts into serious consideration, we can say that the petitions against him by the men from Alexandria deserved to be treated only like the charges against Athanasius of Alexandria brought by the Arians before the council of Tyre in 535.

There are two allegations in the petitions which call for some attention. They are :—(i) that he was opposed to Cyril in theology: and (ii) that he excommunicated Leo of Rome. The accusation that Dioscorus was not in agreement with Cyril in theology cannot be admitted as based on fact. The charge, however, that he had excommunicated Leo of Rome is of a different character. It is not possible, nor even necessary, to argue that Dioscorus had not done it. In fact, as we have already noted, Leo had excommunicated Dioscorus exactly six months before the day when this charge was made against the latter.²⁹¹ If therefore Dioscorus had done this, it was only a reciprocal action.

Having granted all this, we must look anew into the evidence more carefully and see whether we have not been too uncritical in treating this subject. Almost all historians of a pro-Chalcedonian persuasion seem to take it as a well-established fact.²⁹² However, our evidence consists of four references to it at the council of Chalcedon and one in a letter of Leo of Rome after the council. The earliest of them all is the statement of deacon Theodore in his petition.²⁹³ Following him on the same day, the Roman legates asserted this in their verdict against Dioscorus.²⁹⁴ The third is to be found in the words of Anatolius on 22 October,

when he said that the reason for Dioscorus' condemnation was not a point of faith but the fact that 'he had excommunicated the Lord archbishop Leo' and disobeyed the threefold summons of the council.²⁹⁵ The fourth is a mention of the alleged incident in the letter of the council of Chalcedon to Leo of Rome. It said that Dioscorus had excommunicated one who had only the unity of the churches at heart.²⁹⁶ Finally, Leo complained in his letter to Theodoret of Cyrus that Dioscorus 'did not exempt from special vexation in attempting to inflict upon his Head with strange and unheard of an incredible effrontery'.²⁹⁷

The story was told for the first time in recorded history by Deacon Theodore on 13 October, and all other references had been drawn from it. In evaluating the account of Theodore, we should recall the fact that at the first session of the council on 8 October, there was a long and protracted investigation of charges against the Alexandrine pope. On that occasion no one mentioned an excommunication of Leo by Dioscorus. Even the Roman legates, who were challenged by the commissioners to specify a charge against the accused in support of their demand for his exclusion from the council, showed no awareness of this important incident. Is it not strange that none of the eastern neighbours of Dioscorus, including his bitter enemies and above all Stephen of Ephesus who had volumes of incriminatory reports against him, expressed any knowledge of the story which is alleged to have happened in the very city of Stephen, before Theodore mentioned it in his petition?

The petitions of the four men were all read and recorded.²⁹⁸ Now the assembly decided to serve a third summons,²⁹⁹ answering the points made by Dioscorus and noting the fact of the new petitions. The commission at this time consisted of Phragkion of Philippopolis in Thrace, Lucian of Byzantium and John of Germanicia in Cilicia,³⁰⁰ accompanied by deacon Palladius. To these men Dioscorus said that he was unable to go with them to the assembly. When pressed on the ground that the petitions against him were a cause of scandal to the Church, which it was his duty to remove, Dioscorus answered that the Catholic Church was without any blemish, and added the words, 'For I know how I have come to be singled out'.³⁰¹ The envoys tried again to

persuade him and he replied, 'What I have said, I have said; I cannot do anything else'.

H. *Dioscorus Deposed*

On receiving the report, the assembly concluded that Dioscorus deserved deposition. So, beginning with the Roman legates, most of the members expressed their individual view. The speech delivered on the occasion by the representatives of pope Leo noted the following points³⁰² :— (i) that Dioscorus had admitted to communion his partisan Eutyches after the latter had been canonically deposed and before he was rehabilitated by the council of 449; (ii) that whereas the other bishops who had taken part in that council had been granted pardon by the holy see and remained in its fellowship, Dioscorus continued in his rebellion; (iii) that he did not permit the reading of the *Tome of Leo* at the council of 449, and consequently a great deal of scandal had spread in the Church; (iv) that in spite of all this the assembly wanted to be forgiving, but Dioscorus overshot his iniquity by excommunicating Leo of Rome; and (v) that he did not obey the summons of the council. On these grounds and on 'the mass of offences' committed by him, 'Leo, the most blessed archbishop of Rome, has by the agency of ourselves and the present council deprived him of all the episcopal dignity and severed him from every priestly function. Accordingly, this holy and great council decrees the provision of the canon against the aforesaid Dioscorus'³⁰³.

Following the legates, Anatolius of Constantinople³⁰⁴ and a hundred and ninety-one men voted agreeing to the deposition of the Alexandrine patriarch³⁰⁵. The assembly also gave its verdict as follows :³⁰⁶

The holy and great ecumenical council, which by the grace of God and the order of our emperors is meeting in Chalcedon in the martyrion to Dioscorus.

On account of contempt of sacred canons and your contumacy towards this holy and ecumenical council, whereby, in addition to other offences of which you have been convicted, you did not respond even to the third summons of this holy and great synod,

which were administered to you in accordance with the divine canons, and answer charges made against you:

Know, then, that you have been deposed on the thirteenth day of the present month, October, by the holy and ecumenical synod from your episcopate and deprived of all ecclesiastical rank.

The verdict was transmitted to Dioscorus in his prison.

The assembly now wrote a number of letters, one to the Alexandrine clergy at Chalcedon, another to emperors Marcian and Valentinian, and a third to empress Pulcheria. A public notice was also given to say that the Alexandrine pope had been deposed. The reason stated in these writings against him is not heresy but violation of canons. The sentence as such, though it was the work of a party, came to be confirmed by the official session of the council on 17 October.

I. *Why was Dioscorus Deposed?*

The story of Dioscorus' deposition is not clear as to *why* he was so treated. It is a fact that he played a consistent and uncompromising part in the Christological controversy of his day. Whatever evidence we have of him is related to that milieu, so that it is bound to be interpreted in one way by his critics and in yet another by his admirers.³⁰⁷ Our purpose here is not to go into that question, but to see what may have been the reason for Rome to be so violently hostile to him and for the imperial authority in Constantinople to let Rome so miserably humiliate the incumbent of the see of Alexandria. The official evaluation of the man by the tradition conserved by both these forces should be consonant with the verdict of the assembly that deposed him. To this may be added as a secondary source the statements made and the letters written to justify the decision at that time.

The verdict of the assembly notes two flaws against Dioscorus. Firstly, 'contempt of the sacred canons' and 'contumacy'. The basis of both these charges was his refusal to comply with the three summonses served on him. However, in adopting this course of action, he had made a point, which was to this effect. Since Eusebius who had presented a petition against him at the

first session of the council has come out again with a second petition, the latter must contain nothing but the same points as the former. These had all been examined, though without answering the real issue, and the commissioners had given their verdict, holding six men including himself responsible for them. Now a fresh petition containing the same charges by the same person must have been presented in order to set aside the earlier decision, which was itself questionable. Therefore, Dioscorus demanded the presence of the commissioners and the five men who had been condemned with him, when the petition of Eusebius was being investigated. Is this an indefensible stand on any norm of justice, ancient or modern? From our part it should be added that the assembly which summoned him in the name of 'the holy and ecumenical council' was only less than one half of the delegates then present at Chalcedon. All these facts show that the first flaw noted against Dioscorus in the assembly's verdict had no cogency at all. In fact, between the assembly that called him and he himself, the really culpable party was indeed the assembly.

The second flaw mentioned in the verdict refers to 'other offences of which you have been convicted', without specifying any of them. It is indeed strange that the meeting of bishops did not say clearly what at least one of these was. Does this not mean that although after the council's adjournment, the Chalcedonian side tried to make out that a charge had been established against him, the assembly which took action in his case was not really so sure? In any case the fact should be granted that the assembly, which assumed from tradition the formality of serving on the accused a threefold summons, did not take over also from tradition the equally important practice of establishing a definite charge against the man whom it was constrained to condemn. For Dioscorus was certainly not the first man in the history of the Church to be condemned *in absentia*. At least Paul of Samosata and Nestorius himself had been so deposed. But in the case of each of them the respective council took in evidence the writings of the man and established a definite charge against him. Even the council of 449 had made out a charge against each of the men whom it had condemned. It is this fairness that was denied to the Alexandrine pope by the Roman legates, at a time when the incumbent of the Egyptian see had occupied a place in the Church as high as that of Rome itself. The fact, therefore, is that

neither of the two points mentioned against Dioscorus in the assembly's verdict can be pressed. They are, as a matter of fact, vague denunciations, which show only that with the political support enjoyed by them the Roman legates succeeded in rallying round the eastern opponents of the Alexandrine patriarch, and together perpetrated this grievous crime.

The question why Dioscorus had been deposed is not answered. We may look therefore into the other sources of information. The charges contained in them have reference either to the council of 449 or to his own actions. To the first belong charges of violence and misconduct, disobedience and heresy, disallowing the reading of the *Tome of Leo*, condemning Flavian and others and acquitting Eutyches.³⁰⁸ Recalling the fact that the council of 449 had arrived at its decisions in the light of its theological standpoint that the faith of the Church consisted in the creed of Nicea as confirmed by the council of 431, implying that the Alexandrine interpretation of the reunion of 433 was normative, it should be maintained that the basis of these allegations is a totally one-sided reading of certain incidents, which cannot be pressed.

The purely personal charges against Dioscorus are chiefly three³⁰⁹ :- (i) that he admitted Eutyches to communion even before the council of 449; (ii) that he excommunicated Leo of Rome; and (iii) that he disobeyed the summons of the ecumenical council. The last two of these charges have already been noted. The allegation that Dioscorus had admitted Eutyches to communion before he had been rehabilitated by the council of 449 is found in the verdict of the Roman legates. It calls for three comments :—(i) What precisely did the Roman legates mean by this charge? The word *communion*, for instance, can be taken in the sense either of eucharistic fellowship or of friendship and support. (ii) It is a fact that Dioscorus and the leading men at the council of 449 had supported Eutyches even before he was formally exonerated. If, however, the Roman legates meant to assert that he offered Eutyches communion in the sense of eucharistic fellowship,³¹⁰ the question concerning the source of their information has to be ascertained, in the face of the fact that no one of the eastern neighbours of the patriarch, including the four men from Alexandria, had never made mention of an incident like this. (iii) If Dioscorus had in fact, admitted

Eutyches to communion, he was indeed guilty of breaking the discipline of the Church. But then Leo of Rome was equally culpable in this respect. For it was reported that he had restored Theodoret of Cyrus, who had been excommunicated by the council of 449, to the episcopate even before he was received back into the fellowship of the Church by the council of 451.³¹¹ There is one difference between Leo and Dioscorus on this subject. Whereas Leo's exoneration of Theodoret is an unquestionable fact, the admitting of Eutyches into communion by Dioscorus is only alleged against him. Even the strictly personal charges against Dioscorus cannot therefore be pressed.

In the face of this fact the assessment of the man by Anatolius, who was a nominee of Dioscorus for the see of Constantinople in succession of Flavian, deserves notice. On three occasions he referred to the condemnation of Dioscorus. On 13 October, after supporting the Roman legates, he remarked that Dioscorus should be punished because he had slighted the assembly.³¹² Then on 22 October he declared that Dioscorus had not been condemned because of any erroneous belief on his part, but because he had excommunicated Leo of Rome and disobeyed the assembly's call.³¹³ Finally in his letter to Leo of Rome after the council of Chalcedon, he stated that Dioscorus had been condemned for the sake of peace in the Church.

The last statement of Anatolius is important. It shows how the patriarch of Constantinople and possibly also men like him, who did not believe that Dioscorus was either a heretic or one who could legitimately be convicted of any other charge, agreed to his condemnation. They may have done it in the face of an imperial policy of unifying the Church. Peace in the Church at that time was very much tied up with the acceptance of the *Tome of Leo*, and the easterns of the Alexandrine way of thinking may well have accepted the doctrinal letter of the pope, though with serious reservation. This, to be sure, was what Anatolius himself had done soon after Pulcheria and Marcian came to power in the empire.

Dioscorus was never given a chance to see whether he also could accommodate the *Tome* in this way. For one thing, from the beginning of the controversy, Leo considered him an enemy without ever trying to know his point of view. Leo, for instance,

who sent copies of his *Tome* to various persons in the east never cared to despatch. one to the Alexandrine patriarch also.³¹⁴ In the controversy itself, Leo had excommunicated Dioscorus at least six months before the council of Chalcedon. This shows that Dioscorus was fairer to Leo than was the latter to the former, for the Alexandrine patriarch is alleged to have excommunicated his colleague of Rome only less than a month before the council of Chalcedon met. This and similar other facts should be taken into account in treating the ‘question of Dioscorus.

There was only one reason for Rome’s antagonism towards the Alexandrine pope, namely that he refused to sign the *Tome of Leo* till the end. At a time when Rome could dictate its terms to the imperial authority in Constantinople, it took advantage of the opportunity to crush its opponent through the council of Chalcedon. In gaining this end, pope Leo and his representatives at the council did actually commit almost all of the misdeeds which Dioscorus has been alleged both by Chalcedon and by pro-Chalcedonian historiography since then to have perpetrated.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COUNCIL'S DECISIONS BEARING ON THE FAITH

I. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

Following the deposition of Dioscorus by the meeting of 13 October, the council of Chalcedon adopted two decisions which had a bearing on the faith. On the one hand, it declared the *Tome of Leo* a document of the faith, and on the other it offered a definition of the faith. But neither of these decisions was accepted by the delegates spontaneously, nor were they taken in an unequivocal sense. The *Tome of Leo*, for instance, was declared acceptable on 17 October after the members of the council had individually signed it. Yet many of the easterns approved it only as a concession to the bishop of Rome, whom the imperial authority supported. The Chalcedonian definition also was drawn up after a strenuous battle of words between two distinct parties at the council, and in its final form it was so framed as to enable the delegates belonging to the three traditions then existing in the Church, namely the Alexandrine, the Antiochene and the western, to interpret it in different ways.

The council of Chalcedon, as we have seen, was controlled by the imperial authority through the commissioners on the one hand, and the Roman legates on the other. However, they were not in full agreement on all matters. Whereas the latter were interested in establishing that, as the supreme head of the universal Church, the pope had given the council its doctrinal standard, the former had other plans to carry out through the council. So, when the legates made statements based on papal claims, the commissioners kept discreet silence, but when the opportunity came, they took the initiative for the adoption of a definition of the faith with the council's authority, completely

ignoring the wishes of the entire assembly including the Roman legates, and the passing of a resolution referring to the see of Constantinople. By these two actions the emperors endeavoured to achieve a union of eastern Christendom under the aegis of the see of Constantinople, without causing a breach with Rome.

2. *The Tome of Leo accepted by the Council*

After the detour on 13 October, the council had its regular session on 17 October. The imperial commissioners opened the business by reminding the delegates of the decisions reached at the first and second sessions.³¹⁵ But not even a word was said about the meeting on 13 October, neither were its minutes read.³¹⁶

Now the commissioners noted that they had required of the delegates who still had doubts about the *Tome of Leo* to meet with Anatolius and come to a common mind, and enquired of them to state what had happened regarding the injunction. Now Paschasinus made a statement to the effect that the faith of Nicea had been confirmed by the council of Constantinople, and that the same faith had been ratified again by the council of Ephesus in condemning Nestorius. In its light, he said, Leo of Rome had now excluded at once Nestorius and Eutyches³¹⁷. ‘We all believe thus’, acclaimed the assembly. ‘We have been baptized thus; thus we administer baptism. Thus have we believed; thus we believe.’³¹⁸

The commissioners were thoroughly satisfied, and they ordered the bishops to come forward and say over the Gospel placed in the middle that they affirmed the faith in conformity with the creed of Nicea, the creed of Constantinople, and the *Tome of Leo*³¹⁹. Beginning from Anatolius, the Roman legates and Maximus of Antioch, one hundred and fifty-eight men signified their acceptance of the *Tome* with short speeches.³²⁰ Among them were the Illyrian and the Palestinian bishops including Atticus of Nicopolis, who had misgivings about the theological soundness of the *Tome* on 10 October. The Illyrian bishops said: We hold the saving faith of the 318. which had been confirmed by the 150. The same faith was ratified by the council of Ephesus. Regarding the *Tome*, our doubts have been cleared by

Paschasinus and Lucentius when we met with Anatolius. We believe that Jesus Christ had in him Godhead and manhood united from the holy Virgin *Theotokos*, without confusion change, and division. Seeing that the letter of pope Leo agrees with this faith, we subscribe to it.³²¹ The Palestinian bishops also made a similar statement and expressed their acceptance of the *Tome*. When the one hundred and fifty-eight men thus signified their approval, the commissioners asked the rest of the assembly to indicate their mind by acclamation, which they did. In this way, after a long period of struggle and efforts of various kinds from the time of its issuance in June 449, the doctrinal letter of pope Leo was declared acceptable by the council of Chalcedon on 17 October, 451.

The statement of the Illyrian bishops and that of the Palestinians show that they did not accept the *Tome* as a really necessary confession of the faith, but simply as a profession which, in the light of assurance given them by the Roman legates, they would accommodate.³²² This is important, for, as we shall see, the Illyrian bishops still had their serious misgivings about the *Tome*.³²³

3. *The Five Men Pardoned and Dioscorus Rejected*

Soon after accepting the *Tome*, the council asked for the re-admission of the five men condemned with Dioscorus. 'The fathers to the synod', the assembly exclaimed; 'those who are of the same faith, to the synod; those who have subscribed, to the synod. Many years to the emperor the five who have subscribed, to the synod. As Leo, so they think'.³²⁴ It is clear that the ground on which the delegates pleaded for the restoration of the five men was not, as the Roman legates had stated in their verdict against Dioscorus, that they had been pardoned and continued since then in the unbroken fellowship of the bishop of Rome³²⁵, but that between 10 and 17 October they had signed the *Tome of Leo*.

In answer to the council's request, the commissioners stated that they had referred the question of the condemned men to the emperor, and that they were awaiting his reply. However, they added, 'your excommunication of Dioscorus has not been known

either to the emperor or to us, and about those five for whom you appeal and concerning all the things that have been done at the holy synod, it shall be responsible to God'.³²⁶ Taking the words of the commissioners apparently as a challenge, the bishops responded, 'God has forsaken Dioscorus; justly has Dioscorus been condemned; Christ has deserted Dioscorus'.³²⁷ In this way the council ratified the sentence against the patriarch of Alexandria. Since the bishops were on the side of God, justice and Christ, they could have nothing to do with a man whom all these had abandoned.

4. *The Treatment of Egyptian Bishops*

The request of the assembly to readmit the five men was granted a few hours later, when there came word from the emperor permitting this action. They came into the council in the midst of great jubilation expressed by the delegates.

Now the Egyptian bishops found themselves in a most embarrassingly delicate situation. Suffragans of the deposed patriarch, they may well have seen that the decisions of the council were not going to be accepted by the church in Egypt, and submitted a petition to keep themselves free from involvement. The petition contained a profession of faith, and on its ground they requested the assembly to excuse them from endorsing or rejecting the decisions of the council.³²⁸ Signed by thirteen bishops from Egypt, the statement did not include the name of Eutyches among heretics to be excluded, neither did it express acceptance of the *Tome of Leo*.

One after another the leading bishops at the council insisted that the Egyptian bishops should condemn Eutyches by name and endorse the *Tome of Leo*. They however tried to evade the issue, and the bishops shouted that they were Eutychians. After much heated talk, the Egyptians said, 'Anathema to Eutyches and those who believe like him'. As to the *Tome of Leo*, they pointed out that they could not subscribe to it without the concurrence of their archbishop. This did not satisfy the assembly, and much effort was exerted to extract from them an acceptance of the document. Again the Egyptian bishops repeated their point that they were unable to do that unless they had with them their

archbishop. The council would not admit the plea. The faith contained in their confession was orthodox, argued the bishops. Yet the council would not give up. The ecumenical council is greater than the archbishopric of Egypt, shouted one member of the council, and therefore they should obey the assembly. The Egyptians now began to cry for mercy. 'We shall be killed', they said, 'when we return to our country'. 'Be martyrs for the faith', retorted the council. 'We shall die at your feet', answered the bishops, 'but not in Egypt'.

In the end the commissioners, again secular officials of the Byzantine state, ordered that the Egyptian bishops postpone their signing of the *Tome* until an archbishop was appointed for Egypt. The Roman legate Paschasinus was not satisfied with this ruling, and he demanded that the concession be granted on condition that they would be allowed to leave the city only after signing the *Tome*. The commissioners simply repeated their ruling. The council of Chalcedon tried in this way to establish that an acceptance of the *Tome of Leo* was indispensable for membership in the Church, but the bishops from Egypt made the point that the church in their country was not likely to accept the document.³²⁹

5. *The Council Adopts a Formula of the Faith*

The imperial policy of eliciting the council's approval for the *Tome of Leo* was now successfully carried out. The emperors had planned also to have the council adopt a doctrinal formula, by which to unite the church in the east under the supreme leadership of the see of Constantinople. On 10 October the bishops were practically unanimous in opposing the idea of drawing up a definition. But the commissioners insisted on it. Now on 22 October the eastern bishops came to the meeting with a draft statement for adoption by the council.

A. *A Scene of Tension*

Soon after the meeting began, the draft was read to the council by deacon Asclepiades. Since this document has not come down to us, we have no way of ascertaining its exact content. However, the debate that followed the reading enables us to say:

that it did not contain either the phrase ‘two natures after the union’ of the Antiochenes or the ‘in two natures’ of the *Tome of Leo* but it contained only the ‘from two natures’ of Dioscorus; that it had not used the word *Theotokos* with reference to Mary; and that the eastern bishops who admitted the second as an oversight, made it clear that they wanted to stand by the first.

When the reading came to an end, John of Germanicia raised objection to its adoption.³³⁰ Now Anatolius came forward to push it through. ‘Does the definition satisfy you?’ he asked the council. Immediately, the bishops, with the exception of the Roman legates and some orientals, answered that it was satisfying. and that they wanted to press for its adoption.³³¹ Anatolius again asked, ‘Was the definition satisfying to all yesterday?’ The bishops responded most affirmatively, adding that the draft statement should be adopted without any mutilation, but with the inclusion of the word *Theotokos* in reference to the Virgin.³³²

Thoroughly disillusioned, the Roman legates now stated addressing the commissioners, ‘If they do not agree with the apostolic man, the most blessed archbishop Leo, permit us to tender our resignation, in order that we may go back and bring the synod to completion’.³³³ This was indeed a threat which the commissioners could hardly permit to come to pass with impunity, and they suggested the appointment of a committee to draw up a new statement. The council however would not yield. ‘The definition has satisfied everyone’, they exclaimed; ‘these words to the emperor; this is the definition of the orthodox’.³³⁴ Now John of Germanicia went up to the commissioners for a private talk. Seeing him do this, The assembly lost all patience and gave free expression to their strong opposition to Nestorius whom they believed John had supported.³³⁵ Now the commissioners began to argue with the bishops. ‘Dioscorus has stated’, they said, ‘that Flavian had been deposed because he had affirmed two natures; the definition has ‘from two natures’.³³⁶ Anatolius had a quick answer. Dioscorus, he said, had not been condemned on a point of faith, so that there was nothing wrong in conserving the position affirmed by him!³³⁷

Again the commissioners argued. ‘Have you not accepted the letter of archbishop Leo?’ ‘Yes’, answered the bishops, ‘we have accepted and subscribed to it’. ‘But’, continued the commissioners, ‘what it contains is not found in the present definition’. Though the point made was thoroughly legitimate, the bishops were not willing to give in. ‘Another definition should not be drawn up’, they shouted: ‘no one abandons this definition’. ‘Another definition shall not be made’, burst out even Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the most implacable enemy of Dioscorus. To the specific point made by the commissioners, the bishops now rejoined. ‘The definition’, they said, ‘has confirmed the letter (of Leo). Archbishop Leo believes as we believe. Let the definition be signed; the definition is for all. Leo has affirmed the teaching of Cyril; Coelestine and Cyril have confirmed the faith; Xystus and Cyril have confirmed the faith. One baptism, one Lord, one faith. Remove the defect of the definition’.³³⁸ The point made by the bishops here is clear. In their draft they had included the *Tome of Leo* as an acceptable document, so that they expected the same courtesy from Leo by recognizing the orthodoxy of their draft. This obviously means that the eastern bishops did not accept the *Tome* as their doctrinal standard.

Now on the strength of an imperial mandate, the commissioners tried to persuade the bishops to agree to the appointment of a committee for preparing a new definition. But this had no effect. ‘Many years to the emperor’, they shouted; ‘either let him accept the definition or we depart’. This threat was voiced very sharply by Cecropius of Sebastopolis, one of the men who had served on the second deputation to Dioscorus on 13 October. ‘We think it fitting’, he said, ‘that we read the definition, and that those who are opposed to it and cannot sign, may leave. We are agreed that it has been well composed. There is no one among us who entertains doubts’.³³⁹ The Illyrian bishops also gave free expression to their views. ‘Those who are opposed’, they exclaimed, ‘are exposed; they are Nestorians. Let them wend their way to Rome’.³⁴⁰

Baffled beyond words, the commissioners—laymen who, according to the bishops on 13 October, were not required to be present when the case of patriarch Dioscorus was being heard³⁴¹ now made a final effort. ‘Dioscorus has stated’, they pointed out,

‘that he accepted the “from two natures” but did not admit two natures’. Leo has affirmed that two natures have been united without confusion, change and separation in Christ, the only Son, our Saviour. Whom do you follow, holy Leo or Dioscorus?’ The question was thoroughly unexpected, and the bishops were completely non-plussed. Now the issue before them was not ‘from two natures or in two natures’, but the Dioscorus whose condemnation they had already ratified and the Leo of Rome whose *Tome* they had declared a document of the faith. When the question was put in this way, straight came the answer. ‘As Leo, so we believe’, they admitted; ‘those who are opposed are Eutychians. Leo has conserved orthodoxy’.³⁴²

B. *The Bishops Reach Agreement*

The submission of the bishops was indeed most abrupt, and Hefele suggests that there is a break in the minutes.³⁴³ In our opinion, however, the incident can be explained without having recourse to such conjectures. From our point of view there is need for a far more serious comment. The statement of the commissioners which elicited the bishops’ surrender implies the reading that Dioscorus had opposed the affirmation of a union of the two natures without confusion, change and separation. This, in fact, was an unjustifiable distortion. For on 8 October, namely fourteen days before this incident, Dioscorus had stated unequivocally that there was a union of the natures, and that it did not bring about confusion, change, division and mixture.³⁴⁴ At Chalcedon it was Dioscorus who for the first time affirmed it, and thereby anticipated the four adverbs of the Chalcedonian definition itself.

When the bishops gave their assent, the commissioners required of them to draw up a new definition, conserving ‘the emphasis of our most holy father Leo that there was a union of the two natures without change, division or confusion in Christ’.³⁴⁵ Now the commissioners went into the oratory of the church of St. Euphemia with Anatolius and fifteen other men. They drew up a statement which was read to the council and was approved, and that is the Chalcedonian definition of the faith.

c. *Some Comments*

For one thing, the definition adopted the ‘in two natures’ in place of the ‘from two natures’ of the draft statement of the bishops. Judging from the minutes, there was no discussion at the council on the question of the phrase ‘in two natures’, so that we have no way of knowing why the bishops agreed to adopt it in place of the ‘from two natures’. The eastern critics of the council saw in it a betrayal of the already established norm of the faith.³⁴⁶ Faced with this challenge, the supporters of the council tried to make out that the phrases meant the same idea.³⁴⁷ If this was the truth, there was no real difference between the ‘from two natures’ of Dioscorus and the ‘in two natures’ of the council, and with a little bit of patience on the part of the triumphant party the division could have been avoided.

Interestingly enough, the ground on which Dioscorus was deposed was not that he refused to affirm the ‘in two natures’, or that he insisted on the ‘from two natures’; neither did the commissioners argue that the position held by the Alexandrine patriarch was heretical. What they did, on the other hand, was to tell the bishops that their emphasis was one which Dioscorus whom they had given up had all along maintained. Thus, without ascribing heresy to Dioscorus, the commissioners succeeded in a most ingenious way to gain the point which the imperial authority in Constantinople at the time wanted to conserve in deference to the bishop of Rome.

The Chalcedonian definition will engage our attention later, In the present context it may be noted that it was the emperors who really wanted to have a formula drawn up by the council, and their purpose was to bring the entire church in the east under the leadership of Constantinople. Accordingly they were keen to have a committee with members from the various traditions then existing in the Church prepare the document for adoption by the council. This was certainly a commendable sentiment. However, the emperors were themselves anti-Alexandrine and anti-Cyrrilline, and they were definitely keen to bring down Alexandria from the hegemony which it enjoyed in the east and to set up Constantinople in its place. To add to this was the fact that the council had been controlled by forces that had no sympathy with the teaching of the Alexandrine fathers. At the same time, the Alexandrine tradition and particularly Cyril had a

great hold in the east, and the synodal committee which drew up the definition had men who would stand by it. These men succeeded in putting in a few emphases coming from their tradition in the council's definition, which enabled sixth century Chalcedonian theologians in the east to develop a doctrinal position which was as anti-Nestorian as, if not more anti-Nestorian than, that of the council's opponents.

The definition claims continuity with the earlier established tradition in the Church, and particularly with the council of 431. Both the synod of 448 and the council of 449 had made the same claim, but in different senses, so that the question of the sense in which Chalcedon could be said to be continuous with the earlier council is indeed important. It is clear that the Roman legates, the imperial commissioners and the men of the Antiochene tradition had been holding only to the Antiochene view of the reunion of 433, and their alliance was so powerful that the Alexandrines had no possibility of making their point in any effective way. The definition was thus made deliberately vague in order to enable men of the various traditions to endorse it, and they did not read into it any agreed meaning.

This flexibility was also the weakness of the Chalcedonian definition. There were men in the east who had been deeply rooted in the teaching of the Alexandrine fathers, who found the definition inadequate to conserve the doctrinal heritage of the Church, and the council's treatment of persons—the condemnation of Dioscorus on the one hand, and the exoneration of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa—thoroughly indefensible. They opposed the council with a determination which no power on earth could check.

6. *The Exoneration of Theodoret and Ibas*

The lack of real agreement at the council of 451 with reference to the Alexandrine emphases is linked with the council's treatment of Theodoret and Ibas. Regarding them both, the two forces that controlled the council and the Antiochene party wanted only to make out that the sentence pronounced against them by the council of 449 had been simply irresponsible. But this view was not shared by a large section of the council's

participants. They believed that the two men were, in fact, Nestorians who had been justly condemned, and that the powerful party at the council should not be allowed to pass their resolution regarding them unless the men expressly condemned Nestorius and his teaching.

A. *The Case of Theodoret of Cyrus*

The question of Theodoret was treated at Chalcedon in two stages.³⁴⁸ On 8 October, soon after the reading of a mandate of Theodosius II forbidding Theodoret's participation in the council of 449 from the minutes of that council, the commissioners introduced the bishop of Cyrus to the assembly,³⁴⁹ ignoring his condemnation by the previous council, on the plea that he had been restored to the episcopate by Leo of Rome.³⁵⁰ As he came in, the bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine voiced their strong protest. 'Have mercy on us', they shouted. 'The faith is destroyed! the canons cast him out! Cast out the teacher of Nestorius!' Now the bishops of the other side rejoined that the man to be cast out was Dioscorus. In the midst of this tumult the bishop of Cyrus moved to the centre of the assembly and said that he had submitted petitions to 'the masters of the world' and implored the council's clemency to have them read. This served no purpose, and the two sides went on with their shouts and counter-shouts. 'He is no bishop', exclaimed his opponents; cast out the fighter against God; cast out the Jew!' The Alexandrine side was as much opposed to Theodoret as the Antiochene side was against Dioscorus. Following the uproarious scene, the commissioners ruled that Theodoret remain in the council in the capacity of a petitioner,

It was on 26 October that his case was again taken up by the council.³⁵¹ As soon as the question was mentioned, the bishops, ignoring the action of Leo, exclaimed, 'Theodoret is still under excommunication'. The bishop of Cyrus said that he had submitted petitions to the emperor and to the Roman legates, and that they might be read if the bishops so wished. The petitions of Theodoret, it should be remembered, were not addressed to the council. and the bishops replied that they did not want anything to be read but that he condemned Nestorius. 'I was brought up by the orthodox', responded Theodoret; 'I was taught by the

orthodox³⁵², I have preached orthodoxy; I avoid and count alien, not only Nestorius and Eutyches but everyone who does not have the correct thinking'. 'Speak plainly', demanded the bishops, 'anathema to Nestorius and his doctrine; anathema to Nestorius and those who defend him'. Theodoret now tried to offer an explanation of his position. 'Of a truth', he said, 'I say nothing but what I know is pleasing to God. First I want to make it clear that I am here, not because I care for my city or covet my rank. Since I have been falsely accused, I have come to make it clear that I am orthodox and that I condemn Nestorius and Eutyches, and everyone who affirms two sons'. The bishops now intervened and required of him again only to anathematize Nestorius. Once more the bishop of Cyrus tried to defend his own position, and the bishops shouted. 'He is a heretic! He is a Nestorian! Away with the heretic! Pushed to this extremity, Theodoret said, 'Anathema to Nestorius, to him who does not confess that holy Mary is *Theotokos* and to him who divides the one and only Son into two sons. I have already signed the definition of the faith as also the *Tome of Leo*, and my thinking accords with them'. These words of Theodoret show how careful he was in agreeing to condemn Nestorius, and the commissioners were satisfied. Commenting that Theodoret had condemned Nestorius, accepted the *Tome of Leo*, and signed the council's definition, they asked the bishops to signify their judgment regarding the man. 'Theodoret deserves the see', answered the bishops, 'the orthodox to the Church'. In this way Theodoret was restored to the communion of the Church as well as to his bishopric.³⁵³

The story of Theodoret's exoneration calls for one comment. The bishop of Cyrus was not convinced that either he or any leader of the Antiochene tradition, including Nestorius, had ever held any heretical position. Leo of Rome and his legates, who claimed to have anathematized Nestorius, had been supporting Theodoret without clarifying the basis of their action. In raising this point, we do not imply that Theodoret should have condemned Nestorius or Antiochene theologians like Theodore of Mopsuestia. In fact our point of view on this question is noted later in the present study. Here we want to observe that Leo of Rome, in declaring Nestorius a heretic on the one hand, and supporting Theodoret who had been an ally of Nestorius and who had not condemned the man on the other, maintained a

double standard in the Christological controversy. Behind this action of Leo his critics could very well see a deliberate plan to discredit the Ephesine council of 431 as also the theological tradition of the Alexandrine fathers.

The viewpoint of Leo on this issue was not shared by the eastern bishops who required of Theodoret to express his rejection of Nestorius in clear terms, although the alliance of Rome and the imperial authority in Constantinople at the time rendered them powerless to make their point effectively at the council. It is the point of view of these eastern bishops, not that of the Roman pope, which prevailed in the east during the sixth century, and which was ratified by the council of 553. This council, officially considered ecumenical even by Rome, declared the polemical works of Theodoret against the council of 431 and the theological position of Cyril heretical. In adopting this decision, though without admitting the fact, the council of 553 traced its doctrinal history through these eastern bishops to the council of Ephesus in 449, which had condemned Theodoret on the ground that his writing in question constituted a violation of the faith that had been established by the council of 431 and then ratified by the reunion of 433.

B. *The Exoneration of Ibas of Edessa*

In disposing of the case of Ibas also it is possible to discern an implicit attempt at discrediting the council of 431 by the party in power. The case of Ibas was taken up at Chalcedon on 26 October and decided the next day.

Ibas was indeed a controversial figure. A convinced Antiochene churchman, he had accompanied the Syrian delegation to the council of 431 as a monk. But unlike Theodoret, he had accepted the reunion of 433 at that time itself, and had written his letter to Maris, bishop of Ardaschir in Persia, offering an account of the council of Ephesus and the reunion, from the Antiochene point of view.

There arose a conflict between Nestorius and Cyril, wrote Ibas in the letter.³⁵⁴ The former maintained that the blessed Virgin was not *Theotokos*, thereby giving the impression that he was a

follower of Paul of Samosata. But the latter, in his effort to refute the former, was found to fall into the heresy of Apollinarius. He asserted, for instance, that God the Word became man in such a way that there was no difference between the temple and he who dwelt in it. In his twelve anathemas he seemed to argue that the nature of our Lord's Godhead and the nature of his manhood were one, and that with reference to the words and deeds, whether spoken by him or ascribed to him by the evangelists, no distinction should be drawn. 'How evil all this is, I am sure, you will know'. The teaching of the Church, on the contrary, is that the one Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, is two natures, one strength and one *prosopon*. The council of Ephesus met in order to judge between the positions held by Nestorius and Cyril. However, the latter assumed presidency and out of personal enmity excommunicated the former, even before John of Antioch and his episcopal colleagues had arrived. Two days later the delegates from the orient entered Ephesus and learned that the twelve anathemas of Cyril had been already approved as orthodox, this led to a controversy, which came to be resolved by a concordat. The Lord of the Church softened the heart of the Egyptian, so that without much effort he agreed to accept the faith and to renounce all those who would not believe as we do. Ibas concluded the letter by instructing his addressee to inform those who, he considered, were lovers of peace that the dispute had been brought to an end, and that those who had been inordinately raising themselves up over the living and the departed have³⁵⁵ now come to feel ashamed of their former position and apologize for their folly; for now no one ventures to assert that the Godhead and the manhood of Christ are one. But they confess that the temple and he who dwells therein are one Son, Jesus Christ.

The foregoing summary shows that Ibas was a man who had denounced the council of Ephesus in 431, the theological position of the Alexandrine fathers, and the teaching of Cyril. A supporter of Nestorius, he was, in the words of Tixorent, a sworn enemy of Cyril, whose theology he denounced as Apollinarianism.³⁵⁶ The letter of Ibas represented the typical Antiochene point of view regarding the reunion of 433.

Seeing that the writer of this letter was an invaluable source of assistance for the promotion of the Antiochene cause, he was

raised to the see of Edessa in 435 in succession of Rabbula, whose devotion to the Cyrilline theology had given them much trouble. But the new bishop's doctrinal position as well as his personal conduct in ecclesiastical matters aroused a great deal of opposition from the clergy and laity of the area.³⁵⁷ Although their complaints against him had not been decided by the tribunals which met at Berytus and Tyre,³⁵⁸ the council of 449 examined them and deposed Ibas on a charge of heresy as well as of mismanagement of ecclesiastical properties.³⁵⁹

At Chalcedon, when his question was taken up,³⁶⁰ Ibas came forward saying that he had been condemned by the Eutychians, but that he was indeed orthodox. Now the commissioners asked for the opinion of the bishops. In this context the proceedings adopted against him both at Berytus and at Tyre as well as the letter to Maris were noted, but the examination of his case by the council of 449 was not taken into consideration.

When the reading was all over, the Roman legates gave their verdict. It was to the effect that the evidence against Ibas did not warrant his excommunication, and that therefore he should be exonerated. Now Anatolius, Juvenal and Thalassius also spoke agreeing with the judgment of the legates. The statement made on the occasion by Juvenal deserves reproduction, as it is noted by Honigman. 'The Holy Scripture teaches us', he said, to admit the converted; therefore we admit even former heretics. For this reason I also agree with you that pity ("philanthropy") has been allotted to the venerable bishop Ibas, with the idea that he shall have the episcopal dignity, since he is now orthodox'.³⁶¹ Before the final decision was reached, the Roman legates made a statement. 'Having read the papers', they said, 'we realize that the decision of the bishops³⁶² with reference to Ibas had been irresponsibly given. After reading his letter³⁶³, we know that he is orthodox'.³⁶⁴ Following them, sixteen bishops signified their agreement individually, and all the bishops exclaimed, 'We all agree. He has already condemned Nestorius and Eutyches.'³⁶⁵ Ibas responded that he had anathematized in writing Nestorius and his teaching and that he was anathematizing him a million times.³⁶⁶ Anathema, he said, to Nestorius, to Eutyches, and to him who affirms one nature as well as to all those who would not accept the teaching of the council. Now Ibas was rehabilitated by the council.

In acquitting Ibas also there were two opinions among the delegates. Whereas the Roman legates and their eastern supporters voted for his exoneration on the ground that the sentence of condemnation passed against him by the council of 449 had been 'irresponsibly' given, the rest of the assembly agreed to his acquittal because he had already condemned Nestorius and Eutyches. It is the point of view of the latter group that prevailed in the eastern Chalcedonian side in the sixth century and was confirmed by the council of 553. It is clear therefore that with reference to both Theodoret and Ibas the Chalcedonian tradition set aside in a very subtle way the position which the powerful party at Chalcedon sought to establish. Here also the decision of the council of 553 declaring the letter of Ibas to Maris heretical confirmed the sentence, not of the Roman legates, but of the council of 449.³⁶⁷

7. Some Concluding Remarks

The most important decisions of the council of Chalcedon from the point of view of the present study were :—(i) Treatment of persons—the deposition of Dioscorus on the one hand, and the exoneration of Theodoret and Ibas on the other; (ii) The approval of The *Tome of Leo* as a document of the faith; and (iii) The adoption of the definition of the faith. In regard to none of these decisions there was real agreement among the members of the council. Dioscorus, for instance, was deposed by a party of the delegates, and the decision had to be accepted by the rest of the assembly in a sort of an uneasy way. With reference to both Theodoret and Ibas, though the party in power endeavoured to make out that they had never deserved any punishment, the other bishops insisted that they were in fact heretics who could be accepted only if they excommunicated Nestorius in unmistakable terms. As to the *Tome*, the forces that controlled the council tried to declare it the doctrinal standard for the Church. But many of the eastern bishops accepted it only as a concession. The council's definition was so composed that it could be interpreted by men belonging to the different traditions in the Church, each in his own way.

Regarding the council's endorsement of earlier tradition also there was very real disagreement. Whereas the forces that controlled the council had admitted the authority of the council of 431 only insofar as the Antiochene side had acknowledged it, the rest of the assembly insisted on a categorical acceptance of the council and its decisions in their entirety. From the Alexandrine point of view, the position adopted by the triumphant party constituted a violation of the already established tradition of the Church, opposed as it was to the terms of agreement reached between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch prior to the reunion of 433. Though the Alexandrine partisans at the council were rendered powerless to make this point of theirs effectively and even made to submit to the powerful party who could successfully point to Eutyches as their trump card, their position had a great following in the east. It asserted itself after the council.

Any assessment of the council of Chalcedon should pay sufficient attention to the fact that the real issue on which the east had been practically divided into two camps from the time of the reunion of 433 was not Eutyches or Flavian, but the divergent interpretation of the council of 431 itself. The men were in fact nothing more than scapegoats, on each of whom his opponents laid their accusations and tried to do away with him as an expression of their rejection of the party which he represented. The forces which controlled the council, namely Rome on the one hand and the imperial authority in Constantinople on the other, used the council for the carrying out of their respective plans—Rome for asserting its claim of universal supremacy over the Church and the emperors for trying to bring the entire Church in the east under the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople. Neither of these forces had the patience to examine the problem facing the Church at that time objectively and offer a solution which would satisfy all parties. It was perhaps humanly impossible. In any case, the many communities in the east which followed the Alexandrine tradition continued firm in their religious adherence. They challenged the council's authority by taking up their stand uncompromisingly on the Alexandrine interpretation of the council of Ephesus in 431.

CHAPTER FOUR

REACTION TO THE COUNCIL IN THE EAST

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

The council of Chalcedon was adjourned after its final session on 1 November 451. The emperor and the empress were indeed gratified that at last in their day the Church was properly unified, and the leaders of the council were also pleased that its decisions were unanimously accepted by the participants. In fact, although there were complaints that force was applied to elicit signatures,³⁶⁸ Dioscorus and the thirteen Egyptian bishops alone had not actually signed the *Tome* and the Chalcedonian definition of the Faith. Since the patriarch had been deposed and his persistence in refusing to sign till the end led to his banishment to Gangra in Paphlagonia³⁶⁹ his was not a case with any real significance.³⁷⁰ What happened to the Egyptian bishops is not known, except that four of them made their submission in the end and got back to Alexandria to consecrate a successor for Dioscorus. Thus unlike almost any ecclesiastical assembly in ancient times, the council of Chalcedon ended with a note of unity.

The emperor ratified the decrees of the council with appropriate edicts and invested them with legal status in the empire. Already on 25 October, after addressing the council, Marcian had explained his plan in this direction³⁷¹ and following the council he issued a number of mandates to the same effect.³⁷² A brief glance into these writings will show how determined the monarch was to establish the council. In his address to the council Marcian said that anyone who disputed the council's definition would be punished in proportion to his position and rank; if he was an officer in the government, he would forfeit his status: if he was a private person, he would be expelled from the

city; if he was a member of the clergy, he would lose his rank and be subjected to other penalties besides.³⁷³

In almost all other writings bearing on the subject the emperor argued that the council of Chalcedon did only ratify the faith of the Church in conformity with the creed of Nicea as expounded by the councils of 381 and 431, and that the council's critics were indeed heretics. The council, asserted Marcian, 'made absolutely no innovation about the apostolic faith, but in all respects.....followed the teaching of Athanasius and Theophilus and Cyril'. Marcian did not draw here the distinction between an 'official Cyril' and an 'unofficial Cyril' implied in the words of the commissioners at the council of 451.³⁷⁴ The council condemned Eutyches, insisted Marcian, because he was a follower of Apollinarius: Eutyches was followed by Dioscorus; both of them teach the ideas of Apollinarius.³⁷⁵ 'For Eutyches and Dioscorus followed with sacrilegious mind Apollinarius'.³⁷⁶ Therefore, decreed the emperor, Apollinarians, namely Eutychians, wherever they may be found, following earlier emperors, shall not have the right to execute a will, or to inherit according to the provisions of wills. Whatever is left for them by others will be forfeited. They should not ordain bishops or priests or other clergymen. Their bishops and clergy shall be liable to expulsion and their properties to be confiscated. They shall not build churches or monasteries; they shall have no assemblies or meetings by day or by night; they shall not meet in any private house 'to celebrate their deadly rites'; if they do this with the consent of the owner, that house or estate shall be confiscated. They shall not write anything against the council; if they do, they shall be exiled perpetually, and their books shall be destroyed.³⁷⁷

The lack of agreement between Rome and Constantinople came to be expressed soon after the council. Leo of Rome for instance, refused to recognize the council for some time.³⁷⁸ The ruling concerning the see of Constantinople,³⁷⁹ which the council adopted at its final session, was not acceptable to the pope, and he protested against the decision in clear terms.

Meanwhile almost the entire Egypt and a considerable part of other areas in the east began to line up against the council, notwithstanding the strict measures adopted by emperor Marcian.

Like the resolution concerning Constantinople which Rome had not anticipated before the council met, this development also had not been foreseen by the imperial authority in Constantinople. But the threat to the decrees of the council had to be met, and Marcian himself despatched letters to Leo pleading for his approving the council.³⁸⁰ Now the need to establish the council's authority against its opponents brought Rome and Constantinople closer to each other again in spite of differences between them.³⁸¹ Thus the two forces which had controlled the council were led to unity at a time when they had come to the brink of a break, and they continued in that state for over two decades. It is against the combination of these two forces, which at that time was indeed invincible, that the movement against the council of Chalcedon had to carry on its operations.

The history of the movement belongs to four stages. The first, comprises the period between 451 and 475, during which the initial opposition to the council was expressed in a number of areas in the east. But it had no imperial backing, so that it could be suppressed and reduced to the status of negligible sects in certain inaccessible corners by the might of imperial arms in a few generations. The second stage, covering the period between 475 and 518, was one which gave the non-Chalcedonian movement time to strengthen itself. This was followed by the third stage from 518 to 536. During this time, although emperor Justin I brought back in 518 an era of persecution against the opponents of the council, his nephew and successor Justinian who had, in fact, worked out the religious policy of his uncle saw need for trying to settle the issue by negotiation. But the plan failed, and ever since the church in the Byzantine empire has come to be organized in two separate camps. Efforts to unify them were carried on till the Arab conquest of the near east. The period between the reign of Justinian and the Arab conquest constitutes the fourth stage in the history of the non-Chalcedonian movement.

2. *The Period of Initial Opposition*

'The religious disturbances', writes A. A. Vasiliev.³⁸² 'in Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch caused by the forced introduction of the decisions of the council assumed the

character of serious national revolts and were suppressed by the civil and military authorities only after much bloodshed'. The council of Chalcedon was opposed by a great part of Christian east.

A. *Jerusalem and Palestine*

It was in Jerusalem that the first storm of reaction was raised. Juvenal of Jerusalem, one of the presidents with Dioscorus at the second council of Ephesus in 449, was a strong supporter of the - Alexandrine theological tradition. But, as we have noted, he made his submission to the triumphant party during the first session of the council itself. When, however, he came back from Chalcedon his flock refused to accept him.

Juvenal was indeed a noteworthy character. Consecrated bishop of Jerusalem probably in 422 as successor to Praylius, he held the see till his death in 458. A man most probably of Latin origin, as Honigman observes,³⁸³ he had one great aim in life, and that was to have the see of Jerusalem elevated to a patriarchal rank with jurisdiction even over Antioch, which had been recognized as a major see by the council of Nicea in 325. In fact, the immoderate claims of Juvenal in this respect had offended both the bishop of Rome and Cyril of Alexandria. As we have seen, at the first and second councils of Ephesus, on account of the particular circumstances in which they had met, Juvenal could occupy the second place among the delegates, and at Chalcedon he sat next to patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria. After his change of sides, he held a place of esteem at the council and was one of the men constituting the synodal committee which drew up the council's definition. In the end he achieved his goal of gaining a patriarchal title for his see and he was satisfied. But his flock was not ready to follow him.

In May or early June Juvenal must have received the invitation to the council which emperor Marcian was going to convene. Even before that incident, the *Tome of Leo* had reached almost everywhere in the east, and Juvenal himself must have seen the document. So, before setting out for the council, 'being convinced that the *Tome* contained heretical teaching, supporting the views of Nestorius, he summoned the clergy and gathered the

monks and people, and exposed the foul doctrine and anathematized it. He confirmed many in the right faith and enjoined on them all to hold communion with him no more, should he change at the council'.³⁸⁴

As one of the presidents of the council of 449 who had exercised as much authority over it as patriarch Dioscorus, Juvenal had the moral responsibility as a man, if not as a Christian or even as a bishop, to press for the raising of the real issue for the council's deliberation. But without ever trying to do this, when he found that the alliance of the imperial authority and the bishop of Rome was indeed powerful, and that he could gain his goal only through the favour of the forces which controlled the council, he quietly made his submission even before the close of the council's first session.

This incident was being watched by monks belonging to his own flock. Following the usual custom in those ancient times, monks from many parts of the east had arrived in Chalcedon in order to have a direct view of the council. Among them there were men who had come from Palestine, the chief of whom was a monk by name Theodosius. As soon as these men came to know that Juvenal made his change of sides, they returned to their country and passed on the news to their fellow monks, clergy and people, and prepared the ground for a serious encounter. Weeks later, when Juvenal came back from Chalcedon, a large body of monks, clergy and laity met him. They reminded him of his own promise before leaving and offered him the choice between abjuring the council and withdrawing from the see. Without waiting to give an answer or trying to enter the city, Juvenal made his way to Constantinople. Meanwhile 'the assembly of monks and the clergy returned to Jerusalem and called together the people and their bishops.'³⁸⁵ They decided to appoint Theodosius as archbishop in place of Juvenal.

Theodosius was a fiery monk and a convinced adherent of the Alexandrine position. He had opposed the efforts of the Antiochene side to discredit the faith of the fathers, as he had understood it, in the same way as Juvenal himself had been doing. In this connection³⁸⁶ he had gone to Alexandria in 447 and agitated against Theodoret of Cyrus and Domnus of Antioch. After his consecration, Theodosius started on a programme of

organizing the movement against the council of 451, and appointed bishops in all dioceses of Palestine, men proposed by the people. In all this Theodosius had the backing of the dowager empress Eudoxia, the widow of Theodosius II, who had made her residence in Palestine from 443. This was a time of anti-Chalcedonian demonstration and in their enthusiasm the opponents of the council did not desist from committing crime, so emperor Marcian notes that they killed Severian of Scythopolis and those with him.³⁸⁷

One of the men consecrated by Theodosius was Peter the Iberian. A man respected even at the imperial court in Constantinople, he was an important leader of the non-Chalcedonian movement till his death in *circa* 488. This Peter was prince Nabarnugins of Iberia, a small kingdom on the eastern side of the Black Sea³⁸⁸ who had been given as a hostage to emperor Theodosius II by the Iberian ruler while he was still a small boy. He grew up in the palace, where his amiable qualities endeared him so much to the emperor and the empress that in course of time he was appointed as an officer in the state's cavalry. But after some time he left the post and, with John his godfather, he retired into an ascetic life in the wilderness of Palestine. He built up a monastic institution at Maiuma, the port of Gaza in south western Palestine. When the body of monks and people went to meet Juvenal on his return from Chalcedon, Peter also was with them. From that time on he exerted all his weight in support of the movement against Chalcedon. Theodosius consecrated him as bishop of Maiuma on 7 August 452. His monastery at this place continued to be the centre of the movement in Palestine.

The revolt in Palestine was bound to be more or less short-lived. Theodosius could occupy the see for a period of about twenty months, till the middle of 453, when Juvenal came back escorted by an army. Both the emperor and the empress as well as pope Leo put out all their might and influence to suppress the council's opponents. Marcian, on his part, wrote to Macarius and the monks of Sinai, to the monks of Palestine, and a general letter against the Eutychians and Apollinarians³⁸⁹ Pulcheria also addressed letters to the abbess of a monastery in Jerusalem.³⁹⁰ Pope Leo did not only write to the monks of Palestine and Eudoxia herself, but also induced the western emperor

Valentinian III to persuade his mother-in-law to give up supporting the non-Chalcedonian movement.³⁹¹

In all these communications Chalcedon is defended on the one hand by arguing that it was continuous with the three earlier councils, and on the other by describing the point of view of the anti-Chalcedonians in a way which they would not acknowledge as their position. Marcian, for instance, asserts that Theodosius was fighting against God like Apollinarius, Valentinus and Nestorius: that he was a follower of Eutyches; and that the monks who claimed to disown Eutyches should dissociate themselves from Theodosius. Both Pulcheria and the pope himself repeated the same story against the opponents of the council.

Besides writing letters and issuing mandates, Marcian gave orders to seize Theodosius and the bishops consecrated by him. Juvenal deposed the men without losing any time. Peter the Iberian, however, was left alone on account of his favour at the court. But Peter did not stay long in Palestine to enjoy this clemency. He in fact went over to Alexandria and lived in Egypt. The army now carried out a bloody massacre and Theodosius tried to escape to Egypt. On hearing about troubles among men in Antioch who opposed the council, he moved thither.³⁹² As he was at the gate of the city, he was recognized by a former acquaintance who betrayed him to the authorities. He was caught and taken to Constantinople, where he was kept in custody in a room in the monastery of Dios, which had unslaked lime stored in it. After the death of Marcian, emperor Leo I released him in 457, but he died in a few days time at Sycae.

Although Juvenal was safe with the military escort, he was hated by the majority of the Palestinian monks and people. He tried however to pacify them and to persuade them to accept the council. He held a council and sent circular letters to 'the priests, archimandrites and monks of the province of Palestine',³⁹³ arguing that the council of Chalcedon had only confirmed the creed of Nicea, and that there was no real basis for anyone to oppose it.

In spite of all these efforts, the monks of Jerusalem and of the desert refused Juvenal communion. One of them, Solomon, was

so daring as to approach Juvenal as though seeking his blessings, but concealing a bag full of ashes within his overcoat which he emptied on the head of the patriarch.³⁹⁴ Gerontius, the archimandrite of the monasteries of Melania the Younger for forty years, would not even speak to him. 'God forbid', he said, 'that I should see the face of the traitor Judas'. Archdeacon Stephen of Jerusalem left the clergy of the holy city and finished his life as a pilgrim in order not to have anything to do with Juvenal.³⁹⁵ The patriarch, of course, had supporters among the monastic communities under the leadership of Euthymius.

Empress Eudoxia did not support the movement against Chalcedon for a long time, for she was forced by circumstances beyond her control to make peace with the Byzantine court and accepted the communion of Juvenal in 456. In 455 the Vandal king Gaiseric captured Rome, which affected the safety of her daughter, the wife of Valentinian III, and their children. In fact, Valentinian was murdered. The anxious Eudoxia appealed to the court in Constantinople for help, and she was told that she could expect this only if she joined with Juvenal, which she did, though her hope was not properly fulfilled?³⁹⁶

Palestine thus inaugurated the opposition to Chalcedon. The fact that the council of Chalcedon had recognized Jerusalem as a patriarchal see should naturally endear the council to its incumbents. Besides, there were monastic communities in the area consisting of men from different parts of Christendom, whom a person like Euthymius could rally round Chalcedonian adherence. Yet Palestine had to wait till about the last decade of the fifth century to have a majority of the monastic communities in the area to accept the council of 451. Following Juvenal who died in 458, Anastasius, Martyrius and Sallustius became patriarchs in succession. These men were willing to maintain peace in the area even without accepting Chalcedon. But in 494 Sallustius (486-494) appointed Sabas as archimandrite of all Palestine, a man who became a famous monastic leader in the tradition of Euthymius. In the same year Sallustius was succeeded by Elias (494-516),³⁹⁷ who adopted an uncompromising Chalcedonian stand. Now the two men worked together for the establishment of Chalcedon in Palestine. They succeeded so much that, as Michael the Syrian notes,³⁹⁸ there was no primate in Jerusalem from the time of Elias who

supported the non-Chalcedonian tradition till after the conquest of Palestine by the Arabs.

B. *Alexandria and Egypt*

The four of the thirteen Egyptian bishops who had made their surrender at Chalcedon returned to their home country. They handed to the prefect of Alexandria the emperor's letter ordering the appointment of a successor to Dioscorus. The court and the city nobles elected Proterius, archpriest of Dioscorus, whom he had put in charge of looking after the church during his absence at Chalcedon. The four bishops consecrated him patriarch in place of Dioscorus. The ceremony had to be conducted, however, in the midst of a great tumult.³⁹⁹ Moreover, in spite of his connection with Dioscorus, the new patriarch had to be constantly guarded by the military escort left at his disposal by the government. The monks and congregations continued to look upon Dioscorus alone as their rightful patriarch till his death and stayed away from the communion of Proterius altogether. 'When the news of the deposition of their Bishop reached Egypt', writes A. H. Hore⁴⁰⁰ 'the indignation of the native population knew no bounds; with one consent they refused to acknowledge the decision of the Council, or, if their Bishop was excommunicated, They would be excommunicated too; so long as he lived, they would acknowledge no other Bishop'. Frend notes that Proterius' following 'was largely made up of "nobles" and officials. The great majority of The Egyptian church and people had separated themselves from him in disgust'.⁴⁰¹

Emperor Marcian, however, tried to unite the church in Egypt with Proterius. He deputed John the *decurion* to Alexandria with a letter containing a strong apology for the council of Chalcedon.⁴⁰² After defending the council with reference to its condemnation of Eutyches and Dioscorus - both of whom being denounced as Apollinarians - the emperor insisted that the council of 451 confirmed the faith of the 318 fathers, in which the emperor had been baptized and in which he stood firm. The letter goes on to affirm that 'our Lord and Saviour Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, for us and for our salvation became man, born from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, the same is

truly both God and man, not one and another (may this not be), but one and the same, in no way divided or separated or convertible'. The emperor made it clear that the council had excluded the doctrine of 'two sons' and 'two persons'. The letter did not produce the expected results. On the contrary, the emperor's emissary became impressed by the loyalty of the Egyptians to Dioscorus, and instead of trying to persuade them to join with Proterius, he took from them a petition setting forth their point of view to be presented to the emperor, although this did not please Marcian.

Dioscorus died in his place of exile on 4 September 454, a little over a year after the death of empress Pulcheria in July 453. Even-though his flock wished to appoint a successor, the strong measures adopted by Marcian against the movement that opposed Chalcedon in Palestine and his mandates and decrees containing very severe threats against anyone who criticized the council led them to postpone action. They, however, continued in their attitude of refusing to communicate with Proterius.

Marcian died on 26 January, 457. Now general Dionysius being away in Upper Egypt, the people assembled in the church of the *Caesareum* and elected Timothy nicknamed Aelurus⁴⁰³ as the patriarch in succession of Cyril and Dioscorus. The consecration had to be performed before the general came back, so that it had to be conducted in haste by two Egyptian bishops and Peter the Iberian on 16 March 457. Proterius who had already removed Timothy from Alexandria while he was a presbyter⁴⁰⁴ now issued letters of excommunication against him as bishop and all others who refused to communicate with him. These letters, of course, had no weight with the people of Egypt, who had ignored the man and his actions. But when general Dionysius heard of the incident, he came back and had Timothy arrested in the midst of much killing. This led to feuds among people so as to cause many deaths, and the general was forced to release Timothy.⁴⁰⁵ Zacharia reports that the great church of Alexandria was taken away from the possession of Timothy and given to Proterius by the officials, but that during the Easter season 'children without number were brought to Timothy to be baptized, so that because of their multitude those who were writing and reading out names became weary'; but only five were brought to Proterius.⁴⁰⁶

Before long Proterius was murdered, his body being dragged through the streets was burnt in the Hippodrome. The murder was done by soldiers, says Zacharia,⁴⁰⁷ who, being irritated by the man's insatiable demand for his opponents blood, perpetrated the deed, but the people expressed their animosity against him. Evagrius, the sixth century Chalcedonian historian, notes that it was the work of a man on the side of Timothy under the latter's instigation.⁴⁰⁸ Timothy became very popular with the people by his life of service to the needy. Zacharia notes that he utilized the moneys, which Proterius had been using to maintain soldiers, for the support of the poor, the orphans and the widows. He endeared himself so much to the people that the Chalcedonian body in Alexandria approached him with the request to receive them and unify the church. This move did not, however, fructify as there arose disagreement within the Chalcedonian body itself on this point.

Marcian was succeeded to the throne by Leo I, a Thracian army officer⁴⁰⁹ in the service of Aspar who was the military general, *magister militum praesentalis*, of the empire from 440. With the death of Pulcheria in the summer of 453 the Theodosian family had become practically extinct. The two halves of the empire were now in the hands of two officers of the Germanic racial stock, Ricimer in the west and Aspar in the east. With the murder of Valentinian III in 455, the former had grown very powerful so as to make and unmake kings till the institution of the western emperor disappeared from 476. Though less mighty Aspar had enough strength to see that Leo, one of his supporters, was raised to the throne on 7 February 457. He had, in fact, a hand in the elevation of Marcian himself in 450.

A straightforward and simple-minded soul, as Zacharia describes him, the new emperor became distressed about the troubles in Egypt, Palestine and elsewhere in the east on account of the council. Soon after his accession to the throne, letters were addressed to Leo by both sides in Alexandria. The bishops and clergy on the side of Proterius wrote to the emperor requesting that Timothy be put down⁴¹⁰ but this was countered by letters despatched by the people of Alexandria in support of Timothy. The patriarch himself wrote a letter to the emperor, expressing the view that a new council be convened and the subject of the council of Chalcedon be discussed over again.⁴¹¹

The emperor was in favour of calling a council. But he was prevented from adopting the step by Leo of Rome who wrote six letters on 1 September 457 and Anatolius of Constantinople who suggested the plan of taking a referendum. Now the emperor issued a circular letter to all metropolitans and bishops in the empire asking them for their views concerning the council of Chalcedon on the one hand, and the consecration of Timothy of Alexandria on the other.⁴¹² In the letter Leo referred to the 'things that had happened lately in Alexandria' and enclosed copies of the petitions sent him by 'bishops and clergy of Alexandria' against Timothy and by persons in support of him. The people of Alexandria, and the dignitaries and officials and the ship-owners, wrote the emperor, asked for Timothy to be their bishop, and they did not agree concerning the council of Chalcedon. So the emperor required of them to hold a meeting of the bishops in their areas and send him their opinion on Timothy and the council of 451.

In reply Leo of Rome wrote two letters. In one of them he discussed the question of Timothy, and in the other he supported the body in Alexandria which continued loyal to the memory of Proterius. Denouncing Timothy as 'Antichrist', as Zacharia reports,⁴¹³ the pope informed his imperial namesake that even the clergy in Constantinople were on the side of Timothy, reproved Anatolius for his indolence, and defended his own *Tome*. In answer to the letter of the emperor, Anatolius wrote condemning Timothy on the ground of his repudiation of the council of Chalcedon.

The referendum was a hard blow to Timothy, for all the bishops who responded to the emperor gave their verdict against him, and all but Amphilocius of Side⁴¹⁴ in favour of the council. The bishop of Side criticized the council and the *Tome* on the ground as much of their theology as of the compulsion and partiality which the council had exercised, and he besought the emperor to take necessary action for its abrogation.

In evaluating this incident, the following points should be noted. (I) Emperor Leo's plan was to convene a council to discuss the subject of the council of Chalcedon, thereby to find a solution to the problem. It was Anatolius of Constantinople and Leo of

Rome who changed the monarch's mind in the matter. The fact that these were the two men more than anyone else in the Church who had benefited by the council of Chalcedon is enough evidence to say that they were trying to keep to the gain which they had made through the council of 451. (2) The emperor sent his circular letter in 458, barely seven years after the council of Chalcedon had been adjourned, so that most of the men to whom the document was transmitted had taken part in the council. It was only natural for them to save their face by defending a position which they had adopted and which they could still maintain without fear. (3) As we shall see, in 475 when Basiliscus issued his encyclical abrogating the council of Chalcedon, there were about seven hundred eastern bishops to sign the document. (4) The bishops of Alexandria had been consecrated in Alexandria. To raise the question of Timothy's consecration in the letter of emperor Leo implied a calling in question of the autonomy of Alexandria. The importance of Leo's referendum should be seen, therefore, not as an indication of the fact that the council of Chalcedon was accepted by the east, but as signifying the unwillingness of the Chalcedonian side to discuss the doctrinal issue with the council's opponents in a fair way.⁴¹⁵

No council was held, but by the end of 459 Timothy was ordered to go into exile to Gangra, from where he was moved to Cherson⁴¹⁶ in the Crimea after four years. He had to be arrested in the midst of a terrible confusion and riot raised by the people to rescue their patriarch, and in the resulting turmoil, as Zacharia narrates, more than ten thousand souls came to be killed.⁴¹⁷ In the end Timothy was seized from the baptistery of the church where he had taken refuge, and removed from the city. His route to Gangra lay along the coast of Palestine, and everywhere he halted on the way he was highly honoured by the people. While passing through Berytus⁴¹⁸ he was accorded a public reception under the initiative of Eustathius.⁴¹⁹

Timothy Aelurus being expelled, the Chalcedonian side, supported by the state, appointed another Timothy nicknamed *Salophaciolus* or *Ra'ulphakilo*⁴²⁰ to succeed Proterius. A man beyond his age in his conciliatory spirit, he tried to unite the factions in the church very seriously. Zacharia notes that once when he saw a woman carrying a child who had been baptized

by a priest of the non-Chalcedonian side, he took the child and kissed it saying, 'They and we are Christians. Let everyone believe as he wishes and honour the Lord'.⁴²¹ In his desire to pacify the people, he went so far as to include the name of Dioscorus in the diptychs hoping thereby to heal the schism, though it did not bear fruit, and on the Chalcedonian side Leo of Rome took him to task for it. But the church in Egypt could not be brought to unity.

Timothy remained in exile till he was recalled by Basiliscus in 475. During the more than fifteen years of his life in exile he continued to oppose Nestorianism and the council of Chalcedon on the one hand, and the ideas similar to those ascribed to Eutyches on the other, through his writings. In other words, he showed that his objection to the council of 451 was not the result of any sympathy for the heresy which Chalcedon had sought to exclude.

It was in late 475 that Timothy returned to Alexandria. By that time he was a very old man. On his return he was received by his flock with great ovation. He had brought with him the bones of Dioscorus from his place of exile and had them interred with his predecessors of the see of Alexandria. In less than a year of Timothy's return to Alexandria, Basiliscus was ousted by Zeno, who ordered the repeal of everything that had been done in the previous regime. This affected the non-Chalcedonian movement seriously, whose leaders were again exiled. However, in the case of Timothy, whether led by consideration of his old age or by realizing that an expulsion of the man would cause thousands of deaths, Zeno did not enforce his order. In any case Timothy died on 31 July 477, and was succeeded by Peter Mongus.

C. *Antioch and Syria*

One of the strong centres of the theology of 'two natures after the union', Antioch had also adherents of the theology of 'one incarnate nature of God The Word'. In regard to the latter's activities during the first decade after the council of Chalcedon no recorded information seems to be available. In 449 the second council of Ephesus had condemned Domnus of Antioch and his place came to be given to Maximus. Although the council of Chalcedon reversed the decisions of the earlier council, Domnus

retired from the episcopate, leaving Maximus in the see. Maximus died in 455 and his three successors, Basil (456-459), Acacius (459-461), and Martyrius (461-471), were Chalcedonians. While Martyrius was away in Constantinople in the year 468, the party opposed to the council of 451 asserted itself and raised Peter the Fuller, their candidate, as patriarch. When Martyrius came back in about a year's time, he could muster strength and see to the expulsion of Peter. But the anti-Chalcedonian party drove out Martyrius and restored Peter. The state now intervened and banished Peter, who was recalled by Basiliscus along with Timothy of Alexandria in 475.

3. *Opposition Gains Strength*

Emperor Leo I died on 18 January 474. He had two daughters. Ariadne and Leontia. Ariadne, the elder, was married in 468 to Zeno, an Isaurian landlord, who had been made the chief of the army in the orient in 466 or 467. They had a son, Leo, who had been made co-emperor with Leo the senior. With the death of the latter, Zeno was raised as co-emperor with his boy son. Leo the junior died on 17 November and Zeno was confirmed as sole emperor. But he came to realize soon that he had opponents among his own Isaurian kinsmen. One of these was indeed Basiliscus, a brother of the deceased emperor's wife Verina, who was at one time a fellow soldier with Zeno. supported by Acacius of Constantinople and the queen mother herself, Basiliscus seized the helm of the empire, which he held for less than two years, till Zeno conquered him and regained his imperial title in late August 476.

A. *Basiliscus and his Encyclical*

On 9 January 475 Basiliscus was declared emperor. One of the first things which he did on coming to power was to recall from exile the non-Chalcedonian leaders, Timothy Aelurus, Peter the Fuller, Paul of Ephesus, and others. What made Basiliscus adopt this step is indeed a question which has engaged the minds of historians. We have in fact a clear clue in the account of the incident as preserved by Zacharia.⁴²² He notes that on hearing of Leo's death and the elevation of Zeno, a deputation of monks from Egypt came to the capital to enlist the sympathies of the new emperor for the non-Chalcedonian cause. When they arrived

in Constantinople, they found Basiliscus instead of Zeno to be in command and with him Theoctitus as *magister officiosus*. One of the monks from Egypt was Theopampis, a brother of Theoctitus. These men, in consultation with Acacius and under the influence of Zenonis,⁴²³ the wife of Basiliscus, led him to this step. Learning of the connection between Theoctitus and Theopampis, Acacius feared that the powerful officer might work to have him replaced by his brother, and began to be less enthusiastic in his support of Basiliscus. Acacius did even try to have the visit of Timothy Aelurus to the capital cancelled though with no success.

Timothy came to Constantinople and was received by Alexandrine ship-owners and people of the city. Residing in the capital as the guest of the emperor and his wife, he encouraged Basiliscus to issue an encyclical abrogating the innovation made at Chalcedon and condemning the *Tome of Leo*. Timothy's effort to associate Acacius with the encyclical by securing his signature for the document could not succeed. Thus from the beginning the encyclical of Basiliscus was doomed to failure, though Timothy and his associates did not see this real fact at that time.

Drafted by Paul⁴²⁴, a learned monk, the encyclical⁴²⁵ was issued on 9 April 475, addressed to 'all cities and people throughout the empire.' It was outspoken in its rejection of the council of Chalcedon. The creed of Nicea, the encyclical insisted, should 'prevail over the orthodox people' in all churches as the only symbol of the faith. This creed had been ratified by the council of Constantinople and the council of Ephesus. The decisions of these Councils regarding the Holy Spirit and the person of Christ in relation to the teaching of Nestorius should be binding. Since the *Tome of Leo* and the council of Chalcedon introduced an innovation in the faith, both should be anathematized everywhere. In the same way the 'heresy of those not confessing that the Only-Begotten Son of God in truth was made into flesh and assumed man's nature from the Holy Spirit and from Mary, the Holy and Ever-virgin and Mother of God, but talking marvels - that he was either from heaven or according to fantasy and appearance' should be condemned. The document called on all bishops to sign it as an indication that they accept the creed of Nicea as confirmed by the councils of 381 and 431, thereby repudiating the council of Chalcedon. If however anyone clings to the council of Chalcedon whether he be a bishop or a

clergyman, he should be deposed; if he be a monk or a layman, he should be liable to exile and confiscation of properties. In this way the law which had been promulgated by Theodosius II should be followed.

Soon after the publication of the encyclical, Timothy was made to face opposition from the Eutychians in the city. In Constantinople there was a strong body of monks and people who honoured the old monk who once had been a popular figure. They were embarrassed by the words in the encyclical condemning a fantastical view of Christ and approached Timothy in the hope that he would express himself in their defence. Seeing, however that he would not favour them, they advised empress Zenonis to have Timothy again deposed. Instructed by Theocitus, Timothy left the capital and made his way to Alexandria, halting en route at Ephesus⁴²⁶ to take part in a council of eastern bishops.

In its enthusiasm the assembly of bishops held at Ephesus under the presidency of Timothy endorsed the encyclical and passed its resolution against Chalcedon's ruling with reference to Constantinople. This latter decree of the council may well have pleased certain persons in the east at that time, but it could never obtain acceptance from Constantinople. Chalcedon's decree, for instance, had granted the patriarch of the capital the right to consecrate bishops for the provinces of Pontus, Asia and Thrace, over which Ephesus had exercised jurisdiction.⁴²⁷ The Ephesine council felt gratified that it made a great achievement, and the encyclical was signed by Timothy Aelurus, Peter the Fuller, Anastasius of Jerusalem, Paul of Ephesus and, as Zacharia notes, by bishops of the east numbering about seven hundred men.⁴²⁸ The bishops addressed a reply to Basiliscus, affirming the faith of Nicea as it had been upheld by the later councils of 381, 431 and 449, condemning Macedonianism and Nestorianism as well as those who maintain that our Lord Jesus Christ had his body only as an appearance, and that it had come from heaven.⁴²⁹

The success here was short-lived. Acacius of Constantinople who had not signed the encyclical, though he had supported Basiliscus in the beginning, now changed his mind towards the man. He naturally did not like Timothy Aelurus action in seeking to deprive his see of the prerogatives granted to it by Chalcedon.

Equally displeasing was the rumour that a council was going to be held in Jerusalem in order to have the Egyptian monk Theopampis made patriarch in his place.⁴³⁰ In the face of these threats Acacius could offer strong resistance. He could count on support from the monastic body in Constantinople. As we shall see more clearly later, there was the community of the Sleepless Monks who would fight for Chalcedon at any cost. More than they, there was Daniel the stylite, who had never left his pillar even for his ordination as presbyter,⁴³¹ on whose assistance Acacius could count. As the Church was faced with a serious danger, the man responded to the call of the patriarch and came down from his pillar.⁴³² Basiliscus had to yield, and Zeno came back. The last minute attempt of Basiliscus to save himself by issuing a counter-encyclical cancelling the earlier one did not profit him. This publication⁴³³ stated that the apostolic and orthodox faith, which had prevailed from the beginning and which continued to be held until our reign, ought to be basic. Therefore, the acts and encyclical already published shall be invalid; that Nestorius, Eutyches and every other heresy shall be anathematized, that there should be no other synod on the issue; and that the provinces over which Constantinople exercised the right of ordination shall be restored to Acacius. Bishops of Asia presented an apology to Acacius and signed the counter-encyclical. Oriental bishops wrote to Calendion of Antioch and withdrew from supporting the encyclical.

B. *Emperor Zeno and the Henotikon*

On coming to power, Zeno issued orders abrogating the encyclical of Basiliscus. The things which had been done before us, wrote Zeno⁴³⁴ namely during the time of the tyranny, against the churches presided over by Acacius and others as well as against their rights and privileges, be rescinded. Constantinople 'should have steadfastly in perpetuity all privileges and honours concerning election of bishops and the right of seating before others and all other things, which it is recognized to have had before our sovereignty or while we were reigning'. In this way Zeno restored the council of Chalcedon to a place of authority in the empire in opposition to the measures which Basiliscus had adopted through his encyclical. The issue here was not that

Chalcedon conserved orthodoxy or excluded heresy, but that it had granted certain rights and privileges to Constantinople.

Zeno ordered the non-Chalcedonian leaders whom Basiliscus had recalled to be again sent in exile. Timothy Aelurus whom the emperor had spared died. His namesake on the Chalcedonian side was also a very old man. Zeno had hoped that in the event of either of them passing away the division in the church of Egypt should be healed by recognizing the survivor as the sole patriarch of Alexandria. But the courier who brought him the tidings of Timothy's death brought also the news that a successor had been appointed to him in the person of Peter Mongus. Infuriated at the failure of his plan, Zeno expressed threats that he would order the imposition of a death penalty on Peter. The intervention of Timothy Salophaciolus however, made the emperor issue orders for Peter's banishment instead. Neither of the measures could be carried out, as Peter retired into Egyptian monasteries and spent his days in hiding till the tide turned. Meanwhile the aged Timothy was recognized by the state as the patriarch, and he continued to hold the position till his death in February 482, being forced to witness a series of 'tumults and slaughters' during his last days on earth.

The situation in other parts of the east was far from encouraging. In Jerusalem, for instance, Juvenal had been succeeded by Anastasius in 458. He signed the encyclical of Basiliscus and unlike many others in the east he stood loyally by it till his death in July 478. His successor, Martyrius (478-486), continued the policy of his predecessor. He tried to unite the people in the whole of Palestine on the strength of a statement of faith which he noted in a circular letter. It affirmed⁴³⁵ that Christ had brought us unity which we should conserve by holding to the creed of Nicea as the only symbol of the faith; that this creed had been ratified by the councils of Constantinople in 381 and Ephesus in 431; and that no addition made to it whether at Sardica, Ariminum, or Chalcedon should be admitted. In Antioch and Syria things had come to a terrible impasse. Peter the Fuller had been sent into exile by the orders of Zeno. Now the non-Chalcedonian side which controlled the see satisfied itself with the services of John of Apamea. But in two year's time the state intervened and raised Stephen to the see. He was succeeded by another Stephen who was murdered in 479 by nails being pierced

into his body. Seeing that the appointment of a patriarch who accepted the council was not possible in Antioch, Acacius of Constantinople asserted himself and consecrated Calendion for the Syrian see. He could not take possession of the see, and later as the leader of the Chalcedonian minority he came to be suspected of being involved in the rebellion of Illus⁴³⁶ and was deposed in September 484.

The religious problem in the east created by the council of Chalcedon needed solution. The major sees of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem were drawing closer. Acacius of Constantinople also would co-operate, so long as the primacy of his see over the east which Chalcedon had granted would be respected by all, even ignoring the subtle nuances of the Chalcedonian definition and communion with Rome. The opportunity for a serious effort in this direction came in 481.

Timothy Salophaciolus, as we have noted, was an old man and Peter Mongus was spending his days in hiding. Certain monks and notable persons in Alexandria proposed to the officials that after the death of Timothy both sides should recognize Peter as patriarch and bring about unity in the church, so that no successor should be appointed to Timothy. This plan, however, was not acceptable to the party of Timothy, and they drew up a petition to the emperor against this move.⁴³⁷ The petition was taken to the capital by John Talaia, a monk-priest, from the monastery of John the Baptist of the House of Martyrs in the city.

John was an aspirant for the dignity, and while he was in the capital he contacted the then powerful Isaurian general Illus who was a friend of Theognostus, the prefect of Alexandria who could control the patriarchal elections. Illus, as we have seen, was a man who, in collaboration with Leontius and Euprepus, had been planning for a rebellion against Zeno which he in fact carried out in 484 involving Calendion of Antioch and came to be executed. In 481, when John Talaia was in Constantinople, Illus was still in power, and John tried to obtain his favour. But when he saw the emperor, John categorically denied that he had any intention of putting himself up as a candidate for the dignity. Zeno granted the request of the Alexandrines, and John went back to his monastery. While returning, he took a letter from

Illus to the prefect. Timothy died soon and his party raised John as his successor. But Zeno refused to recognize him, dismissing him as a perjurer. The vacancy had to be filled.

The majority of the Alexandrine people could now make their representation to the emperor appealing him to restore Peter Mongus. Zeno was in favour of the idea and offered the *Henotikon*, or the instrument of union, as a basis for adopting this step. The document was prepared by Zeno in agreement with Acacius. The patriarch of Constantinople who had rubbed successfully with Timothy Aelurus and foiled his unrealistic plan could now dictate terms to Timothy's successor for extending to him recognition. Addressed⁴³⁸ to 'the bishops and people of Alexandria, Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis', the *Henotikon* was issued by emperor Zeno on 28 July 482.

It described the religious situation in the east in these moving words:

For it happened that, during all these years of life, time has left generation without number pass away, so that some deprived of the baptismal regeneration are gone, and others without participation in the divine communion to the point of departure that awaits things human have been led away, and tens of thousands of deaths have been recklessly inflicted and by their profusion, not only the earth. but the atmosphere itself has been polluted. Who would not pray that these things may be exchanged for things that are good?

That document recognized the creed of Nicea as the only symbol of the faith. It was attested by 'the one hundred and fifty fathers and ratified by the holy fathers, who met in council at Ephesus and deposed the impious Nestorius and all the successors in his doctrine'.

'This Nestorius, together with Eutyches. inasmuch as they have maintained views contrary to those that are set forth, we anathematize. We accept in addition the Twelve Anathemas composed by Cyril.'

Positively, the *Henotikon* went on:

‘We confess that the Only Son of God, himself God, who really became incarnate as our Lord Jesus Christ; he who is consubstantial with us as to the manhood: he who came down and became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Virgin *Theotokos*; he is one Son and not two. For we affirm of the Only Son of God both the miracles and the suffering which he endured voluntarily in the flesh. We do not at all accept those who make a separation, or bring in confusion or fantasy. Since the real and sinless incarnation did not introduce any addition to the Son, the Trinity continued to be Trinity even when God the Word, one of the Trinity, became incarnate.’

After pleading for the restoration of Church unity on the basis of its affirmations, the *Henotikon* pronounced an anathema on

‘all who have maintained, or do maintain, now or at any time, whether at Chalcedon or at any council, any different faith, but particularly the above mentioned Nestorius and Eutyches and those who think as they have done’.

The *Henotikon* does not condemn either the council of Chalcedon or the *Tome of Leo*. But it clarified the faith, for those belonging to the Chalcedonian side by saying what the council did not imply, and for those who were of the other side by condemning the ideas which they had seen in the council’s doctrinal formula. We can say, therefore, that if only the men of both sides were led exclusively by a concern to exclude heresy and conserve the faith without caring for the respective prestige of each, the *Henotikon* could be acceptable to them. In the words of Duchesne, ‘In its substantial content, if we leave out of account the circumstances in which it was put forward, it could not raise any objection from the side of orthodoxy’.⁴³⁹

The *Henotikon* was sent to Alexandria through Fragmuis, the new prefect of Alexandria replacing Theognostus. When he arrived in the city, he found that John Talaia had left, and he sought out Peter Mongus to show him the *Henotikon*. Peter was told that if he accepted the document and agreed to communicate with the bishops of the Chalcedonian side who would also endorse it, he would be allowed to occupy the see of Alexandria. Peter agreed and he was restored, while John Talaia was dismissed summarily,

c. *Temporary Union of the Major Sees*

The *Henotikon* was signed in the very beginning by both Acacius of Constantinople and Peter Mongus of Alexandria, and they exchanged letters of union.⁴⁴⁰ Calendion and Peter the Fuller were claimants of the see of Antioch. Though Peter was in exile, the see was controlled by the non-Chalcedonian party. Calendion could serve only as the patriarch of a minority of Chalcedonians in the city. However, regarding himself as the heir of the theological tradition of Eustathius who had been exiled in c. 328, Calendion now restored the man's remnants, and he tried to please the Antiochenes by permitting the use of the *Trisagion* in its expanded form with the addition of the words 'Christ the King'. By about the middle of the fourth century the hymn 'Holy God, Holy the Strong, Holy the Immortal, have mercy upon us' had been introduced in the Antiochene province in opposition to the Arian party which had dominated the see at that time. During his first occupancy Peter the Fuller had made the addition of the words, 'Thou who wast crucified for us', and it had come to be looked upon as a test of orthodoxy against Nestorianism in the non-Chalcedonian circles. In Constantinople the hymn in its original form had come to be in use, and it had been understood as a praise addressed to the Holy Trinity, though in the Antiochene province it was considered to refer to God the Son.⁴⁴¹ In the former sense the addition was indeed objectionable, as it would imply that the Holy Trinity suffered on the cross. Calendion's addition would clarify the meaning of the addition, though it would not serve the purpose of excluding Nestorianism. Calendion refused to sign the *Henotikon* and he came to be suspected of involvement in the rebellion of Illus. He was expelled and the see was given to Peter the Fuller in 484, who signed the *Henotikon*. Peter held a council which ratified the *Henotikon*, and wrote a letter of union to Peter Mongus of Alexandria.⁴⁴² Martyrius of Jerusalem also wrote to Peter Mongus expressing union.⁴⁴³

All the four eastern patriarchates were now united, and they had with them many bishops and leading people. But Rome was not involved in this development. The attitude of the western see was in fact what the Roman legates expressed at Chalcedon on 22 October 451: Either let the east accept Rome's point of view

or let Rome look after its affairs.⁴⁴⁴ The rupture between Rome and Constantinople which took place at this time lasted for about thirty-five years. In the mean-time on 28 July 484 Felix III of Rome had a council of twenty-seven bishops excommunicate Acacius.⁴⁴⁵ Braving the insult, the patriarch went on with his plans.

The union thus achieved could not be lasting. For one thing, neither side in the conflict was unreserved in facing the issue that separated them. The council of Chalcedon had created a very serious problem affecting the unity of the Church, which needed solution. Zacharia notes that when the *Henotikon* was brought to Alexandria, criticism was raised by some zealous people that it did not face the question of the council of 451. Although Peter Mongus was able to pacify them in the beginning, he could not hold his own for a long time. On the Chalcedonian side, there were men in Alexandria who had supported John Talaia against Peter Mongus. These men embarked upon a plan to wreck the unity by puffing forth a certain presbyter Cyrus who had once been with Dioscorus but had joined the Chalcedonian side. The man's position among those who talked of unity would offend the non-Chalcedonian people.⁴⁴⁶ John Talaia himself had gone to Rome to enlist the sympathy of pope Simplicius.

Thus from the beginning the *Henotikon* had critics on the non-Chalcedonian side, and their point of view was asserted by the *Acephalists*. On the Chalcedonian side there were men in the east who were not ready either to give the impression that there was something lacking about Chalcedon or to break with Rome. If we recall the vision of the Church which the Byzantine state party at the council of Chalcedon tried to bequeath, we shall see that it contained three parts, namely a profession of the faith, supremacy of Constantinople, and union with Rome without the papal claims. In agreeing to the *Henotikon*, Acacius showed himself willing to ignore the third of these elements and adopt the first without necessarily insisting on the language of the council. Neither of these concessions however found favour with many on the Chalcedonian side in the east. As in the days of Chalcedon, when the opponents of Alexandria favoured the leadership of Rome, now also these men would look to Rome for guidance. Acacius died in 489, and his successor Fravitta also left this world in a few months. Then Euphemius, a staunch

Chalcedonian, was made patriarch of Constantinople. He was more grieved at the schism with Rome than at a possible separation from his eastern neighbours, and entered into correspondence with Felix III appealing for reunion. But the pope asked him to condemn Acacius as a condition for the healing of the schism with the west, and the matter ended there for the time being.

D. *Trouble in Egypt*

Peter Mongus signed the *Henotikon* and formally entered into communion with Acacius of Constantinople in 482. Now bishop Theodore of Antinoe,⁴⁴⁷ two other bishops from Upper Egypt, a few of the clergy and many monks expressed their disapproval by staying away from Peter's communion. Peter had, in fact, acknowledged in his letters to Acacius, on the latter's assurance, that the council of 451 had not really introduced any innovation in the faith.⁴⁴⁸ His opponents argued that this admission and the union which he established with the patriarch of Constantinople constituted a betrayal of the faith by Peter.

Several efforts were made to reconcile his opponents with Peter. Peter the Iberian had the patriarch condemn the council of Chalcedon openly and sign four of his own writings containing a clear anathema against the council and the *Tome of Leo*. This did not however satisfy Peter's opponents, and he took measures to expel bishop Theodore from his monastery, in the face of which the monks deputed Nephalius to present their grievance to the emperor. Zeno responded by sending Cosmas, his bodyguard, to Alexandria with orders to find a solution to the problem. The imperial envoy was greeted by a body of thirty thousand men, reports Zacharia, with ten bishops. Cosmas met two hundred of them with the patriarch, and Peter now condemned the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* openly.⁴⁴⁹ Peter's opponents were not pacified, and they took counsel among them to appoint another patriarch in place of Peter, but bishop Theodore dissuaded them from adopting this step. Zeno again sent another emissary named Arsanius, with orders to expel the monks from their monasteries, but the monks deputed their representatives to the emperor and were able to persuade him against taking any drastic steps of this kind. The opponents of the patriarch came to

be called the *Acephalists*, those without a head. They continued as a sect like the Novatians well into the seventh century.

In 489 when Acacius died the *Acephalists* had a setback, for it led to a break in communion between Constantinople and Alexandria. Peter Mongus died in 490, and his successor Athanasius left out the name of Peter from the diptychs in the hope of bringing the parties to unity. But it had to be restored into the liturgy in response to popular demand.

E. *Sonic Comments*

The conflict in Egypt brings out the nature of the plan which Acacius had in regard to the reunion of the parties on the basis of the *Henotikon*. The patriarch of Constantinople had no idea of abandoning the council of Chalcedon, as Rome had understood at the time. His concern, on the other hand, was to unify the parties by making the non-Chalcedonian side accept the council in a subtle way. This is clear from his dealing with Peter Mongus. As we have noted, the basis on which reunion was to be effected did not require the non-Chalcedonian side to endorse the council, but only to sign the *Henotikon*. But Acacius went beyond this agreement in taking from Peter letters expressing his acceptance of the council. The fact, therefore, is that like Anatolius who had tried to establish the council of 451 in the reign of emperor Leo I, Acacius also endeavoured to secure an implicit endorsement of the council by Peter Mongus. Though the latter did not see this plan of Acacius, others saw it, and they opposed the move.

4. *Opposition organized*

The *Henotikon* failed to achieve its goal in Egypt, where it came to be insisted that for reunion in the Church the Chalcedonian side should condemn the council of 451 and the *Tome of Leo* in clear terms. As we shall see, during the reign of emperor Anastasius, the acceptance of the *Henotikon* was not enough to save either Macedonius of Constantinople or Flavian of Antioch from expulsion. By that time the *Henotikon* had come to be interpreted as having in itself condemned the council, so that

these two leaders who would not draw this conclusion had to be ejected from their sees. Rome, however, was not willing to face the real issue, but went on proclaiming the council as *fait accompli*, renouncing all those who opposed the council as heretics.

The one Christian community was divided into two strong bodies, neither of which would grant that the one Church existed in two mutually excluding camps. But considering itself the One Church, each of them renounced the other as heretical. At this point the non-Chalcedonian body had a serious handicap. In an age when people were led by the idea of the state Church as the accepted pattern of society, they lacked imperial support. The council of Chalcedon was, as we have seen, intended by the imperial authority of that time to offer this by bringing into being a state Church for the empire, so that its critics had to proceed without acknowledging this established ecclesiastical order. Their section of the Church did in fact enjoy only the status of an illicit religious body like the entire Christian movement before the conversion of Constantine in the first quarter of the fourth century. Even if they succeeded in appointing their nominee to a see, the state would interfere and expel the man. Though the encyclical of Basiliscus reversed this situation, it was effective only for a short period of time. The *Henotikon* did not by itself offer legal rights to the persecuted non-Chalcedonian body, but it provided a basis for them to live in the empire apart from an acceptance of the council of 451. It may well be that they hailed the document, not merely because its theology was acceptable to them, but also for this reason. In any case, it gave them a much needed breathing space, and the reign following that of Zeno from 491 was favourable to them.

A. *The Reign of Anastasius*

Zeno died in April 491. Anastasius who succeeded him was a native of Dyrrhachium in the province of New Epirus. He had served as a *silentiary*⁴⁵⁰ in the reign of Zeno. A man sixty years old, he married Ariadne the widow of Zeno who was the elder daughter of Aspar. He was a person of piety who followed the religious policy of his predecessor and tried to unify the parties in the Church on the basis of the *Henotikon*. Evagrius reports

that patriarch Euphemius of Constantinople had agreed to participate in his coronation only after extracting from him a promise that he would not introduce any ‘innovation in the holy Church of God’.⁴⁵¹

The reign of Anastasius showed the strength and weakness of each side in proper relief. Though the emperor based his religious policy on the *Henotikon*, it could be allowed to move in the direction of either right or left with reference to Chalcedon. The clash that came about between the two parties relegated the document to the archives, without the possibility of seeing the light of day by the time Anastasius left this life in 518.

The new emperor did not, in fact, break the promise which he may have made to Euphemius, as Vasiliev seems to imply. For he may have seen in the *Henotikon*, which he considered a legitimate basis for the two parties to unite, a document with legal status in the empire. The *Henotikon*, as we have shown, was introduced not by Anastasius but by Zeno, with the full accord of the patriarch of Constantinople. However, as time passed, he moved towards the left and drew closer to the non-Chalcedonian position than any other ruler of the Byzantine empire, and this annoyed the strict Chalcedonian side greatly. Thus the ground for a permanent separation between the parties came to be prepared during the reign of Anastasius.

Ecclesiastical matters at all levels could be profoundly influenced in the east of those times by monastic communities and their leaders. We have already noted the role which they played in Palestine in the early days of the conflict. Later Sabas whom patriarch Sallustius of Jerusalem (486-494) had appointed as the leader of the Palestinian monks in 494 and patriarch Elias (494-516) succeeded in leading the majority to Chalcedonian adherence. But there were in the south-western Palestine monastic communities in Gaza who were opposed to Chalcedon. These latter had Romanus as their leader at the time when Anastasius became emperor. In Constantinople with its imperial glory and the seat of the patriarch as the spiritual leader of Christian east there were communities of monks with great name. Daniel the stylite,⁴⁵² a follower of Simon the stylite,⁴⁵³ whom we have noted in connection with the opposition to Basiliscus in 476, was indeed one such leader. He had shifted his

residence from Syria to the capital and as a saint of uncommon popularity he had a considerable following. Besides and more significantly from the point of view of ecclesiastical politics, there was in Constantinople a community of Sleepless Monks, many of whom were attracted to the Studite community. In 463 there came from Rome an aristocratic monk named Studius and established a monastery in the capital, which was strongly Chalcedonian. It maintained effective links with Rome.

B. *Positions Become Hardened*

Zacharia reports that in 490 when Euphemius became patriarch in Constantinople he saw the letter of Peter Mongus to Fravitta⁴⁵⁴ condemning the council of Chalcedon and planned to excommunicate Peter for his 'unorthodoxy'. Since Peter died soon, Euphemius himself lost his target. Peter's successor, Athanasius, wrote to Euphemius himself indicating his rejection of the council. This gave Euphemius an opportunity to contemplate a condemnation of the man. On being informed of this by his agent in the capital, Athanasius made common cause with Sallustius of Jerusalem. and together the two men approached emperor Anastasius in order to see that Euphemius was removed from the see of Constantinople.⁴⁵⁵ Euphemius was in fact deposed. on the ground of treason. His successor was Macedonius, a nephew of Gennadius who was patriarch before Acacius. At heart a Chalcedonian, Macedonius had no difficulty in signing the *Henotikon* and continued as patriarch till 511.

Although the emperor and the patriarch got on well in the beginning, they fell out with each other later. Zacharia reports that Macedonius held the memorial of Nestorius annually, that he organized a party against the emperor in collaboration with one of the *magisters* and a monastic community, that he sought to denounce the emperor as a heretic, and that he had compiled a book of excerpts from the writings of Antiochene theologians like Diodore, Theodore, Nestorius, Theodoret, and others.⁴⁵⁶ Anastasius countered the move with equanimity, and in the end he called an assembly of the senate, the nobles, the clergy and monks, and before them he stated his belief, asking them to burn him alive if he were unorthodox. The assembly did only approve his orthodoxy and declare Macedonius guilty. This led to his deposition and exile in 511.

The rupture between Macedonius and Anastasius must have begun from late in the first decade of the sixth century. In 508 there arrived in Constantinople the monk Severus, leading a body of about three hundred monks from the communities in Gaza who were opposed to Chalcedon. They had come with a view to eliciting imperial protection for the monks in Palestine who were of their religious adherence, in the face of a consistent pressure aimed at destroying them from the monks of the other side who had by then become a strong force. A learned man, Severus could not only defend their cause, but was also able to replace Macedonius as advisor to the emperor in ecclesiastical matters. Severus was an uncompromising critic of the council of Chalcedon, and his aim naturally was to try his best for the establishment of the non-Chalcedonian position as the faith of the Church. During his three-year stay in the capital, an effort was made to introduce the expanded form of the *Trisagion* in the churches of the city, which was resisted by Macedonius. But neither Severus nor the emperor had the patience to appreciate the different ways in which the hymn in its original form had been taken in the Antiochene province and in Constantinople.

About this time there happened another incident which brought fame to Severus and discredit to Macedonius. It was about this time that the Chalcedonian side began its literary activity in defence of the council. A work of excerpts containing 244 passages from the writings of Cyril of Alexandria was the first publication in this direction. It was put out at about this time with a view to making out that the council of Chalcedon only expounded the teaching of Cyril in the face of the danger of Eutychianism, so that the challenge to the council voiced by its critics on the ground that it was discontinuous with the council of Ephesus in 431 and Cyril had no real basis. The book was hailed by the Chalcedonian side in the capital, and their opponents including the emperor were put in a state of bewilderment. Severus now composed his *Philalathes*, Lover of Truth, in refutation of the work.

Estranged from the emperor, Macedonius could not hold his own. Severus' biographer, John of Beith-Aphthonia,⁴⁵⁷ notes that suggested by Severus the emperor asked him whether he would affirm that He who became incarnate and was made man without

change was born of Mary, and that she who gave him birth was *Theotokos*, God-bearer'.⁴⁵⁸ The point made here is that Macedonius contradicted the faith as conserved by the council of Ephesus in 431 which had adopted the term *Theotokos* with reference to Mary. Macedonius is said to have refused to admit this emphasis. In any case, as Frend shows,⁴⁵⁹ he was deposed by a council on 7 August 511. His successor was Timothy who held the see till April 518. The fall of Macedonius as well as of Flavian of Antioch a year later shows that a Chalcedonian leader could not be safe merely by signing the *Henotikon* and this may be compared to the relation between Acacius and Peter Mongus. There was only one way left for both sides to adopt, and that was to separate in peace till God would bring them back to unity. This course, however, was not acceptable to either of them, and they decided to fight out the issue by expressing human hatred rather than human love.

Through Timothy who succeeded Macedonius the amended form of the *Trisagion* was introduced in Constantinople on 7 November 512. The Sleepless Monks were there to rouse up the people, and the city was in turmoil.⁴⁶⁰ The emperor's minister Marianus of Apaniea, whom people identified as the instigator of Anastasius to permit this 'unorthodox' action, was searched out by the mob. As he could not be found in the house, it was looted and burnt. A Syrian monk who happened to be lodging there was caught and lynched, The crowds marched to the Hippodrome, shouting 'another emperor'. Seeing the confusion to be unabated, Anastasius appeared in the stadium without his diadem and asked the people to choose another emperor. The tactic worked, and he was implored to put on the insignia. The addition continued to be in use for some time only in Constantinople and then abandoned, though the theology behind it was approved later as a central emphasis of orthodoxy.⁴⁶¹

The religious policy of Anastasius was hailed in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere in the east where the non-Chalcedonian side had been carrying on its activities in opposition to the council. But this led to violence and conflict, particularly in Antioch and Syria. Syria I, including the northern and eastern parts of the country, was strongly anti-Chalcedonian but Syria II, comprising the coastal regions and western parts, was more or less Chalcedonian. The city of Antioch, the third in importance in the eastern Roman empire at that time after Constantinople and

Alexandria, was indeed divided. Peter the Fuller had died in 488. His successor was Palladius, whom Flavian had succeeded.⁴⁶² Like Macedonius of Constantinople, he also was an adherent of the Chalcedonian position who had signed the *Henotikon*. Though Flavian had solid support from Syria II and Palestine through Elias of Jerusalem (494-516), he had strong opposition from Syria I.

The disaffection against Chalcedon in Syria I was led by Philoxenos of Mabbogh or Hierapolis. the capital of Euphratesia in north-eastern Syria. A Syrian theologian of some ability and leadership, Philoxenos had been consecrated by Peter the Fuller in 485. He was indeed an uncompromising anti-Nestorian and anti-Chalcedonian, who was opposed to Flavian for the same reason. Philoxenos had established some contact with Zeno and had visited Constantinople possibly in 484.⁴⁶³ In the reign of Anastasius also he was in the capital in 507 and made his personal acquaintance with the emperor. At the time when Severus was in the capital (508-511) working for the removal of Macedonius from that see, Philoxenos was in Syria being engaged in his activities against the council.

After the removal of Macedonius from Constantinople, Severus had returned to Palestine in 511. In 512, with imperial letters, a council⁴⁶⁴ was held at Sidon, a coastal town in Phoenicia to the south of Beirut. Anastasius had already adopted the position, on the advice of Severus, that the faith of the Church should be decided on the basis of the *Henotikon* on the one hand, and a rejection of the 'in two natures', the *Tome of Leo* and the writings of Antiochene theologians like Diodore of Tarsus on the other. Philoxenos could thus count on imperial support for his plan of trying to discredit Chalcedon. As patriarch of Antioch, Flavian presided over the council of Sidon. Philoxenos had arranged with the monastic communities in Syria I to have a petition presented to the council by Cosmas of the monastery of *Kennesrin*. This petition⁴⁶⁵ appealed for the dropping of the council of Chalcedon on the strength of a series of arguments with supporting excerpts from the writings of the fathers. Flavian had Elias of Jerusalem and many bishops from Syria II and Palestine on his side, and in response to the Syrian demand the council admitted the need for condemning the writings of Antiochene theologians like Diodore and those who had

criticized the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril, but not the abandoning of Chalcedon. The council of Sidon was indeed a setback for Philoxenos. He however got the monks ready to carry forward with his plan. Accordingly he went up to the emperor and gave him a report of the council of Sidon, representing Flavian as indeed a heretic. Now, with imperial orders, a council was held at Laodicea in Isauria which was strongly non-Chalcedonian⁴⁶⁶ and had Flavian deposed. Thus being strengthened, Philoxenos came to Antioch with the monks and, in the midst of a scene of violence, saw to the expulsion of Flavian from the see. He was eventually exiled to Petra in Arabia. The vacancy thus created was filled by raising Severus. Elected to the dignity on 6 November 512, he was consecrated by twelve Syrian bishops.⁴⁶⁷ Now the sees of Constantinople and Alexandria were headed by men who would express agreement in faith with Severus.

C. *Severus and His Activities in Brief*

Severus was a very important figure. Born in a Christian family at the Pisidian town of Sozopolis in Asia Minor in about the year 465, he was the grandson of a bishop Severus who had participated in the council of Ephesus in 431.⁴⁶⁸ Severus himself became one of the great Church leaders like Athanasius of Alexandria or Basil of Caesarea. Like Basil or Gregory Nazianzen, he came of a wealthy family and had the best secular education of the times before joining the service of the Church. Instead of following a legal career which he had planned to adopt, he was attracted to a monastic life in Palestine and the influence of Peter the Iberian led him to the non-Chalcedonian camp. As a monk he joined the monastery of Peter at Maiuma and later he organized a community of his own. He became well-versed in Christian scriptures and the writings of the fathers.

While he was living in the Palestinian monastic surroundings Severus came to encounter opposition from a Nubian⁴⁶⁹ monk named Nephathius. Originally a supporter of the non-Chalcedonian movement who had gone so far as to conflict with Peter Mongus on account of the latter's attempt to unite with Acacius, Nephathius left the party and joined the Chalcedonian body in Palestine. He wrote a book in defence of Chalcedon,

which Severus undertook to refute⁴⁷⁰, and went on stirring up the monastic body and civil officials in Palestine against the non-Chalcedonian party. It was to enlist imperial support in the face of this situation that Severus went to Constantinople with three hundred monks in 508. By this time he had become famous so that from about 507 or 508 emperor Anastasius had been trying to persuade him to accept the patriarchal dignity.⁴⁷¹

As patriarch of Antioch, Severus devoted himself to the task of shepherding his flock with remarkable zeal and clear dedication. The sermons he preached⁴⁷² and the doctrinal letters which he wrote to a large number of people⁴⁷³, besides his hymns⁴⁷⁴ show that he was a man with biblical piety and sincere religious conviction. Besides the *Philalethes*⁴⁷⁵ he wrote the *Contra Impium Grammaticum*⁴⁷⁶ in three books refuting a work which John the grammarian of Caesarea had published in defence of Chalcedon and in opposition to its critics. This treatise consistently worked out an interpretation of the person of Christ on the basis of the writings of Church fathers. Severus may have completed this work in the early twenties of the sixth century. A few years later, he wrote his refutation of Julian of Halicarnassus.⁴⁷⁷ Granting that in his criticism of Nestorianism and the council of Chalcedon on the one hand, and of Eutychianism and other heresies on the other, he is uncompromising, the fact that he conserved a theological position which deserves attention by any student of eastern church history and theology has to be acknowledged. He lived at a time when the Church was divided, so that all churchmen had to be in one party or another. Severus chose to associate himself with the party that renounced the council of Chalcedon, and he offered a theological basis for that party on the foundation of the councils of Nicea in 325, Constantinople in 381 and Ephesus in 431, as well as of the fathers who had maintained that tradition.

The position which Severus maintained had to face great odds. Although emperor Anastasius supported it, Rome renounced it as heretical, and in the east also there were men who would look to Rome for guidance. This led to a situation of strained relations between the emperor and the pope. The issue became rather acute in the face of the rebellion of Vitalian, which happened a few months after the consecration of Severus. Frend has shown⁴⁷⁸ that this incident was connected with the deposition of

Flavian of Antioch. Vitalian had been a Gothic officer, the commander of the troops in Thrace, and Flavian was his godfather. Raising an army of barbarians, he demanded the restoration of the *Trisagion* in its old form and the recall of Macedonius and Flavian. Seeing that Vitalian was able to score a victory at Acra on the Black Sea in the summer of 514, and that Rome was in a position to strengthen itself in opposition to him, Anastasius wrote to Hormisdas of Rome two letters, in the hope of ending the dispute between them. Since the terms offered by Rome were unacceptable to him, the emperor stopped his communications. Meanwhile in 516 he was able to repulse an effort of Vitalian to take Constantinople.⁴⁷⁹ Anastasius could continue to hold his own till his death in July 518.

Severus and Philoxenos meanwhile tried to consolidate the forces against Chalcedon, With imperial orders, they held a great council at Tyre,⁴⁸⁰ the capital of Phoenicia, in 514. It had representatives from Alexandria and Jerusalem along with bishops from the provinces of Antioch, Apamea, Euphratesia, Osroene, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Phoenicia. This assembly could reverse the memory of Sidon. It declared the *Henotikon* its theological standard, but in so doing, the assembly interpreted the document, not in the light of its original intention of unifying the parties, but as a formula which cancelled the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo*. Elias of Jerusalem who was opposed to a position like this had to submit, though he resisted later and was deposed. John replaced Elias. The council of Tyre wrote letters of unity to the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria. Thus a union of the four major sees in the east was carved out for a time. About this time empress Ariadne died.⁴⁸¹

CHAPTER FIVE

ESTABLISHMENT OF CHALCEDON AND IMPERIAL EFFORTS AT REUNION

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

In Constantinople, as in other major cities of the empire, there were two circus parties, the Blues and the Greens. The Blues were on the whole pro-Chalcedonian, but the Greens were more or less in sympathy with the non-Chalcedonian position. The fact that there were these two parties in the capital is an indication that Chalcedon had not yet been accepted by the entire church there. The two parties fought for their respective standpoints with great vigour whenever occasion arose. In the reign of Anastasius the Blues had taken in hand to riot against the emperor, and he succeeded in handling the situation. In the reign of Justinian the Greens were involved in a revolt against the emperor in 532, and though he prepared himself to flee, the empress counselled him to adopt strong measures against the insurgents and quell the rebellion.

Anastasius died in the night of 8/9 July 518⁴⁸² at the age of 88. He had made no arrangement about the appointment of a successor. However, on the day following the death of the emperor, Justin I was declared emperor. Runciman observes that ‘a subtle and dishonourable intrigue elevated to the throne an illiterate soldier, Justin I’.⁴⁸³ In this choice the Blues got the upper hand, and with it there began in Byzantine history a new era, which produced the state church for the empire in accordance with the plan of Marcian and Pulcheria, with the Chalcedonian definition as its *magna carta* of orthodoxy.

It is a fact, however, that the new dynasty adopted this step, not out of a realization that the ecclesiastical critics of the council of 451 were heretics of any description, but out of a necessity which they felt for the advancement of their political ambitions. Justinian, the chief architect of the new dynasty, was eager to regain the west, which had come under the rule of the Goths and the Vandals, for the empire. In order to achieve this goal, he needed the support of the Roman papacy, whose ardent clinging to Chalcedon was indeed a decisive factor in his ecclesiastical policy. The Leonine dynasty which had come to power after the death of Marcian had no such ambition, and therefore its members were willing to ignore Chalcedon and unify the eastern part of the empire. In fact, from 533 Justinian had entered upon a scheme of conquering the west,⁴⁸⁴ and carried on the task for over twenty long years. Under the generals, Belisarius to begin with and Narses later, a most devastating war was conducted, and in the end in 554 Justinian was able to bring back within the imperial boundary Italy, Dalmatia and Sicily. But this was achieved at the cost of millions of human lives and incalculable amount of gold, in addition to a humiliating treaty with Persia agreeing to pay an annual tribute of a colossal sum of money. Even after all this criminal waste of men and resources, the western part of the empire which he felt gratified to have reannexed to the imperial territory was torn off within the span of two years of the monarch's death, and there was no one to shed a single tear over the loss.

2. *Emperor Justin I*

The fact that Justin I was declared emperor by the support of the Blues,⁴⁸⁵ that his ambitious nephew who had guided the uncle almost from the beginning flirted with the idea of building up over again the empire of Constantine the Great, and that no churchman including the pope of Rome and Severus of Antioch had a vision of the Church beyond his own narrow horizon of thinking, had their unfortunate consequences on ecclesiastical affairs. The old emperor instigated by the Chalcedonian side⁴⁸⁶ came out as an incorrigible supporter of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo*. He adopted very rigorous and cruel measures both to enforce them everywhere in the east and to suppress the non-Chalcedonian movement. However, he spared Egypt, the granary

of the capital, and many leaders of the body opposed to the council escaped to that province.

Chronicon Anonymum gives a list of fifty-four bishops from Cilicia, Cappadocia, Syria and Asia, who had to go either into exile or into hiding.⁴⁸⁷ On the authority of John of Ephesus, Michael the Syrian offers the same list of bishops and adds the names of a large number of leading monks.⁴⁸⁸ Most of these men had to undergo very severe experiences and die in strange lands. One of them, Paul of Edessa, yielded after a little while and joined the Chalcedonian side, becoming a merciless persecutor of the council's opponents. An account of his activities in this direction is given by both *Chronicon Anonymum* and Michael the Syrian. It is reported that Paul of Edessa invited the great Syrian poet, James of Serugh, for a conversation with a view to changing his religious adherence, that the man prayed to God not to let him see Paul should he have joined the Chalcedonian side, and that James died in two-days' time.⁴⁸⁹ The efforts of Paul to enforce Chalcedon on monks, nuns and the people in his area caused a great deal of confusion and misery for them, in spite of which they refused to accept the council.⁴⁹⁰

As Justin did not interfere with the religious affiliation of Egypt, the patriarch of Alexandria was left free to follow the non-Chalcedonian point of view and even to offer refuge to many leaders who were fleeing from other parts of the east. In Alexandria Athanasius who succeeded Peter Mongus was followed in turn by John I, John II, and Dioscorus II. When Justin I came to power, Timothy III who succeeded Dioscorus II in 517 was the patriarch. In Constantinople John had been made patriarch after Timothy even before Justin became emperor. He had signed a statement condemning Chalcedon⁴⁹¹ and, as Hore notes, had even persecuted the Chalcedonian side.⁴⁹² Now with the change of emperor, he, like Anatolius in 450, was made to submit to Chalcedonian adherence, but he obtained the title 'Ecumenical Patriarch'.⁴⁹³ Having thus brought things under control, Justin turned his attention to the matter of reconciliation with Rome, which was easy because the emperor was willing to grant almost anything to achieve it. On 28 March 519 the rapprochement was effected on the basis of a humiliating condition demanded by pope Hormisdas that the names of patriarchs Acacius, Fravitta, Euphemius and Timothy as well as of

emperors Zeno and Anastasius should be removed from the diptychs. Patriarch John had to concur, but he died in 520. His successor Epiphanius, who held the see till 535, was a supporter of Chalcedon.

The accession of Justin I to the throne affected Severus very badly. During the week following the incident several things happened in Constantinople. Justin's wife empress Lupucina told patriarch John that unless he accepted the four synods she would neither go to church nor receive communion from his hand.⁴⁹⁴ The monks who supported Chalcedon were free to organize a movement of opposition against Severus, so that by Sunday following Justin's assumption of power John had made his submission, and a meeting of the home synod on 20 July with 43 or 44 bishops passed a resolution deposing Severus,⁴⁹⁵ an action beyond the competence of the synod to adopt against a patriarch of Antioch. More modestly, Jerusalem soon approved four synods, and Epiphanius of Tyre followed suit on 16 September. The emperor himself is said to have ordered that he be arrested and his tongue be cut off.⁴⁹⁶ Without however waiting to offer the monarch an opportunity for the enjoyment of his homicidal pleasure, Severus crossed over to Alexandria, reaching there on 29 September. He spent the rest of his life in Egypt, with the exception of a brief period when he visited Constantinople in response to repeated requests from emperor Justinian in the mid-thirties of the sixth century. All this time he kept in touch with his section of the Church in Syria through letters and personal visits of confidants, and continued to defend the theological position of the non-Chalcedonian body as a whole.

The place of Severus was given by state nomination to Paul nicknamed 'the Jew', who was a civil officer in Constantinople. He persecuted the supporters of Severus in Syria so mercilessly as to deserve this addition to his name. Though the measures which he adopted in this way may have been necessary in view of the popular support which Severus had in the area, the emperor himself felt that he went too far, and he was forced to resign in 521. His successor Euphrasius, who held the see till 526, died in an earthquake.⁴⁹⁷ Count Ephraim, a state officer, was now appointed as his successor. He occupied the position till 545 and did everything in his power to establish Chalcedon in the Syrian province.

3. *Trouble in the Non-Chalcedonian Camp*

While emperor Justin was carrying on with his religious policy of enforcing Chalcedon everywhere in the east, there arose the dispute between Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus.⁴⁹⁸

A. *Julian of Halicarnassus*

One of the bishops who had withdrawn from their sees in the reign of Justin I, Julian was opposed to Chalcedon. As an elderly bishop, he could assume an air of authority among his partisans. He composed a book on the person of Christ and believing that Severus would approve his ideas, he sent it to the Antiochene patriarch in exile with a letter.⁴⁹⁹ Julian pointed out in the letter that, on the strength of three passages from the writings of Cyril, certain men maintained that our Lord's body was corruptible.⁵⁰⁰ Cyril, for instance, wrote to Succensus of Diocaesarea: 'After the resurrection, the body was the same as that which had undergone suffering, although it no longer had human frailties and was incorruptible.' In his letter to emperor Theodosius, Cyril had pointed out: 'It is a marvel and miracle that the body which by nature was corruptible rose again without corruption'. Again, in his sixty-seventh book on the Holy Virgin *Theotokos*, Cyril had stated: 'The body of our Lord was in no way subject to the sin which belongs to corruption, but susceptible of death and of true burial, and he abrogated them in it'. Our Lord's body was, insisted Julian, incorruptible both before and after the resurrection. Since the Cyrilline passages contradicted this idea, Julian took them to have undergone 'error in writing' and tried to show in his book that the body of Christ was always incorruptible. He now sent a copy of the book to Severus in order to obtain his approval.

Severus delayed his answer in order not to expose his friend and colleague as a heretic. Yet to avoid the impression that Julian's views reflected the teaching of the Church⁵⁰¹ which he had been concerned to conserve, he wrote his reply⁵⁰² after some time, showing that the ideas of Julian were unacceptable to him, that similar views had been expressed by some people in Constantinople, and that he had himself refuted them. The

answer did not please Julian. He wrote a second letter⁵⁰³ and published his book, and Severus undertook to refute him.

Julianism, like Eutychianism, is an expression of a trend in Christian mystical devotion. The idea behind them both is to emphasize the divinity of Christ, not by ignoring his humanity as is often wrongly taken them to mean, but to see in the perfect and real humanity of Christ a significant difference from our humanity. Unlike us men, Christ as man was from the first moment of his existence in the Virgin's womb united with God the Son inseparably and indivisibly. The humanity which was united with the holy God should be holy. This emphasis which we can see differently conserved by Eutychianism and Julianism is also there in orthodox Christology. Some theologians of the orthodox heritage would be satisfied with the emphasis on Christ's sinlessness in an unqualified sense, but others would insist on the divinization of the humanity of Christ from the first moment of its union with God the Son. Eutyches tried to make out that because Christ was God, although as man he was born from a human mother, he should not be spoken of as being consubstantial with us.⁵⁰⁴ Julian saw the difference between Christ as man and ourselves in his radical discontinuity with the fallenness of our humanity, and this made his emphasis attractive in the reckoning of many people on both sides.

Like Apollinarius in the fourth century, Julian was able to obtain the allegiance of many in the sixth century to his point of view. Michael the Syrian preserves the story that Procopius of Ephesus joined the Julianist movement around the middle of the sixth century. Though he himself was not willing to raise other bishops without two others to complete the quorum required by canon law, in his deathbed his partisans had a successor appointed by putting his hand on a certain candidate. This person ordained ten men as bishops and sent them to different parts of the east to spread Julian's teaching.⁵⁰⁵ Emperor Justinian himself adopted Julianism as his faith towards the end of his life.⁵⁰⁶

Followers of Julian succeeded in propagating their views in Armenia and even enlisting the support of the church there in their favour. The church of Armenia was not involved in the controversy between those who accepted and those who rejected the council of Chalcedon. Early in the sixth century this church

decided at the council of Dwin to renounce the council and the *Tome of Leo*. As Sarkissian shows,⁵⁰⁷ this decision came to be reiterated at subsequent councils. But the adherents of the Julianist movement left its mark on that church.⁵⁰⁸ We have, however, record of a council held in Armenia in 726 which abandoned this tendency. Attended by six Syrian bishops and the primate of Armenia with twenty-one suffragans and leading clergy, this council resolved to give up all Julianist bias and accept Severus and others as saints of the Church.⁵⁰⁹ A Julianist church had existed in Syria and towards the end of the eighth century its leader was a certain Gabriel. He was keen to effect a reunion of his church with the Syrian body. In the days of patriarch Cyriacus (792-817) a council of the Syrian church discussed the issue in 798. Though the patriarch was willing to make all possible concessions, some of the Syrian bishops were not so accommodating, and the matter fell through.⁵¹⁰

B. *Dispute in Alexandria*

The Julianist controversy had an unfortunate consequence in the church of Egypt. Julian could gain separatists and a large body of people and monks in the country to his point of view, and when Timothy III died on 7 February 535 they succeeded in raising Gaianus, their nominee, as patriarch on 10 February. But the party which favoured Severus had consecrated Theodosius as Timothy's successor. Gaianus was able to occupy the see till 24 May, when he was expelled by the orders of Justinian. He had to be arrested in the midst of a tumult raised by his supporters, and in the confusion, as Michael reports, about three thousand souls perished. During the time when Gaianus had been holding the see Theodosius had to be protected by imperial forces, and after the expulsion of Gaianus he was restored to the see. Within a month Theodosius convened a synod, which declared Nicea, Ephesus and the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril to be divinely inspired, and the *Henotikon* as a document aimed at excluding Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* from the Church.⁵¹¹ The synod wrote a letter to Severus expressing union, and he replied on 25 July, agreeing with the position adopted by the synod and assuring Theodosius of his support against Julian.

Justinian had hoped that in return for the protection offered him Theodosius would accept Chalcedon. As that hope was not fulfilled, the emperor asked Theodosius and his bishops to go over to Constantinople, which they did in December 536. Meanwhile the patriarch had laid the foundation for the vigorous continuance of the non-Chalcedonian tradition in Egypt by consecrating bishops and organizing the church in other ways. Theodosius spent about a year in the capital, and his refusal to accept Chalcedon led Justinian to order that he be taken to Thrace and be detained at the fortress of Derkos. He did not stay there long, as the empress had him brought to the capital, where he lived in the palace of Hormisdas with his supporters, under her protection.

4. *The Reign of Justinian*

Justin was an old man. Born about the middle of the fifth century in a peasant family in Thrace, he may have come to the capital as a young man in his early twenties in order to try his luck.⁵¹² His physical prowess and mental alertness suited him for a soldier's career, which he chose for himself. After being fairly well established, he brought from his home country some of his kinsmen, one of whom was Justinian, his sister's son. Though Justin himself was practically illiterate, he offered his dependent relatives facilities to acquire decent education, and Justinian did take advantage of this assistance. While he was a soldier, Justin had bought a woman named Lupicina as a concubine and married her later, but they had no children. From the beginning of his reign, Justin had his nephew close to the administration, and he was in reality the brain behind the uncle's policies. In the spring of 527 Justin fell ill, which made him co-opt the nephew as a colleague on 4 April. In August Justin died, and Justinian was declared the sole emperor.

A. *Justinian's Religious Policy*

Ambitious and sure of himself as one conversant with theoretical niceties, Justinian began his reign following the religious policy of his predecessor, which in fact he had himself worked out. But soon he came to realize that the conflict between those who accepted and those who rejected the council of Chalcedon

needed settlement. His plan, however, was to make the critics of the council accept it in the light of an interpretation of its decrees in a way which would satisfy their scruples.

This was indeed a very subtle undertaking. in the words of Dyakonov, as Vasiliev notes, ‘Justinian’s government was in its Church policy a double-faced Janus with one face turned to the west, asking for guidance from Rome, while the other, looking east, sought the truth from the Syrian and Egyptian monks.’⁵¹³

This comment is an exaggeration. The truth of the matter seems to be that Justinian, who had not been convinced that the critics of the council had erred from the truth, tried to achieve an impossible goal. He endeavoured on the one hand to please Rome in order to obtain support for his plan of reconquering the west for the empire, and on the other to unite the parties in the Church without giving up Chalcedon. Naturally he failed, and rightly does Romily Jenkins remark that Justinian who had restored the empire of the Mediterranean world, who had brought order to the civil code, and who had built St. Sophia’s cathedral, was powerless to impose on men the views which they should adopt as touching the nature of the Divine Incarnation.⁵¹⁴

B. *Discussion with Non-Chalcedonian Leaders*

In order to implement the plan of unifying the parties Justinian ordered the bishops and other leading men of the non-Chalcedonian side who had been either in exile or in hiding to come to the capital for a discussion of the issue, offering them the right of safe conduct. The details of these discussions have not come down to us, except a reference to it in a letter. It is reported that about five hundred men, including bishops and leading monks, came to Constantinople. Justinian sent a special invitation to Severus, but he declined and wrote a letter to the emperor explaining why he thought against going to the capital.⁵¹⁵

The non-Chalcedonian leaders submitted a confession of faith to the emperor, offering a doctrinal exposition in clear terms and showing why they would not accept the council or the *Tome of Leo*.⁵¹⁶ A series of meetings were then held by representatives of

both sides under the direction of Justinian. But they could not come to any agreement, and the non-Chalcedonian leaders had to retire again to different places where they could find safety for their lives.

A comment of Frend⁵¹⁷ on the first of these meetings should help to clarify the real point on which the two sides disagreed. He notes the letter⁵¹⁸ of Innocentius of Maronia, one of the Chalcedonian participants, written to Thomas, a Chalcedonian presbyter of the church of Thessalonica. The first session of the meetings held in March 532, he says, gave the Chalcedonians all the advantages in dealing with the origins of the dispute. The ‘Severans’, points out Frend, ‘after accepting that Eutyches was a heretic were obliged to acknowledge that Dioscorus agreed with him and that he had condemned Flavian. How then was Dioscorus orthodox? To the plea that Eutyches had repented, the Chalcedonians asked, “Why then do you regard him as a heretic?” By the end of the day Severans were forced to admit that Dioscorus had been blind, that his condemnation of Flavian had been unfair, and hence the summons of a new council at Chalcedon had been justified. The point of this argument is noted by Wigram.⁵¹⁹ As we have shown,⁵²⁰ the ground of the split centring round Chalcedon is not so simple. That Severus rejected this alleged admission, which Frend notes, is an indication that the source on which Frend bases his observation will not be admitted by the non-Chalcedonian side as accurate at all. The fact about Chalcedon is that almost any defence of this council is possible to be questioned on the basis of the very documents used for the purpose by pro-Chalcedonian scholars. In fact, in its historical context, the second council of Ephesus in 449 with its exoneration of Eutyches has a very real justification, and no defence of the council of Chalcedon without paying attention to this fact is worth serious consideration.

C. *Severus in Constantinople*

Even after the failure of the discussions of 532, Justinian continued to press Severus to visit the capital for a consultation. In the end he complied, and on his arrival he was highly honoured by both the emperor and the empress. In inviting the men of the non-Chalcedonian side, Justinian had been influenced by Theodora, his wife, who supported them.

Empress Theodora was indeed a remarkable person. An account of her early life as well as of her later activities is possible to be constructed on the basis of the works of Procopius of Caesarea, a contemporary writer who had a great deal of pleasure in vilifying the family of Justinian, and in fact this has been done in very recent times by Robert Browning.⁵²¹ Whatever be the truth behind the Procopius' story, we have evidence that Theodora had a grandson from her daughter in Athanasius, who became a monk and even aspired elevation to the see of Alexandria in succession of Theodosius but failed.⁵²² Though there is record that Justinian tried once to get Theodosius to ordain him as a presbyter without success, the physical connection between the two of them is not noted. This shows that Theodora had been associated whether in marriage or otherwise with a man before the emperor married her. Medieval Egyptian and Syrian sources claim that she had been born and brought up in Egypt and Syria respectively.⁵²³ For our purpose here, the fact to be noted is that she was a strong adherent of the non-Chalcedonian movement and she promoted its interests without any reservation.

Epiphanius of Constantinople who succeeded John died in June 535. He was succeeded by Anthimus, who had been bishop of Trebizond. A man who, as Frend notes,⁵²⁴ had served as a member of the Chalcedonian delegation to the unity meeting in 532, he had his sympathies for the non-Chalcedonian position, and through the empress he could come in contact with Severus. The two of them became friends committed to each other in the fellowship of the faith, and they with Theodosius formed a triumvirate among them in opposition to Chalcedon. It was indeed a moment of triumph for the non-Chalcedonian side. In the words of Maspero, as Vasiliev quotes, 'The capital of the empire, at the beginning of the year 535, was assuming somewhat the aspect which it had presented under the reign of Anastasius'.⁵²⁵

C. *Reaction from the Chalcedonian Side*

The triumph of the non-Chalcedonian side could not be lasting. Severus' stay in the capital for a period of about eighteen months. enjoying the hospitality of the imperial couple and the

fellowship of the patriarch, began to arouse the feelings of the Chalcedonian leadership in the east. The monks of Palestine and Syria II sent their representatives to Constantinople. Ephraim of Antioch who occupied the see from which Severus had withdrawn in 518 engaged a certain Sergius, a physician with diplomatic talents, to proceed to Rome and inform pope Agapetus of the situation in the capital.

The mission of Sergius coincided with another development in the west. The Gothic king Theodahad, who had recognized, though nominally, Justinian as his overlord, became disturbed about the military operations of Belisarius in the west. As Rome lay within his political control, Theodahad could prevail upon Agapetus to go to Constantinople as his representative to request the emperor to suspend Belisarius' campaigns in Sicily and Dalmatia. Agapetus was in Constantinople early in March 536, and was received by Justinian in great pomp and ceremony. The mere sight of the pope worked in him a miraculous change. Having thus gained control over the monarch, as Zacharia reports, Agapetus denounced Anthimus as an 'adulterer'⁵²⁶ and Severus as a Eutychian. Justinian, on his part, ceased to have anything to do with the non-Chalcedonian leaders any longer, and seeing the change Anthimus returned his pallium to the emperor and withdrew from the see. Severus went back to his place of retirement in Egypt. Before leaving the capital, Severus wrote⁵²⁷ to the clergy and monks in the east and informed them of his departure. 'It is very likely', writes Vasiliev, 'that the Emperor's concessions to the pope were caused partly by the fact that the Ostrogothic war began at this time in Italy and Justinian needed the support of the West.'⁵²⁸

B. *The Two Sides Separate*

The pope himself consecrated Menas on 13 March 536 in place of Anthimus. The new patriarch accepted Chalcedon, and Constantinople became once again the centre of Chalcedonian Christianity in the east. In the midst of his glorious achievements Agapetus died suddenly on 22 April. During the months of May and June the Constantinopolitan home Synod had a series of meetings attended by five Roman legates and forty-five bishops from the east, the synod excommunicated Anthimus as a heretic and renewed the ban on Severus. Emperor Justinian ratified the

decision by issuing an edict on 6 August, declaring it criminal to maintain a non-Chalcedonian position in the empire, and he ordered the burning of the writings of Severus. Ephraim of Antioch also convened a council of one hundred and thirty-two bishops, which confirmed Chalcedon and condemned Severus and his followers.⁵²⁹

The edict of Justinian could not solve the religious problem in the empire. What it did, on the other hand, was to declare the Chalcedonian body alone to constitute the religion of the state, in the same way as the *Act of Uniformity* of 1662 in British history did with Christianity in England. The edict was indeed injurious to the non-Chalcedonian body at least in three ways. Firstly, churches and other religious establishments in the empire became by *law* the possession of the Chalcedonian body; secondly bishops and leading clergy of Chalcedon's ecclesiastical opponents had to spend their days either in exile or in hiding and new recruitments were forbidden. and thirdly, laymen were denied the possibility of obtaining positions of dignity in the state. In spite of these handicaps, the people followed their non-Chalcedonian religious adherence in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere in the east. Since city churches and other institutions had been made available to the state church, they had to build churches and monasteries outside the cities. The church of Egypt, for instance, had to give up Alexandria and move its ecclesiastical centre to Enaton, where it built up monastic communities,⁵³⁰ six hundred of them. The Syrian patriarchs who claimed continuity to Severus had their residence in places like Haran, Callinicus, Edessa, and Mardin in North Syria.⁵³¹ In fact, Michael the Syrian reports that the first time a non-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch ever set foot in that city, after Severus had left it in 518, was in 721, when patriarch Elias visited Antioch for the dedication of a church which he had built in the city.⁵³²

F. *Organizing The Non-Chalcedonian Body*

The bishops opposed to Chalcedon who had been forced out of their sees from the beginning of the reign of Justin I had not in fact been relinquishing their ecclesiastical leadership. On the contrary, they were adopting a course of action which in their view was the most conducive to the fulfilment of their spiritual responsibilities. At the same time, people in Syria and elsewhere

had been pressing the leaders for clergymen, and these requests had been met in a partial way. John of Tella in North Syria had played a significant role in this development, but he was arrested and he died in prison on 6 February 538. Severus of Antioch, as we have noted, had been keeping in touch with the people and communities under his spiritual care even after he withdrew in 518. He had even accepted in principle the building up of a separate hierarchy for the non-Chalcedonian body, though he tried to move cautiously with the plan in order to avoid an open clash with Constantinople. This may well have been one of the reasons why he was unwilling to accept Justinian's invitation to the unity parleys in 532. In the end, when he agreed to go, he is said to have been yielding to pressure from his associates, and to have told them that he did not expect anything good to come from the trip.⁵³³

In any case, Severus was not letting his people go without pastoral care and Christian nurture. In 536 when he and Anthimus were expelled from the capital, they exchanged letters⁵³⁴ agreeing to adopt a common stand against Chalcedon. and the two of them were in contact with Theodosius of Alexandria who was in Constantinople from 537. In fact for about three decades thereafter he lived in the capital as the leader of the non-Chalcedonian movement. In the face of Justinian's effort to enforce his edict Severus and Theodosius in particular had to contemplate ways and means of establishing a parallel hierarchy for it. Severus died on 8 February 538,⁵³⁵ and Sergius was appointed to succeed him in 544. In raising him, one of the officiating bishops was Jacob nicknamed Baradaeus (*Burd'ono* in Syriac meaning a person in horse cloths or rags). A monk from Tella. Sergius was a friend of Jacob who also had come from the same town. Like many others in those times, they had shifted their residence to Constantinople.

Jacob was indeed a very important person. At a time when the non-Chalcedonian body was on the point of being completely deprived of episcopal ministrations in consequence of the death or exile of its bishops, Jacob was consecrated as bishop in 542.

Since then, assuming the role of a roving ecclesiastic he braved all perils and laboured unceasingly in the service of his section of the Church in opposition to the mighty Roman Empire. Son of

a Syrian presbyter Theophilus bar Manu, he was born at Tella Mauzlat fifty-five miles to the east of Edessa in about the year 500. Early in life he joined a monastery where he learned the Syriac and the Greek languages and studied the literature available in them. By and by he became fully absorbed in the ascetic way of life, so that on inheriting his paternal property he freed his slaves and made away his possessions to them. In 528 he moved to Constantinople hoping to represent the cause of the non-Chalcedonian body to empress Theodora, and lived there for many years. Seeing the pitiable state of his section of the Church, he offered himself for consecration as bishop of Edessa along with Theodore of the Arab races.

The consecration of Jacob and Theodore was performed by Theodosius of Alexandria under the Patronage of empress Theodora, at the request of al-Harith ibn Jabadah, the ruler of the Arab Christians. The territory that lay on the frontier between the Roman and the Persian empires had been inhabited by the Arab tribes. The assistance of these sturdy people had been sought by each of the great powers in their conflict with the other, and in the sixth century they tried to unite among themselves and formed two confederations, the Lakhmids in the north and east with Hira as their centre and the Ghassanids in the south and the west. The leader of the latter at this time was al-Harith ibn Jabadah, a Christian following the non-Chalcedonian position. Ephraim of Antioch had tried to change his religious adherence to the Chalcedonian side, with no success. However al-Harith's son and successor, al-Moundhir and his family were completely done away with and their Christian kingdom was wiped out by a treacherous act of Justinian's successors. Now in 541 al-Harith was in power and he appealed to empress Theodora for bishops in order to organise the church in the Orient. This was the occasion of the consecration of Jacob and Theodore, the former with a universal jurisdiction.

Jacob now set out on a literally rugged path, constantly moving from place to place all over Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine and other parts of the east. Wherever he went he confirmed the faithful, ordained clergy and helped in raising bishops sometimes even without proper testing of the candidate's suitability for the Church's ministry. In his wanderings he tried to escape detection by being clad in garments made of the rags of

horse cloth, and became worthy of the name 'Baradaeus'. During an episcopate lasting for over thirty-five years he dedicated himself unswervingly to the service of the persecuted non-Chalcedonian body. Amidst the greatest of dangers and the bitterest of privations by his un-tiring labours he was able to ensure succession to Severus in the ancient see of Antioch,⁵³⁶ ordain bishops and clergy to the number of about a hundred thousand,⁵³⁷ and founded churches in many parts of the east. In this way, despite persecution and disabilities of various kinds, the non-Chalcedonian body held its own in vigorous Christian communities in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere in the east, a development which the Chalcedonian side never felt easy to condone. As an expression of this dissatisfaction the latter found the name *Jacobite* a convenient label with reference to the former.⁵³⁸

G. *Justinian's Later Efforts*

The church in the eastern division of the Roman Empire existed from 536 in two distinct bodies, each regarding itself exclusively as *the* Church and the other as heretical. However, with the support of the state which it enjoyed, the Chalcedonian body was in a definitely advantageous position, and its leaders used it to carry on a vigorous campaign against their ecclesiastical opponents,⁵³⁹ so that Justinian could write to the council of Constantinople in 553:⁵⁴⁰

When, now the grace of God raised us to the throne, we regarded it as our chief business to unite the Churches again, and to bring the Synod of Chalcedon, together with the three earlier, to universal acceptance. We have won many who previously opposed that Synod; others who persevered in their opposition, we banished, and so restored the unity of the Church again.

This statement expresses Justinian's dream rather than historical fact.

In the meantime in June 548 empress Theodora died of a throat cancer. Harold Lamb notes how when her body was placed between the candles in the nave of the church of the Apostles, by the body there appeared the aged patriarch Anthimus who had been believed by many to have died a dozen years earlier.⁵⁴¹

Although Anthimus had withdrawn from the see in March 536 and Justinian had ordered his expulsion from the city, he lived in one of the palaces in the capital under the protection of the empress, along with Theodosius of Alexandria and other non-Chalcedonian leaders.⁵⁴²

Michael the Syrian reports⁵⁴³ that after the death of Theodora, Chalcedonian leaders persuaded the emperor to convene another unity meeting in the hope that, deprived of her patronage, the non-Chalcedonian leaders would make their submission. Justinian complied and about four hundred men were brought to the capital, where they stayed for a period of about one year discussing the issue with the emperor's nominees. The effort bore no fruit, and the men had to go back to their respective places, but the incident showed that their protest against Chalcedon was not dependant upon the assistance of any earthly source of authority.

In gathering non-Chalcedonian leaders for unity talks, Justinian employed the services of persons whom both he himself and his addressees could trust. One such man was John of Ephesus. A Syrian from Anuda, born early in the sixth century, he had his education in the east, and after living in Palestine for sometime, he settled down in Constantinople. He was consecrated bishop by Jacob Baradaeus in 558 for the see of Ephesus. A non-Chalcedonian by conviction and religious affiliation, he served the cause of his church in various ways at the capital in the reign of Justinian and two of his successors till his death in about the year 586. Two of his historical works are invaluable sources for a study of the sixth century eastern church. One of them, a history of the Church in three parts, of which part III and certain fragments of part II alone have come down to us.⁵⁴⁴ The other, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, is available.⁵⁴⁵ John was a man held in high esteem by Justinian, who engaged his services for the discharge of a number of very responsible tasks, including the evangelization of the pagan people in Asia Minor. John was able to bring to the Christian faith about 70,000 souls by means of a programme of service which he started in 542. It is reported that he carried out the project at the request of Justinian who met all the expenses needed for it, and that John had the breadth of mind to let the converts be absorbed with the Chalcedonian body.⁵⁴⁶

H. *The Council of Constantinople in 553*

In spite of his plan to support Chalcedon. Justinian's many discussions with the leaders of the non-Chalcedonian body convinced him that their objection to the council of 451 was not altogether unfounded, nor that it could be legitimately brushed aside. consequently he sought to have the council and its doctrinal formula placed in the context of the Alexandrine theological tradition. With this purpose in view he convened the council of Constantinople in 553, which came to be reckoned as the fifth ecumenical council by the Chalcedonian body.

The history of the council of 553 is beyond the scope of the present study. We shall look briefly into the doctrinal position which it adopted and see how complicated the problem raised by Chalcedon was. Three decisions of the council deserve notice here: (1)The council of Chalcedon declared the fourth ecumenical council; (2)The condemnation of the 'three chapters' : and (3)The acceptance of fourteen anathemas. In his letter addressed to the council, Justinian stated that 'we hold fast to the decrees of the four Councils',⁵⁴⁷ and the council in its sentence against the 'three chapters' expressed its 'acceptance of the things..... defined by the 630 gathered at Chalcedon for the one and the same faith'.⁵⁴⁸ In this way the council of Chalcedon was ratified by the council of 553.

The second decision deserves special attention. The three chapters referred to a condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia⁵⁴⁹ as a heretic, and of certain writings of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa as opposed to the faith of the Church. Of these three men, Theodore is portrayed as a dangerous heretic. At Chalcedon the name of Theodore was not even mentioned seriously, but not so those of Theodoret and Ibas. The council of 553 found fault with Theodoret because of what had been 'impiously written by him 'against the right faith and against the Twelve Chapters of St. Cyril and against the First Council of Ephesus', and also because of 'certain things written by him in defence of those impious ones Theodore and Nestorius'.⁵⁵⁰ These writings of Theodoret, it should be remembered, had all been published before the council of 451 had met and on the very ground of them he had been condemned by the second council of Ephesus in 449. However, it was in

spite of this condemnation and despite these very writings that Leo of Rome had restored him to the episcopate⁵⁵¹ and the imperial authority had sought to have him participate in the council of 451,⁵⁵² without saying a word about these writings or about his defence of the man whom the council of 553 described as ‘the most impious Theodore’, merely on the strength of an unwilling and half-hearted anathema which he uttered against Nestorius. If, in fact, Theodoret deserved the description made of him by the council of 553, it is indeed strange that the council ventured in the same breath to defend the council of Chalcedon which, after examining all these charges against him, had acquitted him.

This point can be made much more strongly with reference to the treatment of Ibas. The council of 553 judged that ‘the letter which is said to have been written by Ibas to Maris the Persian’ did contain ‘the blasphemies of the heretics Theodore and Nestorius’ whom it defended and called doctors, while referring to the holy fathers as heretics.⁵⁵³ This letter of Ibas also had been composed long before the council had been held, and Ibas had been condemned on account of this letter and other charges by the council of 449. All these evidences had been presented to the council of Chalcedon, and after examining them the Roman legates gave their verdict that the evidence did not warrant an excommunication of the man, and that in spite of the letter Ibas was orthodox.⁵⁵⁴ The council of 553 argued that the letter of Ibas had not been accepted by Chalcedon on the ground of the argument that the document was so impious that the *holy council* could not possibly have approved it. The argument is indeed strange, and the defence of Chalcedon by the council of 553 through its condemnation of the three chapters is indeed an attempt to correct a serious defect which Justinian and those who agreed with him saw in the previous council.

The anathemas of the council of 553 corroborate this judgment further. They exclude certain heresies on the one hand, and conserve a theological position on the other. The fact about both these aspects of the anathemas is that they vindicate only the point of view maintained by the non-Chalcedonian body all along. If this truth had been admitted by The emperor and the Chalcedonian body, a great deal of the conflicts that set the communities apart could have been avoided. Michael the Syrian

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reports⁵⁵⁵ that Justinian who did so much to establish Chalcedon was drawn towards the end of his life to the Julianist position. The Syrian historian notes that the emperor who used to commend the council of 451 that it had not accepted the letter of Ibas was shocked to hear from Vigilius of Rome that it had in fact approved the document. Now being infuriated, he expressed a three-fold anathema on Chalcedon and adopted the Julianist emphasis.⁵⁵⁶

CHAPTER SIX

IN THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN'S SUCCESSORS

Emperor Justinian died on 14 November 565. He was succeeded in turn by Justin II (565-578), Tiberius (578-582), Maurice (582-602) and Phocas (602-610). By that time the empire had come to the verge of a collapse, and Heraclius arose to revive its glory. He founded a dynasty which held sway till it was replaced by the Isaurian dynasty in 717.

1. *The Reign of Justin II*

Of these men, Justin II was the man who addressed himself to the question of Church union with real seriousness. His wife Sophia, like but less able than Theodora, favoured the non-Chalcedonian position, and she supported the emperor's plan in this direction. In fact, he began his reign with a determination to bring the two bodies into unity. Failing in these efforts, he turned out in the end to be a systematic persecutor of the non-Chalcedonian body, under the direction of patriarch John III of Constantinople. However, the strain of the Persian wars as well as the sense of guilt arising out of the cruel treatment which he imposed on his Christian subjects led the weak monarch to become insane in 573. After living in that state for about five years, he died in 578, leaving the throne to Tiberius II, his caesar.

A. Efforts to Unify the Two Sides

Soon after the new emperor assumed the throne, he expressed his desire to unite the two sides. Patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria, who had been residing in Constantinople, asked to call on him.

Justin did not only grant the request but even required of the non-Chalcedonian leader to see him in his ecclesiastical insignia. When he came in, Theodosius was received respectfully and told that a reconciliation would soon be worked out, whereupon the patriarch would be free to go back to his see. But Theodosius died on 22 June 566 and was honourably buried. The funeral sermon was preached on the occasion by a monk named Athanasius who could go so far as to condemn the council of Chalcedon in the course of his homily.

The effort of Justin since then to bring the two sides to unity is described in some detail by Syrian historians. It began in a series of parleys by leaders of both sides in Constantinople. This itself was made possible by the presence in the capital of representatives of two rival factions in the non-Chalcedonian body who had gone there for a settlement of the issue between them through imperial intervention. The story of this split, which is discussed briefly later, goes back to the fifties of the century when there emerged in the east a new exposition of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. John Asconaghes, a Syrian from Mesopotamia, who had adopted the ascetic habit of wearing shoes made of the leather used for making water-bottles, came to Constantinople by about 557 and succeeded in obtaining the support of Athanasius, a grandson of empress Theodora.⁵⁵⁷ In Alexandria John Philoponus, an Aristotelian philosopher, was also won over to their point of view. Among leading ecclesiastics, Conon of Tarsus in Cilicia and Eugene of Seleucia in Isauria, whom Jacob Baradaeus had consecrated adopted this position. Theodosius of Alexandria condemned John Asconaghes and his supporters as tritheists, but they were able to enlist for the movement a following. Now faced with stiff opposition from the non-Chalcedonian body, the leading men of the sect came to the capital in order to secure the support of the emperor, who directed the two parties to discuss their differences in the presence of patriarch John III (the scholastic) of Constantinople. These meetings brought the representatives of both parties to face the Chalcedonian body, and a three-cornered negotiation went on for some time and the parties in the non-Chalcedonian body reached an agreement between them temporarily in 566.

Following this incident, unity talks were held between the leaders of the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides

lasting for a period of over one year. This was a time when the non-Chalcedonian leadership was keen to accept an honourable settlement, without their having to endorse the council of Chalcedon in a juridical sense. The emperor granted this point, as the edict which he issued as a basis for union sufficiently shows.⁵⁵⁸ It noted the creed of Nicea as confirmed by the council of Constantinople as the only acceptable symbol of faith, and this creed as it had been interpreted by the council of 431 alone as the doctrinal standard of the Church. After incorporating the creed, the edict went on to affirm ‘two births of God the Word, one from God the Father in eternity and the other from Mary the Virgin in time. We confess him to be God the Only Word in truth, who remained unchanging in his Godhead. He suffered in the flesh and performed wonders as God, not as one and another; not that one is Christ and another is God, but one and the same, being composed of two natures of Godhead and manhood one *hypostasis*, one *prosopon*; not two *hypostases* or two *prosopa*, or two sons, but one *hypostasis* of God the Word incarnate’. The edict condemned all heretics, among whom were Nestorius and Theodore, as well as the letter of Ibas and the writings of Theodoret. ‘We accept the blessed patriarch Severus and revoke the condemnation that had been pronounced against him wickedly and without reason, and we lift the anathemas declared from the time of St. Cyril to the present time.’

The non-Chalcedonian leaders who saw the edict proposed two amendments. In the first place, they suggested that the statement on the incarnation should be modified from the words. ‘another is God, but’, to ‘read he who is one the same being composed of two natures, namely two *hypostases*, divine and human, and forming one nature, namely one *hypostasis*, divine and one *prosopon*. He is not two *hypostases* or two *prosopa*, or two natures or two sons’. Secondly, they asked for the inclusion of the twelve anathemas of Cyril as an accepted document of the faith.

Syrian historians testify that the emperor agreed to adopt the amendments and ordered that copies of the edict be made incorporating the changes, but that the men who undertook the work omitted them. The emperor was annoyed, but later cooled off. The non-Chalcedonian leaders, seeing that their proposals which the emperor had admitted had not been put in, refused to sign the

document. Thus the edict could not serve the purpose for which it had been drawn up.

In spite of this failure, the non-Chalcedonian side took the initiative and appealed to the emperor that he might continue his efforts for Church union. Jacob Baradaeus himself was in Constantinople with other leaders to make this request. Justin now sent them all to the east, assuring them that he would depute John the patrician who was being sent to Chosroes of Persia on a political mission to take up the question of unity with the monks and other leaders. It may have been in 568 that John went to the east, when a large body of men met in the monastery of Mar Zakkai at Callinicus on the Euphrates frontier. The patrician presented to the assembly an edict of the emperor which he had brought with him. Though the bishops and many other headers judged it satisfying, the monks created a disturbance and the conference ended in a fiasco. Jacob himself felt helpless, and the matter was reported to the emperor who invited Jacob, Theodore and other non-Chalcedonian bishops to the capital. Jacob declined, and Theodore, Paul the Black and others proceeded to Constantinople. With John of Ephesus and the Nubian bishop Longinus,⁵⁵⁹ they continued the negotiation during 569-70, and in 571 Justin issued an edict as a basis for both sides to unite. A document like the *Henotikon* of 482, this edict did not touch on the question of Chalcedon. Patriarch John of Constantinople assured the bishops of the non-Chalcedonian body, who wanted a clear statement about the council of 451, that when once the union between them was effected, Chalcedon would be dropped.⁵⁶⁰ 'As we and our masters, the emperors, have stated many times, we give you our word and promise before God that as soon as you enter into union with us the council will be dropped. That which has come out of our lips will not change'. On the strength of these words and after expressing their categorical rejection of the council of Chalcedon, the bishops including the historian himself and the Antiochene patriarch Paul the Black communicated with patriarch John of Constantinople. After doing it twice, the bishops reminded the Chalcedonian patriarch of his promise and required of him to carry it into effect but he went back on his word. 'We shall write to the pope of Rome', he said. 'If he agrees. we shall cancel the council for we cannot break with Rome because of you'. The bishops were, however, offered dioceses in return for their union with the

Chalcedonian body, which they refused to accept and told that they would have nothing more to do with patriarch John of Constantinople.

B. Imperial Orders for Persecution

The emperor became infuriated and turned out to be a bitter persecutor of the non-Chalcedonian body, under the instigation of patriarch John of Constantinople and the Chalcedonian body. Following the departure of Anthimus in 536, the see of Constantinople was occupied by Menas, who was succeeded by Eutyches. In 565 the latter was expelled by imperial orders and his place was given to John, a Syrian by race from the village of Sirmis. It was in his day that the negotiations for unity took place, and the persecution of the non-Chalcedonian bishops was carried out.

John of Ephesus, who lived in Constantinople at that time and who was himself subjected to severe torture, has preserved for us a fairly detailed account of this persecution.⁵⁶¹ At the beginning of the week before the Palm Sunday of the year 571, he writes, emperor Justin II issued an edict proscribing the non-Chalcedonian body. He ordered their places of worship to be closed, their bishops and priests to be arrested, and all their congregations to be disbanded. Patriarch John was ready at hand to see that the imperial injunctions were put into effect literally. In fact they had been issued in consequence of the patriarch's influence and instigation. Accordingly, under John's direction, bishops and clergy were seized and kept in custody subject to inhuman conditions. Chalcedonian clergy were now sent to administer spiritual services for monastic communities and people at large who had been on the non-Chalcedonian side. Those of them who refused to accept these services, particularly the eucharistic communion, offered to them by bishops and presbyters of the Chalcedonian body were caught and put in jail. Their properties were plundered, and many of them were sent in exile.

In the face of such cruel treatment many made their surrender and joined the Chalcedonian body. Those among them who belonged to the clergy were received in the ranks which they had

occupied, and allowed to continue their spiritual ministrations. But later patriarch John and his advisors felt that they should strengthen their position further by forcing these men to accept the ceremony of ordination over again. One such person was Paul, a simple and elderly bishop. In response to the orders of the Chalcedonian patriarch he was brought to Constantinople. After keeping him in custody for some time, he was asked to sign a declaration⁵⁶² stating that out of his own will and free choice he was joining the Church of God. The historian says that the man was asked to sign the statement without even reading it and learning its contents. He was then subjected to a reordination against his will, and the man, not being able to bear the humiliation and the sense of guilt in letting himself have this unlawful action done on him, died⁵⁶³ of grief in a few days' time. Bishop Elisha was brought from his monastery of Dius and was kept in custody at the Patriarchate. Although he communicated with the Chalcedonian patriarch, he refused to be reordained, saying that if this was to be done at all he should be baptized first. He was told that only the pallium was being put on him, and he still resisted. Consequently he was sent to the monastery of Abraham and severely tortured. Bishop Stephen was more daring and successful. When he was asked to be reordained, he appealed to the emperor, challenging the very basis of the action. The 19th canon of the council of Nicea, he said, enjoined that the adherents of the heresy of Paul of Samosata, if they were to be admitted into the Church, should be rebaptized and reordained, ignoring the baptism and ordination which they had received in their former ecclesiastical affiliation. Was it, then, he asked, that the non-Chalcedonian body was like the followers of the Samosatene, without valid sacraments? If that was the case. Stephen insisted, men like him should be rebaptized before they were reordained. Stephen's challenge had an effect, and the emperor ordered that the programme should be stopped. Stephen was not reordained, but was made a bishop in Cyprus.

C. Persecution Fails

Patriarch John's procedure to reordain non-Chalcedonian bishops and other clergy was severely challenged by the bishops of that body in their meeting with him subsequently, along the lines adopted by Stephen. They in fact asked the Chalcedonian

patriarch to clarify what the heresy of the non-Chalcedonian side was. John had no answer, except to ask whether the bishops would be satisfied if he stopped reordaining altogether. Again they repeated their point that the issue of the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* divided them from him, and that before thinking of union this subject stood in need of settlement.

The persecution could not be lasting. Justin II became mentally deranged and had Tiberius raised as caesar in 574. The young ruler was opposed to the idea of inflicting ill-treatment on the non-Chalcedonian side. John of Ephesus reports that both patriarch John and after him Eutyches tried to persuade Tiberius to issue orders for the persecution of the non-Chalcedonian body. 'You must tell me the truth', said Tiberius 'as you believe. Are those whom you ask me to persecute heathen?' 'No', answered the patriarch. 'They are Christians, aren't they?' queried again the caesar. 'Yes', replied John, 'but they do not join with us in the Church'. 'Go now', said Tiberius, 'and be at peace. I do not want to persecute Christians, as did Diocletian'.⁵⁶⁴ John died in 577, and Eutyches whom he had replaced in 565 was now restored to the see. This Eutyches was also zealous for Chalcedon and approached Tiberius for the purpose of instigating him to persecute the non-Chalcedonian body, and Tiberius said to him, 'Enough for us the wars with the barbarians who surround us on all sides. It is not possible for us to rouse up another war against christians; go now and be at peace'.

Eutyches made himself unpopular on account of a view on Christian eschatology which he expressed. Since at death man is decomposed, the body returning to the earth from which it had originally been taken, would there be a regrouping of the material particles of the disintegrated body at the resurrection? It was this question which Eutyches tried to answer with an emphatic 'no', and insisted that in the *eschaton* God would create men and women anew. This opinion of Eutyches did not find favour with anyone in his day.⁵⁶⁵

Justin II died in 578 and Tiberius was declared emperor. After a short reign, he died in 582, and Maurice succeeded him.

D. Validity of Orders According to the Non-Chalcedonian Side

The Chalcedonian leadership tried to work out a programme of reordaining the men of the non-Chalcedonian body who agreed to accept the council of Chalcedon, either willingly or under pressure, as an indication that they had not been in the Church. This step was in fact part of the persecuting activities which the Chalcedonian body adopted. However, about this time the non-Chalcedonian body faced the question of the validity of ordinations conferred by the Chalcedonian side in a more theologically sound manner. During the reign of Justin II there arose the enquiry among the leading men of the latter concerning the way those who joined them from the Chalcedonian side were to be received.⁵⁶⁶ Two opinions were expressed. Some maintained that the orders conferred by the Chalcedonian body were valid, and another group insisted that they were invalid and that persons in that condition should be duly ordained on joining the non-Chalcedonian body.

Faced with this question, the leading men of that body, with Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of the Arabs held a meeting, which resolved :—(i) that the ordination carried on by the Chalcedonian body is traceable back to the time before the council of Chalcedon, because the bishops who participated in the council had already been ordained in the catholic Church, and that their falling in error did not invalidate the orders which they had received; (ii) that ordination is ‘a gift from above given to the Apostles, from whom it is transmitted till the end’, which we receive, and also heal those who, having received it, fall into error; and (iii) that therefore those in priestly orders on the Chalcedonian side who wished to join the non-Chalcedonian body needed only the ‘healing’ and not the ordaining a second time. Accordingly, the meeting proposed that clergymen who joined the non-Chalcedonian body from the Chalcedonian side should undergo two years of penance, after which there should be prayer said over them by the bishops. In this way they would continue to serve in the rank which they had held on the Chalcedonian side, without any reordination.

E. The Effect of the Persecution

The religious policy of the Justinian dynasty which caused a division of the one Church into two mutually denouncing ecclesiastical bodies and the adoption of the Chalcedonian body as the state religion of the Roman empire, was most injurious to the non-Chalcedonian body. For one thing, it had to face an acute shortage of the clergy. Although empress Theodora extended to them her support, what she could do for them had serious limitations, and her death in 548 deprived them of even this assistance. Jacob Baradaeus went round all over the east strengthening their ecclesiastical affiliation. Yet he succeeded in consecrating a patriarch for the see of Antioch in succession of Severus who had died in 538 only after about six years.⁵⁶⁷ Sergius, the man so elevated, died after three years. No successor could be consecrated for him till 564, when Theodosius of Alexandria nominated his secretary, Paul the Black, who was a monk from Egypt. With the approval of Jacob Baradaeus and other bishops in the orient, Paul was made patriarch of Antioch. Instead of strengthening the Church, this consecration did only bring about untold problems.

From the beginning, Paul was a controversial person. Soon after his consecration, he was sent by Theodosius to Alexandria as his representative to raise bishops for the vacant sees in Egypt. But the Egyptians did not accept the plan, and accused Paul of aspiring to the see of Alexandria. In Syria he had supporters, but when he was not in agreement with Jacob they were few in number, except for al-Moundhir, the son of al-Harith of the Ghassanid Arabs. Though Jacob and Paul could get on well with each other in the beginning, the former, an old man that he now was, could be swayed by the extremists among his partisans who would join with the Egyptians in their bitter opposition to Paul. In any case, Paul deserves our sympathy, for though he may not have been above flaw, the problem which he had to encounter, which he was considered to have created himself, was at least partially the unfortunate effect of the ecclesiastical situation of his times.

In 571 Paul was among the bishops and the clergy of the non-Chalcedonian body who were arrested by imperial orders. With John of Ephesus and others, he also communicated with the Chalcedonian side twice, and with them he too broke off

communion and was taken in custody. The place of his detention was the monastery of Abraham in Constantinople itself. While being there, he began to write a memoir of his experiences, which came to the notice of his supervisors. The book was snatched away from him, and he was subjected to severe treatment. In the end bishop Stephen interceded on his behalf and he was released. Paul's case came to the attention of the emperor, who became impressed with the man's ability. Appreciating his worth, Justin II went so far as to seek his counsel, and this aroused jealousy in patriarch John who tried in subtle ways to have Paul removed from the capital. However, after some time he was found missing, and the emperor ordered a search of all monasteries, homes and even ships in the sea, all in vain. Paul found a hiding place with a friend for nine months and then escaped to his friend al-Moundhir in Arabia from where he made petitions to be restored to the church. Jacob and those with him were agreeable, but were keen to gauge the feelings of the Egyptians towards the man. Thus decision regarding him was delayed till the return of two bishops sent to Egypt.

Meanwhile, Paul was in Egypt in 574 in the guise of a soldier. The church in that country was in complete disorder due to lack episcopal control and to the many sects that were destroying its unity. Seeing this pitiable state of the church, Paul requested the Nubian bishop Longinus to come and assist in the consecration of a patriarch for Alexandria in succession of Theodosius who had died in 566. Longinus complied and came to Alexandria. Helped by the two Syrian bishops, Longinus took the lead in consecrating a Syrian monk Theodore as patriarch of Alexandria in 575. Paul was not involved in the ceremony of ordination, except that he gave permission to the Syrian bishops to assist in the service and requested Longinus to perform the action. But the Egyptians who had already been out of favour with Paul believed that he was responsible for the raising of Theodore, and that he had done it with the intention of dominating the see of Alexandria. The result was that they refused to recognize Theodore and harboured an incorrigible hatred towards Paul. As an expression of their animosity against Theodore, they raised Peter, an aged deacon, as patriarch in succession of Theodosius and through him appointed seventy bishops for Egypt. After three years, Peter died, and yet the Egyptians would not accept Theodore, but made Damian, another Syrian, as their patriarch to

succeed Peter. They did, in fact, transcend the limits of their legitimate rights and pronounced an anathema on Paul.

The only man on earth at that time who could exert his influence to bring about a reconciliation between Paul and the Egyptians was indeed Jacob Baradaeus. But he had become so old and even senile that he could be turned to this side or that by those whom he considered were his close friends. The Egyptians, on their part, forestalled even this possibility by securing Jacob's approval of Peter's appointment and Paul's excommunication. Now Jacob found himself on the side of the Egyptians against Paul, whose appointment as patriarch of Antioch had been warmly supported by him. The result was a split in the church in Syria into two camps,⁵⁶⁸ one favouring Jacob and the other following Paul. The two parties denounced each other in a very pitiable way. The party of Jacob held a meeting to consider the raising of a patriarch in place of Paul, but this did not materialize on account of opposition from a number of bishops who demanded that Paul be formally convicted and deposed before any such thing was done. However, after the death of Jacob, the party loyal to him consecrated Peter of Callinicus as patriarch of Antioch, while Paul was still alive.

Seeing the grievous commotion in the church on his account, Paul disappeared one day. Nothing was heard about him for a period of nearly four years. Later it came to be known that he had retired into a cave on a mountain near Constantinople, and that he died there. In Alexandria Theodore whom the Egyptians had ignored, heard that Paul was in the capital and he proceeded thither to see his friend. Failing in his search, he returned to Egypt in sorrow, and he died there soon.⁵⁶⁹

The death of Jacob was most mysterious. After taking part in the conference which considered the appointment of a patriarch in place of Paul, he called one day eight of his close friends, including some bishops, and with them set out on a trip to Alexandria without ever revealing his purpose. Some said that he undertook the journey in order to try to work out a reconciliation between Paul and the Egyptians, but others spread the story that his aim was to appoint a patriarch in place of Paul with the support of the Alexandrines. However, when the men arrived at the monastery of Cassin at Maiuma in Gaza on the Egyptian borders, they

stopped for a brief halt. Now one of the men, a bishop, met with sudden death. Jacob celebrated the requiem mass for him. The next day another of the bishops died, and on the third day Jacob also breathed his last. Within a period of ten days all the men died one after another. The historian does not know the cause of these deaths. We can only say that thus ended in mystery the amazing life of a man who braved all perils for a cause dear to his heart.⁵⁷⁰

F. *A Doctrinal Question*

The new interpretation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity which men like John Asconaghes had been offering from the fifties of the sixth century added to the confusion of the times. The issue raised by these men was that the doctrine as expounded by the Cappadocian fathers in the second half of the fourth century needed further elucidation in order to exclude the danger of Sabellianism. The fourth century fathers, for instance had taught that God was one *ousia* or substance which in its entirety was individuated in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and thus each of them was a *hypostasis* or concrete being. God then was one *ousia*, one *physis* or nature, but three *hypostasis*. Since Christ was the incarnation of God the Son who has his nature,⁵⁷¹ the Father and the Holy Spirit also should each of them have his nature. On this argument these sixth century men insisted that God was three *ousias* or substances, three natures and three *hypostases*, without paying sufficient attention to the danger of tritheism implied in their position.

This interpretation was rejected by the non-Chalcedonian body. Theodosius of Alexandria condemned John Asconaghes, and wrote refuting their tenets in the same way as Severus had written against Julian of Halicarnassus in the twenties of the sixth century. Like Julianism, the tritheistic movement also had an initial success in many areas in the east. But faced with opposition and excommunication, its leaders endeavoured to organize the movement on an independent footing, which in the sixth century context required the leadership of bishops. Since it had only two bishops, Conon and Eugene, it needed the participation of a third person of the episcopal rank to complete the canonical quorum for the raising of other bishops, and the leaders approached John of Ephesus seeking his collaboration,

He not only turned down the request but even advised them to give up their heresy and join with the Church. In the end they found Theonas, a bishop whom Theodosius of Alexandria had consecrated but had excommunicated for misdeeds. The three men together made several other bishops and sent them to different parts to spread their teaching.⁵⁷²

Preachers of Tritheism had the support of Athanasius, empress Theodora's grandson, and John Philoponus of Alexandria.⁵⁷³ They took out a few passages from the writings of Severus of Antioch and even of Theodosius of Alexandria and endeavoured to make out that their views accorded with the teaching of the fathers. Faced with this challenge, the leaders of the non-Chalcedonian body undertook an examination of the passages noted by them and showed that the excerpts had all been taken out of context. Both Severus and Theodosius had taught that, although Godhead was one, namely one being and one nature, the three persons were not merely three modes as the Sabellian school had maintained. They were rather eternally real, so that when each of them was thought of in himself, he was to be affirmed as a being and a nature. But this did not mean either for Severus or for Theodosius that Godhead was a common name for three beings or three natures.

The Tritheistic movement offered strong resistance to the non-Chalcedonian body in the sixth century. However, it gave an occasion for the leaders of that body to clarify the theological emphasis behind the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

2. *In the Reign of Maurice*

Tiberius died on 13 August 582. Maurice who succeeded him was a Cappadocian, who had been made governor of the orient by Tiberius. He was appointed Caesar on 5 August and was given Tiberius' daughter Augusta, whose name was changed to Constantina, in marriage.

Maurice was an adherent of the Chalcedonian faith who would have issued orders for the enforcement of Chalcedon, if he had not been subjected to two constraints. On the one hand, he had enough problems otherwise which demanded his attention and did not leave him free to undertake it, and on the other the then

patriarch of Constantinople was not interested in persecuting fellow Christians. Tiberius, his predecessor on the throne, was a spendthrift who had left behind a practically empty treasury, and Maurice had to meet the problem of the Persian wars and other financial obligations. Besides, that was a time when the old religions of the Mediterranean world had begun to grow in many areas of the empire.

A. Maurice and Persecution

Eutyches of Constantinople died in the same year as Maurice succeeded to the imperial throne, and his successor on the see was John IV. He was a gentle soul who would not agree to any programme of persecution being adopted against the non-Chalcedonian body. John of Ephesus reports that people and clergy of the Chalcedonian side who used to take advantage of imperial orders for persecution to plunder the wealth of the non-Chalcedonian people approached the emperor trying to persuade him to issue orders for this purpose, and that the emperor asked the patriarch to seize the leaders of the body and to scatter their congregations. But John IV would not agree. ‘Even so will God be pleased’⁵⁷⁴ he said. ‘The heathen, after being exposed, have been exonerated, freed and pardoned by us. Now do we want to persecute Christians? What is it that the non-conformists say or do that they merit persecution? Renowned as your reign is for its clemency towards pagans, how can you ask me to persecute Christians, who are blameless in their Christian adherence, and who have more ardent faith than we have?’ These words of the patriarch restrained the emperor from issuing orders for persecution, at least in Constantinople.

However, there were cases of ill-treatment meted out to the non-Chalcedonian people in other places in the east during Maurice’s reign. One such instance is noted by Syrian historians. It is reported that Maurice did everything in his power to enrich his relatives and to raise them to high places. One such person was Domitian, a son of his brother Peter. He was made bishop of Melitene, an important see in north Syria, where the non-Chalcedonian body was strong. Domitian’s effort to enforce Chalcedon in that area was not a success, and in 599 the emperor gave the bishop orders to seize churches and other institutions in

Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the east and be given away to the Chalcedonian body. He demanded monks in those parts to receive eucharistic communion from him or from his clergy as an expression of their surrender. Seeing them unyielding,⁵⁷⁵ they were turned out of their monasteries and about four hundred of them were done to death, in a place where a church was built later by the non-Chalcedonian body to commemorate their death.

Maurice, the diplomat, who could show fairness to people who adopted non-Christian religious adherence, went so far as to give his daughter Maria as a wife to Chosroes II of Persia and established friendly ties with him. But in the empire he saw the non-Chalcedonian body as a strong force, which he tried to curb by various means, in spite of the advice against the measures given him by patriarch John IV.

B. Conflict between Egypt and the Orient

The question of Paul the Black disturbed the church, not only in Syria and among the Arab Christians, but it caused strained relations between Syria and Egypt. The Arab Christian leader al-Moundhir tried to bring about a settlement of the issue. He was in Constantinople in 580, where he held meetings with representatives of the two parties in Syria and of the Egyptians.⁵⁷⁶ On 2 March the parties reached an agreement among them. But there were troublemakers who worked to wreck the union, and Damian of Alexandria who had succeeded Peter in opposition to Theodore put in his weight with them. A Syrian by race, he journeyed to the orient with the intention of raising a patriarch for Antioch in place of Paul, while the latter was alive. But the Syrian bishops were not in agreement and Damian found a simple person named Severus and tried to consecrate him in the Antiochene church by tipping the sexton in order to have the church opened at night. The matter leaked out and Damian had to flee. He returned to Alexandria after halting for a while in Constantinople in a sort of concealed shame.

After Damian's unsuccessful manoeuvres in Syria, Peter of Callinicus was made patriarch in 581. He was indeed an able man. In the days of Jacob he had turned down the patriarchal dignity on the ground that he would not accept it before the case

of Paul had been canonically dealt with. However, when he accepted the appointment, Paul was still alive and his case was pending a decision, and Peter regretted the action. He therefore went to Alexandria in order to work for a reconciliation between Paul and the Egyptians. But by that time Paul had died, and Peter was confirmed as patriarch of Antioch for the non-Chalcedonian body.

While in Alexandria Peter and Damian exchanged letters of union, between them, though this was of short duration. Damian was not a man particularly noted for his theological ability. Some of the men who had been inclined to the tritheistic position approached him with questions, and Damian prepared a treatise answering the points raised by them. Before publishing it, he sent a copy to the Syrian patriarch Peter for his comments. Seeing many imprecise and unclear statements in the book, Peter notified them to Damian. which the latter took as an insult directed against his person, and relation between them was broken all through their lives. Peter died in 591, and was succeeded by Julian, his secretary, who left this life after three years. Now Athanasius was made the Syrian patriarch. Damian also died and his successor was Anastasius. Through the initiative of Athanasius, the two sees were again brought back to unity.

Athanasius was indeed a great man,⁵⁷⁷ who came from a family at Samosata. Early in his life he lost his father. His mother, a woman of piety, brought up Athanasius and his brother Severus, and when they were old enough she had them join a monastery. In 594, after the death of Julian, bishops met in synod to choose a successor in the monastery where the brothers had made their abode. According to custom, they fasted for three days, and on the last day some of them felt that the monk whom they would meet first in the morning of the next day should be interviewed. The following day, when they came out of their rooms, they saw Athanasius getting ready the camels of the monastery for the day's work. Their conversation with him convinced them that he was a learned man, worthy to be made patriarch. The synod also examined him and, being satisfied, decided to choose him, much against his will. He, however, made the bishops agree to the condition that he should be allowed to complete the year of service which he had undertaken for the monastery. Athanasius

went back to his work in the abbey and, without ever divulging the fact of his election as patriarch even to his brother, finished his year of service, and when a delegation from the synod came, he went with them to take up his new post. As his work in the monastery during the year was to bring provisions for the community from outside on camel back, he came to be called *Gamolo*, meaning a camel-driver.

After assuming the role of the patriarch. Athanasius visited Alexandria and settled the dispute between the two sees. Anastasius of Alexandria responded favourably and the two men exchanged letters of union.⁵⁷⁸

C. *The Destruction of the Arab Christian Kingdom*

The Arab Christian kingdom of the Ghassanids grew into prominence in the days of al-Harith and his son, al-Moundhir. Both of them followed the non-Chalcedonian religious adherence and played a significant role in its history during the sixth century. They were vassals of the Christian emperors of Constantinople and supported their interests in opposition to the Persians, but emperor Maurice had al-Moundhir and his son, Naaman exiled and their kingdom wiped out from the face of the earth. The non-Chalcedonian loyalty of these men did definitely play a part in creating so incorrigible a hatred of them in the mind of the Chalcedonian Maurice.

In the reign of Justin II al-Moundhir had helped the Roman side in its conflict with the Persians, and he asked the emperor for assistance to keep up his military strength. Justin was not only unwilling to comply but became enraged at the very request. He in fact decided to express his wrath by engineering a plot to have him killed. Justin wrote two letters, one to al-Moundhir himself and the other to Marcian, his general in the east. In the former he asked the Arab ruler to go and meet the general at Dara as he had some urgent matters to discuss with him, and in the latter he ordered the army chief to do away with the Arab leader who was coming to see him. But the letters were enclosed wrongly and al-Moundhir got the one written for Marcian, and he broke off all communications with the Romans.

When Tiberius came to the throne, they were restored to friendship, and al-Moundhir came to Constantinople in February 580, where he was received very cordially. The new emperor even recognized his royal title. This was the time when al-Moundhir met with representatives of the conflicting parties in the non-Chalcedonian body and endeavoured to unite them. At this time Maurice was the governor in the east, and on his return from Constantinople they joined together in planning a campaign in the Persian territory. While heading the army, they found the bridge on the river at the boundary destroyed, and Maurice suspected that al-Moundhir had done this. No effort to clear the doubt would change his mind, and he reported the matter to Tiberius. Believing the story to be well-founded, the emperor also became estranged in his mind towards the Arab king, who was most treacherously seized and taken to Constantinople, where he was detained as a prisoner. His four sons under the leadership of Naaman, the eldest, retaliated by carrying on a series of punitive raids in the Roman territory. Though the attempt to capture them did not succeed, their name sustained a blow.

In 582 Maurice succeeded Tiberius, with lamentable consequence for the Arab king, who was now exiled. His son Naaman came to Constantinople to plead for his father's release. He was told by Maurice that this could be done only on condition that he joined the Roman forces against the Persians, and that he adopted the Chalcedonian religious adherence. Naaman agreed to accept the first condition, but turned down the second on the ground that if he admitted it he would be killed by his people. But while leaving the emperor's presence, he said that he would not see the face of the Romans again. He was seized on the way and exiled with his father. His kingdom was now divided into fifteen principalities, which led them one by one to join the Persians⁵⁷⁹ who dominated the scene during the first three decades of the seventh century.

A strong Arab Christian kingdom would have been a great asset for the emperors of Constantinople, for it would have effectively checked the Persian imperial expansion in Syria, Palestine and Egypt which actually happened during the early part of the seventh century, and even stemmed the tide of Arab invasion later. The short-sighted policy of Maurice, inspired possibly by

jealousy and religious prejudice, led him to this imprudent action, with its own consequences for the later history of the middle east in general and of Christianity in the area in particular.

D. *Maurice Meets with his End*

Maurice was in fact no mean emperor. As a soldier, he was brave and skilful, and as a ruler, he made a number of administrative reforms of lasting value. In his relation with Persia he was indeed very successful. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact the Roman empire had to deal with the two Sassanid emperors, Chosroes I and his grandson Chosroes II, both of them ambitious and encroaching despots, during the period between 531 and 628.

Justinian's programme of reconquering the west for the empire had to be carried out by making a peace treaty with Chosroes I at the cost of a huge amount of money in annual tribute, and the Persian monarch broke it again and again, each time demanding more money and territorial concessions. The final treaty between them required the payment of 200,000 pieces of Roman gold annually by Constantinople to Persia. After the death of Justinian, this was not paid on several occasions, and the Persians undertook military expeditions whenever they could to realize the money. When Maurice came to the throne in 582, he had inherited this problem. But during the first ten years of his reign, the two courageous generals, Philippicus and Heraclius, succeeded in keeping the frontiers safe from invasions. From 591 the relations between Maurice and Chosroes II became cordial, for in his conflict with Bahram who rebelled against the Persian ruler Maurice extended to him help, and he was reinstated in his position. Thus the two men became friends and, if the story preserved by Syrian historians is trustworthy, Maurice had Chosroes II marry his daughter Maria.⁵⁸⁰ Seeing that the east offered no threat, Maurice rewarded Heraclius for his services by appointing him as the exarch of North Africa. But Maurice had problems on the Danube frontier in the north. To meet this, he needed the wholehearted co-operation of the army, which he never had. For one thing, since becoming the emperor, he had not kept in touch with them, and secondly his depleted treasury

had withheld him from paying their salaries. To add to it, there was complaint that Maurice was using his position as head of state to enhance the wealth and prestige of his relatives. It may well be that he thought much of his friendship with Chosroes II and neglected his security forces. In any case, there was an army mutiny in 602 and Maurice was deserted by his city militia. He tried to escape by moving to Chalcedon, but on 26 November he and his four children were done to death. The army now crowned Phocas, an officer, as emperor.

3. *In the Reign of Phocas*

Phocas had a difficult time. Chosroes II of Persia was deeply grieved at the massacre of Maurice and his family. In trying to revenge his benefactor, he captured Mesopotamia, Syria, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Phocas could do nothing to stop the invading army of the Persians, but he revealed his incompetence to meet the situation by forcing the Jews in Jerusalem to accept the Christian faith.

In consolidating the conquered areas, Chosroes took into account the antipathy of the Christian population there towards the Chalcedonian side and sent a bishop from Persia who belonged to the East Syrian church that venerated the memory of Nestorius.⁵⁸¹ As he was not accepted by the people, the whole area was left under the spiritual control of the non-Chalcedonian bishops. The Syrian historian reports that as a result of this development, the Chalcedonian side had practically no adherent in the east from the Euphrates, and that the non-Chalcedonian bishops in exile in Egypt now returned to the orient.

Phocas could not hold the empire for a long time. He had to meet the Persian invasions as well as the north European enemies of the kingdom. On both fronts he was a failure, and he tried to make up his inability by a rule of terrorism within the empire. The disaffection caused by his incompetence led the exarch Heraclius of North Africa to revolt, and Egypt also joined in. The exarch made arrangements with his son Heraclius and his nephew Nicetas, the former to lead a fleet and the latter an army, on the understanding that the one who reached the capital first would be made the emperor and the other his associate.

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Heraclius arrived first in September 610, and was welcomed with great jubilation. He took control of the government, seizing Phocas on 4 October. ‘And it is thus that you have governed your empire?’ asked Heraclius. ‘Are you sure’, answered Phocas, ‘that you will be able to do any better?’ Phocas was killed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE REIGN OF HERACLIUS AND THE END OF THE DRAMA

I. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

Soon after establishing himself in Constantinople, Heraclius directed his attention to the reconquest of the territories which the empire had lost to the Persians. Michael the Syrian reports that he tried first to get them back in a friendly way. He sent his emissaries to Chosroes II of Persia with the message that the man who had caused the destruction of Maurice and his family had been killed, and that therefore the two countries could establish peace between them.⁵⁸² This had no effect on Chosroes, and Heraclius had recourse to war. In the series of engagements between 611 and 620 the Persians were victorious, with the result that Egypt and the whole of orient came under their control. 'The ease with which the Persians conquered Syria', writes Vasiliev, 'and Palestine may be explained partly by the religious conditions of these provinces. The majority of the population, particularly in Syria, did not adhere to the official orthodox faith supported by the central government. The Nestorians, and later the Monophysites, of these provinces were greatly oppressed by the Byzantine government; hence they quite naturally preferred the domination of the Persian fire-worshippers, in whose lands the Nestorians enjoyed comparative religious freedom.'⁵⁸³ This view of Vasiliev is admitted by Syrian historians, who insist in addition that the part played by the Chalcedonian body in the persecuting programme of the emperors was by no means negligible.

2. *Heraclius and his Victory*

During his first nine years Heraclius could achieve nothing, but the Persians carried forward their conquests almost unimpeded. Thus in 613 Cilicia was occupied, and in the next year Jerusalem was sacked. Patriarch Zacharias was taken prisoner, and the Persians carried off the holy cross to Ctesiphon, their capital. In 615 the Persians were again at Chalcedon, and the Greek peninsula was lost to the Slavs. The Persians started their invasion of Egypt in 617 and soon Alexandria fell.

Faced with these disasters, Heraclius announced his plan to withdraw to Carthage in North Africa. But the people would not let him do that. Patriarch Sergius succeeded in making the emperor change his mind, and the church offered him its full support with men and money. Thus strengthened, Heraclius built up an army and a fleet, and on the night of Thursday, 7 August 626, the Slavonic fleet was defeated. In the east Heraclius won a series of brilliant victories against the Persians, culminating in the decisive battle that was fought near Nineveh in 627, Heraclius himself hewed down three Persian captains with his own hand, and the Persian general Razatas was killed. Chosroes II was done to death by his own son. In 628 peace was concluded, and the cross was restored to Jerusalem.

In this way Heraclius succeeded in bringing back the Roman empire to its former glory, which from now on was in fact the Byzantine empire. It adopted two fundamental features as its characteristic mark, namely Chalcedonian religious adherence and the Greek language, which helped its unification. But it did not take into account the fact that the Coptic and the Syrian Christians who would accept neither of these factors deserved fair treatment, so that the empire and the church under the leadership of Constantinople suited only men and women born and brought up in the Greek cultural and intellectual milieu. The church which the empire tried to stabilize did not therefore see the dimension of catholicity in its proper perspective.

Although Heraclius reconquered Syria and Egypt in 628, he had to yield the former in a few years to the Arabs and the latter was lost soon after his death in 641. Syrian historians maintain that this was the work of God in return for 'the evil perpetrated by the Romans who, whenever they held sway, robbed our churches

and monasteries, and exercised judgment over us without mercy.⁵⁸⁴ Heraclius adopted very harsh measures against the non-Chalcedonian body during the time when he had Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Palestine under his imperial control. But this was subsequent to an attempt to unify the two sides according to a plan of his own.

3. *Efforts at Reunion*

After his victories, Heraclius was in Syria. When he visited Edessa, he was given a warm welcome by the clergy, monks and people of the area who belonged to the non-Chalcedonian side. The emperor was immensely pleased.⁵⁸⁵ About this time he issued a circular letter addressed to the *diakrinomenoi*,⁵⁸⁶ ‘distinguishers’ or ‘non-conformists’,⁵⁸⁷ ‘The Son and the Word of God’, it said, ‘who is with the Father and the Holy Spirit before the ages, is one of the holy, life-giving and consubstantial Trinity. In order to redeem the human race he willed to become incarnate from Mary, *Theotokos*, and to be born of her. He is perfect God, the same being crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate. He who is the impassible God the Word remained God and man as two natures united in one operation, namely the one nature of God the Word incarnate, as Cyril of blessed memory has maintained. To say two natures is not to divide’. The letter concluded by pronouncing an anathema on anyone that holds ‘a different faith, whether it be the council of Nicea, or of Constantinople, or of Ephesus, or of Chalcedon’. The theology of Heraclius, as reflected in this letter, affirms that Christ is God and man united in *one operation*. This position is not in any way stronger than the teaching ascribed to Nestorius as a basis for his condemnation. A second point to be noted about the letter is that it uses the word *nature* in two senses. In affirming two natures, for instance, the letter refers them to God the Son and man, but in the Cyrilline formula it sees only the meaning of *operation* for nature. Taking these facts into account, we can say that Heraclius was not working out a compromise formula, but was offering a reinterpretation of the Christological doctrine, which certainly was not very commendable.

4. *Heraclius and Persecution*

The doctrinal letter of Heraclius was not acceptable to the non-Chalcedonian body, except to certain sections in it. This antagonized Heraclius against them, and he began a programme of cruel persecution, which estranged the native Christians of Egypt and Syria from Heraclius. In Egypt there were two patriarchs, a Chalcedonian and a non-Chalcedonian. The former at this time was Cyrus, who also wielded political authority over the land. He used this position to persecute the non-Chalcedonian body who, under the leadership of patriarch Andronicus, the successor of Anastasius, disliked him bitterly. Benjamin who came after Andronicus welcomed the Arabs when they invaded Alexandria.

In Syria Heraclius himself was involved. While he was staying in Edessa, he attended church on a feast day with the non-Chalcedonian side, and went up to receive communion. Isaiah, the bishop of the city, denied this to him, by saying to the emperor that unless he renounced the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* the sacrament would not be given him. Heraclius felt slighted and in his anger he ordered the bishop to be expelled and the church to be seized for the Chalcedonian body. In this way the cathedral church of Edessa came into the hands of the Chalcedonian side through the intervention of Heraclius.

After leaving Edessa, Heraclius went to Mabbogh, where patriarch Athanasius accompanied by twelve bishops met him. During a period of twelve days that the Syrian church leaders were with the emperor, they discussed the subject of the faith. Required by him, they gave him in writing their doctrinal position in a statement prepared by the patriarch.⁵⁸⁸ The creed of Nicea as confirmed by the councils of Constantinople and Ephesus is the only symbol of the faith, it said. Regarding the incarnation the statement affirmed :- (i) that the Word of God the Father who is consubstantial and co-equal with the Father and the Holy Spirit took flesh endowed with a soul and a mind from the *Theotokos* in reality and in truth; (ii) that God the Word united to himself the flesh according to nature and operation; (iii) that the flesh received its existence only by its convergence with the Word, so that it was not formed before the union; (iv) that he became man, not by conversion of either nature into the other; (v) that the Word of God underwent two births, one in eternity from the Father and the other in time from the human mother;

(vi) that he who was before the incarnation, the same continued in the incarnation, without introducing any addition to the Trinity; (vii) that composed of Godhead and manhood, each of which being perfect according to its principle and each preserving its natural properties, Jesus Christ is one, one nature, namely one person, and that he is not divided into two natures, or two persons or two sons, or two Christs, after the ineffable union; (viii) that division on the one hand, and phantasy on the other, are excluded: the first being the error of Nestorianism and the second being the heresy of Eutyches; (ix) that the one Christ is at once consubstantial with God the Father and the Holy Spirit in the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in the manhood; and (x) that therefore all things divine and all things human, the lofty ones and the lowly ones, are of the same person, who really suffered blameless passions which pertain to the human nature, while remaining without suffering in the Godhead; for we had need of God incarnate and put to death, as Gregory Nazianzen has said. The statement noted five reasons for insisting on a rejection of Chalcedon, and concluded by saying that these are the things ‘which offend us and which cause division in the Church. When these are corrected, there would be nothing that prevents us from going to the house of God together and enjoying the spiritual joy. We call to witness God who discerns all things hidden that our concern is only with the maintenance of the faith. We are not led by a contentious spirit or by personal vanity, as some people seem to think’.

The emperor read the statement and commended it, says the Syrian historian. But he asked the patriarch and the bishops with him on the one hand to give him communion, and on the other to endorse his doctrinal letter. The Syrian church leaders, however, refused to comply with either of them, and there the matter ended.

Heraclius was again angry, and wrote to all areas of his dominions that ‘those who would not accept the council of Chalcedon should have their noses and ears cut out and their properties confiscated’.⁵⁸⁹ The persecution thus inaugurated lasted for a while, during which the severity of ill-treatment and oppression led many monks to endorse the council. But those who refused to surrender were forced by various methods to conform. The Syrian historian reports that, in the face of their agony, the non-

Chalcedonian people sent their appeals to the emperor, who would not even show as much as willingness to hear their petitions. It was in this situation that the Arab invasion took place, and these Christians welcomed it with open arms. Therefore, the blame for estranging the Christian people of Egypt and Syria and making them remain neutral in the times of the Arab conquest of these lands should be ascribed to the same Heraclius who restored the Byzantine empire from the ruins of its predecessor, the Roman empire.

The Arabs, when they came to power, did one thing which was beneficial to the Chalcedonian body. They permitted each religious community to keep church buildings and other institutions which had been in its possession at the time of the conquest. In this way a number of churches which Heraclius had taken over from the non-Chalcedonian body and given to the Chalcedonian side continued in the latter's control. But the former, notes the Syrian historian, was saved from the inhuman persecution by fellow Christians. Thus the Heracleian era in Byzantine history exposed the falsity of the vision which empress Pulcheria saw in the middle of the fifth century, a vision which she thought could be realized by inaugurating an age of persecution against orthodox Christians in the east who found the decrees of the council of Chalcedon at variance with their understanding of the already established doctrinal tradition of the Church, as also of the inadequacy of the jurisdictional claims put forward by the see of Rome.

5. *Some Concluding Remarks*

The question why the Coptic and the Syrian Christians were not persuaded to accept the council of Chalcedon is indeed important. That this was due to their Eutychianism, which they modified later to look very much like the position of the Chalcedonian body is the pro-Chalcedonian answer. The fact, however, is that this answer cannot find any support in the tradition of the non-Chalcedonian side, except in a purely arbitrary and one-sided interpretation of certain incidents. The forces that controlled the council of 451 saw in Eutyches certain ideas and ratified his condemnation as a heretic. Dioscorus of Alexandria, whom these forces deposed, implying that he was in fact the real leader of the Eutychian heresy, had no difficulty in admitting

that the position ascribed to Eutyches was clearly heterodox. Therefore the non-Chalcedonian protest against the council of 451 had not begun in Eutychianism. Granting that there was a theological development on the non-Chalcedonian side in consonance with the issues of subsequent times, to say that their position had originated in Eutychianism is to reach the zenith of distorting fact. The division of the Church on account of the Christological controversy of the fifth and later centuries calls for a more satisfactory interpretation.

This, in our opinion, is not by any means an impossible task. In indicating a line of approach to the subject, we shall point to the fact that from the beginning the Christian movement had its rule of faith as signifying its distinctive doctrinal norm. That, to be sure, was considered basic. In the Christological controversy, for instance, the traditions in the east referred their respective positions to the faith of Nicea, as it was confirmed by the council of Constantinople in 381, meaning the Nicene creed in the form in which it came to be expanded during the third quarter of the fourth century and which Chalcedon ascribed to the council of 381. But this creed was being interpreted at least in two distinct ways in the east, and from the Christmas season of 428 they clashed. Cyril of Alexandria, representing one of them, tried through the council of Ephesus in 431 to establish that the Alexandrine position was exclusively orthodox. He did not, however, succeed fully, because at least from the last quarter of the fourth century the Antiochenes had built up a tradition, while remaining within the orthodox Church, which could not be destroyed by the *'coup d'etat'* of 431. The Alexandrines also had developed a tradition which could not be done away with by the diplomatic manoeuvres of John of Antioch, or by the unwilling and half-hearted agreement reached between him and Cyril in 433.

It was in the context of the tension thus engendered that the council of Chalcedon met. Without facing any issue, this council sought to establish the hegemony of an alliance of Rome with the imperial authority in Constantinople, Rome to assert its universal jurisdiction over the Church and Constantinople to bring into being an ecclesiastical polity for the east under the leadership of the empire's capital. Men representing neither of the genuine traditions in the east did really see the implications

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of the council of 451, either doctrinally or ecclesiastically. They only perceived in it an attempt to violate their respective traditions, and they reacted, the Alexandrines by opposing it and the Antiochenes by ignoring it. The result was a division of the Church. Each of the bodies into which the one Christian communion came to be so split could legitimately claim continuity with the pre-Chalcedonian orthodox Church.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE POINT OF THE DISPUTE

1. Some Preliminary Remarks

When we examine the reason for the native Christians in Egypt and many parts of the orient to oppose the council of Chalcedon, one fact is clear from the documents of the fifth and sixth centuries, namely that they repudiated the council on essentially theological grounds. It is not impossible that they had serious grievances against the council of 451 about the treatment which it meted out to patriarch Dioscorus and the decision concerning Constantinople. But in none of the documents these points are noted, except indirectly; the expressed reason is always theological.

In trying to understand their point of view, we must be reminded of the fact that they stood loyally by the Alexandrine theological tradition, which for them was exclusively orthodox. This tradition was not confined to Alexandria or Egypt. It had, in fact, spread to almost all parts of the east. Since the condemnation of Nestorius, the prestige of the tradition had enhanced in these areas very considerably, and Cyril of Alexandria was the one man more than anybody else who had been hailed as the theologian par excellence of orthodoxy.

The popularity thus gained in the east by the teaching of the Alexandrine fathers and those influenced by them was not absolutely universal; for it had opponents on the Antiochene side. As we have seen, men of the Antiochene tradition had been trying in various ways to strengthen their position. In this effort they had been, either intentionally or unintentionally, distorting the point of view of the Alexandrine side. This was indeed the

nature of the tension in the east, against the background of which the three ecclesiastical assemblies were held in 448, 449 and 451. For those belonging to the Alexandrine tradition, the synod of 448 defended the Antiochene position, which was rectified by the council of 449. But the council of 451 set aside the decisions of 449.

In order to appreciate this point of view it is necessary to look into the theological position affirmed by the council of Chalcedon. For this, we shall examine briefly the theology affirmed by the *Tome of Leo* on the one hand, and by the Chalcedonian definition on the other. We shall, then, discuss the teaching of Dioscorus, in order to see what precisely was the emphasis which he wanted to make.

2. *The Theology of the Tome of Leo*

The central issue at the council of Chalcedon was, as we have already shown, the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *Tome of Leo*. A brief summary of the document may, therefore, be given here to see how an Alexandrine theologian would find it difficult to digest its theology.

A. *A Brief Summary*

Composed with the specific intention of supporting the condemnation of Eutyches pronounced by the synod of 448, the *Tome* goes into the subject from the very beginning.⁵⁹⁰ Instead of learning from those wiser than himself, Eutyches relied on his imperfect understanding of the faith. Had he only paused to examine carefully the creedal statement, ‘I believe in God the Father omnipotent, and in Jesus Christ His Only Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary’,⁵⁹¹ he would not have fallen into the folly of heresy.

The document, then, furnishes evidences from the scriptures to show that the ‘Self-same who was the only begotten and the Everlasting One of the Everlasting Parent was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary’. In this way God the Son took our nature for our healing. As against this clear teaching Eutyches uses ‘deceptive words’, saying that ‘having been conceived in the Virgin’s womb’, Christ ‘possessed the form of a man without

a real body taken from His mother'. The truth is that 'the Holy Spirit made the Virgin bring forth, but it was a real body taken from her body' that she brought forth.

The Eternal God the Son assumed manhood in such a way that 'the properties of both natures and substances were preserved and coexisted in one Person'. The Son of God, 'descending from His heavenly seat' and at the same time 'without retiring from the Father's glory', entered this world being born in a new way. By this birth Godhead was not changed into manhood, neither was manhood absorbed in Godhead. But they were so united that 'each nature performs what is proper to itself in communion with the other; the Word, for instance, performing what is proper to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what is proper to the flesh'. As man, he was able to feel hunger and thirst, to be weary and to sleep; but as God, he satisfied thousands of people with five loaves and worked other miracles. It is true that 'in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one Person of God and man, yet that whence suffering is common to both is one thing, and that whence glory is common to both is another; for from us He has the humanity inferior to the Father, and from the Father He has the divinity equal to the Father'. Thus the unity of person is 'to be understood as existing in two natures', so that it is possible to say that the Son, of Man came down from heaven and that the Son of God took flesh and was born from the Virgin.

The *Tome* now goes on to show that according to the New Testament witness Christ was both God and man. Apostle Peter, for instance, made this clear in his historic confession at Caesarea Philippi. Thus it is with good reason that 'he was pronounced blessed by the Lord', and that he 'derived the firmness of his power and his name from the original Rock'. The post-resurrection appearances of our Lord were intended to assure the disciples of this great truth.

Eutyches failed to grasp it, for he did not recognize 'our nature in the Only-begotten either in the humility of the mortality or in the glory of the resurrection'. In this way he ignores the reality of the cross, whereby denying the real meaning of our salvation. In fact, pope Leo reprimands Flavian of Constantinople for not silencing the monk when he said, 'I confess that our Lord was

from two natures before the union, but after the union I confess but one nature'.⁵⁹²

B. *Some Observations on the Tome*

The *Tome* had been compiled by pope Leo in the light of an assumption that Eutyches had failed to affirm the reality of Christ's human birth and his manhood. So, with the definite purpose of excluding the danger implied in the position ascribed to the monk, Leo makes three points: (i) Christ's manhood was real. - As man, he was born of the virgin mother, he had all essential human properties, and he died and rose again from the dead. (ii) Through the birth, life and dispensation of Jesus Christ, God the Word, the second person of the Holy Trinity, himself entered the mundane plane of existence and worked out the salvation of the human race. (iii) The Godhead of the Word and the manhood which he assumed continued in him without change in his one person.

All these emphases had, in fact, been admitted by both the Alexandrine and the Antiochene theological traditions without any reservation. The clash between them was the result of a fear on the part of the former that the latter was not affirming the unity of Christ's person in any real sense, and of the latter that the former was ignoring the reality of Christ's manhood. The *Tome of Leo* did expound the doctrine to the entire satisfaction of the Antiochene side.

What then about the Alexandrine emphasis? The letter of Leo speaks of 'one person'. What did the pope mean by it? In putting the question in this way, it should be remembered that in the historical context of the fifth century eastern theologians had been employing the words *prosopon* and *hypostasis* to correspond to the *persona* of the Latins. As we have already noted, the Antiochene side had been affirming a union of the natures in the realm of *prosopon*. On this ground they taught that Christ was two natures united in one *prosopon*. But the Alexandrines insisted that the union of the natures was according to *hypostasis*, and that Christ was one *hypostasis* and one *prosopon*. The two natures of Godhead and manhood were so united that Christ was not 'two natures after the union'; He was always 'from two natures' and therefore 'one incarnate nature of

God the Word'. In fact, the theological basis on which the council of 431 had condemned Nestorius as a heretic was this Alexandrine emphasis. So the question, which Leo meant by the words 'one person', is indeed most relevant. Did he, for instance, take the 'one person' to be 'one *hypostasis*' or simply 'one *prosopon*'?

It is clear from the *Tome* that pope Leo did not go into these eastern subtleties. In all probability he was not conversant with them. So, while affirming the unity of Christ's person, he insists also that 'each nature performs what is proper to itself in communion with the other; the Word, for instance, performing what is proper to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what is proper to the flesh', and that the unity of person is 'to be understood as existing in both the natures'.

Men trained in the Alexandrine theological tradition would see in the one person existing in *two* natures only one *prosopon*, and in each nature performing what is proper to itself in communion with the other a *hypostasis*. This is precisely what Antiochene theologians had all along been teaching. Alexandrines would thus take Leo to maintain that the two *hypostases*, namely God the Son and the man Jesus, were united in one *prosopon*. They may well have compared the *Tome* with the Cyrilline letters addressed to Nestorius, especially the one with the Anathemas, and seen a real discrepancy between the teaching of the Alexandrine theologian and the emphasis of pope Leo. Cyril, for instance, had made it clear that the words and deeds had been expressed by the one *hypostasis*, but for the *Tome* the words and deeds had been expressed by the natures.⁵⁹³ The term 'nature' being taken in the sense of *hypostasis*, which is the only feasible meaning agreeable in the context, this position would most definitely be objectionable.

3. *The Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith*

As we have seen, the draft statement of eastern bishops was rejected by the council of Chalcedon on 22nd October on the ground that it did not conform to the *Tome of Leo*, and a fresh definition was drawn up by a committee. An examination of this definition will show that Dioscorus and those who followed his

lead in refusing to accept the council of 451 did not have to be monophysites in adopting that stand.

A. *A Brief Summary*

After an introduction setting forth the context in which it was drawn up, the Chalcedonian definition⁵⁹⁴ incorporates the Nicene creed, followed by the symbol of the faith ascribed to the council of 381. The document, then, refers to ‘the Synodical Epistles of the blessed Cyril to Nestorius and to the Easterns’, silently noting Cyril’s Letter to Nestorius with the Anathemas, and to ‘the Epistle of most holy Archbishop Leo’ as approved documents of the faith.

The council rejects, the definition continues, ‘those who... rend the mystery of the Incarnation into a duality of Sons’; ‘those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible’: ‘those who imagine a mixture or confusion of the *two* natures of Christ’; and ‘those who fancy that the form of the servant taken by Him from us, is of a heavenly or different nature’; and the council anathematizes ‘those who imagine two natures of the Lord before the union, but fashion anew one nature after the union’.

Positively the definition goes on to say that ‘our Lord Jesus Christ is to us one and the same Son, the self-same perfect in Godhead, the self-same perfect in manhood; truly God and truly man...; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten; acknowledged in two natures unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the difference of the natures being in no way removed because of the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and (both) concurring into one Prosopon and one Hypostasis; not as though He were parted or divided into two Prosopa, but one and the self-same Son and Only-begotten God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ.....’. Our Lord Jesus Christ, affirms the definition is perfect God and perfect man. As God, he is consubstantial with God the Father; and as man the same is consubstantial with us. He is unlike us only in that he is absolutely without sin.

B. *Some Comments*

The definition contains elements derived from both the Alexandrine and the Antiochene traditions. However, it went beyond the Antiochene premises in affirming that the ‘natures concurred into one *Prosopon* and one *Hypostasis*’, and beyond the Alexandrine premises in insisting that Christ is to be ‘acknowledged in two natures’.⁵⁹⁵

I: The Alexandrine elements admitted by the definition are mainly four. They are :-

- i. that the ‘Synodical Epistles’ of Cyril are acceptable documents of the faith;
- ii. that the council of 431 is authoritative;
- iii. that the union of the natures is *hypostatic*; and
- iv. that Christ is one *hypostasis*, he being at once consubstantial with God the Father and consubstantial with us.

We shall discuss these points by looking at the third and the fourth before taking up the first and the second.

The definition itself does not contain the phrase *hypostatic* union, but the fact that the council accepted it may be assumed both from the affirmation that the natures concurred into one *prosopon* and one *Hypostasis* and from its endorsing of the Cyrilline letters. As we have seen, both the letters to Nestorius insist that the union of the natures in Christ was *hypostatic*. An Alexandrine emphasis which had been strongly opposed by the Antiochenes, it had to be admitted by them from the time of the reunion of 433 which acknowledged the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius without question. But in so doing, if the Antiochene side took *hypostasis* merely in the sense of *prosopon*, as indeed Theodoret had done,⁵⁹⁶ it is clear that in the *hypostatic* union also they saw only the meaning of *prosopic* union.

As to the second admission, the definition does not clarify to what the one *prosopon* and one *hypostasis* refer. It affirms that the natures concurred into the formation of the one *prosopon* and

one *hypostasis*. However, if the words *prosopon* and *hypostasis* were taken as synonymous, it does not go beyond the Antiochene position.

The third Alexandrine element in the definition may be considered the clearest example of the council's vagueness. The council accepts, and affirms the definition, 'the Synodical Epistles of the blessed Cyril to Nestorius and to the Easterns'. Is the letter of Cyril with the Anathemas also included here? The fact is that the definition is not clear. This may be compared to the words of the commissioners regarding the 'two canonical letters of Cyril'.⁵⁹⁷ At Chalcedon, or for that matter at the synod of 448, the Anathemas of Cyril had been ignored. The only reference made to it at these assemblies consisted in the request of Atticus of Nicopolis, when in 451 he asked for time to compare the *Tome* with the Anathemas. But the council of 553 proceeded on the assumption that the Anathemas had been declared an approved document by the council of Chalcedon, so that the writings of Theodoret and Ibas which sought to refute it were condemned as heretical.⁵⁹⁸ Although this incident is deplored by many a western scholar in modern times,⁵⁹⁹ the fact is that the position adopted by the council of 553 had strong supporters at the council of 451. As it is clear, Atticus of Nicopolis considered the Cyrilline Anathemas, not only authoritative, but also as a document which contained the theological norm by which to judge even the *Tome of Leo*. Atticus was indeed one of the men constituting the synodal committee which drew up the Chalcedonian definition. The irresistible conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that the words concerning the letters of Cyril were left deliberately vague in the definition in order to satisfy the various parties and to enable men like Atticus later, when opportunity offered itself, to assert their point of view.

The vagueness implied in the words, 'Synodical Epistles' of Cyril to Nestorius is tied up with Chalcedon's confirmation of the council of Ephesus in 431. The definition makes out that the council conserves 'the order and all the decrees concerning the Faith passed by the holy Synod' of Ephesus in 431. The question to be answered here is, what do these words really imply? As we have seen, after the reunion of 433, the council of 431 had become formally accepted by both parties, although opposition

still lingered in certain Antiochene quarters. But the parties did not interpret the council of 431 in the same way, and this was the problem which existed between them demanding a solution. The council of Chalcedon did not pay any attention to it, and left the issue concerning the Cyrilline letters as vague as could be, without trying to solve the problem confronting the Church in the east.⁶⁰⁰

The foregoing facts will show that with reference to none of the four Alexandrine elements adopted by the definition of Chalcedon was there an agreed understanding of its meaning. The bishops of the Alexandrine theological persuasion who served on the synodal committee may well have succeeded in putting them in, hoping thereby to conserve their traditional position. But the Roman legates and the delegates belonging to the Antiochene theological tradition would have taken them only in the light of the Antiochene interpretation of the council of 431 as well as the reunion of 433.

The definition adopted in the main only one Antiochene emphasis, and it is that Christ 'is made known in two natures'— *en duo physesingnorizomenon*. Sellers is of the opinion that the council adopted the expression from Basil of Seleucia, who had suggested it at the synod of 448.⁶⁰¹ Grillmeier thinks that it was already there in the tradition of patristic theology.⁶⁰² However, if we look carefully into the context in which the eastern delegates were persuaded to have their draft statement with the 'from two natures' replaced by another definition, we shall see that the source of the 'in two natures' was the *Tome of Leo*.⁶⁰³ In the *Tome*, pope Leo had insisted that the unity of Christ's person 'is to be understood as existing in two natures'—*unitatem personae in utraque naturam intelligendam*.

The way in which the eastern bishops had fought for their draft statement is a clear indication that, wherever its source may have been, the 'in two natures' had not yet become part of their theological vocabulary. At the same time it is a fact that the 'two natures after the union' had been asserted by the Antiochene side, and that the 'in two natures' was another way of expressing the same idea. The Antiochene element in the definition was, therefore, a straightforward adoption of a position found in that tradition. Taking the 'one *hypostasis*' as a synonym for 'one

prosopon’, and the ‘two natures’ as ‘two *hypostases*’, the Chalcedonian definition would vindicate the Antiochene emphasis.

How men of the Alexandrine tradition may have interpreted the definition is difficult to guess. In all probability what happened at Chalcedon was something like this. On the exclusive strength of one set of statements made by Eutyches, his teaching had been portrayed as constituting a grave danger to the faith of the Church. With the change of imperial authority, those who had adopted a different reading of facts were rendered powerless, so that the council of Chalcedon could move from its very beginning by asserting that Eutyches was indeed a heretic, who had denied the reality of Christ’s manhood. In that context it was easy for the leaders of the council to claim that Leo of Rome was the man who excluded Eutychianism successfully by insisting on the ‘in two natures’. Thus the phrase was taken by men of the Alexandrine side as an effective tool against the heresy of the old monk, possibly by seeing in it the idea that Godhead and manhood continued dynamically in the one Christ. As we shall see, if this explanation is accurate, there was no difference in theological emphasis on this particular issue between Dioscorus and the council of Chalcedon, although they did not agree in terminology. For the dynamic continuance of Godhead and manhood, without confusion and division, in Christ is a position which the Alexandrine patriarch had affirmed at the council of Chalcedon itself in clear terms.

The great merit of the Chalcedonian definition lay in the fact that the Alexandrine elements which it adopted could satisfy most of the council’s participants. Alexandrines, for instance, could endorse the definition and build on it their own theology, as eastern Chalcedonian side did in the sixth century. It was equally possible for the Antiochenes to expound the definition in keeping with their tradition, and this is what men like Theodoret of Cyrus did. The west too could feel gratified that its emphasis on the ‘one person’ existing ‘in two natures’ was there in the council’s definition.

This flexibility was also the weakness of the definition. There were men in the east who were deeply rooted in the Alexandrine tradition, who found the definition inadequate to maintain the

already established doctrinal heritage of the Church. They saw many flaws in the council of Chalcedon, and decided to oppose it.

C. *Defence of the Chalcedonian Definition*

The council of Chalcedon, and particularly its definition of the faith, has been ably defended in recent times by R. V. Sellers⁶⁰⁴ and Aloys Grillmeier.⁶⁰⁵ Since we have serious reservations about their conclusions, it is only fair that we indicate our point of view in relation to their findings.

The defence of the council offered by both these scholars is based on three questionable assumptions. In the first place, they make out that Eutyches was in fact a confirmed heretic. We have shown that though the alliance of Rome and the imperial authority in Constantinople, supported by the Antiochene side and the party of Flavian, asserted in season and out of season that the old monk was indeed a heretic and made everyone believe that this was the truth, the council of Chalcedon never even tried to establish that fact against the man. Consequently, almost any account of the teaching of Eutyches perpetuated in history since the time of the council of Chalcedon has yet to be proved against him. Without taking these facts into proper consideration, we in the 20th century who ask for scientific accuracy in our evaluation of even biblical data have no right to assume that Eutyches was a heretic. Therefore, we have to dismiss the first assumption of Sellers and Grillmeier as an unproved assertion.

Secondly, these scholars assume that the definition of Chalcedon had been approved by the council members unanimously by a spontaneous decision arrived at by them in the face of a theological need. In this reading of facts neither Sellers nor Grillmeier brings to bear the history of the council in his discussion of the definition. As we have shown, the vast majority of the council's participants had sworn by their draft definition with the 'from two natures' and fought most vigorously for its adoption without changing this phrase. In the end they were forced to give up their resistance by the commissioners, who insisted that the bishops had to choose between Dioscorus whose

deposition they had ratified and Leo whose *Tome* they had endorsed. Is it at all possible that these bishops, many of whom had admitted that Eutyches was a heretic, had no concern to expound the faith by conserving the unity of Christ and the distinction of Godhead and manhood in him? Taking the incident of 22nd October 451 seriously, the only thing we can say legitimately is that the definition was the creation of the state-supported party under the leadership of the Roman legates, who wanted it to be consonant with the *Tome of Leo*. In order to satisfy the majority of the council members who would still support the draft definition from a theological point of view the powerful party agreed to the putting in of a number of Alexandrine elements in the definition. These, in fact, were elements which the Antiochene side had already endorsed at the time of the reunion of 433 in the light of their own interpretation of those elements. In so doing, the Roman legates and their allies paid no attention to the terms of agreement which went with the reunion of 433. In any case, the majority of the council members may well have felt that on the strength of the Alexandrine ideas thus incorporated in the definition they could build up a theology later in line with their tradition, and in this hope they may have accepted the definition With a certain amount of reservation.

Thirdly, behind modern efforts at defending the definition of Chalcedon there lies a strong argument that the critics of the council assumed their attitude of opposition by relying on Apollinarian forgeries as patristic excerpts. This, in fact, is one of the consistent arguments of Sellers, in the face of which we should bear in mind the following facts.

- i. Practically for no one in the fifth and sixth centuries the excerpts in question were of heretical origin. Both sides quoted such passages.
- ii. Men like Severus of Antioch on the non-Chalcedonian side were referring to an established tradition, by quoting passages taken from the fathers starting with Ignatius of Antioch and ending in Cyril of Alexandria, to show that the council of Chalcedon renounced it in favour of a position which in substance was Nestorian. Granting that Apollinarian forgeries existed, even Sellers would not argue that all passages quoted by non-Chalcedonian leaders had come from such sources.

iii. The fact is admitted by Sellers and many others that none of the leaders approved by the non-Chalcedonian side has ever been guilty of holding to an Apollinarian Christology.

The fact, therefore, is that in rejecting the council of Chalcedon the leaders of the non-Chalcedonian body relied on a theological tradition which, in the face of Nestorianism, the fathers of the Church in the east had built up on the strength of the ‘from two natures’, ‘*hypostatic union*’, ‘one composite *hypostasis*’, and ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’. Whatever be the origin of these phrases, the eastern fathers had interpreted them excluding all possible heretical implications. From their point of view, the council of 451, under the leadership of the Roman legates and the imperial authority in Constantinople, ignored all these phrases and worked out a definition, which even Nestorius would have accepted as vindicating his theological teaching. This is the point which the critics of the council made, and we do not believe that either Sellers or Grillmeier has answered them.

Grillmeier is of the opinion that ‘Chalcedon sought to discover the solution of just *one* disputed question: *how* the confession of the “*one Christ*” may be reconciled with belief in the “*true God and true man*”, “*perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood*”’. Chalcedon, insists Grillmeier, tackled this problem: the question of the one Christ’ by means of the confession that ‘our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same Son’; and that of ‘true God and true man’ by means of the phrase ‘in two natures’. But in arriving at this decision, the definition relied on:—(i) the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius; (ii) the Formulary of Reunion of 433; (iii) the *Tome of Leo*; (iv) the *Professio fidei* of Flavian;⁶⁰⁶ and (v) a Letter of Theodoret. Grillmeier further admits that ‘the pointed Alexandrine formulashad to be relegated to the background’, and that their place was ‘taken by the *Tome of Leo*, and the Antiochenes played a special part with the Formulary of Reunion of 433’. The reason for the council’s action in this way was, according to Grillmeier, the fear of Eutychianism. These admissions of Grillmeier, we think, should have led him to express a deeper sympathy for, at least, the difficulty which men like Dioscorus must have felt about the definition.

Grillmeier’s defence of the ‘in two natures’ in the definition would need some comment. He makes out that the Alexandrines

were shouting their ‘one nature’ and the Antiochenes their ‘two natures’. Now the council offered the ‘in two natures’ in order to express both the distinction and the completeness of Godhead and manhood. Although the purpose behind the ‘in two natures’ which Grillmeier describes need not be questioned, his account of the background of Chalcedon is not accurate. For one thing, the Alexandrines would not have insisted on ‘one nature’ by itself; they insisted on their theological tradition in which the phrase ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ was a constituent element. Equally important is the fact that the distinction in Christ based on an affirmation of the two natures continuing dynamically in the one Christ without confusion and division, was not a disputed point between Leo and Dioscorus, or between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides. The point of the dispute between them was how, in consonance with the admission of the *hypostatic* union, the continuance of the two natures was to be affirmed. Dioscorus was of the opinion that the ‘from two natures’ was the right formula. Without ever discussing the issue, and merely on the authority of the *Tome of Leo*, the council was made to adopt the ‘in two natures’. It is this action that needs to be explained in the light of evidence. This has not so far been done by anyone.

4. *The Teaching of Dioscorus*

Zacharia Rhetor preserves the story that John, the chief of the silentarii, tried to persuade Dioscorus to accept the Chalcedonian definition and be restored to his see, but that he answered: ‘No sooner would Dioscorus see his hands cut off and the blood fall on the paper than do such ‘a thing as that’.⁶⁰⁷ Was it, then, that he maintained any one of the various positions rejected by the Chalcedonian definition? As we have noted, the definition excluded five positions. Did Dioscorus hold any one of them? Although he has not left behind him much of his writings, we have enough of his statements, both written and spoken,⁶⁰⁸ on the strength of which we can ascertain the direction of his thinking.

It is clear that Dioscorus was opposed to ‘two natures after the union’ as well as to ‘in two natures’. The ‘two natures after the union’ meant for the Antiochenes their idea that God the Son, an eternal *hypostasis*, and the man Jesus, a created *hypostasis*, were

united in one *prosopon*. Dioscorus and men like him may not have seen any other idea in the ‘in two natures’. The council of Chalcedon did not justify the use of this latter phrase by means of a theological discussion of the question at issue. What it did was, as we have seen, to put in the phrase on the authority of the *Tome of Leo* under the pretext of a Eutychian heresy. Therefore, the rejection of the ‘in two natures’ by Dioscorus implied only the asking for an amendment in the definition.

The phrases which Dioscorus admitted were the ‘from two natures’ and the ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’. In addition he would affirm in agreement with the council of Chalcedon that Christ was one *hypostasis* and one *prosopon*, and that the union of the natures was *hypostatic*. On the strength, of the ‘from two natures’, however, he did not maintain the ‘two natures before’ and the ‘one nature after’ the union which Leo of Rome, Timothy Aelurus and Severus of Antioch saw in Eutyches. For, as we have noted,⁶⁰⁹ he made it clear that he admired the ‘from two natures after the union’. The ‘from two natures’, therefore, meant for him the continued existence in the one Christ of Godhead and manhood even after the union. As a result of the union neither of the natures had been lost or reduced. But their union is so intimate and real that, while referring to the incarnate Lord, it is not correct to say that he is acknowledged as existing ‘in two natures’, or that he is ‘two natures after the union’; it should only be that he is ‘from two natures’ at every moment in his life. For Dioscorus, therefore, Christ is composed of two natures. The crux of the issue between Dioscorus and the council of Chalcedon lay in the two prepositions ‘from’ or ‘of’ *ek* and ‘in’ *en*. Whereas the council insisted on the ‘in’, Dioscorus would accept only the ‘from’.

This position of Dioscorus does not imply an absorptionist Christology. For as we have already noted, he stated at the council of Chalcedon that he was opposed to ‘confusion’ – *synchusin*, ‘division’ – *tomen*, ‘change’ – *tropen*, and ‘mixture’ – *sychrasin*. In fact he had anticipated the famous four adverbs of the Chalcedonian definition. It is clear from this statement that in opposing the ‘in two natures’ or the ‘two natures after the union’, his concern was not to assert a theological position which ignored or minimized the full reality and perfection of Christ’s manhood.

In Dioscorus' letters to Domnus of Antioch we have a clear presentation of his point of view concerning the reunion of 433. He shows in them that he considered it an event whereby the Antiochene side had unconditionally accepted the council of 431 and its decisions. On this ground Dioscorus implores the patriarch of Antioch to respect the terms of agreement reached between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch prior to the reunion of 433. This indeed was the point of view pressed by Dioscorus at the council of 449, and this was the position of the Alexandrine side, which Dioscorus had inherited from none other than Cyril himself. It is, therefore, on established grounds that he assumed his stand in his dispute with the Antiochene side before the council of 449.

In opposing the 'two natures after the union'⁶¹⁰ Dioscorus made a statement at the council of Chalcedon, to which reference has already been made.⁶¹¹ He insisted that his basis was the tradition of the fathers. This point is being answered by modern scholars that the evidence which he cited was not of orthodox fathers, but of passages reproduced from Apollinarian forgeries. However, it should be remembered that at Chalcedon no one answered Dioscorus by pointing out that the writings noted by him were of heretics, and not of the fathers of the Church. Moreover, as we have observed, Alexandrine theologians like Cyril who use these alleged forgeries very heavily do not take the ideas contained in them in any heterodox sense; neither was Dioscorus guilty of such a charge at any time. The statement of Dioscorus cannot, therefore, be dismissed as pointless. He referred to a tradition which was opposed to the 'two natures after the union'—a tradition in which he had been brought up following his illustrious predecessor. It is this fact that is being ignored by pro-Chalcedonian scholars. Grillmeier, for instance, asserts:⁶¹²

'The dictatorial proceedings of Dioscorus had won a victory which was, however, only of short duration. The confusion which he had caused could only be reduced to order by a statement from the whole Church and by the combined efforts of both Church and state. The hour had come when the decisive word had to be spoken by the Church.'

In the face of a view like this, one has to raise the question why no one at the council answered the points made by Dioscorus. Why did the combined forces of 'both Church and state' evade a proper discussion of the subject of the faith in his presence? In speaking 'the decisive word', why was 'the Church constrained to exclude the patriarch of Alexandria before it was spoken? The judgment of Grillmeier at this point is therefore another partisan effort to defend the council without facing the real issue. As we shall see, the Chalcedonian side in the east developed a Christology from the sixth century which was in no way an improvement on the position conserved by Dioscorus and his successors. The fact, therefore, is that the defence of Chalcedon made by scholars like Grillmeier is not based on an accurate evaluation of the question raised by the council's critics, nor of what actually happened in the three ecclesiastical assemblies of 448, 449 and 451.

The question which should be answered is whether Dioscorus or the non-Chalcedonian side did ever ignore the value which scholars of a pro-Chalcedonian persuasion see in the 'in two natures'. This value, even according to Grillmeier, is the concern to safeguard the dynamic continuance of the two natures in the one Christ. Is there any evidence that they ever fell short of affirming this truth?

In answering this question with reference to Dioscorus, we shall look into his letter to the monks of Enaton. It contains the following ideas

- i. Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of God, himself very God, in his incarnate state. 'I am fully aware', writes Dioscorus. 'that he was born of the Father as God, and the same was born of Mary as man.' He is, therefore, at once consubstantial with God the Father and consubstantial with us men.
- ii. The double consubstantiality should not, however, be taken to explain away his Godhead, because the fathers 'have banished from the hope of Christians those who do not confess God the Word to be of the same substance with God the Father because he became of the same substance with men'.

iii. Jesus Christ is at once God and man, so that ‘Men saw him walking on the earth and they saw him as God, the Creator of the heavenly hosts. They saw him asleep in the ship as man, and they saw him walking upon the waters as God. They saw him hungry as man, and they saw him feeding [others] as God...’

iv. This twofoldness does not involve a division of the one Christ into two natures.

Dioscorus’ letter to Secundinus, written from his place of exile in Gangra, is very strong in its emphasis on the reality and perfection of Christ’s manhood. ‘No one shall’, he declares there, ‘speak of the holy body assumed by our Lord from Mary the Virgin by the Holy Spirit, in a way that is known to him alone, that it is different from or alien to our body. This being so, those who say that Christ did not become incarnate from us are reading the lie into Paul, who affirms that he took [the nature], not from angels, but from the seed of Abraham.’⁶¹³ The scriptures teach us that Mary was not a stranger to Abraham’s seed. Continuing the quotation from the epistle to the Hebrews, Dioscorus affirms that ‘It was necessary that in everything he should be like his brethren’ and goes on to argue that the words ‘in everything’ do not leave out any part of our nature to be wanting in Christ. So he lists a large number of the limbs which the body of our Lord had and insists that ‘in all the things that are proper to our nature our Redeemer’s animated flesh, which was born of Mary with a rational and intelligent soul, came into being without the seed of man.’⁶¹⁴ If this were not so, asks Dioscorus, how is he made our brother? Or if he used a body different from our body, how can his words addressed to his Father, ‘I will declare my name to my brethren’, be true? The truth is, affirms Dioscorus, that he became poor for our sakes, as Paul says, in order that by his humiliation we may become rich. He became man without abandoning his nature as God the Son.

In the light of the foregoing admissions of his own we can say most definitely that Dioscorus affirms clearly a union of two natures in Christ, a union of Godhead through God the Son with manhood. God the Son is consubstantial with God the Father, and the manhood which he united to himself is consubstantial with us, derived as it is from the Virgin mother. The union is such that it did not bring about a loss or diminution of either

nature, or cause a confusion or mixture of them; neither did the union let either nature change over into the other or allow either to exist or function by itself, divided or separated from the other.

So far as available evidence goes, this was the teaching of Dioscorus. On its strength we can say unreservedly that he was a faithful disciple of Cyril of Alexandria. He was not guilty of maintaining any one of the five positions condemned by the Chalcedonian definition,⁶¹⁵ and in refusing to admit the phrase 'in two natures' or 'two natures after the union' he was not led by a concern to assert an absorptionist Christology. His concern, on the contrary, was to exclude the Nestorian division of the one Christ into two centres of being and activity.

The point of the dispute between Dioscorus and the council of Chalcedon, then, was this: Was Chalcedon justified in ignoring the theological tradition built up by Alexandrine fathers like Cyril on the strength of the council of 431 and sanctioning the Antiochene phrase 'two natures after the union' merely on the authority of Leo of Rome?

CHAPTER NINE

OBJECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

The fact that the council of Chalcedon had been so conducted and enforced on unwilling Christian communities in the east that its opponents had sufficient reason to feel dissatisfied with it is clear enough. But the objection to the council as expressed by its opponents was not merely this. Theirs, as we have noted, was indeed a theological difficulty.

In examining their point of view with reference to the council of Chalcedon, it is necessary to see whether they ever criticized the council from the standpoint of the monophysite heresy. This is important in view of the fact that even scholars who recognize the essential orthodoxy of their theology seem to be persuaded to consider them as monophysite.⁶¹⁶ We should, therefore, raise the question whether any one of the opponents of the council of Chalcedon, acknowledged as theologians and Church fathers by the non-Chalcedonian ecclesiastical tradition,⁶¹⁷ at any time expressed the slightest leaning towards a position which ignored the reality or perfection, or the dynamic character of Christ's humanity, or of any faculty or property of his manhood.

Equally important is the question what precisely was the theological flaw or inadequacy which they saw in the doctrinal position affirmed by the council? Was their objection on this point thoroughly baseless?

On the whole the non-Chalcedonian leaders raised five objections to the council of Chalcedon. The most central of them all was that the council sanctioned the phrase 'two natures after the

union' by putting in the expression 'made known in two natures' in its doctrinal formula with reference to Christ.

2. *The Expression 'Two Natures after the Union'*

The affirmation that Christ was two natures after the union had been opposed by all leaders of the non-Chalcedonian movement. All of them insist that Nestorius had been condemned by the council of Ephesus in 431 for asserting it. A brief look at some of these men will bring out the point.

A. *Timothy Aelurus*

In his letter addressed to emperor Leo the successor of Dioscorus notes his objection to the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo*.⁶¹⁸ As to the latter, he argues that the ideas contained in it are like the condemned teaching of Nestorius; for it rends and divides the incarnation 'into natures, persons, properties, names and operations, and assigns the words of the scriptures to two [natures]'. This is not the tradition of the three hundred and eighteen fathers as conserved in their symbol of the faith. The fathers of Nicea, on the contrary, affirm that the Only Son of God 'who is of the same nature with his Father came down, was incarnate and made man; that he suffered, rose again, and ascended into heaven; and that he will come to judge the living and the dead'. The fathers of Nicea, asserts Timothy, do not mention in their formula of the faith 'natures, persons, and operations; neither do they divide. But they confess that in the Incarnation the things both divine and human are of the one [Christ]'. As to the council of Chalcedon also, Timothy informs the emperor that he would not accept it, because he finds that its decisions imply a division and separation of the incarnate dispensation of our Lord.

In evaluating the criticism of Timothy one can agree with pro-Chalcedonian scholars that the Chalcedonian side had not taken either the *Tome of Leo* or the council's definition in the sense which he sees in them. Our point here is not to make this observation but to remark that Timothy does not complain about the council of 451 on account of its affirmation of the fullness of

Christ's manhood. His point, on the other hand, is that the phrase 'in two natures' which the council adopted from the *Tome of Leo* cannot confess the unity of Christ in any real sense.

It is this same emphasis which Timothy makes in his refutation of the council of Chalcedon. There he insists, as Sellers shows,⁶¹⁹ that the 'two natures after the union' which the council adopted had been the teaching of Nestorius, and that it was for holding it that the Antiochene theologian had been condemned by the council of Ephesus in 431. Although Sellers seems to dismiss the argument as untenable, we have to look into the point more carefully and see whether it is not cogent. In so doing, we should recall the argument of Cyril's Second letter to Nestorius. One of the central points made by Cyril in 'that document is that the Antiochene *prosopic union* was unsatisfactory, and this definitely implied a rejection of the 'two natures after the union'; the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius had been declared acceptable even by the Antiochene side. Therefore, in the historical context of the council of Chalcedon no one could legitimately affirm 'two natures after the union' and still claim continuity with the already established tradition of the Church.

ii. *Philoxenos of Mabbogh*

The bishop of Mabbogh who died in 523 has developed the idea emphasized by Timothy further. He takes 'nature' as an autonomous entity.⁶²⁰ Hence if Christ is affirmed as 'two natures' it would mean that he is two concrete beings conjoined in the realm of *prosopon*, which is Nestorianism. It is the Nestorian school which maintains that God the Son became united with another nature.⁶²¹ Accordingly, men of the Antiochene tradition could reject the *Theotokos* as applied to Mary and speak of two natures after the union. As opposed to this view, insists Philoxenos, the Church confesses that the Son of God, who is perfect God consubstantial with God the Father, took upon himself a dispensation for the salvation of the human race by becoming man from the Virgin mother. Since the manhood was not formed in the womb independent of the union with God the Son, it was not a nature parallel to the divine nature, and Mary was *Theotokos*. When God the Son became man in this way, he remained the same both before and after the incarnation.⁶²² He

became real and perfect man from the Virgin's womb, without either Godhead or manhood being converted to the other.⁶²³

If Christ were two natures, insists Philoxenos, he would not be God the Son incarnate, but only God the Son indwelling a man.⁶²⁴ Incarnation means, for him, that the same person is at once God and man.⁶²⁵ He who is at once God and man is not two persons or two natures, for the relationship between Godhead and manhood in Christ is not like the relationship between two men who are bound together in friendship. In fact, incarnation is so unique that no analogy is possible to be offered by way of illustrating it, except the relation of body and soul in man.

More precisely, Philoxenos, like Severus of Antioch, sees in the expression 'in two natures' the idea that a concrete human being came to be formed by himself in the Virgin's womb first, and that God the Son assumed him later. This view does not affirm the incarnation. Therefore, Philoxenos rejects it as opposed to the teaching of the fathers. In renouncing it, the bishop of Mabbogh makes it clear that he does not object to the affirmation of the completeness and reality of Christ's manhood. In fact, as we shall see, he insists on the genuine character of the manhood as well as the humiliation, suffering and death endured by Christ in unmistakable terms. His objection to the 'in two natures' is not therefore the result of his unwillingness to affirm the reality of the manhood, and it is not because of a clinging to monophysitism⁶²⁶ that he refused to accept the council of Chalcedon.

While affirming that the Word became flesh without change and that he remained the same before and after the incarnation, Philoxenos, like Severus of Antioch himself, would draw a distinction between the Word *before*, and the Word *in*, the incarnation. Before the incarnation, he maintains, the Word was incorporeal, simple, invisible and beyond all sensory perception; but in the incarnation he is corporeal, composite and united with flesh,⁶²⁷ and flesh means for him 'perfect man'.⁶²⁸

Andre de Halleux deplores⁶²⁹ the fact that Philoxenos refused to admit the fundamental agreement which existed between his theological position and that of the council of Chalcedon. While agreeing with this judgment, we would point out that the refusal

to understand the emphasis of opponents was indeed mutual. In fact, in expounding the relation of the incarnation to the sacraments, we can find real agreement between even Leo and Philoxenos, both of whom admit that for our salvation the reality of the manhood was indispensable. The issue that separated them had reference only to Christ's unity. The bishop of Mabbogh is not convinced that the unity of Christ which Leo maintained is adequate, or that it conforms to the tradition which the fathers have worked out in opposition to Nestorianism. The problem of Chalcedon is not, therefore, that the council's opponents refused to admit the essential agreement between their position and that of the council, but that neither side was willing to listen patiently to the other and admit the essential agreement which existed between them. In this connection we should press that as the powerful and state-supported party, the Chalcedonian side should have shown greater magnanimity towards its opponents, who had genuine difficulty with the council's standpoint, than the latter towards the former.

C. *The Leaders of the Non-Chalcedonian Movement in 531*

As we have noted,⁶³⁰ emperor Justinian held a series of consultations with men of the non-Chalcedonian side in 531-532. On coming to Constantinople, these men submitted a confession of the faith to the emperor.⁶³¹ It made practically the same points as Timothy and Philoxenos had noted in their writings. The insistence of the council of Chalcedon on the authority of the *Tome of Leo* that Christ is made known 'in two natures' constitutes a violation of the Nicene faith, in that it does not conserve the affirmation of Christ's unity. The fathers of the council of Nicea, the men state, had confessed that God the Son became incarnate, which meant that he who was eternally simple became composite by uniting to himself flesh endowed with the rational soul. The 'in two natures' of the council of Chalcedon was not adequate to maintain this understanding of Jesus Christ, and therefore the council did violence to the Church's faith.

It should be noted that in criticizing the council of Chalcedon the reason which these men expressed clearly is not that they had doubts about the reality and perfection of Christ's manhood which the council acknowledged. The reason, on the other hand, is that the men were not convinced that the council affirmed the

unity of our Lord adequately. In other words, the standpoint from which they opposed the council of Chalcedon was not monophysitism.

D. *Severus of Antioch*

The most outstanding theologian of the non-Chalcedonian side in the sixth century, possibly also of the entire Church in the east, if not of the whole Church in his day was indeed Severus of Antioch. In two of his major works—*Philalethes* and *Contra Impium Grammaticum*—as well as in several of his doctrinal letters and homilies, Severus argues strongly and consistently against both the *Tome of Leo* and the council of Chalcedon. He notes in support of his position arguments from both tradition and theological principles and insists that the ‘two natures after the union’ of the Antiochene side which the council adopted by means of the ‘in two natures’ was indeed objectionable.

I. *In the Light of Tradition*

Severus admits that it is possible to find evidence in the work of earlier fathers for the use of ‘two natures’,⁶³² but he argues that those fathers did not imply thereby the idea of a division; they meant only that Christ was God and man at the same time. However, with the emergence of Nestorianism, things had changed. The imprecise and innocent expressions of the past were given up and a theological tradition based on the Nicene creed as confirmed by the councils of 381 and 431 had been established.⁶³³ It was in this situation that Leo of Rome, without paying any attention to the tradition set up in the Church, insisted on the ‘in two natures’ in his *Tome*, and on its authority the council of Chalcedon adopted it.⁶³⁴ Therefore, pope Leo and the council of Chalcedon were guilty of violating the established doctrinal tradition of the Church.

In this context a reference to Severus’ *Philalethes* and *Liber Contra Impium Grammaticum* would be in order. In both these works Severus argues by quoting Church fathers from Ignatius of Antioch and Irenaeus of Lyons to Cyril of Alexandria extensively that the idea behind ‘the two natures after the union’ is opposed to their teaching. They all maintain, asserts Severus,⁶³⁵

that Christ is a unity. In the *Philalethes*, for instance, he quotes passages from a few of such fathers, and concludes:⁶³⁶

Behold, the doctors of the Church, all of them, confess in unison that God the Word was conceived in her womb by the Virgin *Theotokos*, and that he was united *hypostatically* with the flesh which was being conceived therein. While he himself remained unchanged and inconvertible, he made the flesh his own, without letting any time intervene when it was separated from him.

Christ is, therefore, one person, God the Word incarnate. This is the teaching of the fathers, who had insisted with equal force that the words and deeds recorded about him in the gospels should all be ascribed to the one person. So Severus writes:⁶³⁷

‘To walk bodily on earth and to move from place to place is indeed human. But to enable those who are lame and cannot use their feet to walk is God-befitting. However, it is the same God the Word incarnate who works in both.

It is this principle embedded in the tradition set up by the fathers which is being violated by the ‘two natures after the union.’

The *Philalethes*⁶³⁸ as we have noted, had been produced by Severus in order to refute a Chalcedonian work containing excerpts from the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, which had been compiled with the specific intention of showing that the great Alexandrine theologian had anticipated the council of Chalcedon.⁶³⁹

The points made by Severus in the *Philalethes* are in the main two. In the first place, he insists that the Chalcedonian compiler is labouring under the illusion that his section of the Church would not accept the principle of a difference between Godhead and manhood in the one Christ, which is not the truth of the matter,⁶⁴⁰ for neither do we say that God the Word was changed over to a man, made up of body and soul. We confess, on the contrary, that while remaining what he was, he united to himself *hypostatically* flesh possessing a rational soul,⁶⁴¹ Therefore, the union of the natures did not affect the reality, perfection or integrity of either of the natures, which continued dynamically⁶⁴² in the one Christ. The fathers grant this point without admitting

the ‘two natures after the union’. Therefore, in order to affirm it the ‘in two natures’ was in no way necessary, and the Chalcedonian claim that Cyril had anticipated the council has no basis in truth.⁶⁴³ Secondly, Severus argues, for trying to prove a thesis of this kind, which in fact is beyond any proof, the Chalcedonian compiler had, on many occasions, mutilated or modified the passages as they are found in the works of Cyril.⁶⁴⁴

What, then, about the Formulary of Reunion of 433, in which Cyril had admitted the expression ‘two natures’? Did not this incident introduce a change in the established tradition, to which Severus makes reference? In answering this point, Severus deals with the historical context of the document as well as the actual meaning of the passage in question, in which the phrase occurs.

The Formulary of Reunion, contends Severus⁶⁴⁵ had been drawn up against the background of a split in the Church, which itself was due to the inability of the Antiochene side to understand the faith in the proper way. In that situation, with a view to restoring unity in the Church and thereby to help the Antiochenes gradually to comprehend the patristic tradition of doctrinal interpretation. Cyril, as a wise physician, accepted a statement sent him by John of Antioch. It contained the sentence in question, which Cyril endorsed as a concession for peace in the Church. Even so, asserts Severus, the Alexandrine theologian agreed to it only after conserving all the basic principles that needed to be safeguarded. Thus he saw to it that the Antiochenes accepted the council of 431 unconditionally, subscribed to the condemnation of Nestorius in clear terms, and affirmed that the Virgin was *Theotokos* without adding that she was also *anthropotokos* or *Christotokos*. Therefore, the Formulary of Reunion did not offer a basis for using the ‘two natures after the union’. In other words, Severus insists that the Formulary of Reunion could be cited as authority only after taking into account the terms of agreement which went with it.

This fact will become still clearer, maintains Severus,⁶⁴⁶ if we look into the actual meaning of the sentence in question. It says that *theologians* take some of the words and deeds of our Lord as referring to the one *prosopon*, and the others they divide between the two natures. The intention here is not to divide the words and deeds ‘between the natures in such a way that some are ascribed

to the divine nature alone, and some to the human nature exclusively: they are of the one incarnate nature of God the Word. We recognize the difference in the words and deeds; some are God-befitting, some man-befitting, and some befit Godhead and manhood together.⁶⁴⁷

The fact about the sentence in the Formulary of Reunion is that it did not contradict the Cyrilline principle of seeing the difference between Godhead and manhood in the one Christ in contemplation. Severus would maintain that the council of Chalcedon went beyond this admission to affirm the ‘two natures after the union’.

II. *In the Light of Theological Principles*

The ‘two natures after the union’ implies, argues Severus again and again, that the human child was formed in the womb by himself first, and that God the Word assumed him later.⁶⁴⁸

According to this view, the man remained man and God the Son remained God the Son in a state of conjoint existence, without being united in any real sense, in Jesus Christ. Severus and other non-Chalcedonian leaders maintain that this was the position affirmed by the men of the Antiochene school and declared heretical by the council of Ephesus in 431.⁶⁴⁹

In order to substantiate that the Antiochenes had, in fact, held this position, Severus quotes extensively from the writings of men like Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Theodoret of Cyrus, and others. One passage each from these men may be reproduced here.

*From Diodore of Tarsus*⁶⁵⁰

‘While the flesh was of Mary and before it was assumed, it was of the earth and was not different in any way from any other flesh. Like Levi who received tithes while he was still in the loins and received honour when he was born, the Lord also, when he was in the womb of the Virgin, was of her *ousia* and he did not have the honour of Sonship. But when he was formed and became the temple of God the Word and received the Only-

begotten, he was bestowed with the honour of the name and subsequently received also from him glory.’

This passage, says Severus, was opposed by Cyril in the following words:⁶⁵¹

‘You are giving expression to unlearned words which are very unhealthy. That holy body was indeed from Mary. But from the first beginning of its formation, that is its existence in the womb, it was holy as the body of Christ, and nobody sees a single moment in which it was not his. All the same, as you say, it was common [flesh] like any other flesh.’

Both Cyril and Severus obviously take the passage from Diodore to assert that the human child was formed in the Virgin’s womb apart from its union with God the Word, so that there was a time, however short it may have been, when the child in the womb existed by itself without being united to God the Son. Such a position can maintain only a union in the realm of the *prosopon*, and it is not adequate to affirm the incarnation. It is in the light of this view that the Antiochenes refused to affirm the term *Theotokos* with reference to Mary. Severus sees the same idea in Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, and Theodoret of Cyrus.

*Theodore of Mopsuestia*⁶⁵²

‘When they ask whether Mary was *anthropotokos* or *Theotokos*, we answer that she was both—the former by reason of the nature of what actually happened, but the latter on account of the exaltation. By nature she was *anthropotokos*; for he who was in the womb of Mary was man, and he came forth from there. She was *Theotokos*, because God was in the man that was born. It is not that God was limited to him by nature, but that he was in him by an association of will.’

*Nestorius*⁶⁵³

‘Mary did not give birth to Godhead, O great one. That which is born of the flesh is flesh. A creature did not give birth to the uncreated. The Father did not beget God the Word anew from the Virgin. But she gave birth to the man who was an instrument of Godhead. The Holy Spirit did not create God the Word, for he

who is in her is said to be of the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit formed from the Virgin a temple for God the Word. God did not die by being made man, but he raised him in whom he became man.’

*Theodoret of Cyrus*⁶⁵⁴

‘It is right to confess likewise one *prosopon*, Christ and Son, but two *hypostases* which have been united, that is to say natures.’

‘We refer to Christ as man putting on God, not in the sense that he received divine grace partially, but as one to whom the entire Godhead is united.’

On the strength of these and many other passages quoted from their writings Severus concludes that the men of the Antiochene tradition did not affirm a real union of the natures; they maintained only the conjoint existence in Christ of God the Son and the man. In order to assert this position they had insisted on ‘two natures after the union’. Therefore, in its historical context the council of Chalcedon cannot have meant anything more than this Antiochene emphasis by the phrase ‘in two natures’.⁶⁵⁵

It should be noted here that we are not defending the point of view of Severus. What we want to stress is only that in criticizing the ‘in two natures’ of the Chalcedonian definition, Severus and the non-Chalcedonian leaders were not adopting a monophysite standpoint. In the historical context of the council of 451 there was sufficient ground for men brought up in the Alexandrine theological tradition to raise objection to the ‘two natures after the union’ or the ‘in two natures’. It is this clear fact that the Chalcedonian side has never taken seriously.

At best, argues Severus, the ‘in two natures’ of the council of 451 could mean ‘two united natures after the union’.⁶⁵⁶ Even this emphasis had been accepted by Nestorius himself and his supporters. Therefore, the council of Chalcedon which claimed to have excluded Nestorianism cannot vindicate itself regarding its adoption of the ‘in two natures’.

What, then, about the *hypostatic union* and the *one hypostasis*? Did not the council of Chalcedon approve them, though

Nestorianism had rejected them? It is true, says Severus, that the council spoke of ‘one *Hypostasis*’. But what did the council mean by it? For one thing, insists Severus, ‘*hypostatic union*’ and ‘one *hypostasis*’ would not agree with the ‘in two natures’ or the ‘two natures after the union’⁶⁵⁷ Therefore, in affirming these expressions, the council cannot have conserved the actual meaning which the fathers have seen in them. In support of this argument Severus refers to the letter of Theodoret of Cyrus addressed to John of Agae and to the *Tome of Leo*.

Theodoret’s letter to John of Agae⁶⁵⁸ shows how its writer took the ‘one *hypostasis*’ of the Chalcedonian definition to mean. A convinced adherent of the Antiochene tradition, John raised objection to Chalcedon’s adoption of the ‘one *hypostasis*’. Theodoret wrote to him: ‘Therefore, those who referred to two natures (affirmed) unconfused union. It is also clear that they did not take “one *hypostasis*” either in the sense of *ousia* or of *nature*, but of *prosopon*’. Again: ‘Therefore, the “one *Hypostasis*” was affirmed by the holy synod, as I said, not taking the word *hypostasis* in the sense of nature, but in that of *prosopon*. This is clear from the definition; for *prosopon* and *hypostasis* are allied terms.’⁶⁵⁹

‘The *Tome of Leo* refers to *union* three times’, observes Severus, ‘but in none of them the document conserves the sense of the divine and the human natures converging into a unity, or of the *hypostatic union*. The *Tome* recognizes only the union in *prosopon*⁶⁶⁰ It is clear in any case that the *Tome of Leo* shows no understanding of the *hypostatic union*, and therefore it contradicts the doctrinal tradition of the Church. The council of Chalcedon also commits the same error, because its use of the ‘in two natures’ cannot be justified either in the light of tradition or in that of already accepted theological principles.

As we have noted, this argument of Severus is not the result of any adherence to monophysitism. Almost anyone in the fifth and sixth centuries who had been brought up in the Alexandrine theological tradition and who was not keen somehow to defend the council of Chalcedon could easily adopt a standpoint of this kind.

E. *Other Non-Chalcedonian Leaders*

Following the time of Severus and the permanent split between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian bodies, a series of documents have been produced by the latter.⁶⁶¹ In all of them where a reference to the council of Chalcedon is made one of the reasons specified for rejecting the council by the group or the person is that it violated the already established tradition of the Church. 'They substantiate the charge by referring to the 'in two natures' which the council accepted and to the *Tonic of Leo* which the council declared a document of the faith.

F. *Some Concluding Remarks*

An examination of the theological expositions and the statements of the faith produced by the leaders of the non-Chalcedonian side from the time of the council of Chalcedon will show very clearly the following facts:

- i. It is not possible for a critic to point to a single passage in the voluminous literature produced by them as a basis for saying that any one of the men recognized as theologians and Church fathers in their ecclesiastical tradition has at any time criticized the council for its affirmation of the fullness and reality of Christ's humanity.
- ii. They opposed the expression 'two natures after the union' because of their genuine fear that it was not adequate to affirm Christ's unity.
- iii. The point of their protest amounted only to asking for an amendment in the doctrinal formula adopted by the council of Chalcedon. But neither the forces which controlled the council nor the Chalcedonian leadership since then has shown so much as patience to listen to what they had to say, and suggest a way to heal the division in the Church.
- iv. Faced with criticism from their opponents, the Chalcedonian side undertook to interpret the 'in two natures' of the council. In this way it was shown that the phrase affirmed the dynamic continuance of the two natures with their respective properties and faculties in their perfection, reality and integrity in the one Christ, without confusion. Since this was the very position all

along affirmed by the non-Chalcedonian side, they did not see any need for the ‘in two natures’ of the council.

3. *Other Objections*

The other reasons referred to by the non-Chalcedonian side for rejecting the council of Chalcedon are more or less additional evidence in support of their argument that the council was indeed wrong and hasty in its decisions. These reasons have reference to:

- i. the council’s acceptance of the *Tome of Leo*;
- ii. the council’s drawing up of a definition of the faith;
- iii. the council’s exoneration of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas.

All these objections have implicitly been granted by the Chalcedonian side to be cogent. The interpretation of the phrase ‘in two natures’, for instance, amounts to a clarification of the sense in which the *Tome* is to be taken. The fact that the Chalcedonian side has never tried to replace the Nicene creed by the council’s formula shows that the apprehension of the non-Chalcedonian side in this regard is not necessary to be perpetuated. The decision of the council of 553 concerning the ‘Three Chapters’ is a clear, though only implicit, admission that the council of 451 had committed an error in the case of Theodoret and Ibas. If only the Chalcedonian side and the imperial authority in Constantinople had been willing to admit explicitly that the council of Chalcedon needed revision, the history of the Church in the east would have been different.

CHAPTER TEN

HERESIES REJECTED

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

While opposing the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* the non-Chalcedonian side condemned also a number of heresies. Their list of heretics includes all the men rejected by the Chalcedonian side for teaching heterodoxy before the council of 451 on the one hand, and those in later times whose views did not conform to the doctrinal tradition which they held on the other. In order to see what that tradition is, it is necessary to look into the positions which they renounced and the reasons which they stated in adopting this course of action.

The heresies rejected by them, so far as it concerns the present study, are those bearing on the doctrine of the Trinity and those referring to the doctrine of the incarnation. As to the latter, some were excluded because they did not affirm the unity of Christ properly, and others were renounced because their interpretation of the dynamic continuance of Godhead and manhood in the one Christ was defective.

In almost every doctrinal statement produced by theologians of the non-Chalcedonian body a number of men beginning from Simon Magus and ending in Nestorius on the one hand, and from Valentinus to Apollinarius and Eutyches on the other, are carefully noted as heretics. After the council of Chalcedon, there arose a number of theological interpretations bearing on the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, which they took the initiative in excluding.

2. *Eutychianism*

Eutyches, as we have seen, was exiled to Doliche in North Syria soon after Pulcheria came to power in 450, and we know nothing about the man since then. Whether he did in fact hold the views which those who condemned him saw in him or not, it is a fact that there were men in the east in those times who maintained them.

In the days of Theodosius of Jerusalem who died in 457, as Zacharia Rhetor notes,⁶⁶² a certain rhetorician from Alexandria by name John advanced a theory which is referred to as 'Eutychianism'. A student of philosophy, John had endeavoured to combine with his metaphysical speculation some ideas borrowed from Christianity and to offer an interpretation of the person of Christ. In this way John conceived of the manhood of the Saviour as a phenomenon devoid of a nature of its own, on the ground that it was born of a virgin.⁶⁶³ Since Jesus Christ as man was without a human nature, John argued, he was one nature.

The historian notes that John the rhetorician wrote a number of literary pieces ascribing them to persons like Theodosius himself and Peter the Iberian. When Theodosius heard of the views of John and his activities, he condemned the man and his teaching⁶⁶⁴ and communicated the judgment to Palestine, Syria and Alexandria. It is further reported by the same historian that while Theodosius was in prison, both Chalcedonians and Eutychians approached him, each hoping to convert him to their side, with no success. Theodosius is said to have told the Eutychians that theirs was the teaching of Valentinus, Manes and Marcion, and to have exposed it as a worse heresy 'than that of Paul of Samosata, Apollinarius and Nestorius.'⁶⁶⁵

Timothy Aelurus of Alexandria, who was the most vocal critic of the council of Chalcedon immediately after the time of Theodosius, was also a strong opponent of the Eutychian position. It is noted that while he was in exile, he wrote letters to Alexandria and Palestine opposing those who refused to affirm that Christ, who is consubstantial with the Father as to Godhead, is at once consubstantial with us as to manhood.⁶⁶⁶

Besides, two incidents in his life should be noted in support of the statement that he was opposed to Eutychianism. In the first place, during his exile, two men from Alexandria—Isaiah of Hermopolis and a presbyter by name Theophilus—made their abode in Constantinople, where they claimed to share the views of Timothy Aelurus.⁶⁶⁷ But the ideas which they disseminated were those which Eutyches was believed to have held. On receiving the news, the Alexandrine patriarch in exile despatched letters both to Alexandria and to Constantinople, warning the people about what the men had been doing.⁶⁶⁸ To Constantinople he sent two letters. The first was intended to exhort the Alexandrine sojourners in the capital to give up their views. Since the letter was not received well by them, the patriarch wrote his second letter.⁶⁶⁹ This was a doctrinal work which discussed the faith, supported by a large number of excerpts from the writings of the fathers. Even this letter was rejected by Isaiah and Theophilus, and in the end Timothy excommunicated them on the ground of heresy.⁶⁷⁰

In his second letter Timothy discusses the faith with a view to exposing the teaching of Isaiah and Theophilus who propagated their ideas in Constantinople. Accordingly, affirms Timothy in the letter, in the incarnation our Lord Jesus Christ was consubstantial with us. ‘Therefore’, he insists, ‘let no one, thinking to honour God, insult his mercy by refusing to abide by the teaching of our holy fathers, who have confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ became consubstantial with us in the flesh’.⁶⁷¹ Like Dioscorus, Timothy then goes on to affirm, on the strength of the epistle to the Hebrews. ‘Since children partake of flesh and blood, he also did participate in them, in order that he might, by his death, abrogate the power of death. which is Satan..... he did not receive the nature from the angels, but from the seed of Abraham. It was necessary that he should identify himself with his brethren in everything in order that he might be merciful..... Since he endured suffering and temptation, he is able to succour those who are being tempted. By the words ‘That he identified himself in everything’. Timothy comments, the Scripture ‘teaches all those who wish to be meet for the blessings of heaven and to be saved that they should confess the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ that it was from Mary.....; he who is of the same nature with the Father as to Godhead, the

same became of the same nature with her and with us in the body’.

In this way Timothy explained the faith of the Church concerning the incarnation in opposition to the teaching of Isaiah and Theophilus. He sent a copy of this letter to Alexandria, ‘to the clergy, monks, sisterhoods of nuns in Christ, and the faithful..... that you may know that I have written these things.’⁶⁷² He then instructed them that ‘he who does not believe according to the tradition concerning the Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ as taught by our holy fathers, let him be anathema.’⁶⁷³ It is clear from this incident that Timothy Aelurus was not a supporter of the view which Leo of Rome and the council of Chalcedon condemned as the teaching of Eutyches, and that his opposition to the council and the *Tome* was not the result of a hesitation on his part to acknowledge the full humanity of our Lord.

The second evidence to show that Timothy Aelurus excluded the teaching ascribed to Eutyches is an incident which happened in Constantinople in 475. Basiliscus, when he recalled Timothy from exile, had the patriarch visit Constantinople,⁶⁷⁴ where he encouraged the emperor to issue his encyclical cancelling the council of Chalcedon. This document, however, condemned those who maintained the notion that the incarnation was only a semblance. Some people in Constantinople took offence at this emphasis, and they approached Timothy to make common cause with him, in the hope that he would also oppose the idea. But contrary to their expectation, Timothy turned the tables against them by telling them that⁶⁷⁵

‘the scriptures teach us of Christ that he identified himself with us in everything, and that he became perfectly of the same nature with us, but for the impulse of sin. He was born supernaturally apart from conjugal union. But he became perfect man, having been conceived in Mary the Virgin, and from her born by the Holy Spirit, and he himself continued to remain God incarnate without any change.’

It is obvious that Timothy Aelurus affirmed that the manhood of our Lord was real and perfect, and that he excluded

Eutychianism with the same determination and fervour as did the Chalcedonian side.

Philoxenos of Mabbogh, as we have already noted, was a strong critic of Nestorianism, which he believed had been subtly sanctioned by the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo*. Equally decisive was his renunciation of Eutychianism, which he exposes in his writings.

Eutychianism, insists Philoxenos, admits only that God the Son took upon himself the appearance and likeness of man⁶⁷⁶ without receiving anything from the Virgin. This view explains away the incarnation, and should therefore be rejected by the Church. As we have seen, both Flavian of Constantinople and Leo of Rome had seen in Eutyches a view like this. In declaring it heretical, Philoxenos expressed his agreement with them both. Philoxenos, in fact, goes further in arguing that the Eutychian teaching falls not only into the error of docetism as is commonly understood, but also into Manichaean dualism which considers matter to be evil.⁶⁷⁷ Eutychianism, for instance, denies that our Lord became incarnate from the Virgin, and that he was consubstantial with us. Does this not imply a refusal on the part of Eutychianism to admit that God would become man on account of the prior assumption that human nature is evil?

Philoxenos sees similarity between Nestorianism and Eutychianism.⁶⁷⁸

‘The Nestorian and the Eutychian positions seem to oppose each other, but in reality they hold the same view, in that both deny that God was born of Mary. If God assumed only the likeness of the flesh, and not this our body taken in truth from the Virgin, the fact that *Theotokos* gave birth is not real.’

Having renounced Eutychianism in this way, the bishop of Mabbogh writes about Nestorianism:⁶⁷⁹

‘Nestorianism does not admit that the Word became flesh, but only that flesh came into being and was assumed by the Word. Mary is not therefore *Theotokos*; she is only the bearer of flesh, namely the man in whom God dwells.’

For Philoxenos, as we shall see more clearly later, God the Son really became incarnate by uniting to himself real and perfect manhood from the Virgin's womb. Any doctrine that denies or minimizes this truth is, for him a heresy which should be condemned.

Severus of Antioch was a very strong critic of the position described as Eutychianism. Referring to the statement that Christ was 'two natures before' and 'one nature after the union',⁶⁸⁰ he writes: 'no one who has held correct thinking has ever affirmed even in fancy the expression - two natures before the union'.⁶⁸¹ This would mean, from Severus' point of view, that the human child was formed in the Virgin's womb even before the union of the natures.

The idea that the child was formed in the womb before the union is, according to all non-Chalcedonian leaders, the teaching of Nestorius and his supporters. Severus opposes this view in many places of his writings, including the one noted above. 'Though the *hypostasis* of God the Word', he writes to Oecumenius,⁶⁸² 'existed before all the ages and times, he being eternally with God the Father and God the Holy Spirit the flesh possessing a rational soul did not exist before its union with him'. Again, in one of the homilies, the patriarch points out that 'it is not that a child was formed at first in the womb of the Virgin and immediately God the Word associated himself with it by means of a union of will and conjunction of love'.⁶⁸³

The foregoing discussion will show that while opposing the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo*, the non-Chalcedonian side was fully aware of the 'Eutychian' heresy, and that they excluded it with as much force and determination as the Chalcedonian side. Therefore, the reason for their rejection of Chalcedon was not an implicit or explicit sympathy for the position described as Eutychianism by the council of 451.

There is an important question which we have to face in the present context. If Dioscorus and the non-Chalcedonian side were really opposed to Eutychianism, how is it that the council of 449 exonerated Eutyches, in whose name the heresy is known? The question is important from a historical point of view. Severus of Antioch, who considers Eutyches as a

confirmed heretic, has no difficulty in recognizing Dioscorus as ‘a martyr for Christ who alone did not bend the knee to the Baal at the assembly of iniquity’.⁶⁸⁴

As we have shown, at the council of Chalcedon Dioscorus maintained that the ideas read into Eutyches were indeed heretical, but that there was no basis in the recorded minutes of the synod of 448 that he did in fact hold them.⁶⁸⁵ On 17th October 451 the Egyptian bishops did not mention Eutyches by name to be condemned as a heretic in their petition submitted to the council.⁶⁸⁶ After the time of the council, the encyclical of Basiliscus did not include the name of Eutyches in its list of heretics, although it condemned the heresy ascribed to him.⁶⁸⁷ But the *Henotikon* of Zeno in 482 declared him a heretic⁶⁸⁸ and the *Henotikon* was a document accepted by the non-Chalcedonian body.

In a number of his letters Severus discusses this issue. Taking them together, we can see three points made by him. In the first place, the second council of Ephesus in 449 acquitted Eutyches on two grounds:

- i. After examining ‘the minutes written in the royal city which contained the depositions on the round of which Eutyches had been condemned’ the council judged that he did not deserve condemnation.
- ii. Eutyches himself presented a petition, anathematizing Manes, Valentinus, Apollinarius and those who said that the body of our Lord had come down from heaven, and adding some words which, Severus points out, had not been read at Chalcedon. These words, he testifies, are included in his letter to Sergius, the physician and sophist.⁶⁸⁹

The words in question are missing in the letter of Severus as it has been published in the *Patrologia Orientalis*. They may well have been the sentences which we have already noted.⁶⁹⁰ In any case, the argument of Severus amounts to insisting that Eutyches had not been exonerated by the council of 449 for the reasons for which he was condemned by the council of Chalcedon. Secondly, ‘after these things’, asserts Severus, ‘the same Eutyches ran back to the vomit of his evil opinion’. Thirdly, this defection of

the man does not 'bring reproach' either against the council of 449 or against Dioscorus.⁶⁹¹

The position insisted on by Severus should elicit at least two observations. In the first place, he does not make clear when Eutyches did actually teach the ideas ascribed to him. The words, 'ran back to his evil opinion' would imply that Eutyches was originally a heretic; but the council of 449 acquitted him, judging the basis of his condemnation by the synod of 448 to be indefensible and declaring the profession of faith which he presented orthodox; however, in spite of this clemency, he returned to his former opinions. This kind of explanation is not borne out by the minutes of the council of 449. For, as we have seen,⁶⁹² the examination of his case by that council does not show that the delegates there had any suspicion regarding the man's doctrinal position. As to the accusation that he returned to his evil opinion subsequently, if this happened between the time when the council of 449 was adjourned and his banishment in 450, it is indeed strange that this fact had not come to the knowledge of Dioscorus or of the Egyptian bishops at the time, or even of those who drafted the encyclical of Basiliscus in 475. These problems are not answered by Severus in his evaluation of Eutyches. In the face of them, there is only one possible explanation. It is that there were men in those ancient times who held the views attributed to Eutyches, and that at least some of them owned the old monk as their protagonist. The question, therefore, whether Eutyches himself taught the ideas ascribed to him is still an open one. As regards the ideas, we have clear evidence that both the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides excluded them from the very beginning of the conflict. Secondly, in defending the second council of Ephesus in 449, Severus does not offer any justification for that council's treatment of Eutyches' hesitation to admit the phrase 'consubstantial with us'. As we have seen,⁶⁹³ although the idea behind the phrase was there in Eutyches' profession of faith, he was very reluctant to affirm the phrase itself, but the council of 449 did not pay much attention to this point.

From the point of view of the present study, what is important is the fact that the non-Chalcedonian side had from the beginning condemned the ideas which the Chalcedonian side referred to as Eutychianism. This, together with the explanation of their posi-

tion relative to it, brings out the fact that for them the natures which came into union in Christ continue in him without any reduction.

3. *The View that Christ had only one Property*

This issue was raised in the days of Severus of Antioch by Sergius the grammarian. He wrote a letter on this point and sent it to Severus asking him for his comment.⁶⁹⁴ ‘Godhead and the flesh’, affirmed the grammarian, ‘are two *ousias*. Eternality is the property of the former, and corruptibility that of the latter’. In becoming man, God the Son assumed flesh ‘which was born supernaturally’, and which ‘did not see corruption’. Therefore, insists the grammarian, ‘by reason of the union, human property was passed over’. Accordingly, he asserts, ‘it is better to say that there was one property’. Why, then, do we say, asks Sergius, ‘that there are two properties?’⁶⁹⁵

Severus begins his discussion of the issue by stating that the affirmation of a difference of properties is the teaching of the fathers. The natures, they affirm, which are united in the one Christ are different. ‘For one is uncreated. and the other is created’.⁶⁹⁶ But while ‘the difference in properties of the natures remains’, ‘the natures of which the one Christ is composed’ united ‘without confusion’. In this way ‘the Word of life is said to have become visible and tangible’. When we think of the Emmanuel, insists Severus, we shall see that Godhead and manhood are different. As we confess the union, we do not ignore the difference signifying the natures of which the one Christ is composed’, although by reason of the ‘*hypostatic union*’ we discard division.⁶⁹⁷

The properties of both natures, therefore, remain in the one Christ along with the natures themselves, without confusion or division. Since the natures are united, there is an exchange of properties, whereby ‘the Word may be recognized in the properties of the flesh’ and the human properties have ‘come to belong to the Word and the properties of the Word to the flesh.’⁶⁹⁸ This is union without confusion, in which neither of the natures nor any of their properties or faculties have been lost.

The position adopted by Severus is, in fact, discernible in all the non-Chalcedonian leaders recognized by his section of the Church. It shows that they not only affirmed the continuance of the two natures in the one Christ, but also conserved the principle that there was no loss or reduction of any property or faculty of either nature.

4. Julianism

The conflict between Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus has already been noted.⁶⁹⁹ It is by answering the issue raised by Julian that Severus succeeded in giving expression to some of his most profound Christological ideas. In order to understand them, Julian's teaching may be summarized here.

In his second letter⁷⁰⁰ to Severus, Julian admits that Christ suffered and died for the human race and gave life to mortals voluntarily. However, Julian is careful to avoid the possibility of having to grant that the Redeemer's manhood had need of this saving work. At the same time, Julian is clear in his insistence that Christ's suffering and death were real. He chose them as an act of freewill, without being constrained by nature, in order to vouchsafe to us incorruptibility by means of the resurrection. These voluntary passions, argues the bishop of Halicarnassus, are taken by some people as an indication that Christ's body was corruptible. The truth is, asserts Julian, that 'in order to prepare incorruption through the resurrection, he assumed incorruptibility even in this life'.⁷⁰¹

Christ's body was incorruptible, argues Julian, not from the time of the resurrection only, but even from its formation in the womb of the mother. Here Julian notes the virgin birth in his support. There was no difference, he insists, between Christ's post-resurrection body and his pre-resurrection body. 'That body, as it was when it suffered, rose without any change on the third day'.⁷⁰²

This does not mean, however, that in Julian's view Christ's manhood was not our manhood, or that his suffering and death were unreal. He writes, as quoted by Severus:⁷⁰³

‘We confess, therefore, that in his body which is from us, and which is of the same nature with us, the Lord voluntarily endured suffering and death. We do not maintain that it was out of natural necessity that he came down to this. For, as Peter says, Christ suffered for us in the flesh. He who suffers for us does not surrender himself, but liberates others, without being under necessity. Again, he who hears that Christ suffered for us in the flesh should not think that he suffered for himself. If he were subject to suffering and death by natural necessity, he would most certainly have sought his own liberation.’

Julian maintains that Christ’s manhood was incorruptible, because God the Son assumed the manhood of Adam before the fall. Here lies one of Julian’s central emphases. Suffering and death came on mankind in consequence of the fall, so that the manhood of Adam before the fall was not only sinless, but also essentially impassible and incorruptible.⁷⁰⁴

Was it not from Mary that God the Son assumed manhood? Since her manhood was of the fallen manhood of Adam and as such subject to corruption, how could the body of Christ be incorruptible? Julian answers this question by means of an illustration.⁷⁰⁵ Children of parents who are either blind or defective in any other way are often found to be free from the infirmities of their progenitors. In the same way, contends Julian, Christ was born of Mary without being affected by the disabilities of the fall through his mother.

In sum, then, Julian’s specific emphasis consists in the affirmation that the manhood of Christ was the unfallen manhood of Adam; that therefore as man he was consubstantial with us, in the sense that his was the essential manhood which is in us; but that his suffering and death were voluntarily chosen by him for our sakes, without any natural necessity on the part of his manhood.

This being the crucial point in the teaching of Julian, a reference to R. Dragnet’s conclusion⁷⁰⁶ regarding the theology of the bishop of Halicarnassus should be in order in the present context. Drauguet’s finding that Julian’s interpretation had supporters among both the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides needs to be underlined. In fact, as we have seen, emperor

Justinian himself is said to have accepted its tenets in his old age,⁷⁰⁷ and as we shall see, Julian's emphases came to be incorporated more in the theology of the Chalcedonian side than in that of the non-Chalcedonian side.⁷⁰⁸ It should also be granted without any hesitation that Julian's concern was to stress the absolute sinlessness of Christ. To be sure, it was out of this concern that Julian affirmed the manhood of Christ to be essential manhood, the manhood of Adam before the fall. However, Draguet's view that Julian's theory would not explain away the reality of Christ's manhood can be admitted only in a qualified sense, and his reading that the difference between Julian and Severus is one of terminology only is certainly questionable.⁷⁰⁹

In his refutation Severus asks Julian: 'How is it possible for him who did not suffer in the flesh like us, though he was without sin, to have participated in our suffering in reality?'.⁷¹⁰ This being impossible, Julian has to admit, in spite of his assertion to the contrary, that the suffering of Christ was in phantasy. But the scriptures teach us that Christ was the first-born from the dead, whereby signifying that he suffered and died like us in the flesh.

Referring to the question whether Christ's body was corruptible or incorruptible, Severus begins his enquiry after defining the meaning of the word 'corruptibility'.⁷¹¹ It connotes two distinct ideas, affirms Severus. In the first place, it means 'sinlessness'. Since both Julian and Severus himself agree that Christ was perfectly sinless, it is necessary to look into the other meaning. Thus secondly, the word 'refers to the non-possession of the capacity to undergo guiltless passions like 'hunger, thirst, fatigue from journeying..... in short suffering and death'. For Severus, it should be remembered, all these are natural properties of manhood.

None of those who have taught orthodoxy, remarks Severus, have maintained that 'Emmanuel suffered and died in an immortal and impassible body'.⁷¹² The fathers affirmed, on the contrary, that Christ suffered in the flesh, which was prone to suffer feeling the pain and agony of passion, and that he endured sorrow and anguish of the soul.⁷¹³ Christ's body was thus by nature passible and mortal, but it became impassible and immortal only after the resurrection. Therefore, in the second

sense of the word ‘incorruptibility’, Christ’s body was corruptible before the resurrection, but it gained incorruptibility with the resurrection. ‘The body of Christ our Lord’ writes Severus, ‘was always holy and uninjured by sin. But it became impassible and immortal from the resurrection. For the impassible Word united to himself *hypostatically* a body which was capable of suffering and death.’⁷¹⁴

Concerning the argument of Julian that Christ’s manhood was the unfallen manhood of Adam. Severus makes two points. In the first place, he does not draw any radical distinction between the manhood before and after the fall, as Julian does. Thus in his own words:⁷¹⁵

‘The first Adam, while he was mortal, knew Eve, his wife; and he became the father of us mortal children, who have been born of him. But the second Adam. . . . assumed passible flesh, which was united healingly to himself without blemish and sin. He left it to remain passible and mortal, in order that he might dissolve the dominion of death by words of justice, and not by power befitting God.’

God the Son united to himself the manhood which needed healing.

Secondly, Severus rejects Julian’s theory that before the fall Adam was impassible and immortal, and that he became mortal and corruptible in consequence of his disobedience and sin. In the beginning, maintains Severus, man was created passible and mortal.⁷¹⁶ But he was given the promise of immortality and impassibility as a divine gift to be imparted by God’s grace. By the fall he came to lose this divine grace, although he was not deprived of his nature.⁷¹⁷

‘The fact that our Lord was born of a virgin does not imply that his body was from the beginning incorruptible. ‘For it is not’, insists Severus,⁷¹⁸ ‘to deny either a nature which is consubstantial with us or passions like our own [to himself] that Christ our God and Saviour was born in the flesh from the ever-Virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit. Neither does it ascribe impurity or defilement of sin to marriage or to the intercourse between husband and wife. But it signifies to us, who are being born of the Spirit in holy

baptism, that by the washing of regeneration we have been granted the assurance of a rebirth in the resurrection, consisting in a spiritual birth which he was the first to receive. Having thus been born for the first time, he became the second Adam for us who are being reshaped and reborn'. Therefore, Julian's reference to the virgin birth in support of his theory cannot be admitted.

The purpose of the incarnation, according to Severus, is to restore to man the divine grace, whereby he would get back the promise of immortality and impassibility, which Adam had lost by the fall. So 'God the Word, the Only-begotten Son, who is before the worlds and is uncreated, assumed created flesh possessing a rational soul from the seed of David and Abraham'.⁷¹⁹ However, insists Severus, 'it is not enough for us merely that God became man without change'. But it is necessary also that 'Christ should suffer and die for us, and thereby become the first among those who rise from the dead'.⁷²⁰ The suffering and death were the precondition for his resurrection, and all the three of them were indispensable for our salvation. The first Adam lost the divine grace through his failure to obey God; but the second Adam restored it through his success.⁷²¹

In his nature God the Son is immortal and impassible. He became incarnate, by uniting to himself *hypostatically* flesh animated with a rational soul, which by nature was passible and mortal, in order that it may be enabled to triumph over suffering and death. Consequently, God the Son left the flesh free to undergo all that is natural to the flesh, and let it suffer and die.⁷²² The suffering and death which the flesh that had been made his own by God the Son thus underwent were also assumed as his own by God the Son in his incarnate state. On this ground, affirms Severus, we confess that God the Son who became incarnate endured suffering and death on our behalf.⁷²³

It was indeed by an act of voluntary condescension on the part of God the Son, admits Severus, that he assumed manhood as his own and let suffering and death in his incarnate state be predicated of him. However, when we say that Christ suffered voluntarily, we do not refer this to his manhood, but to God the Son.⁷²⁴ For he accepted on himself the self-limitation and

became incarnate, thereby to accomplish the redemptive dispensation for the sake of the human race. As to the manhood of Christ, when we perceive it in contemplation, we shall see that it suffered natural and sinless passions. In the words of Severus:⁷²⁵

‘For it is not because he [God the Word] is incapable of making it [the body] all of a sudden immortal and impassible that he left it to remain passible and mortal, but because he willed that he should not triumph over death by a forcible exercise of power that befits God. [He willed] to accept on himself our battle in [the body] which by nature is passible. And this he did by mixing power and wisdom, whereby we may secure this triumph by a real death and resurrection. In this way, the first Adam who had fallen was restored by the victory of the second Adam.’

The salvation of man is the work of God. But it has not been accomplished exclusively by a divine act, for that would violate the principle, of God’s justice, because man has been created with the gift of freedom. Since man has abused this divine gift and fell from God’s grace, salvation needs to be worked out in a real and perfect human life.

To put the emphasis more succinctly, God made man in the beginning endowed with creaturely freedom, which our first parents happened to misuse. By his incarnation God the Son made it possible for one member of the human race to exercise the gift of freedom in the proper way, and thereby to open the way of salvation for the whole mankind.⁷²⁶ So God the Son let the manhood, which he united to himself *hypostatically*, play its natural role even in the redemptive work performed by him for the human race.⁷²⁷

In sum, this is what Severus maintains in opposing the teaching of Julian of Halicarnassus. What he means by it may be put in this way. The manhood of Christ was our manhood in reality, perfection and integrity; although it was itself untouched by sin, it was involved in the effects of the corporate sin of mankind; and that it gained impassibility and immortality only by the resurrection, following a life of complete obedience, suffering and death.⁷²⁸ This was indeed the human life of God the Son’s own in his incarnate state, and through it life eternal was granted to

the human race. Jesus Christ was therefore the God-man, at once perfect God and perfect man, the eternal Saviour of mankind.

There is no basis anywhere in the writings of Severus or of any other leaders of the non-Chalcedonian ecclesiastical tradition that in opposing the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo*, they were led by the ‘feeling that it was somehow unworthy of Christ’ to have a human nature ‘in the most utterly complete sense’, as Norman Pittenger seems persuaded to think.⁷²⁹ The fact, on the contrary, is that for these men the manhood of Christ was perfectly real and dynamic ‘in the most utterly complete sense’, and not merely a passive recipient of divine glory. They opposed the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo*, as we have shown, because they had inherited a theological tradition in which the ‘two natures after the union’ had been considered heretical and condemned.

5. *The View which Opposed the Recognizing of the Principle of Difference in the One Christ*

Jesus Christ is one, composed of Godhead and manhood, each in its reality and perfection. The word ‘one’ both in the phrase ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ and in the ‘one *hypostasis*’ is intended to avoid the danger of dividing the natures between God the Word and the man Jesus and seeing their union in the realm of *prosopon* only: and it does not imply the error of confusing the natures. That this is what they affirm has been repeatedly and without any exception emphasized by non-Chalcedonian leaders like Dioscorus, Timothy Aelurus, Philoxenos, Severus and those who have stood in their theological tradition ever since.

There were however, men in the east who tried to work out a theology ignoring this principle. It was, in fact, non-Chalcedonian leaders who, in most cases, took the initiative in excluding such men and their teachings. We have already seen how they did this in the fifth and sixth centuries. One such instance is reported to have happened in the days of Damian of Alexandria.⁷³⁰

A certain, sophist by name Stephen began to express the opinion that Godhead and manhood were so united in the one Christ that we should not insist on the principle of a difference between the

things that pertain to Godhead and those that pertain to manhood. This view was opposed by Damian, who instructed Stephen to ewe up his position, as it was contrary to the teaching of the Church. Since the man was not willing to comply, he was condemned along with those who agree with him in holding it.

Damian made it clear to Stephen that in Christ Godhead was Godhead, and manhood was manhood. Neither of them changed into, or became absorbed in, the other. Therefore, Godhead and manhood continued in the one Christ, and the affirmation of the difference between them was part of the Church's doctrinal tradition.

6. *A Word in Conclusion*

In rejecting heresies, the non-Chalcedonian side conserved the following points:

- (a) In the incarnation God the Son united to himself manhood taken in reality from a human mother, and the manhood was consubstantial with us.
- (b) The manhood had all natural properties and faculties without any reduction, change or confusion.
- (c) The human properties and faculties continued in the one Christ dynamically.
- (d) Looked at from the historical perspective, the Christ of the non-Chalcedonian side was a man like any other man who endured suffering and death in reality.

Did the Antiochene theologians or Chalcedonian theologians at any time conserve any idea with reference to Christ's manhood more than these?

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH THE FATHER AS TO
GODHEAD
AND CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH US AS TO MANHOOD

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

While rejecting the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* on the one hand, and the heresies which offered resistance to the orthodox faith on the other, the non-Chalcedonian side conserved a theological position on the strength of the Nicene creed as ratified by the councils of Constantinople in 381 and Ephesus in 431. Having looked into the reasons why they renounced the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* as well as the basis on which they opposed the various Christological heresies, we should endeavour to bring out their positive teaching concerning the person of Jesus Christ more directly than we have done so far. In doing this, we shall examine the meaning of crucial terms which they have clarified and the specific emphases they have sought to conserve by means of the Alexandrine phrases which they employed in their doctrinal expositions.

2. *The Meaning of Terms*

In the Christological controversy, unlike in any other theological dispute in the ancient church, there was a great deal of obscurity on account of the technical terms that were employed. Theologians of all shades of opinion used the following terms :—*Ousia* in Greek: the Syriac used either *ousia* or *Ithutho* to correspond to it. *Hypostasis* in Greek and its Syriac equivalent *Qnumo*. *Physis* in Greek had *kyono* as its Syriac rendering. The

Greek *prosopon* had *parsupo* in Syriac. Finally *hyparxis* in Greek had *yotho* as its Syriac equivalent. In his *Contra Impium Grammaticum* as well as in several of his doctrinal letters and other writings, Severus of Antioch defines *ousia*, *hypostasis*, *physis*, *hyparxis*, and *prosopon*.

In his letter to Eusebius the scholastic Severus defines the term *ousia* and *hypostasis* briefly. ‘*Ousia*’, he writes, signifies that which is common, and *hypostasis* that which is particular’.⁷³¹ The subject is discussed more fully in his *Contra Grammaticum*. Following Athanasius,⁷³² Severus takes the term *ousia* as signifying that which is. In the book of Exodus a voice is reported to have come from God to Moses, saying ‘I am he who is; and tell the children of Israel that “he who is” has sent me’. The inspired doctors of the Church have defined that ‘the *ousia* of the holy and transcendent Trinity is one’. Since ‘the Father is, and the Son is, and the Holy Spirit is, it is the same for them TO BE and to be of the same honour and eternity’. *Ousia*, therefore, is derived from that which is.⁷³³

Severus illustrates the definition by noting that ‘the term *man* signifies the race and the common belonging to the entire human race’.⁷³⁴ As scriptural references he points to the book of Genesis where God spoke to Noah and his sons, ‘The blood of him that sheds man’s blood will be spilt in his behalf, because in the image of God I have made man’. Here the reference is, argues Severus, not to a particular man, but to any man belonging to the entire human race.⁷³⁵ On the other hand, in calling a particular person, say Job or Elkanah, man, we take him to belong to the *ousia* and the race.⁷³⁶ Both Job and Elkanah are men, two *hypostases*; this is because each of them received his concrete existence ‘separately and specifically’.

The same principle is applicable, maintains Severus, in expounding the orthodox faith in God. The name *God*, for instance, is common for the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. ‘The Father is God; he is beyond time and eternal. So is the Son; and so is also the Holy Spirit. The Father never began *to be*, for he always is; in the same way the Son is; and the Holy Spirit also is’.⁷³⁷

Although there is no difference between any two of the three persons of the blessed Trinity from the point of view of *ousia*,

with reference to *hypostasis* the Father is one, the Son is another, and the Holy Spirit is yet another. The distinctness of each of them consists in the specific property which he has. The Father, for instance, is unbegotten; the Son is begotten; and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. In this way, each of them, while being fully God, is different from the other two. Severus quotes Basil of Caesarea from his letter addressed to Ampholicus in support of his position.

The idea emphasized in the definition of the terms *ousia* and *hypostasis* may be explained in this way. *Ousia* is real; it refers to what may be called the is-ness or being of a thing. It does not, however, have concrete existence; for everything that exists concretely is a particular. *Ousia* is, so to say, the reality which when individuated gives rise to particular objects or *hypostasis*. Manhood, for instance, constitutes as *ousia* the metaphysical ground of every man and of the entire human race.

In dealing with the meaning of the term *ousia*, Severus combines two ideas. On the one hand, he takes the word as an abstract but dynamic reality, possibly in the sense of the *eidos* of Plato as it had been, sanctioned by the Cappadocian fathers during the fourth century; but on the other, he sees in the word only the common name for all the members of a class. This fact indicates that Severus did not have an adequate grounding in Greek philosophy.⁷³⁸ He was, however, so well versed in patristic literature as to note that some of the earlier theologians had employed the term *ousia* with reference to a particular being.⁷³⁹ Such persons had taken *ousia* in the sense of the *hypostasis* of later times. This lack of clarity, admits Severus, came to be given up, and the Severian understanding of the meaning of terms had become accepted among theologians as a whole.

The reference of Severus here is important; it shows that the term *ousia* had been used by Christian theologians of an earlier age in the sense of Aristotle's *primary ousia*, but that this tradition had been abandoned, possibly from the time of the Cappadocian fathers.

The term *hyparxis* and *physis* go together. *Hyparxis* may be rendered into English as 'existence' and *physis* as 'nature'. Accordingly both terms could be employed either in the sense of

the ‘common’ or in that of the ‘particular’. Any *ousia*, for example, has its own *hyparxis* on the one hand, and *physis* on the other. *Hypostasis* being the individuated *ousia* also has its *hyparxis* and *physis*. Of these two words, the latter became most controversial in the Christological dispute. so that we shall look into its meaning further.

In more than one of his writings Severus deals with the meaning of *physis* or ‘nature’. Everywhere he maintains that it means sometimes *ousia* and at others *hypostasis*.⁷⁴⁰ The expression ‘human nature’, for example, is employed some times as a term which includes all mankind; but at others it is employed with reference to one individual human being.

Severus quotes Cyril of Alexandria in support of his definition of the term ‘nature’. Thus in his work against Nestorius, in the fourth *Tome*, Cyril writes that the ‘nature of Godhead is one, which is individuated as the Father, also as the Son, and in the same way as the Holy Spirit’. Again, ‘The one *nature* of Godhead is made known in the holy and consubstantial Trinity’. Here the term is used in the sense of *ousia*. But in his letter to the princess, Cyril employs it as a synonym for *hypostasis*. ‘We affirm’, he writes there, ‘that the Word, the Creator of the worlds, in whom and by whom everything exists, the true light, the *Nature* that gives life to all, who is his Only Son, was begotten indescribably from the *ousia* of the Father’.

Cyril takes the term ‘nature’, argues Severus, in this double sense, not only with reference to God, but also in discussing man. Thus in the third *Tome* of his book against Nestorius, Cyril writes: ‘Owing to the trespass of Adam, the nature of man descended into curse and death’. Here the word means *ousia*. But in his book against Andrew of Samosata, Cyril uses the term as a substitute for *hypostasis*. ‘In regard to the one *prosopon* and one nature, that is *hypostasis*, when those out of which he is and is naturally composed are thought of, reason brings them together, recognizing him as one in composition, not to be divided into two’.

In the days of Severus, judging from references in his writings, even his opponents on the Chalcedonian side in the east had not gone much beyond him in defining the term ‘nature’. Severus.

for instance, quotes his critic on this point. '*Ousia* signifies', writes the Chalcedonian author, 'the common. The one Godhead of the Holy Trinity, for instance, or what is common to us, namely humanity in general. *Hypostasis* refers to the one *prosopon* of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit; or again of Peter, John or of any man. But nature is employed sometimes in place of *ousia* and some times in place of *hypostasis*'.⁷⁴¹ In fact, as we shall see, there is a significant difference between Severus and the grammarian of the Chalcedonian side. In all probability the latter saw in *ousia* an abstract meaning. For Severus, the abstract, unless it has become concrete, cannot come to real existence in the world of time and space.

The difference in meaning between *hypostasis* and *prosopon* is a very subtle one. 'The doctors of the Church', writes Severus, 'have characterized *hypostasis* as *prosopon*'.⁷⁴² There is, however, a difference in emphasis between them. 'When it comes into specific concreteness of existence, whether simple or composite, a *hypostasis* signifies a distinct *prosopon*'.⁷⁴³

The point of the last sentence will become clear if we bring out the distinction between a 'simple' and a 'composite' *hypostasis*. As an illustration the first Severus refers to the three persons of the Holy Trinity. The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, each of them is a simple *hypostasis*. But man is a composite *hypostasis*, because he is composed of a body and a soul.⁷⁴⁴ In man the *ousia* of body and the *ousia* of soul, taken as abstract but dynamic realities, are individuated together in a union of both, each remaining in man in perfection according to its principle. The two *ousias* converge, as it were, into the formation of man. Therefore, man is a 'composite' *hypostasis*.

In the case of man, at the very moment of the concurrence of the body-ousia and the soul-ousia, he comes into being as a body-soul entity, and he receives a *prosopon*. The two *ousias* do not come together as *ousias*, but in the very coming together they become *hypostatic* realities. 'The body and soul', writes Severus, 'of which a man is composed, each of them preserves its *hypostasis*, without either being confused, or changed over to, the other. Since, however, they came into concrete existence in

composition and not separately, to neither of them can be assigned a distinct *prosopon*'.⁷⁴⁵

The point made here may be explained in this way. *Hypostasis* is the concrete being resulting from the individuation of an *ousia*. In the individuation the *ousia* in its perfection comes into concrete existence, and when this happens the *hypostasis* receives its *prosopon*. We may say, therefore, that as the individuated *ousia*, the *hypostasis* represents the internal reality of an object, and *prosopon* its external aspect. Every member of a class, for instance, is the *ousia* individuated fully, so that as a *hypostasis* it cannot be distinguished from another member of the same class. The members of a class are distinguished one from another by means of *prosopon*.

'Composite' *hypostasis* is for Severus the same as 'composite' nature. So whatever is noted about the former is applicable to the latter also. The point is again illustrated by referring to man made up of body and soul, man may be said to be 'from two natures or 'from two *hypostases*', because it is not as *ousias* that body and soul exist in man, but as *hypostases*. The *ousias* became individuated together in union, so that man does not exist *in* two natures. If a body were ever to come into existence without a soul, or a soul without a body, each of them would be a 'simple' nature or a 'simple' *hypostasis*, with its own *prosopon*. This, however, does not happen in the case of man. What happens in him, on the other hand, is that the body-*ousia* and the soul-*ousia*, understood as dynamic realities, converge into the formation of a 'composite' nature or *hypostasis*, with a *prosopon*. In this way man is a 'composite' *hypostasis*.

Severus' view of *prosopon* may be brought out more fully by referring to the answer which he gave to the question why we cannot affirm that Christ is 'from two *prosopa*'. The Saviour, he insists, is 'from two natures' or 'from two *hypostases*', but not 'from two *prosopa*'. He writes:⁷⁴⁶

'When *hypostases* have assumed their specific existence concretely, and are separate one from another, each one of them has its own *prosopon*. But when two *hypostases* converge into a natural union and are completed into a union of natures and

hypostases free from confusion, as it is seen in man, those out of which the union has come about are not to be conceived as distinct concretions or be regarded as two *prosopa*, but should be taken as one.’

In applying this principle to Christ, Severus explains himself in this way. When God the Word who is before the worlds united to himself manhood unchangeably, it is not possible that a specific *prosopon* is predicated either of the Godhead or of the Only-begotten or of the manhood which is united to him. For they are perceived as in composition, and not as having come into concrete existence separately. By the coming together of Godhead and manhood one *hypostasis* has been completed from both, and with it the incarnate Word has received his *prosopon*. Godhead and manhood, of which Emmanuel has been composed, continue in their *hypostases* without change.⁷⁴⁷ The explanation needs further elucidation particularly in view of the position that for Severus God the Son is an eternal *hypostasis* and *prosopon*, which we shall take up later in the present study.⁷⁴⁸

The foregoing brief treatment of the meaning of terms will show that one of the causes for the Christological controversy was a lack of clarity regarding the meaning of crucial terms. The definition offered by both Severus and his Chalcedonian critic is not really clear at several points. As we have noted, Severus combines two ideas in his explanation of the meaning of *ousia*. However, in many places his use of the word would make sense only if it is taken as an abstract reality. His Chalcedonian opponent is clear that he understands by ‘nature’ in the phrase ‘in two natures’ Godhead and manhood in the abstract. He admits, at the same time, that it is God the Son, an eternal *hypostasis* and *prosopon*, who became incarnate in Jesus Christ, so that at least one of the two natures is not abstract. Therefore, the problem is there for both sides. Equally unclear is the meaning of *physis* or ‘nature’. Both sides seem to think that by taking it sometimes as *ousia* and at others as *hypostasis*, the problem is solved.

Bearing in mind these problems and keeping as far as possible close to the definition offered by both sides, we may suggest the following clarification. The term *ousia* signifies the dynamic reality underlying both the universal and the particular. In this

sense *ousia* includes ‘being’ as such or existence on the one hand, and the ‘properties’ which give the *ousia* its character and identity on the other. These two represent *hyparxis* and *physis* respectively, and are possible to be taken either as ‘the common’ in the abstract sense or as ‘the particular’ in the concrete sense. *Hypostasis* is the individual person, the subject of actions, in whom the *ousia* with its *hyparxis* and *physis* has come into concrete existence. When the *ousia* is individuated, bringing a *hypostasis* into being, it receives its distinguishing mark, whereby an individual member of a class is differentiated from another member of the same class. This is *prosopon*.

3. *Who God the Word is*

For both Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian theology, Jesus Christ is God the Son who was become incarnate and made man, and God the Son is ‘one of the Trinity’. As to the doctrine of the Trinity, both sides have inherited the Cappadocian legacy, with very little familiarity with Augustine’s teaching.

Non-Chalcedonian theology, in particular, affirms that God is one *ousia* and three *hypostases*, which means that the one Godhead is eternally and equally individuated in perfection in the three persons of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The entire *ousia* being individuated in each of them, the Father is perfect God, the Son is perfect God, and the Holy Spirit is perfect God. Yet they are not three Gods, because each of them has the same Godhead in him. The *ousia*, namely Godhead, is not divided, neither does It exist by Itself apart from the three persons.

This interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity is not, however, regarded by non-Chalcedonian theologians as fully adequate to conserve the mystery of God. So Severus, for instance, insists that ‘the Holy Trinity is not subject to natural definitions or rational investigations, because what It is is unknowable’. Beyond everything and transcending all thought, the Holy Trinity cannot be comprehended by our minds. Even the terms, *ousia*, *physis*, *hypostasis*, and so on, are in fact inadequate to explain the real meaning of God. We use them only as symbols to conserve certain principles.

God is the Holy Trinity, consisting of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The primary relation of the Son to the Father is unity in *ousia*. Born of the Father, he is the Unique Son, and his generation is in eternity. Without a beginning and beyond time, the Son is the 'Wisdom and the Power of God'. Like the Word, he is 'born of the Father without a beginning and without being subject either to passion or to bodily limitations'. Begotten of the Father 'beyond time, before the ages and in eternity', the Son is the 'Brilliance of his glory and the Image of his Person'. He is the 'Only begotten and the Unique from the Unique, possessing in his being, without diminution, everything which the Father has'. Born in this way, 'he abides' in his Father as his 'unchangeable Portrait'.⁷⁴⁹

The Son, then, is born of, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from, the Father in eternity. This affirmation does not mean either that the Father is prior to the Son and the Holy Spirit, or that the Son and the Holy Spirit are posterior to the Father, in time. The three persons are co-eternal and co-equal. The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are united in nature, will and authority. Therefore, in all that the Father does, the Son and the Holy Spirit are there with him. In the same way, in all that the Son or the Holy Spirit does the Father and the Holy Spirit or the Father and the Son are there with each of them. The Father creates through the Son and perfects the creation in the Holy Spirit. The Father is different from the Son and the Holy Spirit only in that he alone is father, or that he alone has fatherhood ; the Son is different from the Father and the Holy Spirit only in that he alone has sonship; and the Holy Spirit is different from the Father and the Son only in that he is the God who indwells creatures and inspires them to know God.

God is unchangeable, so that he does not undergo any variation in his nature; he is perfect in himself and therefore he does not receive any addition to his being; he acts in creation, not out of a necessity placed on himself, but as an expression of his infinite love. Beyond time, space and all other limitations, God is related to the world and to his creatures. The world exists in time, space and all other natural limitations. God made it as a real thing and works out his plan of directing it to the perfection which he has

intended for it. The world does not add anything to the eternally perfect God, who alone is really independent and self-existent.

Theologians of the non-Chalcedonian tradition have excluded Sabellianism, whereby affirming the eternality and perfection of the three persons; the dynamism of Paul of Samosata, whereby confessing that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are three eternally real persons; Arianism, whereby confessing with the Nicene fathers that the Son is consubstantial with the Father; and Macedonianism, whereby maintaining that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son.

In addition to condemning these pre-Chalcedonian heresies which bear on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, they have excluded also the position which sixth century tritheists sought to propagate.⁷⁵⁰ In this way they have successfully resisted the confession of three gods on the one hand, and of modalism on the other. As against the first, they insist that God is one *ousia*, one nature, one will and one authority; and in opposition to the second they affirm that whenever we contemplate on the Father, the Son or the Holy Spirit, each one of them should be affirmed as an *ousia*, nature, will and authority in himself.

4. *He Became Man*

God the Son, the second person of the Holy Trinity, became man. This is the ever repeated emphasis of all non-Chalcedonian theologians. Philoxenos of Mabbogh, for instance, affirms that God the Word or God the Son ‘became flesh in the womb of the Virgin’⁷⁵¹. She conceived him and he was made flesh; or to be more accurate, he made for himself a body from the Virgin’s womb, a body endowed with a rational soul and mind, and made it his own body.⁷⁵² He was not, insists Philoxenos, assuming a body which had already been formed; for that would not be incarnation.⁷⁵³ Therefore, the body or the flesh, which meant for the bishop of Mabbogh ‘perfect man’, had come from the Virgins womb.

There are two ideas connected with this emphasis. In the first place, the expression ‘became man’ does not mean that God the Word was changed to a man. It means only that he accepted on himself a voluntary self-limitation, and was born of a human

mother.⁷⁵⁴ Thus he who is born eternally from the Father according to his nature was born as a man under the conditions of time and space, for our salvation.⁷⁵⁵ In order to be thus born, God the Word made for himself a body from the Virgin's womb.

Secondly, this affirmation refers to an absolutely real divine dispensation, in which God the Son assumed manhood consisting of everything human in the truest sense, with the single exception of sin.⁷⁵⁶ So he was conceived and was born as a babe and grew as a child; he was subject to all the laws of nature and he endured suffering. Mocked, humiliated and tortured, he died and rose again from the dead.⁷⁵⁷

In insisting on the incarnation of God the Son, the bishop of Mabbogh makes out that one of its purposes was to reveal to us a knowledge of God's real nature. It is by the incarnation, he maintains, that we have come to know that God the Son is there. Had not the Son become incarnate, this truth would not have been disclosed to us.⁷⁵⁸

Severus of Antioch has a more developed interpretation of the incarnation. God the Son, he insists, individuated manhood in union with himself and assumed it as his own.⁷⁵⁹ The manhood or Christ was individuated exactly in the same way as in any other man, except that in his case the flesh had its being in concurrence with God the Word.⁷⁶⁰ The flesh or manhood was really formed from the flesh of the Virgin mother. Having 'completed the period of time in the state of conception',⁷⁶¹ he was born as a human child. In affirming that he 'became flesh' the concern is to confess that 'the flesh came into being in the very incarnate nature of God the Word'. The flesh 'gradually underwent development' in taking on the likeness of man.⁷⁶²

With reference to the birth of Christ, two ideas maintained by Severus should be noted. In the first place, the birth was from a virgin without male co-operation, a point which has already been noted.⁷⁶³ Secondly, it was a real birth, following, as we have seen, a real conception and the development of the babe in the mother's womb. So, in opposition to a certain Mara who had taught that 'the holy Virgin did not feel the birth' of the child, Severus wrote a letter to bishop Antonino of Aleppo.⁷⁶⁴ It

contains the emphasis that ‘the Virgin gave birth feeling’ the reality of the birth, and that ‘the birth was not in phantasy’,

‘He who willed to come truly in everything that pertains to us and identify himself with us, his brethren, in all things except sin, was most certainly born in the flesh by a manifest and real birth, causing her who bore (him) to feel [the reality of the birth], though she was free from all pain and suffering.’

Two affirmations made by Severus about the mother of our Lord deserve mentioning. In the first place, she gave birth as a virgin, and secondly she was *Theotokos*. Since the first of these emphases has been observed, the second should be discussed briefly in the present context,

Commenting on a passage from Cyril’s letter to the monks, Severus argues that the mystery regarding the birth of Christ is like that concerning our birth?⁷⁶⁵ ‘Mothers on earth, while serving the natural course of child birth, have in their womb flesh which gradually receives its shape.’ God puts in it a soul in a way which he alone knows. By God’s activity the flesh grows into full stature. In principle the flesh is different from the soul. ‘But though mothers on earth are mothers of bodies alone, they give birth to the whole being composed of body and soul.’ Therefore, no one would say that ‘Elizabeth bears flesh but not soul’. The same thing happened . in regard to the birth of Emmanuel’. God the Son became like us, being ‘born in the flesh through a woman Though the Virgin was the mother of Christ’s manhood alone, because the manhood had come into being, and existed only, in union with God the Son, she gave birth to God incarnate, and therefore she was *Theotokos*. Neither the Virgin birth nor the confession of *Theotokos* was intended to minimize the reality or perfection of Christ’s manhood. The purpose of both emphases was to insist on the unity of Christ.

There are at least five affirmations made by Severus regarding the manhood of Christ which should be mentioned in the present context. In the first place, the manhood was not changed into the Godhead. ‘The flesh’ insists Severus, ‘did not abandon its nature as flesh, though it became the flesh of God’⁷⁶⁶ Secondly, the union of the natures did not affect the creaturely status of the manhood or of its properties and faculties. Thirdly, God the *Son*,

in his incarnate state, permitted the manhood to exercise all its creaturely functions from the state of union. In this way, the babe in the womb grew into fullness as a human child, and when the time came he was born into the world. Thus born, the child grew and became strong, filled with wisdom, and ‘the favour of God was upon him’.⁷⁶⁷ The manhood had its self-consciousness and creaturely freedom without any reduction, but because the manhood was inseparably united with the Godhead, in actual fact, these faculties were never misused to disobey God. Fourthly, the manhood had all the limitations of our manhood with the only exception that it was sinless. Therefore, he could be ignorant of the last day: be subject to the limitations of a finite existence; hunger, thirst and be physically fatigued; be rejected by his own people and be handed over to the political authority of his day as a criminal; and suffer torture, pain and death. Everyone of these experiences was most intense and not phantasmal or illusory: in fact their reality was indispensable for our salvation which he came to accomplish. Fifthly, all human realities were taken over as his own by God the Son in the dispensation.

In trying to bring out the Christology of the non-Chalcedonian body, the answer of Severus to the question what happened to Christ’s manhood after the resurrection, is indeed important. The question is taken up by Severus in his letter to the church of Homs.⁷⁶⁸ A certain person there had disseminated the view that after the resurrection, God the Word who had become incarnate in Jesus Christ came to be without flesh, as he ‘put off that which was united to him *hypostatically*’.

Severus refutes this view which, he insists, is ‘beyond all impiety and profanity’. In his letter to Cleodnius, the patriarch writes, Gregory Nazianzen had already condemned those who maintained that ‘the flesh has now been laid down and the Godhead is devoid of the body’. In his nature, admits Severus, God the Word is without flesh and blood; but in his dispensation he assumed flesh and blood. This does not mean that Godhead is lacking in perfection; he assumed flesh and blood in order to accomplish in a human body the salvation of mankind. The human nature thus assumed by him was not taken up into the *ousia* of Godhead. Therefore, insists Severus, ‘the flesh remained flesh even after the God-befitting resurrection and

ascension. It shines in glory that becomes him whose it is. As the body of God it is divine, but it has not been changed into the *ousia* of Godhead’.

The manhood which God the Son assumed as his own in the incarnation is created manhood, and it will remain so unto all eternity; it never becomes absorbed in the divine nature.

5. *The Word-become-Man is Jesus Christ*

The emphasis, then, is that one of the Holy Trinity, namely God the Son, became incarnate and was made man. The crucial scriptural passage referred to is the Johannine statement: ‘The Word became flesh and dwelt among us’.⁷⁶⁹ With it is noted also the Pauline words: ‘God sent his own Son, born of a woman’.⁷⁷⁰

Timothy Aelurus, while insisting that the manhood was real, affirms that in the incarnation God the Son was ‘one with the flesh’. By means of a passage approvingly quoted by him from Pseudo-Julius of Rome, Timothy expresses his point more clearly.⁷⁷¹

‘If, then, he who is born of the Virgin is named Jesus, he is the same by whom all things came into being. One is the nature, because, one is the person, who cannot be separated into two: for in the incarnation the nature of the body does not exist by itself and the nature of Godhead separately.’

The manhood of Christ is real, but it does not exist by itself in separation from Godhead.

In order to affirm the human reality, Timothy quotes a passage from John of Jerusalem, which Severus of Antioch reproduces in his work against Julian of Halicarnassus. After stating that our Lord was born of Mary the Virgin by the operation of the Holy Spirit, the passage goes on:⁷⁷²

‘He assumed flesh from her flesh, which was of the same nature with our flesh, in reality, not in phantasy. In the flesh he really suffered passion for us. Like us, he was fatigued of journeying, not in illusion. Like us, he slept. He felt the pain of the wounds

inflicted on him by Pilate. When he was beaten on his cheeks, he endured the agony; and when his hands and feet were pierced by nails, he had the feeling of pain..... We also confess that he had the rational soul which endured for us suffering like us. He endured the reality of the passions of the soul, namely sorrow, anguish and grief.’

All this, the writer insists and with him Timothy and Severus, was perfectly real. Therefore, the same Christ was at once consubstantial with God the Father and God the Holy Spirit, and consubstantial with us. Since he was a unity, the manhood did not exist in him in a state of independence or separation from the Godhead.

Philoxenos maintains that the Nicene creed expounds the biblical faith by affirming that God the Son himself came down from heaven, was born of the Virgin, suffered, died, was buried, and rose again..... ascribing all these facts to God the Son incarnate, not some of them to God the Son and some to the human nature. The faith, therefore, is that ‘by having dwelt in the womb and being made flesh, the same was declared to be at once the Word and the flesh, God and man, the hidden and the revealed, the form of God and the form of man’. As the form of God, he is the eternal Word consubstantial with the Father, and as the form of man the same has become consubstantial with us.⁷⁷³

The incarnation, affirms Philoxenos, is God’s action. An action whereby God the Word, ‘one of the persons of the Trinity’, namely ‘the middle person, became the Mediator between God and man’. He did this by becoming ‘incarnate in the womb of the Virgin’ and by being ‘made man in order to create anew every man in himself’. Accordingly, argues Philoxenos, God who made Adam in the beginning outside his personality, has now re-created the nature of man in himself.⁷⁷⁴ This is a mystery, which we confess by faith, and not by reason. To the naked eye, Jesus Christ is a man who lived on the plane of history; but to the eye of faith, he is God the Word who has become incarnate.

With reference to the affirmation that Jesus Christ is God the Son incarnate, five observations made by Severus should be noted here

i. In the incarnation ‘the divine nature of the Word was not changed into what it was not’: but he remained what he was. Since the Word became flesh, the selfsame is both perfect God and perfect man. The Word who is invisible became visible. That which he is and that which he became are not two, because he is one.

ii. God the Son accepted an incarnate state as a dispensation to for the salvation of the world. He assumed a fully human life and identified himself in reality with the fallen man, and worked out his salvation for ever.

iii. The dispensation is God’s action, in which God the Son accepted a second birth from a human mother, in addition to his eternal generation from God the Father. However, this did not affect his eternal being. As God, He fills everything and his operation is discernible everywhere in nature and also in man. These activities constitute God’s controlling and guiding work; but in the incarnation there is the self-revelation of God.

iv. The affirmation that God the Son became man does not mean either that the universe was deprived of his divine care during his life on earth, or that his providence was administered at that time from his incarnate personal centre. Like Philoxenos and other non-Chalcedonian theologians, Severus would insist that in order to become Incarnate God the Son accepted on himself a self-limitation. This admission has very significant implications, which will engage our attention later.

v. The base of this affirmation is the Church’s confession. which is a mystery to be accepted in faith. We believe that the ‘very *hypostasis* of God the Word became incarnate in accordance with the Apostolic tradition of the Church, which has been handed down from of old’.

The emphasis that Jesus Christ is the incarnate Son of God, and that he is at once perfect God and perfect man can be found in any theological statement, referring to the person of Christ, produced by men of the non-Chalcedonian side. Two more of such statements put out in the sixth century may be mentioned here. In the first place, we have the confession presented to

emperor Justinian by non-Chalcedonian leaders in 531.⁷⁷⁵ After confessing their faith in the Holy Trinity. They affirm that One of the persons of the Holy Trinity, namely God the Word, by the will of the Father and for the salvation of men, assumed flesh in the latter days from the holy Virgin Mary *Theotokos* by the Holy Spirit, flesh endowed with a rational and intelligent soul'. Being of the same nature with us, the flesh is passible. God the Word became man and 'was not changed from what he was. Therefore, he is consubstantial with the Father as to Godhead, who became consubstantial with us as to manhood. In this way he who is the perfect Word, the Son of God. became perfect man without change'.

The incarnation was real, affirm the men, and not a semblance. 'He suffered voluntarily on our behalf natural and guiltless passions in the passible flesh, which is of the same substance with us, and embraced our death for our sakes. He who by his God-befitting resurrection made life for us has restored for the first time incorruption and deathlessness to the human race'.

The incarnate Lord should not be divided into two persons or two natures, as Nestorius and his supporters maintain. But 'he who is like the Father in everything except in fatherhood became of the same nature with us and came to be called the Son of man. He is one, the same being manifested as God and man, born as he was as a child for our sakes'. Thus 'he who was formerly simple, not composite, God the Word, became incarnate from Virgin Mary *Theotokos*, uniting to himself flesh animated with a rational soul, and was made composite in the incarnation'.

The statement is clear enough. It affirms in very plain words that Jesus Christ is at once perfect God and perfect man. He is a unity, he being God the Son who has become incarnate in the most real sense.

The other document was produced in 536. Following the failure of the discussion between Severus and Justinian, the former was expelled from the city. Before leaving, Severus, Anthimus and Theodosius exchanged letters expressing their agreement in the faith.⁷⁷⁶ A brief summary of the one addressed by Anthimus to Severus may be given here.

The creed of Nicea as ratified by the councils of 381 and 431, the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril, and the *Henotikon* of Zeno—are all accepted documents of the faith. Anthimus goes on

‘God the Word, born of the Father before the worlds, who is of the same nature and eternity with the Father, he by whom all things have been made, became incarnate in the latter days by the Holy Spirit from Mary the Virgin *Theotokos*. ‘He united to himself *hypostatically* flesh which is of the same nature with us, and which is endowed with a rational and intelligent soul. He accepted our likeness without change, confusion and sin’, by undergoing a second birth. The Virgin mother is *Theotokos*, and ‘He who is born of her in the flesh is perfect God and perfect man. He is one Son, one Lord, one Christ, and one nature incarnate of the Word’. The expression ‘one nature’ does not mean that either of the natures has been lost in the union. ‘He became man perfectly, while each of the natures remained without confusion, according to the principle of signification of those that have come together into an indivisible union’. Therefore, the two natures continue in the union.

The incarnation does not convert, insists Anthimus, the Trinity into a Quaternity. God the Word, because he is beyond suffering in his nature, assumed flesh which is of the same nature with us, in order to participate in our suffering. He suffered in the flesh; though he is impassible in his Godhead, he endured in what he assumed. ‘He suffered in reality, not in semblance, in the flesh which by nature is passible.’ But, insists Anthimus, we do not separate those that have come together into the union; ‘neither do we speak of him who is one and inexpressible that he is two natures or describe him that he is in two natures’. At the same time, ‘we do not introduce confusion by taking away the difference between Godhead and manhood’.

6. *Christology and Soteriology*

Non-Chalcedonian theologians are unanimous in affirming that the purpose of the incarnation is the salvation of the world. It was worked out by God in and through a human life. In order to accomplish the world’s salvation, God the Son, through whom the world has been created, became incarnate in accordance with

the will and participation of God the Father and God the Holy Spirit. The incarnate Son, Jesus Christ, is the Mediator between God and man. Standing in the middle as at once continuous with the eternal God and the created man, he is *sui generis*, the one and only Saviour of the world. As the Mediator, the human race has been recreated in him, he being the second Adam, the first member of the new humanity, who continues for ever as its Head.

In his *Contra Grammaticum*, Severus treats the purpose of the incarnation very briefly. A crucial passage in the discussion is as follows:⁷⁷

‘The Only Son of God became consubstantial with us by being united *hypostatically* to one flesh animated with a rational soul. By reason of this, the entire human *ousia* and the whole race became united in love to the divine nature, from which it had formerly been estranged. Hence, as it is written, we, being made worthy of the original harmony, have become partakers of the divine nature. By participation we have received divine gifts and immortality, which had been lost to us on account of the trespass of Adam.’

Keeping in mind this passage, the teaching of Severus may be put in this way. God created man in order that he might maintain an unbroken relation with himself—a relation of love. But by reason of the fall, man could not keep to it, neither was it possible for him to regain his lost status with the Creator. In that predicament God himself expressed his love towards man. By raising a member of the human race in a *hypostatic* union with himself, God the Son accomplished in and through that member of the human family the salvation of the entire mankind. United with manhood; God the Son gave himself as the Mediator between God and man, himself being at once perfect God and perfect man. As God, he is continuous with God the Son and through him with the Holy Trinity; and as man, the same is continuous with the whole human race. Again, as man, Jesus Christ is a human individual. Since the entire manhood in perfection is individuated in him, he represents all men individually and the entire human race collectively. Jesus Christ, the Mediator, has ‘not been taken up into the triune God; he continues in an indissoluble union with God. Neither has the

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Godhead of the Son been exhausted by the divine economy made manifest in the Mediator.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ONE INCARNATE NATURE OF GOD WORD

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

Continuing the discussion in the previous chapter we shall see how the non-Chalcedonian side interpreted their position by means of the phrases acceptable to them. While rejecting the Antiochene phrase ‘two natures after the union’, as we have seen, they insisted on the ‘from two natures’ and ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’. As agreeing with these two, they also affirmed ‘*hypostatic union*’, ‘one *hypostasis*’ and ‘one composite nature ‘or *hypostasis*’.

It is a fact that the orthodoxy of all these phrases adopted by the non-Chalcedonian side has been admitted, at least by the Chalcedonian side in the east from the sixth century. The latter, however, tried to make out that the rejection of the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* with the phrase ‘in two natures’ by the non-Chalcedonian side was the result of their adherence to the monophysite heresy, and the west has considered their defence of the phrase ‘one incarnate nature’ as sufficient basis for characterizing them all along as monophysite.

Can this reading be justified? We shall look into the question by referring to their understanding of the phrases.

2. *The phrase ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’*

That this phrase had originally been coined by the Apollinarian school is maintained by many modern scholars.⁷⁷⁸ Even granting that this may have been so, it should be observed that the unorthodox origin of a term, or a document, is no valid reason

for its rejection by orthodox theology. The Nicene term of the same substance with the Father - (*homoousion to Patri*), for instance, had been part of the Valentinian vocabulary.⁷⁷⁹ Furthermore, it had been condemned by the council of Antioch which had anathematized Paul of Samosata in c. 268 A. D. However, the council of Nicea in 325 adopted the phrase and, after about half a century of bitter struggle, the Church ratified it at the council of Constantinople in 381. Therefore, the real point to be noted about a term is not how it originated, but what meaning has been assigned to it and the theological need for pressing the idea. In the fifth century the phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' had come to be looked upon as part of the Athanasian legacy to Christian theology, and Cyril of Alexandria had adopted it as an indispensable terminological tool to expound the orthodox understanding of the person of Jesus Christ, particularly in opposition to the teaching of Nestorius. Thus, for Cyril and those who agreed with him in theological interpretation, this was indeed a crucial phrase. Although the home synod of Constantinople in 448 and the council of Chalcedon had clearly ignored it, sixth century eastern defenders of Chalcedon claimed to own it. Placing it alongside of the council's 'in two natures', they argued that it was valuable for keeping out Nestorianism.⁷⁸⁰ Non-Chalcedonian leaders, on the other hand, contended that these two phrases, namely 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' and 'in two natures' contradicted each other in meaning, so that they would not attach much significance to the defense of the former phrase by the Chalcedonian side.

It is a fact that the phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' has been defended by all the leaders of the non-Chalcedonian side. It is also clear that in so doing, they did not ignore the manhood of Christ. Dioscorus, for instance, affirmed that Christ was one incarnate nature of God the Word, but he insisted at the same time that he was composed of Godhead and manhood, and that in the one Christ the two natures continued without confusion or mixture on the one hand, and without division or separation on the other. In other words, the one incarnate nature of God the Word was itself the result of a union of the two natures, which were irreducibly and indivisibly real in the one Christ. Therefore the question of either nature being dismissed or ignored did not arise with reference to Dioscorus.

Timothy Aelurus as we have already seen, was an uncompromising defender of Christ's unity. In adopting this stand, he did not explain away either of the two natures. In fact, he recognized the dynamic presence of Godhead and manhood, without confusion or separation, in the one Christ. Timothy's emphasis was only that the manhood did not exist by itself, independent of God the Son.

Philoxenos, the Syrian theologian, for whom incarnation was the central theme of his doctrinal expositions, insisted most consistently on Christ's unity. So, while rejecting the Nestorian division, he excluded with equal force the docetic reduction of Apollinarius and Eutyches. Philoxenos ascribes to the incarnate Word all human limitations, with the single exception of sin, in very vivid terms. Two passages in support of this statement may be reproduced here from the writings of the bishop of Mabbogh, in addition to the several that have already been noted.⁷⁸¹

'As the place where human beings are formed is the womb, he also came down and dwelt there. Since it is from flesh that human beings begin and are made, he too began in it and was made man. He was conceived in the womb and came out of the belly as a babe; he was borne as a child on knees and arms; He endured the limitations of the human nature, its weakness, wailing, breeding, and all others that go with it.'

The human birth is ascribed by Philoxenos to God the Word, because for him Christ is a unity. Bearing this fact in mind, we can say that the manhood of Christ was really formed and shaped in the womb. As man, he was born, subject to all human and earthly limitations. Therefore, at birth or in his life in the world there was no reduction. A similar stress is made with reference to suffering and death.⁷⁸²

'He suffered more than anyone else, was subjected to poverty, and squalor more than all others; he was humiliated, insulted, mocked at and reviled; scorned and blasphemed; and counted as a fool and a person contemptible by Herod and his attendants, and by Pilate and his servants.'

Philoxenos is certainly not led by a concern to ignore Christ's manhood.

In their confession presented to Justinian in 531 the non-Chalcedonian leaders who came to Constantinople for the *collatio* defended the phrase.⁷⁸³ ‘As our fathers have done’, they insisted, ‘we ought clearly to confess one incarnate nature of God the Word, because he became man perfectly’. For these men, then, the phrase was not intended to explain away the manhood, but to affirm that it was perfect. Like Philoxenos and many others, they referred to the body-soul analogy and insisted that the exalted and God-befitting things on the one hand, and the lowly and the human things on the other, were all expressions of the one incarnate nature and *hypostasis* of God the Word. The emphasis, therefore, is on Christ’s unity, and not on the loss of one of the natures, of which he is irreducibly composed.

As we have noted, the Chalcedonian side, from the beginning, saw in the movement of opposition to the council of 451 a serious challenge, which they tried to meet in various ways. One such was to accuse the opponents of the council of heresy. So, in his *Contra Grammaticum*, Severus refers to a number of passages from the work of the grammarian, criticizing the non-Chalcedonian body for defending the ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ without admitting the ‘in two natures’ of the council. Chalcedon, argues the grammarian, ‘was concerned to anathematize Eutyches and those who strove zealously to declare his teaching’, which consisted in the affirmation ‘that God-head and the flesh constituted one *ousia* and one nature’.⁷⁸⁴ It is, in fact, a reading of this meaning into the phrase ‘one incarnate nature’ that lies behind the coining of the word ‘monophysite’ against the non-Chalcedonian body.

Severus answers the charge⁷⁸⁵: ‘Your accusation seems to be directed against me, as though in many places of my writings I asserted in my own words that the body, animated with a rational soul, assumed from Virgin Mary *Theotokos*, which God the Word united to himself, was of the same *ousia* with him’. But the truth is, writes Severus, that while discussing the constitution of man in his work addressed to Nephalius, he has made it clear what the ‘one incarnate nature’ really means. The incarnate nature is ‘one,’⁷⁸⁶ not because the two natures were reduced to one ‘simple nature’, but because ‘the coming together, without confusion, of the two natures into unity, namely of the one

person is indicative of the concurrence of both of them'.⁷⁸⁷ The one-nature formula does not imply any reduction but only the affirmation of unity which the convergence of the two natures effected. Severus is not, therefore, liable to the grammarian's criticism.

As applied to his section of the Church, Severus goes on, if this charge is to be considered cogent, the grammarian should show that the defect is ascribable to the doctrinal position affirmed by the council of Tyre.⁷⁸⁸ But the truth of the matter is that the council expressed itself in clear terms in opposition to 'confusion, mixture, change, mingling of substances and phantasy'. With equal force did the council exclude 'division and separation. At an Egyptian council⁷⁸⁹ also, testifies Severus, made the same point. Thus 'not once or twice, but many times' councils in Syria and Egypt wrote to each other, confessing that 'Christ, the Word of God who was truly made man and had become incarnate assuming flesh which was consubstantial with us and which was animated with a rational soul, and identified himself with us in everything except sin'. The teaching of his section of the Church is not, therefore, that Christ is one *ousia* and that he is consubstantial with himself but that 'he who is consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Spirit as to Godhead became consubstantial with us as to manhood'.⁷⁹⁰

This point is made again and again by Severus in his *Contra Grammaticum* and other writings. The question then, whether Severus would admit that Christ was 'in two *ousias*' is pertinent. The non-Chalcedonian theologian, however, does not raise it. For one thing, from his point of view, this question cannot be entertained. As signifying the common, *ousia* must 'include in the case of Godhead, the three persons of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and as regards man it must have within it all human individuals'.⁷⁹¹ So, he argues, that God the Word who became incarnate is not the *ousia*, but one of the three persons though the *ousia* is individuated in the *hypostasis*, they are not identical with each other.⁷⁹² Therefore, to speak of Christ as being in two *ousia* has no meaning.

How, then, does Severus understand the phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'? In his *Philalathes*.⁷⁹³ Severus discusses this point. When the fathers spoke of 'one incarnate nature of

God the Word', he writes, 'they made it clear that the Word did not abandon his nature'; neither did he undergo any loss or diminution in his *hypostasis*'. When they affirmed that 'he became incarnate', they made it clear that 'the flesh was nothing but flesh, but that it had not come into being by itself, apart from the union with the Word'. It is right to say, therefore, that 'before the ages the Word was simple, not composite'. However, 'when he willed to assume our likeness without sin, the flesh was brought into being, but not separately'. The words 'became incarnate' refer to the Word's assumption of the flesh from the Virgin, an assumption, whereby 'from two natures, namely Godhead and manhood, one Christ came forth from Mary'. He is at once God and man, the same being consubstantial with the Father as to Godhead and consubstantial with us as to manhood.

The phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word', therefore, emphasizes three ideas

- i. It was God the Word himself who became incarnate, without undergoing any change.⁷⁹⁴
- ii. In becoming incarnate, he was not assuming manhood which had already been formed in the womb of the Virgin. The manhood was formed only in the union.⁷⁹⁵
- iii. The incarnate Word is one person. He who is 'eternally simple' took into himself concrete manhood and thus became 'composite'.⁷⁹⁶

Godhead creates and is not created, but manhood is created. In Jesus Christ the two have been converged into a unity. Therefore, things divine and things human are there in him, in their respective reality and perfection. In fact, in our contemplation of the one Christ, we can discern them. But from this we should not proceed to assign to each nature a status independent of the other; for that would not enable us to affirm the incarnation, in which manhood did not come into concrete existence by itself.

In discussing the subject Severus refers to earlier fathers. Among them he notes the teaching of the Cappadocian theologians.⁷⁹⁷ Defending the Nicene faith against the Arian Eunomius, the Cappadocian fathers have shown how the Son, who is co-equal

with the Father, spoke words which implied that he was lower than the Father. In doing this, argues Severus, they did not ascribe lowly words and deeds to the human nature,⁷⁹⁸ but they viewed the incarnation as a dispensation of the Son and assigned the words and deeds to the incarnate Son. After quoting a number of passages from the writings of the Cappadocian fathers in support of this position, Severus states that they have carefully avoided the notion of a division of the incarnate Son. In this way, comments Severus, ‘St. Basil affirms that he became incarnate and was made man, and that everything which belongs to the incarnation is his, whether it be words or deeds. But he separates the time of the incarnation from the time before the incarnation’. Basil also says, testifies Severus, ‘that the lowly things are not applicable to the Godhead, but to the incarnation’.⁷⁹⁹

Is this position monophysite? Although the term ‘monophysite’ had not come to the knowledge of sixth century non-Chalcedonian theologians as having been applied to their theological tradition, Severus had forestalled the possibility of its application to his section of the Church. This he does by reproducing time and again two passages from the writings of Cyril. One of them is as follows:⁸⁰⁰

‘While affirming that the nature of the Word is one, had we satisfied ourselves by saying only that, without adding the ‘incarnate’ thereby keeping the dispensation as something unimportant. they would probably have had a basis, not without justification, to raise the question concerning the perfection of the manhood or how the fullness of the humanity and the signification of our *ousia* have been conserved? Since we have confessed the word ‘incarnate’, let them put away the cudgel which they have raised against us.’

The phrase ‘one nature’, then, is not to be used with reference to Christ without the ‘incarnate’. Therefore, the ‘one’ in the phrase is not a simple one; it is the one which includes the fullness of Godhead and manhood. Jesus Christ is not ‘single-natured’, but he is one ‘composite’ nature.

This idea is stated in unmistakable terms by Cyril, whom Severus quotes again and again.⁸⁰¹

‘It is not merely with reference to those that are simple by nature that the word ‘one’ is employed, but it is used also with reference to those that have come into being in composition, for which man is a good example.’

The term ‘one’ in the ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ cannot legitimately be rendered as the *monos* of the *monophysitus* (Monophysite). In the words of Severus himself:⁸⁰²

‘As he confesses Emmanuel to be one nature, he recognizes the difference of the realities which have been brought into the union. But he does not divide the properties of the manhood and assign them to the manhood by itself; neither does he attribute the God-befitting things to the Godhead separately. On the other hand, those that belong to the body and those that belong to the Godhead are all reckoned to be of the whole person.’

As we have already noted, the phrase ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ has been declared orthodox by the Chalcedonian tradition in the east. The question whether the interpretation of the phrase as offered by the non-Chalcedonian side is in any way different from that given by recognized Chalcedonian theologians like John of Damascus will engage our attention later. In the present context it should be noted that for Severus ‘nature’ in the ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ meant a concrete individual or *hypostasis*. From the time of Severus, non-Chalcedonian leaders add the words ‘or *hypostasis*’ immediately after the word ‘nature’ in the phrase, indicating that they consider nature in the phrase as referring to a concrete particular. To cite one instance, Theodosius of Alexandria writes to Paul the Black of Antioch.⁸⁰³

‘We confess that God the Word in the latter days became incarnate. In him there was no change or confusion; neither did the flesh which he united to himself *hypostatically* undergo confusion or mixture after the ineffable and indissoluble union. The *hypostatic* union did not affect the difference and otherness of the natures which came together into the union, nor were the natures divided or separated from each other. But from two Emmanuel was formed for us indivisibly, and his nature, namely *hypostasis*, is one, which has been formed in composition.’

In a word, then, the affirmation that Jesus Christ is ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ means for the non-Chalcedonian side that he is God the Son in his incarnate state.

3. *The Phrase ‘From Two Natures’*

The ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ is composed of two natures. It is this idea which the phrase ‘from (ek) two natures’ is intended to affirm.

The expression ‘from two natures’ has, however, been rendered obnoxious by the misleading sense pointed out in the statement of Eutyches made at the home synod of Constantinople in 448. But, as we have seen, this idea has never been adopted by the non-Chalcedonian side. Eutyches himself may not, in fact, have meant to assert it. The objection to the affirmation of ‘two natures before the union’, as expressed by the critics of Chalcedon, is that it implied the manhood to have come into existence as a concrete particular even before the union, and it is this emphasis that they saw in the ‘two natures after the union’ of the Antiochenes. Non-Chalcedonian theologians have rejected it all along. To cite one more passage.⁸⁰⁴

‘It is not that two *hypostases* were formed and then they came together as one *hypostasis*. This is objectionable and not even possible; for those which have been formed separately and exclusively remain two. Therefore, he was formed unchangeably in composition from those that are different which are not consubstantial with each other.’

The point emphasized by the phrase ‘from two natures’ is not therefore, a chronological priority of the natures as concrete realities.

A passage from the work of Severus against the grammarian will make the idea which he seeks to conserve by means of the ‘from two natures’ clear. In opposing the phrase ‘two natures before the union’, he writes:⁸⁰⁵

He was co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit but when he willed to become man for us, while remaining unchangeably what he was, he dwelt, as it is written, in the Virgin *Theotokos*

inexplicably. From her, by the Holy Spirit, he united to himself by the concurrence of a natural union flesh possessing soul and mind, which is consubstantial with us. So we speak of the union as *hypostatic*, for it was in the very union with the Word who is before the ages that the flesh was formed and came to be and in concurrence with him the flesh received concreteness into the union. In this way, from two, namely from Godhead and manhood, Christ is known indivisibly to be one Emmanuel. He was conceived and born in the flesh, like soul in every man which is born with the body. The former is of a different substance from the latter. Yet man is completed into one nature and one *hypostasis* from both. In the same way, God the Word, as it is written, partook of flesh and blood, and received our likeness in everything except sin.’

The idea emphasized by Severus here should be clear. In fact, he makes the same point in many places in his writings. As one incarnate nature of God the Word, Jesus Christ is composed of the two natures of Godhead and manhood, which are united in him in the same way as the body and the soul are united in every man.

The body-soul analogy had been employed by all non-Chalcedonian theologians of ancient times, it should be admitted that the analogy is not really adequate to explain the point fully.

For one thing, it assumes the body-soul dichotomy of Greek anthropology; and for another, the distinction which it draws between body and soul is not like the difference between man and God. Granting this, the fact should be remembered that the analogy had been widely used as an illustration for the union of Godhead and manhood in Christ by ancient theologians, both in the east and in the west. In the west, for instance the *Quinquevque Vult* makes use of it, and in the east men of the Chalcedonian side employ it as much as their opponents. If we look into the point which non-Chalcedonian theologians try to make of the analogy, we shall see that it is to stress the unity of Christ. The words and deeds of Christ, for instance, were for them expressions of the God-man. In man both body and soul play their respective roles in all his words and deeds, but we cannot say that certain words and deeds are exclusively of the body and certain others are of the soul. We can say only that all

the words and deeds of man come forth from him. In the same way, in Christ the divine and the human realities are there without any reduction; but as to the words and deeds, they are all expressions of the one Christ. This is admittedly a legitimate use of the analogy.

The expression ‘from two natures’ implies two ideas. In the first place, it emphasizes that ‘from the two natures of Godhead and manhood, each of which being perfect according to its principle. Emmanuel came forth as one, as one nature or *hypostasis* of God the Word’.⁸⁰⁶ Therefore, Godhead and manhood did really come together into one. Just as Godhead came into the union through God the Son, the manhood came into the union in an individuated state. This point is made again and again by Severus, who writes:⁸⁰⁷

‘God the Word is one *hypostasis*. He united to himself *hypostatically* one particular flesh, which was endowed with a rational and intelligent soul, and which was assumed from Mary *Theotokos*.’

The natures, therefore, which came into the union were *hypostases* although the manhood received its *hypostatic* status only in the union.⁸⁰⁸ In the words of Severus:⁸⁰⁹

‘The child, for instance, was not formed by itself, as heretics teach. But God the Word from the very beginning namely from the first moment when the flesh animated with soul and mind was formed in the womb, was united with it. Therefore, there was no time gap between the coming into being of the flesh and it’s union with God the Word.’

As a result of the union, Jesus Christ was conceived in the womb of the Virgin as one person. This one person is not simply God the Son. Whereas God the Son is merely divine, Jesus Christ as one person has been formed of a union of Godhead and manhood. Thus at the very moment, when Godhead and manhood converged in the womb of the Virgin, they came together to form a focal point, as it were, in which all that is essentially divine and all that is essentially human were there in a state of union. Therefore, in his formation in the womb, in his birth as a human child, and in his life on earth thereafter, his

identity with other human beings was thoroughly real. In the words of Severus.⁸¹⁰

Since the one Christ is one nature and *hypostasis* of God the Word incarnate from Godhead and manhood, it necessarily follows that the same is known at once as consubstantial with the Father as to Godhead and consubstantial with us as to manhood. The same is the Son of God and the Son of man. He is not, therefore, two sons, but he is one and the same Son.

Jesus Christ was from the first moment of his conception in the womb of the mother, a unity.

Secondly, the phrase ‘from two natures’ is intended to affirm, as we have already noted, the continuance of Godhead and manhood in the one Christ all along since his formation in the Virgin’s womb. Therefore, though we cannot divide the words and deeds between Godhead and manhood, we may, in our contemplation, distinguish some words and deeds as divine and some as human.⁸¹¹ The issue is not that the manhood had no place in the incarnate life of God the Son, but that the manhood was *united* with Godhead. Because of the union, Jesus Christ was composed of Godhead and manhood all through his life on earth. It should be added that even after the resurrection, he is unceasingly from two natures.

As we have seen, the real point on which the non-Chalcedonian side refused to accept the council’s definition had reference to the ‘in two natures’. From their point of view, the ‘in two natures’ could mean only that God the Son and the man Jesus were united in the realm of *prosopon*. As for the Chalcedonian concern behind the ‘in’, they maintain that it can be conserved by means of the phrase ‘from two natures’ coupled with the words ‘incarnate’ and ‘composite’ in the expressions ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’, and ‘one composite nature or *hypostasis*’ respectively as well as by their emphasis on seeing the difference of the natures in our contemplation.

The concern behind all these subtle explanations and carefully worked out differentiations is to affirm Christ’s unity, and not to explain away either of the natures.

4. *The Phrase 'Hypostatic Union'*

The union of the two natures is *hypostatic*. The phrase '*hypostatic union*' had been insisted on by Cyril and the Alexandrine side against Nestorius and the Antiochenes. The Antiochene side had, however, consistently rejected it. Severus quotes a passage from Theodoret of Cyrus in which he expresses this view very vigorously.⁸¹²

But the *hypostatic union* we do not at all admit, as it is opposed to the divine scriptures and to the fathers who have interpreted them.

The council of Chalcedon, as we have noted, admitted the phrase through affirming 'one *hypostasis*' and by adopting the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius which contained the phrase. The non-Chalcedonian side, however, argued that in the context of the council's acceptance of the *Tome of Leo* and the phrase 'in two natures': the exoneration of Theodoret of Cyrus for whom *Hypostasis* was only a synonym for *prosopon*; and above all in the absence of a clarification of the meaning which the council saw in the expression, the council cannot have taken it in the sense which the fathers had sought to conserve by it. So, in discussing the issue, Severus asks what the one *hypostasis* of Christ according to Chalcedon was.⁸¹³

Severus argues that the Nestorian school had objected to the *hypostatic union*, because in their view the union was of *hypostases*, who had already come into concrete existence separately, and on the ground that for them the word 'nature' meant a concrete individual. Nestorius, for instance, wrote according to Severus:⁸¹⁴

The union was not from (*ek*) the natures, but *of* the natures.

How did the council of Chalcedon face this problem?

This is precisely the point where both Joseph Lebon and Andre de Halleux have both failed to bring out the point of view of the non-Chalcedonian side objectively.⁸¹⁵ Lebon's comment, for instance, that their Christology is pre-Chalcedonian would be answered by their argument that the *Tome of Leo* and the Chalce-

donian definition were pre-Ephesine. Their point, as we have shown, is that neither pope Leo nor the council of Chalcedon took the decisions of the council of Ephesus in 431 and the terms of agreement that preceded the reunion of 433 with sufficient seriousness, nor did they clarify what they meant by claiming to exclude Nestorianism.

The Nestorian controversy had begun with the questioning of *Theotokos* as applied to Mary by Nestorius. This itself had a history in the Christological tradition of the Antiochene school. As we have seen⁸¹⁶ and shall see more⁸¹⁷, the theology of the Antiochenes had been insisting on the ‘two natures after the union’ as their basis for calling in question the applicability of the title *Theotokos* to Mary. It is against this background that the Alexandrine fathers and those who agreed with them had worked out a theology admitting *Theotokos* and excluding the ‘two natures after the union’. But pope Leo and the council of Chalcedon sanctioned both *Theotokos* and the ‘two natures after the union’, without explaining how they did it. This is the problem to be faced with reference to the controversy between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides, without assuming that the council of 451 made a significant contribution and that its critics were at fault.

As to the phrase ‘*hypostatic* union’, it aims to conserve at least two ideas. In the first place, it affirms that God the Son, an eternal *hypostasis*, united to himself manhood. Although the manhood was not in itself a *hypostasis* over against God the Son, it became individuated, thereby receiving its *Hypostatic* status, in union with God the Son. Secondly, the phrase signifies the emphasis that the union of the natures was inward and real. This point can be made clear by referring to the meaning of terms. As we have shown, *hypostasis* is the entire *ousia* which has come into concrete existence: and *prosopon* signifies the external aspect of the object or person. whereby one *hypostasis* of a class is distinguished from another. Taking this meaning seriously, we can say that by the *hypostatic* union of Godhead and manhood there was in Jesus Christ a coming together of the Godhead of the Son and manhood. This did not, however, cause any change either in God the Son or in the manhood which he assumed. In the words of Severus. as he wrote to Nephalius:⁸¹⁸

The flesh remained flesh and Godhead remained Godhead. Neither of them was converted to the nature of the other. But their union and coming together brought into being in composition the one incarnate nature of the Son.

In the *hypostatic* union, therefore, the natures with their respective properties and faculties, are preserved intact without confusion or separation. Since the natures are united inwardly, there is an exchange of properties.⁸¹⁹ The manhood is converged with the Godhead of God the Son, both in Christ's person and in his life at every moment. Thus in every word which he spoke and in every deed which he performed manhood was there in him in a state of union. The manhood was not confused with the Godhead; neither was it passive. On the contrary, with the creaturely freedom, human consciousness and all functions as well as properties that pertain to manhood, it was assumed as his own by God the Son, so that without losing its essential character and reality, it became invested with divine glory.⁸²⁰

This last sentence may need a word of explanation. It does not mean that the manhood of Christ underwent a kind of transformation into divinity, or that the goal of the human race consists in the attainment of such a change. It means, on the other hand, that being made in the image of God, man has a destiny, in which he will become God-like, filled with divine glory. Jesus Christ alone had it realized in this life. He maintained it as man, without ever undergoing any change in his manhood. It is to this goal that man is looking forward in faith and hope, relying on the grace and power of the incarnate Lord as proclaimed through his death and resurrection.

There is one emphasis in this theological reflection which deserves special mention. The Antiochenes, as we have seen, maintained the theory of a *prosopic union*⁸²¹, thereby affirming that Christ was a man indwelt by God the Son, so that everything human in him was united with Godhead. The Alexandrines maintained that this theory was inadequate to confess the incarnation, and accordingly they insisted on the *hypostatic* union. To put the idea more clearly, the *prosopic* union of the Antiochenes comprehends only the relationship which existed originally between man and God. But man was not able to keep it; and therefore in his mercy God the Word united manhood to

himself *hypostatically* in order to assure man of the reality of his grace in human salvation.⁸²² The relationship established between God and man in Jesus Christ is more intimate and personal than that which existed between God and Adam before the latter's fall. Jesus Christ continues in this state of relation eternally as the God-man.

5. *The Phrases 'One Hypostasis' and 'One Composite Nature or Hypostasis'*

That Jesus Christ is one *hypostasis* is admitted by both Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian theologians, although in interpreting what the one *hypostasis* is they do not apparently agree. For non-Chalcedonian theologians, the one *hypostasis* of Christ is 'composite', and they consider the 'one composite *hypostasis*' as a synonym for the 'one composite nature'. The Chalcedonian side, at least in the east, separates the two phrases. John of Damascus, for instance, favours the 'one composite hypostasis', but not the 'one composite nature'.⁸²³ Charles Moeller insists that the 'composite *hypostasis*' is ambiguous, and that it is not accepted by the Church.⁸²⁴ When once the term 'nature' is taken in an abstract sense, and not as a concrete reality, the rejection by Chalcedonian theology of the 'composite nature' is understandable. But the question is: How can the manhood of Christ as an abstract reality enter the world of time and space unless it inheres in a visible and tangible person? Apparently, Chalcedonian theology here is unduly obsessed by a concern to exclude the possibility of having to admit Quaternity instead of Trinity. Thus there is difference between Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian interpretations at this point.

By 'composite *hypostasis*' or 'composite nature' non-Chalcedonian theology affirms the concurrence of Godhead and manhood in the one Christ. This means that the one person of Jesus Christ had been formed by a union of Godhead and manhood. The Chalcedonian definition affirms that the natures of Godhead and manhood 'concurred into one *prosopon* and one *hypostasis*' (*eis hen prosopon kai mian hypostasin syntrechousés*). An Alexandrine emphasis, this is the basis on which the composite character of Christ's person has been insisted on by non-Chalcedonian theology. If it is not taken as an

admission of ‘one composite *hypostasis*’, it is an added proof that Severus and men like him were indeed right in their judgment concerning Chalcedon that it did not really conserve the Alexandrine ideas in the sense in which the fathers had employed them.

The non-Chalcedonian theologian affirms that the union of Godhead and manhood in Jesus Christ was not a union of two natures understood as abstract realities, but of God the Son with the manhood which became individuated in the union. Though the manhood was not an independent *hypostasis* over against God the Son, it is *hypostatic* in the union. Accordingly, Severus and almost all other theologians recognized by the non-Chalcedonian side insist that the one *hypostasis* is not ‘simple’ ; but it is ‘composite’. As we have noted, this is a Cyrilline idea, which shows that the ‘one nature’ expression, as it is conserved in the Alexandrine tradition, does not lend itself to be described as ‘monophysite’.

The one *hypostasis* of Jesus Christ is not simply the *hypostasis* of God the Son, but it is the *hypostasis* of God the Son in his incarnate state. So Severus writes in his *Contra Grammaticum*.⁸²⁵

The natures and the *hypostases*, of which he has been composed are perceived irreducibly and unchangeably in the union. But it is not possible to recognize a *prosopon* for each of them, because they did not come into being dividedly either in specific concretion or in duality. For he is one *hypostasis* from both, and one *prosopon* conjointly, and one nature of God the Word incarnate.

The emphasis is clear enough. The one *hypostasis* of Jesus Christ is from both Godhead and manhood. The concern behind the affirmation is by no means to belittle the human psychology of our Lord, but to confess it without falling into a position which implied a division of the one Christ.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE NON-CHALCEDONIAN POSITION
COMPARED TO THAT OF THE CHALCEDONIAN SIDE

I. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

It should be clear from the foregoing survey of history as well as of theological exposition that the traditional pro-Chalcedonian evaluation of the non-Chalcedonian position has no real basis either in the history of the controversy or in the doctrinal standpoint conserved by the latter. This fact can be shown more fully by comparing it with the Christological position worked out by the Chalcedonian side from the sixth century. As we have noted the Chalcedonian body, particularly in the east, tried in various ways to rectify the defects pointed out against it by its opponents, without ever admitting that the council of Chalcedon had to be blamed in any way. This was the setting in which the Chalcedonian side developed its Christological interpretation in the sixth and the seventh centuries. We should now look briefly into the position thus conserved by the Chalcedonian side and see whether, in spite of its defence of the council of 451, it does in fact offer a more adequate view of Christ's humanity than is affirmed by the non-Chalcedonian side, as is claimed by pro-Chalcedonian scholars.

For this undertaking, we shall examine the doctrinal position adopted by the two councils of Constantinople in 553 and 680-81 respectively, recognized as ecumenical by the Chalcedonian body, and the theology conserved by two representative theologians of that body. The men whose theological interpretations we propose to examine in this way are John the Grammarian, whom Severus of Antioch criticized in one of his major works, and John of Damascus.

In choosing these men in preference of Leontius of Byzantium and Maximus the confessor we have a reason. Although both Leontius and Maximus have been cited as acceptable authorities by Byzantine orthodox theologians and though many western scholars in the field have considered them to be recognized Chalcedonian theologians, David Beecher Evans has shown in his monograph on Leontius⁸²⁶ that this sixth century theologian was in fact a heretic who had maintained an Origenist Christology, and that Maximus of the seventh century also may well have received his theological bias from the same source.⁸²⁷ Since this kind of doubt is not likely to be expressed with reference to either John the Grammarian or John of Damascus, we shall make a brief survey of their teaching.. In summarizing the Christology of John the Grammarian, we shall rely on excerpts from his work preserved by Severus in the absence of his own original writing; and in dealing with the Damascene we shall refer to his works published by the Fathers of the Church, Inc.⁸²⁸

2. *The Two Councils*

It is the new theological thinking, referred to as ‘neo-Chalcedonianism’ by Charles Moeller⁸²⁹ which men like the author of the work of Cyrilline excerpts⁸³⁰ and John the Grammarian had inaugurated during the early decades of the sixth century that triumphed at the council of 553. As we have shown, but for its defence of the council of Chalcedon, the position adopted by this council was essentially the same as that affirmed by the non-Chalcedonian body.⁸³¹

The council of 680-81 had a different history. It marks the end of an era of struggle within the Chalcedonian side in the east between two positions. One of them maintained that the ‘will’ and ‘operation’ of Christ were in each case one. Since the present writer does not feel competent to bring out the exact point of view of the men who had defended this interpretation, no attempt is made here towards this end.⁸³² Moreover, as our concern is to examine the real difference between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides on this vital issue, the question of the theological emphasis of the men condemned

by the council of 680-81 is not of importance for us in the present context.

The Council of 680-81 ratified the councils of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon and the second Constantinople.⁸³³ The council of Chalcedon is referred to as the synod ‘of 630 God-inspired Fathers against Eutyches and Dioscorus hated of God’.⁸³⁴

The creeds of Nicea and Constantinople, insists the council, are sufficient in themselves. Since, however,⁸³⁵ the devil has found men as his instruments to disturb the Church, the statement of the faith which the council puts out has become necessary. These men propagate the heresy of ‘one will and one operation in the two natures of Christ our true God, one of the Holy Trinity’. The council claims to have detected the heresy in a number of leading men on the Chalcedonian side,⁸³⁶ including four former patriarchs of Constantinople, one pope of Rome, one patriarch each of Alexandria and Antioch. In the judgment of the council their affirmation of ‘one will’ and ‘one operation’ implies that they considered the manhood of Christ to be devoid of will and operation,⁸³⁷ a position similar to that of Apollinarius. This heresy, the council asserts, is ‘similar to the mad and wicked doctrine of the impious Apollinarius, Severus and Themistius’.⁸³⁸

Positively the council makes the following affirmations:

- i. Christ must be confessed to be very God and very man, one of the Holy Trinity. perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood.
- ii. In him there are two natural wills and two operations. The wills are not contrary to each other, but the human will conforms to the divine will and is subject to it always.
- iii. Each nature, though it is united with the other, wills and acts without confusion and division.
- iv. The two natures are united in the one *hypostasis*, who performs the miracles and endures the sufferings in the two natures of Godhead and manhood respectively.

v. 'Wherefore, we confess two wills and two operations, concurring most fitly in him for the salvation of the human race.'

The question of Christ's 'will' and 'operation' is faced by the council of 680-81 on the strength of an important theological principle, namely that the two natures of which the one Christ is composed are real and perfect. As real and perfect natures both Godhead and manhood are endowed with their respective properties and faculties, without any reduction. The capacity for willing and acting is there in Godhead as well as in manhood. Therefore, God the Word has in him the divine capacity for willing and acting, and the manhood which he united to himself has also the human capacity for willing and acting. The concern of the council of 680-81 was apparently to affirm this fundamental theological principle, which neither the Chalcedonian nor the non-Chalcedonian sides had ever called in question.

Granting this fact, it is necessary to offer the following observations regarding the council:

In the first place, whether the men of the Chalcedonian side whom the council condemned as heretics held the view that Christ's manhood was devoid of the faculty of willing and acting or not, it is indeed a fact that Severus and the section of the Church which he defended never held it. They did certainly insist on the expression 'one will' and 'one operation'. At the same time, they also affirmed that the natures were real and perfect, that in the one Christ there were both divine and human properties and faculties irreducibly which we can distinguish in our minds, and that the obedience of Christ to the Father's will and operation was indispensable for the salvation of the world. Moreover, in their view, Christ's suffering and death were the means whereby he redeemed the human race. In addition to all these, they made it clear that there was no confusion or division in the one Christ. This means that the manhood remained manhood in the one Christ, without being confused with Godhead, and *vice versa*. Obviously, they cannot have made all these admissions, without any real point. Therefore, like the 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' by which they did not imply the ignoring of either of the natures, their 'one will' and 'one

operation' were not intended to assert a loss or passivity of one side of the two realities which had come into union.

From their point of view, both 'will' and 'operation' are expressions of the volitional and conative faculties innate in every nature, but it is the person or the *hypostasis* that brings them out. The volitional and the conative faculties of Godhead and manhood are there irreducibly and unconfusedly in the one Christ, whose one *hypostasis* expressed them. To speak of 'two natural wills' and 'two natural operations' was not their tradition, which in their view implied two persons, but this does not mean that they affirmed only a defective divine nature or a diminished human nature, both of which they categorically renounced. Their concern, on the other hand, was to confess the reality of the two natures in their respective perfection, without abandoning the unity of Christ. The insistence on the 'two natural wills' and 'two natural operations' is legitimate for theologians belonging to the tradition set up by the doctrinal letter of pope Leo, but for those brought up in the Cyrilline theological heritage it would sound implying a division of the one Christ into two centres of being and activity. Therefore, like the council of Chalcedon which was too hasty in adopting the 'in two natures', the council of 680-81 was also too quick in asserting the doctrine of 'two wills' and 'two operations' and condemning that of 'one will' and 'one operation', without a proper examination of the issue in question.

Secondly, the council claims to affirm that Christ's *hypostasis* is one. It insists, in fact, that both the miracles and the sufferings are of the same person or *hypostasis*. At the same time, it is also stated that each nature wills and acts the things that are proper to it. What, then, is the *hypostasis*? Are not the natures that will and act *hypostases*? Is the one *hypostasis* in any way different from the one *prosopon* of the Nestorian school?

In raising these questions, we should recall that this is one of the issues pointed out against the council of Chalcedon by Severus. The council of 680-81 failed to answer it. Both John the Grammarian and John of Damascus claim that they have a satisfactory answer.

3. *John the Grammarian*

One of the men on the Chalcedonian side who, during the early part of the sixth century, undertook to defend the council of 451 against Severus, John the Grammarian is the person who laid the foundation for all later developments in Chalcedonian Christology.

A. *Definition of Terms*

The excerpts included by Severus from the Grammarian's work do not contain enough references to offer a comprehensive explanation of the meaning of terms. There is one passage, in which the terms *ousia*, *hypostasis*, and *physis* are defined; it is to this effect:⁸³⁹

Ousia signifies the common, the one Godhead, for instance, of the Holy Trinity, and the common of manhood. But *hypostasis* refers to the one *prosopon* of the Father, of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit; or again of Peter, John, or of any man. *Physis* is identified some times with *ousia* and some times with *hypostasis*.

This passage is clear. In fact, on the definition of terms there is no apparent difference between Severus and the Grammarian, insofar as the initial explanation goes. Even John of Damascus would agree with them here.

In applying the terms to their respective interpretations of the person of Christ, the grammarian and Severus do not agree at least on two points. In the first place, when the Grammarian refers to 'the common' as the meaning of *ousia*, he takes it in an abstract sense. He can, therefore, acknowledge the possibility of conceiving the *ousia* as existing apart from all individual members of a class. This enables him to take the term 'nature' or *physis* in the phrases 'from two natures' and 'in two natures' in the sense of *ousia* conceived as abstract realities. 'Thus in Christ', writes the grammarian, 'there was a union of two *ousias*.'⁸⁴⁰ Severus, on the other hand, is opposed to this interpretation.⁸⁴¹ In the light of his definition of terms Severus finds it inconceivable that natures, understood as *ousias*, could be *hypostatically* united.⁸⁴²

The second difference between the Grammarian and Severus refers to the former's argument that for Cyril of Alexandria, the term 'nature' in the phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' did not mean *ousia*, though that was the meaning of the word 'nature' in the 'from two natures' and the 'in two natures'. As the grammarian puts it:⁸⁴³

When, therefore, St. Cyril speaks of 'nature' by itself without adding the words 'of God the Word', he indicates the *ousia*, namely the common of the Godhead.

In his answer to the Grammarian on this point, Severus insists that Cyril takes 'nature' with reference to Christ only in the sense of a *hypostatic* reality.

In the excerpts preserved by Severus we do not have a passage clarifying the meaning of 'nature' which the Grammarian sees in the phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'. From the context we may assume that he takes it in the sense of *hypostasis*. John of Damascus maintains, however, that the word 'nature' in the phrase does not mean either 'the common' as it is found in the three persons of the Trinity or the person of God the Word, but it is 'the common nature as considered wholly in the Person of the Word'.⁸⁴⁴ Since the Son has the same *ousia* as the Father and the Holy Spirit, this statement is misleading. What, for instance, is the difference between 'the common' as it is found in the three persons and the common nature as considered wholly in the person of the Word or the Son? However, the distinguishing of the Godhead of the Son from the Son himself implies an emphasis which has to be granted, and it is admitted as much by Severus and other non-Chalcedonian theologians as by John of Damascus.

Severus' insistence that for Cyril the word *physis* or 'nature' in all the phrases should mean a concrete reality needs to be underlined. It is a fact that Cyril and non-Chalcedonian theologians as well as John of Damascus himself rejected the idea that the manhood of Christ had come to belong to a human person before it was united to God the Son. But Severus would insist that the manhood which the Word assumed in the incarnation was *hypostatic*, namely that it was an individuated manhood. By this

emphasis Severus conserves the personal or *hypostatic* character of the manhood, without falling into the doctrine of two persons.

As regards the meaning of *prosopon*, the excerpts do not contain very much of a clue to determine the point of view of the grammarian. In one passage the term is noted: it reads:⁸⁴⁵

A hypostasis which has been formed, is to be understood as *prosopon*.

Does this mean that *hypostasis* and *prosopon* are synonymous? Or, is it that when it has been formed, a *hypostasis* comes to have its *prosopon*? It is, as we have seen, the latter idea which Severus holds.

B. Criticism of the Non-Chalcedonian Position

The Grammarian accuses the non-Chalcedonian position as expounded by Severus of holding two errors. In the first place, he applies the definition of the term 'nature' as *ousia* and insists that Severus and his section of the Church, by affirming 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' to the exclusion of 'in two natures', are maintaining a doctrine of one *ousia* in Christ. In the words of the Grammarian:⁸⁴⁶

He speaks of one *ousia* for the body and the soul. In the same way he considers the Lord to be one with his flesh. Obviously he means one *ousia*, not *prosopon* as it is clear from the evidence shown from him.

The Grammarian repeats this allegation again and again. 'He does not abandon "one *ousia*"', writes he, 'but is confusing and disturbing all things. Everything is only flesh; he has explained away the rational soul.'⁸⁴⁷

Quoting this and several other excerpts from the work of the Grammarian to this effect, as we have already noted,⁸⁴⁸ Severus challenges his critic to show at least one instance either in his writings or in those of anyone accepted by his section of the Church in support of this accusation. It is clear, then, that the affirmation of 'one *ousia*' with reference to Christ which the

Grammarians reads into Severus has most definitely been denied by him.

The second accusation of the Grammarian against Severus is that his definition of the term 'nature' as meaning a concrete particular is opposed to the teaching of the fathers. 'We have learned from the fathers', writes the Grammarian, 'that Christ is consubstantial with God the Father and consubstantial with us. They do not teach that the Son is of the same *hypostasis* with the Father, or that he is of the same *hypostasis* with us.'⁸⁴⁹

The fathers do not teach, admits Severus in agreement with the Grammarian, that the Son is of the same *hypostasis* with the Father, nor that Christ is of the same *hypostasis* with us. His interpretation of the doctrine, insists the patriarch, does not imply this idea either. On the contrary, the fathers teach that,⁸⁵⁰

Christ is consubstantial with the Father according to Godhead and the same is consubstantial with us men according to manhood. This is because he is unchangeably and indivisibly one from both the Godhead of the Word and from one human flesh assumed from Mary, flesh animated with a rational soul and mind.

It is God the Son who became incarnate. Since he is consubstantial with God the Father, Christ in whom his Godhead has become incarnate is consubstantial with God the Father. In the same way, the manhood of Christ, being the entire human *ousia* individuated in union with God the Son, is continuous with our manhood. Thus Jesus Christ is at once consubstantial with God the Father and consubstantial with us. To take the word 'nature' in the sense of a concrete particular does not imply that Christ is of the same *hypostasis* with God the Father and with us.⁸⁵¹

C. *The Person of Jesus Christ*

The Grammarian affirms the reality of Christ's Godhead and manhood. As God, he is the Son, the second person of the Holy Trinity, who is consubstantial with the Father and the Holy

Spirit. The Son, therefore, has the same *ousia* in its entirety as that of the Father.

‘We affirm’ writes the Grammarian,⁸⁵² ‘that every *hypostasis* that has been formed possesses all the significations of the Godhead’. Therefore, when we say that ‘the Trinity is consubstantial’, we mean that ‘the same *ousia* is completely identified’ in each of the three persons. ‘The Father’, for instance, ‘has the *ousia* in perfection, so also the Son and the Holy Spirit have it each of them in full. Thus the Father is perfect God; the Son is perfect God; and the Holy Spirit is perfect God’. The Grammarian is clear that ‘it is not the Father who became incarnate’, for the Son is not the Father, nor is he the Holy Spirit. ‘It is the Son who became incarnate ‘—the Son who has the *ousia* of Godhead in full. Therefore, following the Apostle Paul, we say that the entire fullness of deity was there in Jesus Christ bodily.’⁸⁵³

Having affirmed the divinity of Christ, the Grammarian goes on to interpret his humanity. ‘How can it be’, he asks, ‘that when we confess that he is perfect man, we should not admit that he has in him the entire *ousia* of manhood? For it is not a part of manhood that he assumed, as Apollinarius had maintained, namely flesh without a rational soul, but it is the entire *ousia*, which is flesh endowed with a rational and intelligent soul. Since this is there completely in all human beings as a common reality, it is referred to rightly as *ousia*. They are differentiated one from another, not in *ousia*, but in the particular attributes which go with them, namely size, colour, and those that are noted as specifications of the *prosopon*’.⁸⁵⁴

Two ideas stressed by the Grammarian here with reference to Christ’s manhood should be noted. The first of them is that the manhood is complete, so that all properties and faculties which go with perfect manhood are there in it irreducibly. This is not a disputed point between the Grammarian and Severus or between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides. The second idea consists in the insistence that the *ousia* is the ‘common reality’ in all men. The Grammarian takes *ousia* here in an abstract sense, without granting that it is a *hypostasis*. His concern is obviously to avoid a doctrine of two *hypostases* or persons in the one Christ. He seems to draw a distinction between a *hypostasis* and a concrete particular, thereby admitting

that the manhood of Christ was a concrete particular, a body endowed with the rational and intelligent soul. Severus, on the other hand, would admit, not only that the manhood was a concrete particular, but also that it is *hypostatic*. He excludes a doctrine of two persons, as we have noted, on the one hand by insisting that the manhood became *hypostatic* only in union with God the Word, and on the other by his concept of a 'composite *hypostasis*'. Thus the two men agree fundamentally in their theological concern even with reference to the second idea. But they differ on the question of the *hypostatic* status of Christ's manhood.

As to the Christological phrases, the Grammarian is clear that both the 'from two natures' and the 'in two natures' are acceptable, and that the term 'nature' refers to 'the common'. Since the manhood was not a *hypostasis*, the Grammarian insists that it was not the manhood of a particular man, an emphasis which is repeatedly made by Philoxenos of Mabbogh and Severus. Of the last two men, it was Severus who developed the idea that the manhood was *hypostatic*. Philoxenos affirmed the 'composite' character of Christ, but not the *hypostatic* status of his manhood. In fact, Philoxenos represents a less developed Christological position than that of Severus on this specific issue.

There is another point also to be noted in this connection. The Grammarian is perhaps the first Chalcedonian theologian whose literary productions have come down to us, who has admitted the orthodoxy of the phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'. While granting this point, he maintains that the sense in which Cyril had employed the phrase was not opposed to the 'in two natures' of Chalcedon. In fact, on the authority of the Formulary of Reunion and of Cyril's defence of the expression 'two natures' which it contained, the Grammarian tries to claim Cyril for Chalcedon. Cyril teaches, insists the Grammarian, that 'there is no difference between affirming one incarnate nature of God the Word and confessing Emmanuel to be indivisibly united in two natures'.⁸⁵⁵ As we have seen, the Grammarian maintains that the 'one nature' formula is as necessary as the 'two natures' formula for the safeguarding of orthodoxy, the first for excluding Nestorianism and the second for abandoning Eutychianism.⁸⁵⁶

In Severus' view the two formulae contradict each other in meaning, so that both of them cannot be orthodox at the same time. Thus the Grammarian and Severus parted from each other, without realizing that in essential theological exposition they were more or less in agreement. The one question which needed settlement between them was not, in fact, 'monophysitism' versus 'diophysitism', but who the one *hypostasis* of Christ was. The Grammarian tried to make out that the one *hypostasis* was the *hypostasis* of God the Word who, in addition to his divine nature, united to himself manhood as a second nature. Severus, on the other hand, insisted that it was the incarnate *hypostasis* of God the Word and as such it was 'composite.'

4. *John of Damascus*

A monk who died around the middle of the eighth century A.D., John of Damascus is indeed one of the most important systematic theologians of the Chalcedonian ecclesiastical tradition in ancient times. In his *Fount of Knowledge*⁸⁵⁷ he gives a brief account of the various heresies. It deserves our attention, as it shows how distorted a view he, and possibly also the Chalcedonian side in general, had of the non-Chalcedonian position. In his *Orthodox Faith* we can find a systematic exposition of the doctrine of incarnation held by the Chalcedonian side at least in the east.

A. *Evaluation of the Non-Chalcedonian Side*

In his list of heresies John of Damascus notes four titles and offers a description of each of them. These are

Egyptians
Severians
Aphthartodocetae
Agnoete or Themistians⁸⁵⁸

All these are, in John's opinion, different sections of the heresy called 'Severians' or 'Theodosians'. The fault of the *Egyptians* according to the Damascene, is that they did not accept the council of Chalcedon, and that they criticized it. Their leader was Theodosius, wherefore they are called 'Theodosians.' The

description of the ‘Severians’ by John is indeed interesting. The author does not seem to have seen any of the works of Severus himself. So, in refuting his theological position, the Chalcedonian theologian simply reproduces certain passages from the work of John Philoponus, the sixth century tritheist whom the non-Chalcedonian body had taken the initiative in repeatedly condemning as a heretic.⁸⁵⁹

By *Aphthartodocetae* John refers to the body which venerated the person and theology of Julian of Halicarnassus. We have already noted how Julian and his supporter, Gaianus of Alexandria, who for John of Damascus are adherents of the ‘Severian’ body, had been condemned by the non-Chalcedonian body, under the leadership of Severus.⁸⁶⁰ *Agnoete* refers to a sect about which we have practically no knowledge.

The writings of Severus of Antioch had all been destroyed in their original Greek by the orders of emperor Justinian; they survived on the whole only in Syriac translations made possibly in those ancient times. Consequently John of Damascus may not have read any of the works of Severus. In his *Orthodox Faith* the Damascene describes Severus as a follower of ‘the fatal Dioscorus’, Eutyches and ‘their accursed associates’, and as having taught that the union of the natures in Christ had been made ‘by mixing, mingling, blending and compounding’.⁸⁶¹ All these facts show clearly that John of Damascus had received no real knowledge of the nature of the split in the Church subsequent to the council of Chalcedon; neither had he any proper understanding of the theological position insisted on by the non-Chalcedonian side. However, as we shall see, almost anything of real value in the Christology of the Damascene himself can be traced back to none other than Severus and the theologians of the non-Chalcedonian side.

B. *Jesus Christ, God the Son Incarnate*

The theology of John of Damascus is indeed a continuation of the tradition set up by John the Grammarian and the author of the Cyrilline excerpts. So, in agreement with the Grammarian, the Damascene argues that ‘nature’ in the phrase ‘in two natures’ signifies *ousia*. This emphasis has particular reference to Christ’s manhood. Following the Grammarian, the Damascene insists

that the manhood had no *hypostasis* of its own. This statement can mean either that God the Son assumed the manhood as an abstract reality, or that the manhood had not become a *hypostasis* by itself. The Grammarian had adopted the first of these positions, admitting at the same time that the manhood had become a concrete particular, though not *hypostatic*. The Damascene maintains that the manhood of Christ was not, however, without a *hypostasis*, because God the Word gave it his *hypostasis*. This is *enhypostasia*. The manhood which was not *hypostatic* became *hypostatic* by receiving the *hypostasis* of God the Word. In this interpretation one can see the Chalcedonian theologian explaining the ‘one *Hypostasis*’ of Christ according to the Chalcedonian definition. It is the *hypostasis* of God the Son. In the incarnation God the Son united to himself manhood by offering it his own *hypostasis*.

There is one question here: While being united to God the Word, did the manhood also become *hypostatic*, or is it that the body endowed with a rational and intelligent soul which was assumed as his own by God the Word from the womb of the Virgin was merely manhood in the abstract sense? If the answer of the Damascene to this is the first of the two positions noted, that is precisely the emphasis of Severus of Antioch. The question, however, is not easy to answer.

The Damascene does not grant that the manhood of Christ had its own human *hypostasis*. However, he notes on several occasions that Christ had a composite person⁸⁶² (which I take to be ‘composite *hypostasis*’). As we have seen, for Severus, ‘composite *hypostasis*’ is the same as composite nature,⁸⁶³ and it means a concrete individual being formed in consequence of a concurrence of two *ousias*. While concurring, the two *ousias* have their *hypostatic* reality in the composite *hypostasis*. In Jesus Christ, for instance, the Godhead of the Word who is an eternal *hypostasis* united to himself manhood, which became *hypostatic* in union with the *hypostasis* of God the Word. Is this the meaning which the Damascene sees in affirming of Jesus Christ a ‘composite person’?

Bearing this question in mind, a brief summary of the Damascene’s theological exposition bearing on the person of Christ may be given here. John affirms the doctrine of the Holy Trinity,

as three *hypostases* in one *ousia*. God the Son, or God the Word, one of the three *hypostases*, became man. The natures of Godhead and manhood were *hypostatically* united, without either of them being changed into, or confused with, the other, nor by causing the natures to be compounded into one nature as a *tertium quid*.⁸⁶⁴ But the natures concurred into a *hypostatic* union, whereby the *hypostasis* of God the Son became the *hypostasis* of Jesus Christ⁸⁶⁵ who is composed of and who exists in the two natures which remain perfect and intact even after the union.

The one Christ, therefore, includes the created and the uncreated, the mortal and the immortal, without confusion. Between them there is an exchange of properties, whereby ‘the Word makes human things His own, because what is proper to His sacred flesh belongs to Him: and the things which are His own He communicates to His flesh’.⁸⁶⁶ The natures with their respective properties and faculties remain in the one *hypostasis*, so that the created continues to be created and the uncreated continues to be uncreated, the difference between them being preserved in the one Christ.⁸⁶⁷

The question how the unity of Christ is to be conceived is explained by John of Damascus in the following way: When God the Son became incarnate, he united to himself flesh animated with a rational and intelligent soul and made it his own flesh. But ‘the flesh of God the Word was not independently subsistent nor was there any other person besides that of the Word of God. On the contrary, it was in the Person of the Word that the flesh subsisted, or rather had personality (*enupostatos*), and it did not become an independently subsisting person in itself. For this reason, it neither lacks personality nor introduces another person into the Trinity.’⁸⁶⁸

This passage which is most crucial for an understanding of the official Christology of the Chalcedonian side in the east contains only one emphasis regarding which Severus would ask for a clarification. That has reference to the question which we have already noted, namely, that ‘it was in the Person of the Word that the flesh subsisted, or rather had personality’. In fact it is by these words that the Damascene expresses the theory of *enhypostasia* with reference to the union of the natures in the one

Christ. He means, to be sure, that God the Son, an eternal *hypostasis*, became incarnate by uniting to himself manhood as a second nature, in addition to Godhead which is his own nature, and that therefore Jesus Christ is one *hypostasis* made known in two natures.

The theory of *enhypostasia*, in the form in which Chalcedonian theologians embraced it, has behind it two fundamental concerns. In the first place it seeks to exclude the doctrine of Quaternity in place of that of the Trinity. The Antiochene emphasis on ‘nature’ as a synonym for *hypostasis*⁸⁶⁹ was believed to fall into this position, and the theory of *enhypostasia* was intended to show that the Chalcedonian definition had avoided this possibility. Secondly, the theory aims at affirming the unity of Christ’s person—*hypostasis*—conserving at the same time the reality of the two natures.

Both Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian sides agreed on this concern. The latter, for instance, had been expressing it without the theory of *enhypostasia*. But the former developed the theory in the hope that thereby they would successfully exclude the supposed heresy of the council’s opponents. The Damascene, for instance, makes the point again and again:⁸⁷⁰

For He assumed the first-fruit of our clay not as self-existent and having been an individual previously and as such taken by Him, but as having its subsistence in His Person. Thus this Person of the Word became Person to the flesh.

To say that the human nature had been individuated even before the union is for both sides the teaching of the Nestorian School.

As we have noted, both John the Grammarian and John of Damascus express their acceptance of the phrase ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’. The Damascene’s view that ‘nature’ in the phrase meant the common reality of Godhead as it is eternally in God the Word⁸⁷¹ would not be opposed by Severus, Cyril of Alexandria, insists John of Damascus, had affirmed that in the incarnation the Godhead of the Son united humanity in his person. Thus we can say that ‘Godhead was united to humanity in one of Its Persons’, and that ‘God took our substance into union with himself’.⁸⁷²

John of Damascus is clear that in the incarnation God the Son did not bring his body down from heaven,⁸⁷³ but that by dwelling in the womb of the Virgin and without undergoing any change in himself, he was made flesh and was born of her. The Virgin did not give birth to a mere man, but to God-made-flesh: therefore she was *Theotokos*. The soteriological concern behind the affirmation is well noted by the Damascene. God the Son, he maintains, was made man in order that ‘the very nature which had sinned, fallen and become corrupt should conquer the tyrant who had deceived it.’⁸⁷⁴ This is an emphasis made repeatedly by Severus in his refutation of Julian of Halicarnassus.⁸⁷⁵

In none of these emphases of the Damascene is there any idea, except the one referring to the *hypostatic* character of Christ’s manhood, which Severus and theologians of his section the Church had not affirmed over and over again.

C. *Two Wills and Two Operations*

Corresponding to the two natures, maintains John of Damascus, Jesus Christ had the two-fold set of natural properties belonging to the two natures—two natural wills, the divine and the human, two natural operations, a divine and a human; and wisdom and knowledge, both divine and human’.⁸⁷⁶ However, insists the Damascene, in both natures it is the same person who acts and wills. The number, he admits, ‘shows the preservation and maintenance of the natures even in the union, and this alone’.⁸⁷⁷ John of Damascus argues that Adam had fallen through the exercise of will. So, in line with Gregory Nazianzen, he maintains that if God the Word had not assumed human will, we have not been freed from sin, and that a refusal to confess human will in Christ is to condemn God’s creation.⁸⁷⁸

John draws a distinction between *willing* and *how one wills*. The same distinction is applicable to operation also. Willing and acting are faculties of nature, but the way in which one wills or acts depends upon the person.⁸⁷⁹ In other words, nature is endowed with the volitional and conative faculties, but the actual willing and acting are performed by the person. In Jesus Christ Godhead and manhood are each endowed with its own volitional and conative faculties. But the person ‘divinely willing in Him and humanly willing are one and the same’.⁸⁸⁰

A comparison of these emphases of the Damascene with the position conserved by Severus and the non-Chalcedonian side will show that in spite of the difference in terminology implied in the 'two wills' and 'two operations' of the former and the 'one will' and 'one operation' of the latter, they agree in affirming that the natures continue intact in the one Christ without confusion or division, that their respective faculties and properties are there dynamically in him, and that the actual willing and acting are performed by the one incarnate person of God the Word. In fact, the question of the Damascene,⁸⁸¹

What profit do we have from the incarnation if he who was first to suffer has not been saved, renewed or strengthened by being conjoined with the Godhead?

would be asked by Severus also, for he affirms⁸⁸² that

God the Word who brought us into being, through whom the Father made all things, when by his grace alone he willed to restore him who had fallen to the original order and to give back to him the grace of immortality, did not exercise force by using divine power. On the contrary, in accordance with the word of justice, he made him who had fallen to fight again the battle..... It was necessary for man to obtain the crown of victory over Satan who had formerly deceived and defeated him.

Therefore, insists Severus, God the Son united to himself manhood endowed with all human properties and faculties, which by nature was mortal and passible. God the Son wanted the manhood to play all its natural roles in the redeeming work which he came to accomplish, because that was necessary in accordance with divine justice for our salvation. For this reason he let the manhood run all its natural courses without reduction. Taking these facts seriously, it is possible to say that by the expression 'two wills', 'two operations' and so on Chalcedonian theologians did not conserve any theologically valid idea which Severus had not already safeguarded.

Before concluding this discussion, we should mention two important points made by the Damascene regarding 'will' and 'operation'. In the first place, although there are two wills and

two operations in Christ, the human will was subjected and obedient to the divine will and the human operation conformed itself completely with the divine operation. On this account there was no conflict in Christ. In the words of John.⁸⁸³

For, since He was entirely God with His humanity and entirely man with His divinity, He as man in Himself and through Himself subjected His humanity to God the Father and became obedient to the Father, thus setting for us a most noble example and pattern.

Secondly, there was an exchange of will and operation between the natures. Although the natures remained unmingled and their properties unimpaired, writes John, by reason of the *hypostatic* union the flesh was enriched with the divine operations; but in no way did the flesh suffer mutilation in its natural properties.⁸⁸⁴ Thus the same flesh was mortal and life-giving -mortal by nature and life-giving on account of the *hypostatic* union.

The Damascene insists further that there was a deification of the human will, whereby, without undergoing a transformation in its natural motion, the flesh became united with the divine and almighty will. When God became incarnate, insists John, 'His human operation was divine, that is to say deified. And it was not excluded from His divine operation, nor was His divine operation excluded from His human operation. On the contrary, each is found in the other'.⁸⁸⁵

Here again, the question which we want to raise is : Was the human nature *hypostatic*, or was it merely manhood in the abstract? If the second alternative is what the Damascene wants really to press, his emphasis on deification of Christ's manhood has a particular force which Severus and the non-Chalcedonian side would not admit. It would mean, for instance, that the manhood consisting of a human body endowed with a rational and intelligent soul, since it was only nature in the abstract needed a subject to express its properties and faculties. If it is asserted that this subject was God the Son, it follows that everything human in Christ was expressed divinely, but the things divine were not expressed humanly. Can a position like this claim to be really orthodox? Did the Damascene hold this view?

On the question of operation there is a discussion in Severus' letter addressed to Sergius the Grammarian.⁸⁸⁶ As we have noted, Severus notes in it that Godhead and manhood, with their respective properties continue in the one Christ. As regards 'operation', he draws a distinction between the subject, the object, and operation itself.⁸⁸⁷ He maintains that 'operation' is the motion, whereby the person is led to perform an action. For Severus therefore, 'operation', 'will', and so on, are not merely faculties of a nature; they are expressions of the faculties. Will, for instance, in Christ is the united expression of the volitional faculties of Godhead and manhood, and operation the united expression of their conative faculties—both expressed by the composite person. In the words of Severus .⁸⁸⁸

The Lord suffered the vehement feeling of hunger, which arouses the yearning for food. Therefore, the voluntary passions permitted by the Word were not without any operation; but there was in him the stirring up of operations. These were, however, subjected to the power of the invincible God.

Again:⁸⁸⁹

By his death our Saviour vanquished death. It is clear, therefore, that if he did not die, death would not have been abolished. The same is true of every one of the passions of the flesh. If he did not fear, nature would not have been freed from fear.

The difference, then, between the Damascene and Severus on the question of 'will' and 'operation' is not that the former admitted their reality with reference to Godhead and manhood and the latter did not. In fact, if the Damascene would affirm the *hypostatic* character of the manhood, the two of them hold essentially the same position.

In discussing the question raised by Julian of Halicarnassus, however, John of Damascus maintains certain ideas which Severus had already rejected. For one thing, John of Damascus notes only one major fault in the position of Julian and Gaianus, but for Severus there are several flaws in it. As we have noted,⁸⁹⁰ Julian insisted on the incorruptibility of our Lord's body even before the resurrection on the basis of a broader theological

standpoint. The Damascene does not pay attention to the latter aspect of Julianism; he finds fault with Julian and Gaianus solely on the ground of their insistence that the body of Christ was incorruptible before the resurrection.

The teaching of Julian contained the following points:

- i. Suffering and death were not part of essential manhood; they came into human experience on account of the fall of Adam.
- ii. In becoming man, God the Son assumed essential manhood, -namely the unfallen manhood of Adam. Therefore, the manhood was not in itself subject to suffering and death.
- iii. This does not mean that the suffering and death of Christ were unreal; they were in fact real, because he endured them voluntarily for our sakes.
- iv. On this ground Julian insisted that the body of our Lord was incorruptible from the moment of the conception in the Virgin's womb.

In refuting Julian, Severus calls in question all these ideas. First of all, Severus argues that created manhood, whether it had fallen or not, was by nature subject to hunger, thirst, fatigue, mental agony and death. By his fall Adam had become deprived only of the promise of eternal life, which had been given to him by God in the beginning. The purpose of the incarnation was to restore this promise to man. In becoming man God the Son united to himself our manhood. and not the manhood of Adam before the fall, although it was sinless. The suffering and death of Christ were voluntary as they concerned God the Son, but concerning the manhood of Christ they were natural.

John of Damascus who, in agreement with Severus, admits that Julian and Gaianus were wrong in ascribing incorruptibility to our Lord's body before the resurrection seems to agree with Julian in maintaining that natural and blameless passions like hunger, thirst, fatigue, pain, the shrinking from death, and so on, 'which are not under our control' 'have come into our life as a

result of the condemnation occasioned by his fall'.⁸⁹¹ Again, in agreement more seriously with the error of Julian, the Damascene insists:⁸⁹²

Since our Lord Jesus Christ was without sin He was not subject to death, even though death had by sin entered into the world. And so for our sakes He submits to death and dies and offers Himself to the Father as a sacrifice for us.

This passage from John of Damascus may be compared to the statement of Severus:⁸⁹³

If Emmanuel had willed to be united with an immortal and impassible body and fight the battle for us, what need was there for him who by nature was endowed with impassibility and immortality to become incarnate?

So, for Severus, to affirm the essential impassibility and immortality of Christ's manhood is to deny the incarnation. Again:⁸⁹⁴

Emmanuel abolished the death of his body by means of the resurrection from the dead. If, however, the body was immortal, as the venerable bishop Julian ventures to make out, the saving death was visionary and merely phantasmal. For it is a body which is mortal that dies.

Taking these and many other passages in the writings of Severus into account, we can say most definitely that in spite of declaring Julianism as derived from the heresy of the 'Severians', John of Damascus keeps to the teaching of Julian which Severus had consistently excluded.

D. *Points of Agreement and Disagreement*

The two sides agree:-

that Jesus Christ is God the Son, one of the Holy Trinity, who had become incarnate for the salvation of the world;

that in the incarnation God the Son did not unite to himself manhood which had already been formed in the womb; the manhood was formed only in union with God the Son;

that since it was the manhood united with God the Son *hypostatically* whom the Virgin brought forth, she was *Theotokos*;

that the union being *hypostatic*, Jesus Christ was one person or one *hypostasis* and one *prosopon*;

that the manhood was perfect and real, so that all human faculties and properties, with the exception of sin (which of course is not part of essential manhood), were there in the one Christ irreducibly and dynamically;

that the manhood was not changed to Godhead or lost in the preponderance of the Godhead;

that the manhood continued in the union in its reality and integrity as created manhood; and

that the manhood was restored to its pristine relation with God, and that Jesus Christ remains for us as the God-man, in and through whom God and man have been brought into their ultimate union.

There was however disagreement between the positions maintained by the two sides on the following points:

i. Chalcedonian theologians express their acceptance of all the Alexandrine phrases, including the 'one incarnate nature of God the World.' In doing this, they take the word 'nature' in phrases like 'from two natures' and 'in two natures' in the sense of *ousia*. But Severus insists that this meaning cannot safeguard the historical reality of Christ, and that for its maintenance the *hypostatic* character of the natures which have come into the union should be affirmed.

ii. The Damascene admits the expression 'composite Person' or 'composite *hypostasis*' with reference to Christ, but he does not spell out what he means by it. For Severus as we

have seen, the expression means that the one *hypostasis* of Christ had been formed by the concurrence of the Godhead of the Son and of the manhood which became individuated in the union. In this way the latter conserves the *hypostatic* character of the manhood as well as the possibility of the human expression of the divine faculties and properties along with a divine expression of the human faculties and properties for us to perceive in our contemplation. If John of Damascus does not safeguard this principle he cannot have affirmed a real human expression in the one Christ. This indeed is a very serious point of difference between the two sides, and we believe that the position conserved by Severus cannot be ignored here in preference for the Damascene's teaching.

iii. Severus does not believe that for the maintenance of genuine manhood in Christ along with Godhead expressions like 'in two natures', 'two wills' and 'two operations' are necessary. In his view these expressions cannot conserve Christ's unity in any real sense.

iv. On the question of Julianism John of Damascus finds fault with the teaching of the bishop of Halicarnassus only with reference to his theological conclusion that our Lord's body was corruptible before the resurrection. As for Julian's premises, John seeks to safeguard them.

v. The Damascene insists on the deification of Christ's manhood much more seriously than Severus does. If the former is not in favour of affirming the *hypostatic* character of Christ's manhood, this has a special force. For, as we have shown, the human properties and faculties have to be expressed by the *hypostasis* of God the Son, and this offers John the basis for his teaching which consists in an *undue* insistence on the deification of Christ's manhood.

vi. John of Damascus blames 'that stupid Peter the Fuller' for introducing the addition of 'crucified for us' in the *Trisagion*. on the ground that the hymn is addressed to the Holy Trinity and that the Trinity was not crucified. The Damascene would, however, admit that, 'one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh'. Since in the Syrian church where it originated the hymn is

addressed to the Son, John's objection to the addition loses its force.⁸⁹⁵

The foregoing summary of agreements and disagreements between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian Christologies will show that the former's evaluation of the latter as 'monophysite' has no basis. In fact, between the Christologies of John of Damascus and Severus of Antioch, it is the latter which has excluded both monophysitism and Julianism much more consistently and effectively than the former. The eastern ecclesiastical tradition which refused to accept the council of Chalcedon adopted this step, not because it did not take the manhood of Christ seriously, but because it found in the *Tome of Leo* and in the council's definition with the 'in two natures' a theological position which they could not honestly accept against the background of their doctrinal tradition. At the same time, it excluded all known heresies more clearly than the Chalcedonian side had ever done in ancient times. Furthermore its Christology maintains the fullness of Christ's manhood in most concrete and vivid terms, so that with reference to the historical reality of Christ's human life its interpretation is superior to that of the Chalcedonian side at least in the east.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE NON-CHALCEDONIAN CHRISTOLOGY
COMPARED TO THAT OF THE ANTIOCHENE SIDE

1. *Some Preliminary Remarks*

If the non-Chalcedonian Christology conserves Christ's manhood in its full reality in comparison to the Christology of the Chalcedonian side in the east, it is necessary to examine how it compares in relation to the Antiochene Christology. In discussing this question, we should bear in mind the fact that scholars of a pro-Chalcedonian persuasion have endeavoured to make out that the non-Chalcedonian position is unduly anti-Nestorian. So, while bringing out the non-Chalcedonian Christology in comparison to the teaching of the Antiochene side, we shall see whether this point of view has any real justification. It is indeed an undeniable fact that leaders of the non-Chalcedonian side were opposed to Nestorianism, and that they considered the theology underlying the *Tome of Leo* and the doctrinal definition of the council of 451 to be Nestorian. The question, however, which we should raise is whether in maintaining this standpoint they were more anti-Nestorian than the Chalcedonian side, at least from the sixth century.⁸⁹⁶

It is to be admitted that men like Theodore of Mopsuestia of the Antiochene School are very clear in their affirmation of Christ's real and perfect manhood. In fact, if we examine the Antiochene Christology from the point of view of Christ's divinity, humanity and unity, we shall see that it conserves the emphasis on divinity and humanity with great vigour. The issue between them and the Alexandrines is one centring round the third principle. This fact is clearly shown by Severus in a passage approvingly reproduced by him from Cyril's letter addressed to Eulogius.⁸⁹⁷

It is not necessary to give up and exclude everything which heretics maintain.....For Nestorius, although he affirms two natures in order to indicate the difference between the flesh and God the Word—for the nature of the Word is one thing and that of the flesh is another—yet he does not confess the union with us. We, having united them, confess one Christ, the same being the one Son and Lord, and therefore one nature of God the Word incarnate.

The issue, therefore, between Cyril and Nestorius, or for that matter, between Severus and Nestorius, is not that one side affirmed ‘two natures’, thereby confessing the reality and perfection of Godhead and manhood in Christ, and the other side did not; but that in interpreting the union of the natures they did not agree.

There are two questions to be raised in this chapter. In the first place, what is the affirmation of the non-Chalcedonian side regarding the union of Godhead and manhood in Christ relative to the Antiochene position? Secondly, is the non-Chalcedonian Christology more anti-Nestorian than the Chalcedonian Christology? These questions can be answered only in the light of an understanding of the Antiochene Christology, which we shall summarize on the basis of the study of the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia by Francis A. Sullivan,⁸⁹⁸ Rowan Greer,⁸⁹⁹ and R. A. Norris.⁹⁰⁰

2. *A Brief Summary of Antiochene Christology*

Francis A. Sullivan concludes his study by observing that the bishop of Mopsuestia (392-428) was, in fact, the ‘Father of Nestorianism’.⁹⁰¹ This reading is admitted by Rowan Greer also. He maintains that ‘Nestorius’ background was Antiochene, and that his teacher (whether in person or through the written word) was Theodore.⁹⁰² Sullivan makes out that the Christology of Theodore ‘is fundamentally akin to that proposed by Nestorius in the letter which was condemned at Ephesus’. In order to arrive at this conclusion Sullivan examines a large number of passages taken from the writings of Theodore. His arguments in support of the conclusion may be summarized in this way.

i. Although, unlike his theological predecessors, Eustathius of Antioch⁹⁰³ and Diodore of Tarsus⁹⁰⁴ who refer to a conjunction of the ‘Son of God’ and the ‘son of Mary’ without using the words Godhead and manhood as abstract realities, Theodore employs the abstract terms ‘divine nature’ or ‘divinity’⁹⁰⁵ about the Godhead of Christ. yet he takes Godhead to mean ‘God the Son’ and manhood to mean ‘the assumed man’ as two concrete beings. with reference to Jesus Christ.⁹⁰⁶

ii. In making this emphasis, Theodore and men like him confuse ‘nature’ as an abstract reality with ‘person’ as a concrete being.⁹⁰⁷ The distinction between the two terms is for Sullivan very important. ‘In modern Christology’, he writes,⁹⁰⁸ ‘at least in the Thomistic tradition, the terms: ‘human nature’, ‘humanity’, are employed in preference for the reason that ‘the man’ implies a human *suppositum*: one who *has* the human nature, and is the ultimate subject of the operations of this nature. Whereas ‘the humanity’ signifies the human nature assumed by the Word, which, though particular and concrete, is not a human person in its own right’. This indeed, as we have seen, is the position insisted on by both John the Grammarian and John of Damascus. It implies two distinctions—nature as abstract reality and person on the one hand, and these two as against a thing which is particular and concrete on the other.

Sullivan tries to read this view into Athanasius of Alexandria in the fourth century. In answering the Arian challenge based on the argument that the Son was a creature, Athanasius had drawn this distinction, asserts Sullivan. The Arians, for instance, had worked out a position, which may be put in the form of a syllogism.⁹⁰⁹

The Word is the subject even of the human operations and sufferings of Christ.

Whatever is predicated of the Word, must be predicated of him according to nature.

Therefore, the nature of the Word is limited.

Sullivan maintains that Athanasius met the Arian point by proposing the relation of ‘appropriation’ whereby the Divine

Word has so ‘made human flesh his own’ that the attributes and operations of this human nature belong to the Word and to no one else. The remark of Sullivan that Athanasius did in fact, draw the distinction between ‘nature’ and ‘person’ should be questioned, although that is not our concern here. From our point of view what is to be underlined is the fact that for the Antiochenes the union of Godhead and manhood in Christ consisted in a conjunction of God the Word and the assumed man.

iii. Since the natures were persons, the union between them could only be a conjunction (*synapheia*) of the two persons. ‘God the Word’ and ‘the assumed man’ were indeed two centres of being and activity. On account of the conjunction there was between them a communication of properties, so that the assumed man could be called ‘the Son’ and ‘the Lord’, invested as he was with divine honour and glory as well as authority. But the communication was there only in one direction, namely from God to man, and not also in the other direction, namely from man to God. ‘The assumed man’ was exalted, but conversely ‘God the Word’ was not lowered. On this account, although things divine can be ascribed to the man, things human cannot be predicated of God the Word.⁹¹⁰

iv. The Antiochene hesitation to ascribe things human to God the Word led them to call in question the term *Theotokos* with reference to Mary and to refuse to predicate of God the Son suffering and death. The Antiochene attitude regarding *Theotokos* is well stated by Theodore in a passage, which is quoted again and again by Severus of Antioch.⁹¹¹ Christ’s suffering is interpreted by Theodore in the same passage.⁹¹²

The same answer is to be given if they ask, ‘Was God crucified or Man?’ —namely, ‘Both, but not in the same respect’. For the latter was crucified inasmuch as he suffered and was nailed to the Tree and held by the Jews; but the former because he was with him for the reason we have given. As to the death of Christ, he holds the view that ‘it is one who suffers, it is another who raises him up’.

v. By the coming together of ‘God the Son’ and ‘the assumed man’ there came into being one *prosopon*. Accordingly,

Jesus Christ is *one prosopon*, in which the two natures or the two *hypostases* have their locus of union.

Sullivan sees in this emphasis the most grievous defect of the Antiochene Christology: for Theodore does not consider this *prosopon* as the *prosopon* of God the Word.⁹¹³ He takes it only as a *prosopon* formed by the coming together of ‘God the Word’ and the *homo assumptus*, namely the ‘man Jesus assumed by the Word’. It should be remembered that Sullivan’s interpretation of Theodore’s meaning of *prosopon* is the same as that maintained by Severus in his definition of terms.⁹¹⁴ *Prosopon* is not the individuated *ousia*, which is a *hypostasis*; but a locus external to the *hypostases*, in which they express their conjunction. Accordingly, Sullivan concludes that the Christology of Theodore presupposes two subjects—God the Word and the assumed man—who came together by means of a moral union which brought into being *de nova* a *prosopon*. The person of Jesus Christ as affirmed by Cyril on the strength of the creed of Nicea and ratified by the council of Ephesus in 431 is, argues Sullivan, ‘the Divine Person of God the Word’.⁹¹⁵

vi. Theodore, maintains Sullivan, expounds the Johannine statement, ‘the Word became flesh’, in the light of the words, ‘and dwelt among us’, which follow, and insists that incarnation means ‘indwelling’ or ‘inhabiting’. The Word indwells or inhabits the assumed man. That God became man means, therefore, that God came to be in a man.⁹¹⁶

The bishop of Mopsuestia, however, rejects two kinds of indwelling—indwelling by nature; and indwelling by operation. Since by nature God is uncircumscribed and everywhere present, his indwelling by nature cannot be localized, and therefore his indwelling in the assumed man cannot be by nature. God’s indwelling by operation is there in all creatures. The indwelling of God the Word in the assumed man is a special kind of inhabitation, which is referred to as indwelling by ‘good pleasure’ or indwelling by a ‘disposition of will’ (*eudokia*). This is not the same as the indwelling of God in a saint or a prophet; for in the assumed man God the Word is well pleased to dwell as in a son. Thus the assumed man is invested with divine honour and dominion, and God the Son accomplishes all things in

him.⁹¹⁷ The disposition of will signifies for Theodore ‘the best and noblest will of God’ (*thelesis*).⁹¹⁸

vii. With special reference to the assumed man, Theodore insists, that he is sinless. The grace of God kept him free from sin, and the grace continued even in the crucifixion. The Word raised the man from death.⁹¹⁹ The union of the Word and the man, according to Theodore, is susceptible of varying degrees. Before the crucifixion, for instance, the Word did many things through the man; yet He allowed the man to practise virtue of his own free choice, by being encouraged and strengthened by the Word. The union and the operation between the Word and the man is more perfect in heaven than on earth.⁹²⁰

The foregoing summary of the Christology of Theodore made in the light of the findings of recent scholars agrees with the interpretation of the Antiochene position as stated by Severus and other non-Chalcedonian theologians. Sullivan thinks that the insufficiency of the Antiochene Christology as worked out by Theodore is the result of two defects. In the first place, the Antiochenes do not draw a distinction between ‘nature’ and ‘person’s whereby they take the two natures united in Jesus Christ as two persons. Consequently the Antiochenes can affirm only a conjunction of two persons. Secondly, the Antiochenes conceive of the one *prosopon* of Jesus Christ as having come into being *de nova* by the conjunction of the two persons.

On this ground the conclusion is drawn that Theodore did teach a doctrine of two sons, which Nestorius happened to inherit, it is on this basis that the council of 431 condemned him as a heretic.

3. *The Non-Chalcedonian Position Relative to that of the Antiochene School*

The non-Chalcedonian objection to the Antiochene position is not precisely the same as that noted against it by Sullivan. In fact, the concern behind the Antiochene insistence on a union of two *hypostases* and on the *prosopon* of Christ being the *prosopon* formed of a union of two *hypostatic* realities is conserved by Severus, without dividing his natures one from the other. So, for Severus, three things happened together:

- i. God the Word formed the manhood in the womb of the Virgin through the Holy Spirit, without male co-operation.
- ii. The union of the Godhead of the Word with the manhood, while the manhood was being formed.
- iii. The individuation of the manhood in union with the Godhead, whereby the manhood becomes *hypostatic*.

This position may be compared to the emphasis of John of Damascus, 'Thus three things took place at the same time'; writes he: 'the assuming of the flesh, its coming into being, and its being made divine'.⁹²¹

The Severian position should not, however, be misrepresented. By affirming the *hypostatic* reality of Christ's manhood he does not admittedly grant two concrete centres of being and activity in the one Christ, as the Antiochenes do. This is where he insists on the 'one *hypostasis*' as 'composite'. When the natures concurred into the one 'composite *hypostasis*', Christ received his one *prosopon* also. The locus of the union is not *prosopon*, but it is the *hypostasis*, and the union is also *hypostatic*. We may say that the *hypostasis* of Christ, though it is the divine *hypostasis* of God the Word, the manhood also has become *hypostatic* in union with it; in the same way his *prosopon*, though it is the *prosopon* of God the Word, the manhood also has become *prosopic* in it. The point of Severus can be appreciated in the light of the fact that Jesus Christ is a historical person, and that as such he has his *hypostasis* with a *prosopon*. It is this principle which the Severian Christology can conserve, and here it is not the Christology of the Chalcedonian side which claims to have made a synthesis of the various traditions in the Church, but that of the non-Chalcedonian theologian that incorporated the Antiochene concern effectively.

In this connection we may recall the emphasis of Severus concerning the two ages.⁹²² Like Theodore, as Norris shows,⁹²³ Severus also has a doctrine of two ages, or two stages in the work of God the Son. In the first he is un-incarnate or pre-incarnate, when his *hypostasis* and *prosopon* are exclusively divine. But in the second stage he is a reality within human history. He came into the historical realm by means of a second

birth from a human mother, from whom he assumed manhood which became *hypostatic* and concrete in union with himself. This is a dispensation of God the Son, in which the incarnate Son took on himself a composite *hypostasis* with its *prosopon*.⁹²⁴ Since the locus of union is the *hypostasis*, Severus insists on the communication of properties both ways, with the result that things divine can be predicated of the manhood and things human can be predicated of the Godhead.⁹²⁵ Accordingly Severus and other non-Chalcedonian theologians are able to affirm of God the Son a conception in the womb of a human mother and a birth from her in the natural course of pregnancy; the enduring of all human experiences with the exception of sin; the suffering of physical agony and mental anguish; and the humiliating death on the cross. There was no reduction of things human in the one Christ, because the manhood which God the Son assumed from Mary was subject to all natural conditions of manhood, endowed as it was with all essential human properties and faculties. But because of the *hypostatic* union which brought into being one composite *hypostasis*, these properties and faculties had their expression in Christ only in union. The one *hypostasis* of Jesus Christ is the concrete *person* who lived in the historical realm, in whom God the Son and the individuated manhood were united in his most inward and personal depth of being.

The objection which Severus sees in the Antiochene position as twofold. On the one hand, it conceives of the manhood as having been formed in the Virgin's womb prior to the union—a point which we have noted⁹²⁶—and on the other, it divides things divine from things human in Christ. The real point of the first criticism is that the manhood had become a *hypostasis* even before, and apart from, the union with God the Son. So Severus argues that for Antiochene theologians like Diodore, Theodore, Nestorius, Theodoret of Cyrus, Andrew of Samosata, and so on, there was only a conjunction of God the Son and the man Jesus. Modern studies of the Antiochene position have, in fact, shown that this reading by men like Severus is not incorrect.

The dividing of things divine from things human is also a point on which modern scholars have shown that Severus and men like him were right in their judgment. For Theodore, as Sullivan

shows, 'it is not the Word who suffers, but the man assumed'.⁹²⁷ Norris reproduces a passage to the same purport.⁹²⁸

When we hear the Scripture saying either that Jesus was honoured or glorified, or that something was added to him, or that he received domination over all things, let us not understand God the Word, but the assumed Man.

The point made by Theodore here as elsewhere is that things human cannot be predicated of God the Word. The non-Chalcedonian tradition does not agree with the Antiochene position at this point, and this indeed is a point on which they differ.

There is, however, one point on which the contribution of modern scholars should lead us to go beyond Cyril and the non-Chalcedonian theologians of ancient times in evaluating the Antiochene position. Theologians of the Antiochene school, as modern scholars have shown, had inherited an intellectual background which would not enable them spontaneously to affirm the *hypostatic* union of Godhead and manhood, or to predicate of God the Son the things human, or to accommodate the concept of one *hypostasis* with reference to Jesus Christ. At the same time, 'while remaining in their own intellectual milieu, they have done their best to confess the faith of the Church in Jesus Christ in the light of the biblical tradition, and affirmed that he was indeed *sui generis*.

Theodore, for instance, conceives of God and man as ultimately disparate. God is immanent in the world, admits the Antiochene theologian, both according to substance (*ousia*) and according to activity (*energeia*). On this ground Theodore rejects the emphasis that God the Word indwelt the assumed man according to either substance or activity, and insists that the indwelling is according to a disposition of will. Even here he makes it clear that the indwelling of this description in the assumed man is different in quality from the indwelling of God by disposition of will in saints.⁹²⁹

It should also be noted that although the Antiochenes do not say that God the Word was conceived in the womb of the human mother, or that he was born from her, they affirm the Virgin birth, thereby confessing that God took the initiative in bringing the assumed man into being. Besides. Theodore insists that the

assumed man ‘was indwelt by God the Word from his very formation in the womb of the mother’; that the union was not of two *prosopa*; and that the conjunction of God the Word and the man was not a mere co-operation between God and man.⁹³⁰ According to the bishop of Mopsuestia, God the Word had his conjunction with the assumed man from the first moment of his formation in the mother’s womb. For he writes:⁹³¹

God the Word came to be in him when he had been formed. For he was not only in him as he ascended into heaven, but also as he rose from the dead. Nor was he in him only as he rose from the dead, but also as he was crucified and baptized, and as he was living the evangelical life after his baptism: and also even before his baptism, as he was fulfilling the requirement of the law. Moreover he was in him even as he was being born, and when he was in his mother’s womb, straightway from his first formation. For he imposed an order on the things that concerned him, bringing him to perfection step by step.

Theodore admits, writes Norris, that ‘It was the Word who brought him to birth, who led him to baptism, who delivered him to death and raised him, and who therefore accorded him the immortal and immutable nature in which he now exists in heaven.’⁹³²

Norris thinks that it is possible to draw three conclusions about the Christology of Theodore.

- i. Theodore’s view of the union is not ‘co-operation’. The co-operation between God the Word and the man is the result of the union. The union did not affect the man’s moral activity, which again is not the explanation of the union.
- ii. The union is the result of a divine condescension which is prior to, and a presupposition of, what is accomplished in and through the man.
- iii. Theodore does not offer any explanation of the union beyond his assertion that it is an indwelling which takes place by a disposition of the divine will. At the same time he attaches great significance to the relationship of subordination between

the Word and the man, which makes of a 'conjunction' between two subjects an organic unity.⁹³³

It is clear, therefore, that the Antiochene Christology deserves a more objective evaluation than has often been given to it. Within their intellectual milieu men like Theodore have tried to maintain a position which, at least from their point of view, was not one of two sons.

A comparison of the theology of Severus with that of Theodore will show that the former shares the latter's concern on a number of issues, while keeping to his emphasis on the unity of Christ. We have already noted two of these, namely that the term 'nature' in the Christological discussion means a concrete particular on the one hand, and that the person of Jesus Christ is not merely the *hypostasis* and *prosopon* of God the Word. Although they do not agree between them on these two issues, they share a common concern: and neither of them would grant the Chalcedonian point of view.

There is a third point on which the agreement between Severus and Theodore is more pronounced than between the latter and the Chalcedonian side. This has reference to the status of man before the fall of Adam. Norris is of the opinion that there are two strands of this issue in the writings of Theodore. According to one, man was created immortal originally, but he became mortal through sin. There are however, other passages where Theodore insists that man is *created* mortal, and that death pertains to the nature of man.⁹³⁴

As we have shown,⁹³⁵ it is the second of these two views that Severus maintains. Severus agrees also with Theodore that the manhood of Christ was invested with divine glory and honour as well as authority. The basis of this emphasis is the *hypostatic* union, which makes the exchange of properties possible. From here, however, Severus does not go on to work out the theory of divinization of manhood in general. Here also the agreement between Severus and the Antiochene side is more than the agreement between the Chalcedonian side and the Antiochenes.

A more important emphasis on which both Theodore and Severus agree bears on the role which the manhood plays in

Christ's saving work. In fact, this is a point on which there is consensus among Theodore, Severus and John of Damascus. We have been saved, affirms Severus, by the death of Christ. So, quoting Hebrews II, he argues that the assuming of manhood by God the Word was indispensable for the accomplishment of human salvation.

The emphasis made here, as we have already noted,⁹³⁶ is that our forefather Adam had been defeated in battle by the devil, whereby the whole human race came under the bondage of the adversary; therefore, justice demanded that man himself should fight man's battle. In other words, the salvation of the human race has been effected by God the Son in and through manhood, which had its dynamic role in the redeeming work. The fact that Severus is opposed to the Julianist thesis which considers the manhood of Christ as the manhood of Adam before the fall should be recalled in this connection.⁹³⁷ In his view, 'the flesh of Christ was not subject to sin, but it was like our sinful flesh'.⁹³⁸

This position of Severus may be compared to that of Theodore who, as Norris notes, does deliberately, but cautiously admit that 'Christ must be not only the bearer of salvation and the bringer of the Second Age of Immortality; he is also one for whom the salvation is wrought.'⁹³⁹ On this emphasis, in fact, Theodore, Severus and John of Damascus⁹⁴⁰ clearly agree, although the Chalcedonian theologian endorses the Julianist thesis much more than the other two men. With this exception. for all the three men, the work of redemption involves a double agency, namely God the Son through whom man had originally been created and manhood which had come under bondage. If the Antiochene Christology is to be credited with having affirmed the humanity of Christ unreservedly, it is a fact that between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian theologians, the latter conserve the Antiochene concerns much more effectively than the former.

The Severian affirmation of the manhood of Christ as *hypostatic* has a special significance which may be noted in this way. The Christian view of reality is not monism; neither is it dualism, it understands the relation between God and man by means of the doctrine of creation. Man, including the manhood of Christ, is a creature. Made in the image of God, man is by nature capable of reflecting God and maintaining relation with the Creator. In this

divine-human relation, it is not with manhood as an abstract reality that God keeps his communion, but it is with men and women as human persons, among whom Jesus Christ came as the first member of the redeemed community. Therefore, the *hypostatic* character of Christ's manhood is not a dispensable *extra*, but it is absolutely indispensable for real manhood.

There is one final point. The Antiochenes, as we have noted, insist that God is beyond the limitations of time and space, and that in his relation to the world he is uncircumscribed. This is an emphasis which theologians of the Alexandrine tradition also have made. Athanasius of Alexandria, for instance, insists that when God the Word became man, the *kenosis* implied in the incarnation did not affect his divine control over the universe.⁹⁴¹ God who transcends time and space should not be considered one *thing* within the time-space realm. In the incarnation God took the initiative and created man anew in himself by means of the *hypostatic* union which he established with manhood. By this action of God humanity has, in principle, been restored to its original harmony with the Creator. We, by a life of faith and dedication, are made partakers of the redemption thus worked out by God, and we look forward to its final consummation with reference to the entire creation in the world to come. This, in fact, is the way in which the Christology of the non-Chalcedonian side can be legitimately interpreted.

There is a difference in emphasis between it and the Christology of the Antiochene school. This does not lie in the interpretation of the fullness or reality of Christ's manhood. That Jesus Christ *is* perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood is affirmed by both sides with equal conviction and determination. The difference between the two traditions lies, in actual fact, in the interpretation which each of them offers to the unity of Christ. As we have noted, it is this difference which Cyril noted between his position and that of Nestorius; and it is the same point that Severus notes between his section of the Church on the one hand, and the Antiochene and the Chalcedonian sides on the other. Therefore, the point emphasized by each side amounts only to asking for an amendment in the position insisted on by the other.

4. *Some comments on the christology of the Chalcedonian Side*

As we have seen, both the *Tome of Leo* and the definition of Chalcedon sanctioned the Antiochene phrase ‘two natures after the union’ by adopting the affirmation that Jesus Christ is ‘made known in two natures’. We have no way of ascertaining the meaning which the delegates to the council of 451 saw in the term ‘nature’ at that time. So far as we have evidence, the Chalcedonian side did not clarify its meaning during the fifth century.

Faced with opposition from the council’s critics, the Chalcedonian side began to address itself to this question in the sixth century. By this effort there emerged a tradition of considering ‘nature’ as a synonym for *ousia* and taking it in an abstract sense.

In fact, this was the only feasible way open to those who were concerned with the defence of Chalcedon regarding its ‘in two natures’. But by defining the term in this way, the Chalcedonian side moved away from the expressed aim of claiming that the council had worked out a synthesis of theological principles underlying the Alexandrine, the Antiochene and the western traditions, and to develop a position which was far more anti--Nestorian and anti-Antiochene than that of the non-Chalcedonian side ever really was.

It is this position that men like John of Damascus of the Chalcedonian side have maintained by means of the doctrine of *enhypostasia*, which consists of the following emphases:

- i. Jesus Christ is the incarnation of God the Son.
- ii. He is one *hypostasis* made known in two natures.
- iii. The one *hypostasis* is the divine *hypostatic* of God the Son.
- iv. The term ‘nature’ refers to an abstract reality, and this refers with special stress to Christ’s manhood.

v. The natures are perfect and each of them is endowed with its own properties and faculties, without any reduction. Therefore, Christ has two natural wills and two natural operations.

vi. Since the manhood is without its own *hypostasis*, God the Son gave it his *hypostasis*. In this way the manhood is not *anhypostatic* but is *enhypostatic*.

vii. Although the manhood of Christ is without its own *hypostasis*, it is concrete and particular.

The last admission does, in fact, bring the manhood of Christ down to the earth. Yet the human reality maintained here is far from clear. The human nature, for instance, is declared to be such that it can 'act' and 'will', but it is confessed to be not *hypostatic*; or again, the human nature is said to be abstract and yet it is spoken of as being concrete and particular. How can the humanity which is affirmed as abstract become visible and concrete by its inherence in the invisible God? These are some of the questions which puzzle one who views the Chalcedonian position critically. In fact, till these questions are explained and clarified, one has to insist that the Chalcedonian Christology as interpreted by the Thomistic tradition, to which reference is made by Sullivan, is not above defect. If the Antiochene position is weak with reference to the affirmation of Christ's unity, the interpretation of Christology as preserved in the Thomistic school is equally weak on the question of Christ's human reality from a historical point of view. As we have noted, if John of Damascus does not admit the *hypostatic* character of Christ's manhood, the position which he works out is subject to the same flaw. If he admits it, but for his undue leaning towards Julianism, his theological exposition bearing on the person of Christ does not contain any idea worth reckoning which Severus had not already conserved.

5. *A Word in Conclusion*

Theologians of all the three traditions agree, at least in their intention, on affirming the full divinity, the full humanity and the real unity of Christ. The disagreement among them has reference

only to the way in which they interpret the three ideas. The Antiochene Christology, for instance, affirms the divinity and the humanity as two persons or *hypostases*, with the result that its exposition of Christ's unity is weak. The Christology of the Chalcedonian side as worked out by theologians from the sixth century is strong in its affirmation of Christ's divinity and unity. However, on the question of his human reality from a historical point of view, it stands in need of further clarification. Points of agreement between the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian positions are indeed remarkable. Of the three Christological traditions, the one that conserves the principles of divinity, humanity and unity more satisfactorily than either of the other is not that worked out by the Chalcedonian side from the sixth century, but it is the position conserved by Severus of Antioch and the non-Chalcedonian side. If the council of Chalcedon had succeeded in making a synthesis of the various traditions then existing in the Church, the Chalcedonian side has *not* followed it up. On the contrary, in its effort to make out that it constituted orthodoxy exclusively, the Chalcedonian side misrepresented the position of the council's critics and developed a Christology which renounced even the theological contribution of value of the great Antiochene school.

Before bringing this discussion to a close, it is necessary to look into the basis on which Andre de Halleux sees 'monophysitism' in Philoxenos of Mabbogh. He maintains that, for Philoxenos, God the Word is the subject of the incarnation and that this emphasis constitutes the chief element of 'monophysitism' in the theology of the bishop of Mabbogh.⁹⁴²

In view of this comment, we should make two observations. In the first place, Andre de Halleux's reading of the Christology of Philoxenos at this point is a clear case of over-simplification, if not of distortion. It is a fact that following the Alexandrine fathers, Philoxenos would maintain that God the Word *incarnate* is the subject of the incarnation. His emphasis is not that it is God the Word in his un-incarnate or pre-incarnate state who is that subject. Since it is God the Word incarnate who is the subject of the incarnation, the human subject is there in the one Christ united with God the Word. This is clear from the emphasis of Philoxenos, on the one hand, that God the Word is beyond passion and suffering, and on the other, that in the

incarnation God the Word endured suffering, humiliation and death more poignantly than anyone else.⁹⁴³ Besides, he insists that in the incarnation neither God the Word nor the manhood changed over into the other.⁹⁴⁴

The point made by Philoxenos is not difficult to explain. To admit the reality of a human subject in Christ over against the divine subject is, for him, to deny the incarnation. In his view the incarnate Lord is a unity. Bearing this fact in mind, we may expound his teaching in this way. Created in the image of God, man has been recreated in God the Word by means of the *hypostatic* union through the incarnation. In this way, manhood has reached its ultimate union with the Creator, without losing its created subjecthood. For God remains God and man remains a creature which he is. Since man is made in the image of God, it is possible for God to become incarnate, without either God or man losing the identity which each of them has. But in the incarnate state all that is divine comes to belong to the manhood, and all that is human comes to be ascribed to God. It is this state of union between God and man that has been realized in Jesus Christ by means of the incarnation. Philoxenos is clear that through the mediation of Jesus Christ we ourselves will attain to the union with the divine in the *eschaton*, as it is signified in the sacraments of baptism and holy eucharist. Therefore, the Christology of Philoxenos is not a naive insistence on God the Word as the subject of the incarnation. It is, in fact, much more subtle than that, and it affirms the unity of Christ with real consistency.

There is a second point also to be noted with reference to Andre de Halleux's effort to see 'monophysitism' in the theology of the bishop of Mabbogh. That God the Word is the subject of the incarnation has, as we have shown⁹⁴⁵ been the teaching of the Chalcedonian side, at least from the beginning of the sixth century. The theory of *enhypostasia*, for instance, makes precisely this point. In the incarnation, insists this theory, God the Son became the person of the manhood, in addition to being the person of the Godhead of the Son. It is practically the same position which, as Sullivan observes,⁹⁴⁶ Thomism maintains. According to him, for Thomism, the manhood of Christ, though it is concrete and particular, is at the same time abstract, and this is affirmed in order to avoid granting a human *suppositum* in

Christ. If there is no human *suppositum* in Christ, his manhood has to have its person in the person of God the Word.

The question which needs to be clarified is whether the strict Chalcedonianism, to which Charles Moeller refers and which Andre de Halleux himself seems to praise, has an interpretation at this point different from that of *enhypostasia* or of Thomism—an interpretation which does exclude the Nestorian division. Andre de Halleux does not discuss this question. As we have seen, the definition of Chalcedon speaks of ‘one person’ as being made known ‘in two natures’. The subject of the incarnation should most certainly be the one person. Who is this one person? If the two natures are such that each of them is a subject, one fails to understand how Nestorianism is excluded by strict Chalcedonianism. If, on the other hand, the one person is affirmed to activate the natures, the problem is not solved. Strict Chalcedonianism has to choose between the Christology of Severus and the non-Chalcedonian side on the one hand, and that of *enhypostasia* on the other, if it really wants to exclude Nestorianism.

Whether strict Chalcedonianism has an adequate answer to this question or not, the fact has to be admitted that if the Christology of Philoxenos is ‘monophysite’, the position maintained by the theory of *enhypostasia* is equally, if not more, ‘monophysite’.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Our Findings

In the light of the facts which we have discussed in the present study we can make the following remarks with reference to the Christological controversy:

(a) What Christian theology refers to as ‘Nestorianism’ is the misleading position which the Antiochene interpretation of the person of Jesus Christ came to be understood to affirm. Neither Nestorius himself nor any of the men recognised as leaders of the Antiochene school may have held it in any extreme form. In the same way ‘Eutychianism’ or ‘Monophysitism’ is a distorted version of the Alexandrine Christology. The evidence which we have is not really adequate to insist that Eutyches had maintained it. Since, however, he was not capable of bringing out his view clearly, no defence of the man is necessary to be undertaken. It should be stressed at the same time that neither Cyril of Alexandria nor any of the recognized theologians and Church fathers of the non-Chalcedonian side including Dioscorus of Alexandria has ever been guilty of asserting it.

(b) At a time when the Church in the Mediterranean and the middle eastern world was more or less united, a synthesis of the Alexandrine and the Antiochene positions was felt to be indeed desirable. The fact, however, is that it was not possible to be worked out even in those ancient times. For one thing, each position had become so deeply established in certain areas that neither side was willing to work for a *rapprochement*. The reunion of 433, for instance, was an incident which could be

taken by the parties concerned as a basis on which to arrive at a synthesis. But each side took it only as a stepping-stone to advance all its emphases to the exclusion of those of the other. In this, to be sure, the Alexandrine side was much stronger than that of the Antiochenes. Chalcedon, on its part, reversed this situation, by going beyond what had been granted by the reunion of 433 in asserting the phrase 'in two natures'. After Chalcedon also the same thing happened in connection with the *Henotikon* of Zeno. Although it had been issued as an instrument whereby to bring the parties to unity, those who accepted the document on either side took it only as an immediate step from which to assert their respective points of view, without paying heed to the opinion of their opponents.

(c) At Chalcedon, although Rome's concern was only with making the council accept the *Tome of Leo* without questioning and seeing that its theology was adopted as the Church's doctrinal standard, the imperial authority was keen to have a formula of the faith drawn up by a committee consisting of men belonging to the various provinces of the Church, thereby bringing unity to the empire. Here the state leadership was guided by political considerations, and not theological interest, combined with the issue of human prestige.

(d) In insisting on an acceptance of the *Tome of Leo* so uncompromisingly, Rome was led as much by the idea of pressing its papal claims as by the desire of sharing its understanding of the faith as it had been conserved in the theological tradition of the church in the west. But in so doing, pope Leo showed no understanding of the Christological controversy in the east, nor did he base his theological interpretation on the decisions of earlier councils which had been reckoned as ecumenical. In the same way, the imperial authority in Constantinople had no sympathy either for the council of Ephesus in 431 or for the theological tradition of the Alexandrine fathers. The plan of the emperor and the empress was to befriend Rome against Alexandria with a view to raising Constantinople, the capital of the empire, to a position of leadership in Church, second only to Rome. Since the western see and the imperial authority in Constantinople, who controlled the council of Chalcedon, had each of them its own plan to carry out through it—a plan which surely had no bearing on the Christological question—neither of

them had any difficulty in misrepresenting the point of view of the council's opponents in the most amazing manner, without showing even a shred of evidence in its support.

(e) Pressed from the side of Rome on the one hand, and from that of the imperial authority on the other, the synodal committee produced a definition of the faith which was a sort of compromise formula, evading the central problem facing the Church at that time. Although it satisfied Rome and the men of the Antiochene side, it came to be opposed by Alexandrines who had not taken part in the council of 451. To be sure, both Rome and the emperors had misjudged the hold which the Alexandrine theological heritage had in the east. The opposition to the council was so vehement and determined that the Chalcedonian position had to be defended on the one hand by a ruthless programme of persecution let loose on the council's opponents by the emperors of Constantinople, and on the other by reading into them the monophysite heresy in spite of their disclaiming it in clear terms. Neither of these measures helped the Chalcedonian side to bring the entire eastern church to its adherence, in fact, the efforts of Justinian and some of the successors to effect a reunion did not materialise because of the simple reason that the Chalcedonian side would not give up the council and the non-Chalcedonian side would have nothing to do with it.

(f) Faced with the challenge of the council's opponents, the Chalcedonian side in the east undertook to work out a Christological position from the beginning of the sixth century. It was essentially the same as that already developed by the council's critics on the foundation of the theological tradition maintained by the Alexandrine fathers, with the significant difference that it defended the council of 451 and the formula of 'in two natures', while both these were rejected by the opponents of the council. But in allowing this development, the Chalcedonian side, though it kept to the phrase 'in two natures', moved away from Chalcedon's compromising attitude towards the Antiochene theological emphases. In fact, if by so doing, the Chalcedonian side adopted an interpretation of the person of Christ ignoring the *hypostatic* character of his manhood, or accommodating the Julianist ideas, it is more anti-Nestorian and

anti-Antiochene than the Christology of men like Severus of Antioch on the non-Chalcedonian side.

(g) The obvious conclusion is that by defending the council of Chalcedon, the Chalcedonian side did not really achieve anything for orthodoxy which the non-Chalcedonian side, while rejecting that council, had not all along maintained consistently as their doctrinal standpoint. Therefore, the issue between the two sides was, at best, only one of expressing reservation by either side regarding the language asserted by the other. If the two sides, are willing to go beyond the terminologies, it will not be impossible for them to accept an agreed formula, and on its basis to work for the restoration of their lost unity.

(h) There is, however, *one* idea insisted on by John of Damascus, following the tradition of earlier theologians recognized by the Chalcedonian side, which the non-Chalcedonian side has not developed in the same way. This has reference to the affirmation that the manhood of Christ was from the moment of its formation in union with God the Son divinized. Linked intimately with the theory of *enhypostasia*, this view takes the manhood as 'nature' or *physis* without its own *hypostasis*. Since, as we have already noted, the manhood has the *hypostasis* of God the Son as its own *hypostasis*, it is the same God the Son who performs what is human as well as what is divine. For this reason the manhood of Christ is divinized, The divinization of Christ's manhood in this sense is not the teaching of the non-Chalcedonian side. In their view, the manhood which is individuated and therefore *hypostatic*, has become the humanity of God the Son and for this reason it is filled with divine glory.

(l) Between the Chalcedonian position as it came to be worked out in the east from the sixth century and the tradition conserved by the Antiochene side, stands the Christological teaching of the non-Chalcedonian side. If the last two positions can get over old prejudices, they will be able to reach a theological agreement on the question of Christ's person between them more easily than the first two positions. In fact, unless the Chalcedonian side comes to realize the value of the personal character of Christ's manhood, it will not appreciate the theological contribution of the Antiochene theologians.

2. *The Relevance of the Discussion in contemporary Context*

The Christological controversy belongs admittedly to ancient Church history. A study in depth of that phase of ecclesiastical history should be of contemporary significance at least in three ways.

(a) *From an Ecumenical Perspective*

The Christological controversy, as we have noted, was the apparent cause of the division of eastern Christianity into three bodies. Following the split in the fifth century, each of them looked upon the others as heretical and broke off communion with them.

Was this action justified? The question is indeed very important. The ascription of heresy, for instance, would seem to assume that at the time of the division there existed a universally acknowledged norm of orthodoxy in the Church. Is it a fact that such a norm was there in the Church during the fifth century? As we have shown, we have evidence that subsequent to the council of Ephesus in 431 there emerged two positions which had a bearing on this question. Thus the Alexandrines maintained that orthodoxy required continuity with the creed of Nicea as it had been confirmed by the council of 431. But the Antiochenes were not willing to endorse the council of 431 in its totality; they acknowledged that council only insofar as it had been approved by the Reunion of 433. In that situation the council of Chalcedon paid no attention to these conflicting views, but offered the *Tome of Leo* and the council's own definition as the norm of orthodoxy. However, these are the very things which the non-Chalcedonian side strongly criticized and rejected. As for the Church of the East which perpetuates the memory of Nestorius and other Antiochene theologians, it took no cognizance of the council of 451. If we take these facts into account, we shall see that in ascribing heresy by each of the three bodies to the others, it was not assuming a norm of orthodoxy which had been admitted by all of them prior to the division. In other words,

none of these ecclesiastical traditions has a legitimate basis to look upon the others as heretical.

The churches are, however, disunited, and an effective means of helping them to regain their lost unity is indeed a need. In fact, Rome has tried, on the strength of its claim of universal supremacy over the Church, to solve the problem by creating uniate churches with converts from members of these historic communities to its adherence. Although this plan had a limited amount of success in very few areas of eastern Christianity, what has been accomplished is not really worth reckoning. The problem needs a satisfactory solution on the strength of an objective and positive evaluation of the history of that division as well as of the doctrinal position conserved by each of these churches. It is an effort towards this end that we have tried to fulfil by means of this study.

(b) From the Perspective of Ecclesiastical Authority

If there was no agreed norm of orthodoxy at the time of the division, was there not ecclesiastical authority to be reckoned with? Pope Leo, for instance, claimed for his *Tome* divine inspiration through Petrine succession, and the Chalcedonian body in the east maintained that the Holy Spirit had led the council of Chalcedon, as also other ecumenical councils, to conserve the faith in its purity. In both cases the question at issue has reference to ecclesiastical authority, which indeed is a subject of real importance for the Church at all times, including our own.

Two positions are noted here. Firstly, there is the emphasis that as the linear successor of Apostle Peter, the bishop of Rome has a direct personal access to the secrets of the chief of the Apostles and through him to the mind of the incarnate God the Son himself, and that for this reason he is invested with special authority to interpret the faith inerrantly by himself, without any external assistance. Secondly, it is insisted that as an ecumenical council the Chalcedonian assembly has made a declaration of the faith which should be considered binding on the whole Church. Conciliar authority, in fact, is not taken in any agreed sense. Whereas some church traditions try to make out that by the very

act of deciding an issue the ecumenical council speaks authoritatively, others would maintain only that authority of a conciliar decision depends upon the truth content which it conserves. Those who hold the latter view would assert that all the recognized ecumenical councils have made doctrinal decisions which have been validated as conserving Christian truth.

Our point here is not to discuss the issue of ecclesiastical authority by defending or criticizing either of the two foregoing views, but to observe that in the light of the facts which we have brought out about the council of Chalcedon and other councils neither of these claims can be supported in an unqualified sense. Therefore, neither the Christological controversy nor the councils which discussed the issue in olden times can legitimately be cited as worthy precedents pointing to the way in which ecclesiastical authority should be properly exercised.

In saying this we do not imply that the story of Chalcedon *ipso facto* disproves the papal claims of Rome or the eastern claims of conciliar authority. It is a fact, however, that like the issue concerning norms of orthodoxy, the question of how ecclesiastical authority should be exercised has no agreed tradition in the Church. Whereas the east in general adopts the theory of conciliar authority as the final arbiter in ecclesiastical matters, Rome adds to it papal supremacy over the Church. Both these positions are unclear in regard to a number of points. The papal theory, for example, has to substantiate the claim that Apostle Peter had a knowledge of the mind of Christ with reference to any doctrinal dispute which may arise in the Church, and that this is inherited by the bishops of Rome. As for the conciliar theory, the fact is that it has not clarified itself concerning its composition and the nature of its authority. Should, for instance, bishops alone have the right of membership in a council? It is a fact that the custom of only bishops constituting a council is not older than the council of Chalcedon. Even there the presiding officers were state officials, not even ordained men, and there were clergymen of non-episcopal ranks actively involved in the council's proceedings. It should also be remembered that ancient councils did not arrive at their decisions by the procedure of vote-taking by bishops alone. In the light of such facts what we can say is that the Church had different

traditions with reference to the exercise of ecclesiastical authority. In the contemporary setting of the Church these should be brought together with appropriate modifications in each of them. The council of Chalcedon and other ecclesiastical assemblies of olden times do, as a matter of fact, point their finger to this need.

As regards the exercise of ecclesiastical authority we should bear in mind a number of facts. In the first place, both the bishop of Rome himself and the bishops who take part in councils whether as individual persons or as a body are children of their own age. We have no basis for believing that through papal enthronement or episcopal consecration they have been enabled to transcend their human limitations in knowledge, prejudice or conditions of life. Secondly, authority in the real sense belongs by nature to God alone. Any authority in the Church is derived from him, and it is granted for the carrying out of his plan and purpose. Therefore, all ecclesiastical authority should conform to the divine plan and mandate in its exercise. Thirdly, ecclesiastical decisions, whether doctrinal or administrative, are bound to be relative to the times and conditions in which they are made. Though the value of the principle underlying them should be recognized whenever possible and necessary, the decisions themselves cannot be insisted on for the acceptance of the Church for all times and for everywhere. In making this point, it should be recalled that the Chalcedonian side has modified its stand with reference to at least three positions which the council of 451 had adopted (i) the decision concerning Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa; (ii) whereas Chalcedon had practically ignored the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril, the council of 553 proceeded on the assumption that the council of 451 had in fact recognized the document as fully authoritative; and (iii) although Chalcedon had excluded the phrases 'from two natures' and 'one incarnate nature of God the Word', the Chalcedonian side declared them orthodox and acceptable in the sixth century. Fourthly, with reference to the councils of 553 and 680-81, we have seen that both of them had most deplorably misrepresented the Christological position of the non-Chalcedonian side.

In claiming these and similar other councils to be ecumenical and authoritative, these facts about them cannot be ignored. They show that none of them was in itself inerrant, and that no

authority can be ascribed to them in an unqualified sense. They are, in fact, ecclesiastical assemblies held in particular contexts subject to their limitations. What is of value in them consists in the principles of the faith which they may have sought to safeguard. With their positive contributions and their failures, they belong to Christian history. Conserving the principles of value found in them and rejecting the mistakes which they may have committed, we shall try to face our responsibilities in our contemporary situations. For this there is no need for insisting on a juridical acceptance of any council by a church tradition which had rejected it in the past. Our point here may be made clear in this way. Whereas the ancient Church of Persia does not recognize the councils of the fifth century and those held in later times, and whereas the non-Chalcedonian side does not accept the councils of 451, 553 and 680-81, the Chalcedonian side claims to stand in the tradition set up by these councils in continuation of the council of 431. The real point of this claim is not that the Chalcedonian side includes them in its list of accepted councils. The legal acceptance of a council does not mean anything unless it implies the endorsement of the doctrinal principle affirmed by that council. The only legitimate sense in which a council can be said to be accepted is thus the admitting of the faith which it is believed to have safeguarded. Viewed in this way, the difference among the three traditions into which the Church came to be split on account of the Christological controversy is not really insurmountable. Even with reference to the second council of Ephesus in 449 which the non-Chalcedonian side considers acceptable, although Chalcedon tried to make out that it had been excluded summarily, the fact is that almost all its decisions bearing on the faith of the Church have been ratified by the council of 553 implicitly, and they continue alive in both the Chalcedonian and the non-Chalcedonian sides.

(c) *In the Light of the Church's Faith*

The real issue then is the Church's faith in the person of Jesus Christ. It is, in fact, as old as Christianity itself. The synoptic gospels record how our Lord asked the disciples who, in their view, he was, and how Peter made the famous confession that he was the Christ, the Son of the living God. This same answer is

implied in the New Testament writings in a real sense. Following the New Testament times, the fathers of the Church continued the process by further expounding the faith. In carrying on the work they relied primarily on the rule of faith, which for them signified the Church's deposit of faith.

The work which these men had done in their respective generations, which guided the Church more than anything else, should be viewed as much from the point of view of the method they used as from that of the content which they sought to conserve. Both these aspects of their work are indeed important.

i) The Method

Theological expositions of the ancient Church were carried on within the cultural and intellectual settings of those times. In interpreting the faith they took over in varying degrees ideas and concepts current in the Graeco-Roman religious and intellectual world. But they were not doing this by uncritically adopting a syncretistic attitude in regard to the Christian confession. They tried, on the other hand, to remain faithful to the rule of faith which they reckoned to be based on the Apostolic preaching, as also the reality of a life of worship and discipline that had been developed on its foundation. Thus in their theological undertaking they followed a method aimed at safeguarding the essential character of Christianity.

The developing of a similar method whereby to conserve the faith on the one hand and to communicate it intelligently on the other is indispensable for the Church in every age. The cultural and intellectual conditions of the twentieth century are certainly not the same as those of the times in which ancient theologians and Church fathers lived and worked. Even in our day they are not the same for the European and the Indian or for the American and the African. Corresponding to the difference in culture and other conditions there should be different expressions of Christianity. In fact, the Church in every age and in every geographical area should be able to work out its own method of communication of the faith and patterns of life, without diluting or distorting the faith itself. Faced with this task, the Church can see in the method adopted by ancient theologians a worthy lesson of contemporary significance.

(ii) *The Content*

All the three bodies into which the Church came to be split on account of the Christological controversy are agreed in affirming that Jesus Christ is the one and only definitive saviour of the world. Thus all of them remain faithful to the rule of faith. They differ only in the interpretation of how he is to be so affirmed.

This fact may be illustrated by referring to the three positions. The Chalcedonian side affirms, both in its Byzantine eastern and in its Thomistic western traditions, that Jesus Christ is the saviour of the world, because he is God the Son who has united human nature to himself by becoming its person. God the Son, one of the Holy Trinity, gave himself as the activating agent of the human nature in Jesus Christ. Thus the reality that underlies all men and women who constitute the whole human race has been united to himself by God the Son—an emphasis which is found in all the three traditions. This is incarnation, and the person of the saviour is the eternal person of God the Son. The Antiochene side does not go all the way with this emphasis. It maintains that God the Son, one of the Holy Trinity, raised the human nature through one member of the race to a union with himself, though without undergoing a descent on his part, and thus he is the saviour of the world. The non-Chalcedonian position affirms that God the Son, one of the blessed Trinity, united manhood to himself. In the union the manhood is not impersonal, though not a person parallel to the person of God the Son. He is a compound person, God the Son integrating in himself the personal reality of the manhood. Jesus Christ is therefore God the Son in his incarnate state, and as such the saviour of the world.

Each of these positions is bound to raise questions, and none of them can be considered thoroughly without flaw from a strictly intellectual perspective. This itself is an indication that the issue needs reappraisal. The fact, however, is that all of them continue in the living stream of the Church's doctrinal heritage. Reckoning with their existence we should proceed on their basis to expound the faith meaningfully to our generation.

3. *In the Indian Context*

The three foregoing Christological traditions have, as we have already noted, been worked out by the Church of the Mediterranean and the middle eastern world within the context of the cultural and intellectual conditions of ancient times. A similar development has not taken place in any other part of the world where Christianity had spread, including India. Till recently the Indian church remained content with a daughterly status for itself by recognizing a parental body elsewhere in the world. For this reason the need for evolving a Christian tradition which was also genuinely Indian had not been felt. This situation changed since the advent of western missionaries, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, and a number of men undertook the work of interpreting the Christian faith in relation to the religious and intellectual background of Hinduism.

The work of these men included a discussion of the person of Jesus Christ, which may broadly be grouped under three heads. Firstly, there are those who adopt the *Sankarite-Advaitistic* standpoint in Hinduism as their Indian religious context and seek to develop a theology which is both Christian and Indian at the same time. Their Christian position is on the whole Thomistic and western. Thomism, as we have seen, conserves an emphasis regarding Christ's manhood which is very similar to the one affirmed by the theory of *enhypostasia*. These men can thus claim to remain loyal to the Chalcedonian position as it came to be worked out from the sixth century, although its connection with the theology of the council of 451 would need still to be established.

The second group consists of persons who maintain a position which may be described as a form of evolutionary Christology. They put their emphasis on the new creation of the human race in Christ and insist that he is permanently Man as he ought to be. Influenced by the liberal tradition in theology of the west during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these men are not really keen to base their interpretation either on the doctrine of the Trinity or on that of the Incarnation. They try to adapt their theological work to the Indian context chiefly through the *Bhakti Marga* of Hinduism. Thus their approach does not confront the *Advaitistic* emphasis of Hinduism, neither does it comprehend

the theological contribution of a large section of the Church both past and present.

Thirdly, there are men who are deeply involved in discovering viable link between Hinduism and Christianity. They have shown a more comprehensive view of Hinduism than those of the second group have done. As for their Christian background, they, like the other two groups, have derived their influence from the west.

Thus all the three traditions of Indian Christologies have tried to bring western Christianity in different forms in creative contact with Hinduism. While appreciating their work, we have to suggest that there is need for going further. It is a fact that in the Indian context, Christianity in one of its eastern forms had been in existence long before western Christianity ever appeared there and since its advent two forms of eastern Christianity continue to function. The theological heritages of these churches can be of real value in the Indian context.

There is another consideration which also deserves our attention. The Christological positions developed in ancient times and officially held by the churches have sought to answer one question. This has reference to the person of Jesus Christ. How is the human life which he lived on earth to be understood as forming a unity with the Godhead of God the Son which the Church proclaimed unceasingly he had as its faith, without ignoring the integrity of either of them? Even though this question is implied in the theological pursuit of Indian Christians, this has not been their primary concern. That lay, on the other hand, in working out an approach in theology within the Indian context which would enable them to proclaim Jesus Christ as the manifestation in history of the one and only Supreme Being, or as the one in whom man as he ought to be has been revealed. They have done this by suggesting that Jesus Christ is the *Cit* (Intelligence identified as the *Logos*) of *Advaitistic Saccidanada*, or that he is the *Antaryamin* (the immanent God) of the *Bhakti* religion operating uniquely in Jesus of Nazareth, or that he is the *Isvara* (the divine reality that connects *Brahman* with the world corresponding to the *Logos*) of *Advaitism*. What has thus been done in India would correspond roughly to the first step in the Christological enquiry which

ancient theologians had adopted. During the fifth century this first step had been more or less universally approved by the Church of the Mediterranean and the middle eastern world. Accordingly Jesus Christ had been acknowledged as the *Logos* of God - the second person of the eternal Trinity. Fifth century theologians could thus concentrate on the second step, seeking an answer to the question how the incarnate Son was to be understood. Indian Christian theology, though it is the work of men who have taken over the result of both these steps from the Church elsewhere, is faced with the task of establishing the first step in the Indian context before going on to the second. Regarding both these steps Indian Christian theology can receive insights from the contributions of ancient theologians.

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- ¹ Grillmeier, A. and Bacht. H *Dos Konzil Von Chalkedon: Geschichte Und Gegenwart*, Echter-verland Wurzburg, 1954.
- ² Sellers, R. V. *The Council of Chalcedon S. P. C. K., 1953*.
- ³ Grillmeier, A. *Christ in Christian Tradition*, Mowbrays, 1965.
- ⁴ The Ecumenical Review, July 1952, pp396-397
- ⁵ T. Nersoyan *The Christological position of the Armenian Church*, Diocese of the Armenian Church in America, 1962.
- ⁶ Sarkissian, K. *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church S. P. C. K., 1965*.
- ⁷ Title of an article, *The Ecumenical Review*, July 1960.
- ⁸ This is an important point in the controversy, which will become clear as we proceed.
- ⁹ A Latin word by which Pope Leo of Rome denounced the council of 449, meaning a 'meeting of robbers'.
- ¹⁰ A doctrinal letter composed by pope Leo
- ¹¹ For an English translation of the work, see *Bazaar of Heraclides*, tr. and ed. by G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, Oxford, 1925.
- ¹² The fact that the western theological tradition can accommodate the emphasis of the Nestorian school much more easily than the doctrinal heritage of Dioscorus has been admitted by scholars.
- ¹³ Referring to the condemnation of Eutyches on the ground that he did not accept the formula of 'two natures', Jalland observes that 'Flavian had exceeded his authority in demanding subscription to a formula for which as yet no oecumenical sanction could be claimed', and that therefore Flavian 'was guilty of undue haste'. See *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great*, S. P. C. K., 1941, pp.216-7.
- ¹⁴ In the opinion of Draguet, as Thomas Camelot notes, Eutyches represented a Christological position which was not fully developed, and therefore he should not be considered a heretic. See 'De Nestorius a Eutyches: L'opposition de deux christologies' in *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon, op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 236f. Kelly thinks that 'The traditional picture of Eutyches, it is clear, has been formed by picking out certain of his statements and pressing them to their logical conclusions..... He was not Docetist or Apollinarian; nothing could have been more explicit than his affirmation of the reality and completeness of the manhood'. See *Early Christian Doctrines*, Adam and Charles Black, 1958, pp. 332-3.
- ¹⁵ Lebon: 'Le christologie du monophysisme syrien' in *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon, op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 578-9; and Seller, *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, p. 273.
- ¹⁶ Jalland's evaluation of the second council of Ephesus is worth noting. He admits that 'most of our evidence regarding the council and its proceedings is from prejudiced sources'. Although 'Leo lays the chief blame for its misdeeds on Dioscorus', 'it is more than doubtful how far he was really responsible'. The real conduct of the council's proceedings was in the hands of the imperial commissioners. It must be allowed that 'Dioscorus made more than one attempt to give the papal letters a hearing'. Even about the charge of tumultuous behaviour, Chalcedon was no exception. See *op. cit.*, pp. 252-3. A similar view is expressed by Honigman also about the council of 449. See *Juvenal of Jerusalem*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 5, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 236.
- ¹⁷ In his work, *Le Monophysisme Severien*, Louvain, 1909, Lebon shows that Severus was a loyal disciple of Cyril of Alexandria. He makes practically the same point in his paper referred to in n. 15 with reference to all these men. For Sellers' treatment, see *op. cit.*, pp. 254 f.
- ¹⁸ Andre de Halleux *Philoxene de Mabbog: Sa Vie, Ses Ecrits, Sa Theologie*, Louvain, 1963.
- ¹⁹ "Proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon and its historical problems", *The Ecumenical Review*, October 1970.

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²⁰ Walter F. Adeney *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1908, p. 124.

²¹ The writer of this particular section in the *Oxford Dictionary*, if he means that the eastern churches which opposed the council of 451 held this view, does not seem to be right.

²² In his very valuable book, *The Rise of The Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge, 1972, W. H. C. Frend shows that the term 'monophysite' is a modern one, and that he uses it for the sake of convenience. However, his pro-Chalcedonian bias is also quite explicit, both in the title of the book and in the treatment of the subject.

²³ Derived from the Latin *credo*, meaning 'I believe', this word stood at the beginning of many of these statements.

²⁴ Grillmeier *op. cit.*, pp. 193-f. In the light of the Johannine statement, the Word became flesh and dwelt among us' (John 1: 14), the Alexandrine side sought to affirm Christ's unity by means of the World-flesh language.

²⁵ The term *hypostasis* is discussed below pp. 218f. Its meaning may be stated here in a preliminary way as a concrete particular, and hence a person. For a discussion of Apollinarianism, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, *op. cit.*, pp. 289f; and Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, *op. cit.*, pp. 220f.

²⁶ The terminological similarity between the Alexandrines and Apollinarianism was one of the bases on which they were attacked by the Antiochenes.

²⁷ Here also we are indebted to Grillmeier.

²⁸ A number of studies on the Christology of Theodore have been published in recent times. A reference to the subject is made below pp. 276f. with a summary of his teaching.

²⁹ This fact is noted by Francis A. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Rome, 1956,

³⁰ For a brief historical note on this term, see *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, see, Scr., vol. XLV, p. 208.

³¹ The Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius is included in T. H. Bindley, *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, Methuen.

³² For a discussion of *hypostatic union*, see below pp. 247f.

³³ This document is also included in T. H. Bindley, *op. cit.*

³⁴ Cyril insists that 'being united according to nature and not turned into flesh', God the Son indwelt the manhood in the same way as the soul of man dwells in the body. In answer to criticism as to meaning, Cyril explained the phrase and said that the union was indeed true and real. As to the one *hypostasis*, he showed that it was the one incarnate *hypostasis* of the Word.

³⁵ On the ground that in the extant minutes of the council, which are not in fact complete, there is no mention of the Third Letter, question has been raised whether the document was approved at all by the council of 431. As we shall see, the subsequent history of the controversy is a clear proof that it was definitely approved.

³⁶ It has been suggested that this was the profession of faith presented to emperor Theodosius II by the Antiochenes in 431, and that it had been composed by Theodoret of Cyrus. See J. Tixorent, *History of Dogma*, Herder, 1916, vol. III, p.47, n. 131.

³⁷ This document, usually referred to as the Formulary of Reunion of 433, is included in T. H. Bindley, *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, *op. cit.* Jalland is of the opinion that Proclus had 'a considerable share' in drawing up the reunion formula. See *Church and Papacy*, S. P. C. K., 1944, p. 300. Proclus was an able bishop and a recognized preacher. Consecrated by Sissinius, Nestorius' predecessor on the see of Constantinople, for the see of Cyzicum, Proclus was not accepted there and he continued in the capital.

³⁸ Realizing that the Antiochenes had serious objection to the anathemas, Cyril had compiled an explanation of the document while he was in prison, following the order of Theodosius II deposing him, Memnon and Nestorius. However, both Theodoret of Cyrus and Andrew of Samosata wrote refuting them, and Cyril answered them both subsequently.

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³⁹ These facts are recorded by Cyril in his letters to Acacius Melitene, Valerian of Iconium and Succensus of Diocaesarea.

⁴⁰ The terms *anthropotokos*, *Christotokos* and *Theotokos* means one who brings forth a man, Christ, and God respectively.

⁴¹ Cyril wrote to Valerian of Iconium : ‘For they also confessed, as we do, that the holy Virgin was *Theotokos*, without adding that she was *Christotokos* or *anthropotokos*, as Nestorians have said’.

⁴² This anathema said: ‘If anyone assigns to two persons or *hypostases* the words of the evangelistic or apostolic writings, which are spoken either of Christ by the saints or of himself by himself, and applies some to a man considered apart from God, and others as God-befitting, solely to the Word from God the Father, be he anathema.’

⁴³ John McIntyre’s view that *composite hypostasis* was an original contribution of Ephraim of Antioch in the sixth century (*The shape of Christology*, S. C. M., 1966, p. 100) is not correct.

⁴⁴ This fact is granted by scholars like Paul Galtier (see his paper entitled ‘Saint Cyrille d’Alexandrie et Saint Leon Le Grand a Chalcedoine’ in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1.

⁴⁵ The Antiochene Christology is discussed below pp. 276f.

⁴⁶ *Prosopon* like *hypostasis* is rendered as ‘person’, but it signifies more the external aspect of a being which distinguishes one individual from another than person in the full sense of the term. For further comments, see below pp. 221f.

⁴⁷ Cyril’s letters to Acacius, Valerian and Succensus bear ample testimony to this fact. The one written to Acacius, for instance, makes it clear that the reunion was an attempt to bring about peace in the Church (P. O. LXXVII, 184 A-B). As for the expression ‘two natures’ in the reunion formula, Cyril says that the natures of which the one Christ is composed are two, and that in the union there was no absorption, confusion or mixture. However, the phrase does not imply separation, as Nestorius is understood to affirm, And yet, writes Cyril, he did not use the expression; it was used by John (P.O. LXXVII 200 C.)

⁴⁸ See below pp. 194f.

⁴⁹ We have a clue to this fact in the correspondence between Theodoret and John of Agae. See below pp. 198f. Although this happened after the council of Chalcedon, it is quite in order to assume that Theodoret who had all along been a critic of the Alexandrine position agreed to accept the reunion only in the light of a meaning of the term *hypostatic union*, which he had worked out. The point made by Theodoret is that *hypostasis* and *prosopon* were synonymous.

⁵⁰ Diodore is noted below. pp. 276f.

⁵¹ E. Schwartz, *Der Prozess des Eutyches*, 1929, p. 53.

⁵² When Cyril died, Theodoret wrote to Domnus, ‘At last and with difficulty the villain has gone. The good and the gentle pass away all too soon the bad prolong their life for years’. See letter 180 in N & P. N. F. sec. ser. vol. III, pp. 347f.

⁵³ E. Schwartz *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁵⁴ The only apparent evidence for this allegation comes from the complaint of Domnus that the see of St. Mark was being aggressive towards the Petrine see of Antioch. See Jalland, *Life and times of St. Leo the Great*, *op.cit.*, p.214.

⁵⁵ *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Walter de Gruyter & Co 1933, II i, p.91.

⁵⁶ Eutyches’ anti-Nestorian zeal is noted in Leo of Rome’s letter of 1 June 448. *Ibid.*, p. 241:2. Domnus of Antioch had already complained that Eutyches was a follower of Apollinarius

⁵⁷ Honigman, *Juvenal of Jerusalem*, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁵⁸ See above p. xviii.

⁵⁹ For this confession, see ACO, II, i, p. 35. ‘We proclaim Jesus Christ our Lord, born of God the Father without a beginning..... who for us and for our salvation was born of Mary the Virgin, taking a rational soul and body; perfect God and perfect man; the same being consubstantial with the Father as to Godhead, and consubstantial with us as to manhood. Confessing then Christ to be from two natures after the incarnation..... we

affirm that he is one Christ, one Son, one Lord, in one *hypostasis* and one *prosopon*. We do not therefore refuse to maintain that he is one nature of God the Word incarnate and made man, because he is one from both, the same being our Lord Jesus Christ'. The phrase 'from two natures after the incarnation' was acceptable to Dioscorus. See below p.55. Non-Chalcedonian writers take this letter of Flavian as evidence of the man's duplicity on the one hand, and of the fact that 'two natures after the union' was opposed to established orthodoxy. See Michael the Syrian, *Chronique Du Michael Le Syrien*, cd. Chabot, J. B., Paris, 1910, vol. IV (Syriac), p. 184.

⁶⁰ See below p. 77.

⁶¹ Jalland *op. cit* p. 215.

⁶² *The Early History of the Church*, John Murray, 1924, vol III p. 280

⁶³ Although Eusebius testified that Eutyches was his old friend, the monk referred to the bishop as an old enemy. See ACO. 11, i, p. 124 para 359.

⁶⁴ For the petition, see ACO. li, i, pp. 100-101 paras 225 and 230. The petition does not contain any specific charge against the accused, a fact noted also by Jalland (see *op. cit*, p.219). To delineate the history of the three assemblies of 448, 449 and 451, we are using primarily Eduards Schwarz., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum op. cit.*, which includes the minutes of the synod of 448, as they were incorporated in those of the council of 449 and presented to the council of Chalcedon in 451. On a few occasions we shall be referring to Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Ampliissima Colectio*, Florence 1759-f—Venice 1769f. At the council of 449 the reading of the Petition from the minutes of the synod of 448 was interrupted by the bishops in order to pay their tribute to Cyril and Dioscorus: 'Everlasting memory to Cyril' they cried. 'Dioscorus and Cyril have one faith. Thus thinks the entire synod'. Now Julius, the Roman legate, also expressed his agreement 'The apostolic see thinks thus' he said. 'And the ecumenical synod thinks thus', cried again the Council.

⁶⁵ Being only a monk, Eutyches did not deserve the three summonses, says Schwartz (*Der Process Des Eutyches*, *op. cit.*, p. 64). This is an expression of the western point of view, which needs to be reconsidered.

⁶⁶ Jalland, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁶⁷ ACO. II, i, pp. 103-111 : 238-246; p. 113 : 270-71 ; pp. 117-118 : 301,302, 307-308 ; pp. 121-22 342-46; pp. 122-23 : 348-353. It should be observed that the synod made no mention of the council of Constantinople in 381. Equally noteworthy is the fact that no reference is made of the Cyrilline anathemas. At the same time, the council of Ephesus and Cyril of Alexandria are owned in clear terms. In other words, the synod did not go beyond the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion of 433.

⁶⁸ For the proceedings of this meeting, see *ibid.* pp. 123-26: 354-379.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 124 : lines 24-26: 'After he became man', Eutyches is reported to have said, 'that is after our Lord Jesus Christ was born, God the Word is worshipped as one nature, namely that of God who has become incarnate'.

⁷⁰ The proceedings of this meeting are recorded in ACO. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-29, 380-404.

⁷¹ ACO. II, i, pp. 129-131 : 404-406.

⁷² *ibid.*, p. 536 : 451 : 'In which scriptures', asked Eutyches, 'is there the expression two natures? Or of the fathers, who has defined God the Word that he has two natures?'

⁷³ 'May it not happen to me to say that Christ is of two natures, or to argue about the nature of my God', said Eutyches.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 539: 475.

⁷⁶ ACO. II, i, p. 139 : 476. The passage read was: 'We confess then our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Son of God, to be perfect God and perfect man, of a rational soul and body; born of the Father before the ages according to Godhead, and the same being born in the last days for us and for our salvation from Mary the Virgin according to manhood; consubstantial with us as to manhood. For two natures came into union, whereby we confess one Christ and one Lord. Since God the Word became incarnate and man, because of the unconfused union, we confess the Virgin to be *Theotokos*. For he assumed from her a temple from the very conception'.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 139: 477.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 139 : 478.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 139-40: 479-486. These paragraphs consist of a series of statements made by Florentius, Eusebius and Flavian. Whereas Eusebius insisted that the charge had already been proved against the accused, the patriarch and the patrician judged that Eutyches should be heard on the issue.

⁸⁰ ‘Say whether you confess a union of two natures’, asked Flavian. ‘Yes, of two natures’, answered Eutyches.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 140: 490.

⁸² *ibid.*, p. 141 : 498.

⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 145 : 499-503

⁸⁴ *Der Prozess Des Eutyches, op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁸⁵ ACO. it, i, p. 47.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 141 : 505.

⁸⁷ ACO II, I, p. 142: 516

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 142: 511.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 142 : 519.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 142:520.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 142 : 522.

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 142: 523.

⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 543:524.

⁹⁴ On 13 April, 449, when the investigation of the minutes of the synod was carried out, (see below p. 24) , Florentius denied that he had put this question at all. (*ibid* p. 171:772) He also complained that he had been misquoted on two other occasions (*ibid* p.172:776 and 778)

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 143 :527

⁹⁶ See below pp. 252f.

⁹⁷ ACO., II, i, p. 143 : 534.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 144 : 535.

⁹⁹ This was a second occasion noted above, when the report was read on 13 April 449. Florentius denied having said these words.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 144: 542. Granting that this statement is indeed misleading, it should be added that it indicates the man’s inability to discuss theological issues.

¹⁰¹ When this report was read at Ephesus in 449, Basil denied that he had said these words (see *ibid.* p. 144: 546f).

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 145 : 549. These words were also denied by Florentius at the investigation on 13 April.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 145 : 550.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 145 : 551.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 545-47: 552.

¹⁰⁶ This fact needs to be underlined in the face of a comment made by Honigman (*Juvenal of Jerusalem, op. cit.*, pp. 236-237 and n. 30 on p. 237) on the basis of a statement of Theodore Lector that ‘the Council of Constantinople in 385 was intentionally ignored’ by the council of 449. For further, comments see below p. 57.

¹⁰⁷ Jalland, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

¹⁰⁸ From the Alexandrine point of view the Formulary of Reunion was not a document of faith to be placed along with synodical decisions. It was rather a statement between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch expressing their reunion on the basis of the latter’s acceptance of the council of Ephesus. It is this standpoint which Eutyches apparently represented.

¹⁰⁹ These men were reinstated by the council of 449. See ACO. II, i, pp. 187-89: 887-905.

¹¹⁰ Faustus was one of the men in Constantinople, to whom Leo of Rome despatched a special letter on 13 June 449, commending the *Tome*.

¹¹¹ Jalland, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17.

¹¹² For the proceedings of these two enquiries, see ACO, TI, i, pp. 148-179. Schwartz includes them in *Der Prozess Des .Eutyches, op. cit.*, Jalland notes the incident in *op. cit.*,

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pp. 223f, and Honigman in *op. cit.*, p. 231. Jalland's observation that the investigations of 13 and 27 April failed and therefore a general council was considered necessary is contradicted by the fact that Theodosius announced the plan of the council on 30 March. Again, the investigation was not a failure, as Jalland makes out. Eutyches himself, Florentius and Basil of Seleucia called in question the veracity of the existing minutes at certain points. Eutyches, for instance, maintained that the minutes did not contain two of his statements namely that referring to his appeal to the synods of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Thessalonica, and his willingness to accept the 'two natures after the union' should the bishops of Rome and Alexandria permit him to do so. Florentius noted that his words had been misquoted at three places. Basil also complained that a statement of his was quoted wrongly. In the historical context of the investigations these facts could be taken as evidence in favour of Eutyches.

¹¹³ See the confession of Flavian in ACO. II, i, p. 35: 1. An excerpt from it is included above p. 15, n. 36.

¹¹⁴ See below pp. 54f.

¹¹⁵ For the letter, see ACO. 11, i, pp. 68-69.

¹¹⁶ Honigman, *op. cit.*, p.2³2. This is clear from a ruling of Dioscorus at the beginning of the council of 449 that the letter of the emperor given to each of the metropolitans be read. See *ibid.* p. 82 : 80.

¹¹⁷ This incident is noted by Nestorius in his *Bazaar*, *op. cit.*, pp. 3241. Jalland refers to it in *op. cit.*, p. 223.

¹¹⁸ For Eutyches' appeal to Leo of Rome, see Schwartz, *Der Prozess Des Eutyches*, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-34. Jalland, *op. cit.*, pp. 215f discusses the document.

¹¹⁹ Leo's letter is included by Schwartz, *ibid.* pp. 46-48.

¹²⁰ For two letters of Flavian to Leo, see Schwartz, *ibid.* pp. 38-40 and 40-44. They are included in ACO. II, i, pp. 36-37: 3 and pp. 38-40: 5.

¹²¹ The *Tome of Leo*, with patristic excerpts in its support, is included in ACO. II, i, pp. 10-12; 11.

¹²² Jalland, *op. cit.*, pp. 228f.

¹²³ It is a fact that Leo had no real knowledge either of the Alexandrine theological tradition or of the nature of the conflict between the two sides in the east.

¹²⁴ See the letter of Leo in ACO. 11, i, p. 45: 10.

¹²⁵ The letter of Theodosius to Dioscorus is included in ACO., 11, 1, pp. 68-69: 24, It is referred to above p. 55.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 74 : 52.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 71: 48.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 72 : 49.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 73 : 50.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 73-74: 51.

¹³¹ Innocent I(402-417) made the claim of supremacy in a letter to the African synods. 'With due care', he wrote, 'and propriety you consult the secrets of the Apostolic office, that office, I mean, to which belongs, besides the things that are without, the care of all the churches, especially as often as a question of faith is discussed, I think that all our brethren and fellow-bishops should refer to none other than to Peter, the author of their name and office'. See H. Burn-Murdoch, *The Development of the Papacy*, Faber and Faber, 1954, pp. 213-214. The same claim was made by presbyter Philip, one of the three Roman legates at the council of Ephesus in 431. After the assembly received the letter of pope Celestine, he said: 'No one has any doubt, on the contrary it has been recognized in all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, chief and head of the Apostles, pillar ofreceived from our Lord Jesus Christ..... the keys of the kingdom, and that to him has been given power of binding and loosing sins: it is he who unto this day and without intermission both lives and judges in his successors'. See Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, 5, p. C. K., 1944, p. 298.

¹³² Jalland expresses the view that the *Tome* was written 'first to guide those who were responsible for the examination of Eutyches at Constantinople or elsewhere'. But later 'Leo did not hesitate to refer to his "Tome" as final standard of orthodoxy' (*Life and*

Times op. cit. p. 302). This view is contradicted by the *Tome* itself. Our evidence is in fact that in the very act of compiling the document Leo had planned to assert his papal theory by offering the Church an infallible exposition of the faith as coming from the Apostle himself.

¹³⁵ The evidence for saying that Leo's papal claims were a powerful factor in his mind is indeed strong. Thus when Theodosius II gave orders for convening a council to settle the Eutychnian question, Leo did not want a council implying that the *Tome* was enough to offer the needed guidance (see letter in ACO. ii, i, p.45 :10). After the council of 449, seeing that his plan was not successful, Leo did everything in his power to convene a council in Italy under his own control and to set aside the decisions of 449 (see the letters written to Theodosius and members of the imperial family *ibid.* 3:1; p.5:2; pp.5-6:3; p.6:4; pp.25-27: 12). But when Theodosius died and Marcian with Pulcheria came to the throne, Leo was not keen on a council (see letter to Marcian in N. & P. N. F., sec. set. vol. XII, pp. 66-67). Moreover, from the time he compiled the *Tome* and sent it to the east, Leo exerted all his influence to see that the document was accepted without any question being raised about it. Finally, Leo's point of view is reflected at least in two of his letters, besides the *Tome* and the letter addressed to the council of 449. Writing to emperor Theodosius II against the council of 449, Leo makes out that 'from the beginning' the bishops of Rome had guided the councils of the Church 'to maintain the Truth in the cause of peace, and to allow no one to disturb it' (see letter ACO. II, i, p. 3: 1). In his letter to Theodoret of Cyrus, Leo refers to himself as the 'Head' of patriarch Dioscorus (see letter in N. & P. N. F., sec. ser., *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90). Granting that these evidences belong to the later stage of the controversy, the fact should be remembered that the papal theory was there in the mind of Leo right from the beginning. Therefore, in compiling the *Tome*, Leo's point was not merely to state his theological position and present it to the Church, but to offer a directive in the conflict proceeding from the Head of the universal Church. It should consequently be acknowledged that Leo's evaluation of Dioscorus and the non-Chalcedonian side is coloured as much by his theological prejudice as by his papal claims.

¹³⁴ Jalland expresses the opinion that this letter was originally written to the members of the senate in Constantinople. See *Life and Times op. cit.*, p. 228.

¹³⁵ See this idea in the *Tome*. ACO, II, i, p. 16. Grillmeier thinks that the Mathaeian version of the confession is theologically more significant than the others. See *Christ in Christian Tradition, op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹³⁶ See the letter in ACO II, i, pp43-44

¹³⁷ See the essay in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon, op. cit.*, vol. 1.

¹³⁸ ACO. II, i, pp. 78-82 contains 135 names, including those of five presbyters representing absent bishops. For this number, see B. Honigman, *Byzantium* vol. XVI, Fase. 1, 1942-43, and *Juvenal, op. cit.*, p. 233.

¹³⁹ At the council of 431, in the absence of the Roman legates when the assembly was called to order, Nestorius of Constantinople and John of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem had his seat next to Cyril. The council of 449 may well have felt that it could follow this precedent and ignore the seniority of both Constantinople and Antioch. As we shall see below pp. 54f., and 92f. this was immensely satisfying to Juvenal.

¹⁴⁰ ACO. II, p. 86 : 116.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 86-87: 119.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p. 88: 136-137.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 89:141-142.

¹⁴⁴ ACO. II, i, p. 89:143-148.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.89: 151.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 90:153-54

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 90: 156.

¹⁴⁸ For the entire appeal of Eutyches, as it was read at Chalcedon from the minutes of Ephesus in 449, see *ibid.* pp. 90-91: 157; p. 92: 164; and pp. 94-95 : 185. The reading was interrupted twice, so that the whole document even as it was presented at the council of Chalcedon is not given continuously.

- ¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 92:164.
- ¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 96: 185.
- ¹⁵¹ The appeal of Eutyches is noted above p. 20,
- ¹⁵² Severus deals with this point at least in two of his extant letters, namely the one addressed to Sergius, the physician and sophist, and the other to the Orthodox Brothers in the city of Tyre. For these letters in a Syriac version and English translation, see *Petrologic Orientalis*, vol. XII, pp. 264-65 and 266-67.
- ¹⁵³ ACO. 11, i, p. 92:165.
- ¹⁵⁴ For a report of the debate thus initiated, see pp. *ibid.*, 92-94: 165-184.
- ¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 94: 185.
- ¹⁵⁶ The way in which Eusebius had from the beginning proceeded on the assumption that Eutyches was indeed a heretic has already been noted. The leaders of the council of Chalcedon also adopted the same attitude with reference to the monk. To note one instance, as soon as the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius and the Formulary of Reunion were read from the minutes of the home synod, as they had been recorded in those of the council of 449, the Illyrian bishops paid high tribute to Cyril. But the commissioners changed the atmosphere by raising the question how Eutyches who had not accepted the Formulary of Reunion could be exonerated. See ACO. ii, i, pp. 111-112: 247-259.
- ¹⁵⁷ ACO, II, 1, p. 96 : 186.
- ¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 97 : 197.
- ¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 97-99: 199-215.
- ¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 99: 216,
- ¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 99 : 2 17-219. it should be remembered that there was not a single delegate to support the Roman legates on this point.
- ¹⁶² *ibid.*, p. 99: 220.
- ¹⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 99: 221.
- ¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 182: 883.
- ¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 182-86: 884-86. It is interesting to note that Juvenal gave his judgment on this occasion that he was most orthodox.
- ¹⁶⁶ For the petition, see *ibid.*, pp. 186-88 : 887-88.
- ¹⁶⁷ ACO. II, i, pp. 188-89 : 889-910.
- ¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 189: 911-942.
- ¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 189-90: 943.
- ¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 190-91: 944-960.
- ¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 191: 961.
- ¹⁷² *ibid.*, p. 191 : 962.
- ¹⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 191 : 963-64.
- ¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 192: 966-970.
- ¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 192-94: 972-1067.
- ¹⁷⁶ Grillmeier, *Christ.... op. cit.*, p. 458. That Eutyches accepted the 'from two natures' only under pressure is possible to be made on the ground of the testimony of one of the deputies. See above pp. 17 f.
- ¹⁷⁷ This is noted in the *Tome*.
- ¹⁷⁸ ACO. II, i, p. 143 : 528-529. When the statement of Eutyches was read from the minutes of 448, Dioscorus said, 'We affirm these things, all of us', and the council responded, 'We do affirm'.
- ¹⁷⁹ For this statement, see above pp. 19-20.
- ¹⁸⁰ The minutes of these proceedings are available in a Syriac version with a German translation in *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode Rom Jared 449*, ed. Johannes Fleming, Berlin, 1917. S.G.F. Pery, *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, Dartford, 1875-81 contains an English translation of the Syriac version.
- ¹⁸¹ See the letter in ACO. II, i, p. 25.
- ¹⁸² For a reference to this charge, see below p. 65.
- ¹⁸³ *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement, op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ¹⁸⁴ This view is expressed by Jalland. See above p. 25.
- ¹⁸⁵ ACO. 11, i, p. 82: 82.

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¹⁸⁶ If Leo had sent a special letter to the council, this obviously was the time when the legates would want it to be read.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 83 : 84. Dioscorus ordered: 'Let the writing of our most devout brother and fellow-bishop Leo be presented to this holy and ecumenical council'.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 83 : 85.

¹⁸⁹ See above p. 32.

¹⁹⁰ See above p. 29.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 190-91 : 958.

¹⁹² ACO, II, i. p. 84 93 and 99. 'What has happened is clear', said Dioscorus; 'I asked twice for the reading of the writing of the most revered bishop of Rome'.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 118: 303

¹⁹⁴ This is the point of Leo's letter to Theodosius II. See reference above p. 36.

¹⁹⁵ For this point made by the Roman legates at Chalcedon, see below pp. 64-5.

¹⁹⁶ Michael the Syrian notes that the council of 449 'did not read the *Tome*, in order to spare its author from a sentence of condemnation'. See *op. cit.*, p. 180.

¹⁹⁷ *op. cit.*, p.44. Frensd's account of the council of 449 and of Dioscorus does not go beyond the traditional pro-Chalcedonian view, which has yet to be established.

¹⁹⁸ The fact has to be noted that any gathering is likely to be denounced by its opponents.

¹⁹⁹ This allegation was made against Eutyches by Domnus of Antioch (see above p. 14, n. 33), by Flavian (above p. 22), by Leo of Rome (see letters), and the imperial authority (see letter 480 in Coleman-Norton, *op. cit.*).

²⁰⁰ Eutyches held this view, writes Flavian in his letter to Leo (see *Der Prozess des Eutyches, op. cit.*, pp. 40-44). For this excerpt and the one in the note below, see *ibid.*, p.41. In the *Tome*, pope Leo comments on Eutyches' position as implying that 'having conceived in the Virgin's womb', Christ possessed the form of a man without a real body taken from his mother' and argues that this teaching nullifies the Christian faith in the incarnation, the sacraments and eschatology.

²⁰¹ Flavian writes that for Eutyches, 'Before becoming man our Saviour Jesus Christ was two natures, Godhead and manhood, but after the union he has become one nature'. In his *Tome*, pope Leo makes out that this is an absurd and perverse standpoint. The council of Chalcedon makes two implicit references to Eutyches in its formula of the faith. In the first place, it is said that the council was offering the confession in view of two heresies, one of which introduced 'a confusion and mixture' and shamelessly imagined 'the nature of the flesh and of the Godhead of the Only begotten' to be 'by this confusion passible'. Secondly, it said that the council 'anathematizes those who imagine two natures of the Lord before the union, but fashion anew one nature after the union'.

²⁰² This charge is made by Leo of Rome in almost all his writings bearing on the subject of Eutyches. At the council of Chalcedon Basil of Seleucia stated that for Eutyches, 'To acknowledge that God the Word became man by assuming flesh was sufficient to indicate the manner of the incarnation and the humanization' (ACO. II, i, 92 167).

²⁰³ Eutyches did not deny the perfection or reality of Christ's manhood, but he tried to make the point that, because the manhood was united with God the Son, it should be different from our manhood.

²⁰⁴ The edict is included by Coleman-Norton as document 459 in *op. cit.*

²⁰⁵ Zacharia Rhetor preserves the story that Theodoret went up to Rome on this occasion and made common cause with pope Leo, See *Ecclesiastical History*, Syriac, book I, p. 147. The story is certainly not improbable. Even if we disregard it, the fact should be admitted that a special alliance was formed between Leo and Theodoret, and that the latter had not yet endorsed the condemnation of Nestorius.

²⁰⁶ As Rome was not directly under the political control of Theodosius II, Leo could exercise freedom in such matters.

²⁰⁷ In agreement with H. Chadwick, Grillmeier maintains that Flavian may have died in February 450 and not in August 449, and that 'it would be quite possible that Anatolius had some hand in Flavian's death' (*Christ in Christian Tradition, op. cit.*, p. 469, n. 1). From the point of view of this study, when exactly Flavian died is not important. What we should note is the question whether there is any basis for the allegation that Flavian

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was ill-treated at the council of 449, and that he died of injuries thus inflicted. It is a fact that the split in the Church following the council of Chalcedon drained so much of passion on both sides that the denunciation of either side by the other should be taken with much caution. As to the council of 449, it is only fair that no adverse comment which is not clearly established by the minutes of the council of Chalcedon should be deemed deserving any attention by impartial scholarship.

²⁰⁸ For these letters, see ACO. II, I, pp. 5-6. 186.

²⁰⁹ For these letters, see *ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²¹⁰ Pulcheria had written to Leo even while her brother was alive, expressing her disapproval of the 'heretical error' committed by the council of 449. See Honigman, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

²¹¹ See letter in ACO. II, I, p. 10.

²¹² Noted by Honigman, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

²¹³ This incident is of very special significance. See below pp. 62f.

²¹⁴ In the face of the setback sustained by Leo at the council of 449, a theory of this kind had to be worked out in support of his papal claims.

²¹⁵ The political climate of the times did not favour the holding of a general council in Italy.

²¹⁶ Jalland, *Life and Times..... op. cit.*, p. 288, n. 1.

²¹⁷ The exact number of participants in the council is not easy to be ascertained, In the lists included by Schwartz none of the sessions had more than 350 delegates, a number which Syrian historians verify. See Michael, *op. cit.* p. 222. Honigman notes it as 520 (*op. cit.*, p. 240). See also Sellers, *op. cit.*, p. 104, n. 1.

²¹⁸ Including Julius of Cios, Leo had designated five men to represent him at the council under the leadership of Paschasinus of Lilybaeum in Sicily.

²¹⁹ Thalassius was the governor of Illyricum who had been appointed as the praetorian prefect of the orient, but whom Proclus of Constantinople inspired to become the incumbent of the see of Caesarea in succession of Firmius in 439. See Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII: 48.

²²⁰ The men on the left had already accepted the *Tome of Leo* and made peace with Rome.

²²¹ For these arrangements, see ACO. II I, pp. 64-65 : 4.

²²² Eutyches was not present at the council of Chalcedon. In all probability he was away in north Syria, where he had been exiled even before the council met.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 65:5. We have orders', said Paschasinus, 'from the most blessed and apostolic man, the bishop of the city Rome, who is the head of all churches, enjoining that Dioscorus should not have a place in the synod. If this is violated, he should be cast out. We are obliged to obey this injunction. Your excellency may order, therefore, so that either he goes out or we depart'.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65: 9. The words of both Paschasinus and Lucentius are clear. Leo of Rome had given them orders not to let pope and patriarch Dioscorus (the bishop of Alexandria had the title 'pope' long before the bishop of Rome adopted it) sit in the council, The reason for this was, as Lucentius asserts, that he had presided over the council of 449. Without Rome's authorization, says Lucentius, no council had been held in the past and no council ought to be held in the future. It was indeed embarrassing for Rome, with its papal claims, to admit the council of 449. But the argument adopted here cannot be defended in the light of history. For the council of 381 had been held without Rome's participation, not to say authorization, and the council of 553 against Rome's wishes. The words of Lucentius were therefore meant to assert Rome's claim of universal supremacy over the Church, a point already made by Paschasinus by the words, 'the head of all churches'.

²²⁵ In letting Dioscorus change his seat, the commissioners said, 'If you are serving as a judge, you should not argue like one who is being judged.' See ACO. II, I, p. 66: 13.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66: 14.

²²⁷ The allegation that the theological position of the council of 449 was the teaching of Eutyches has no basis. But it is on this ground that the council of Chalcedon started its investigations.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p 67: 14-15. It is worth noting that neither the Roman legates nor Eusebius accused Dioscorus directly of heresy. But, assuming that Eutyches was indeed a heretic, a charge of heresy is brought against Dioscorus. Behind this procedure one can observe a complete denial of justice and fairness.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67 18.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67: 21.

²³¹ The leaders of the council of Chalcedon had apparently planned to do two things. In the first place, they wanted to ignore the conciliar nature of the decisions of 449 and to declare Dioscorus exclusively responsible for them. Secondly, they were keen to avoid all discussions on the nature of the faith in order that the real issue that called for an answer at that time might not be raised at all. Both these things were necessary to exclude a judgment on the *Tome*.

²³² This shows that it was not on a charge of heresy that Dioscorus was tried by the council of 451. He could, in fact, be accused of heresy only if it were shown that the decisions of 449 had contradicted the already established norm of the faith. This would call for a decision between the positions adopted by the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides following the reunion of 433. But this was the very question which the leaders of the council of 451 were trying to avoid.

²³³ For the mandates, see ACO. II, i, pp. 68-69 and 71-74.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75 53.

²³⁵ The real purpose of the story was to establish that the council of 449 had been so dominated by Dioscorus that he made certain decisions or his own in his Eutychian interests and tried to force them on the council.

²³⁶ 'Did the most revered Dioscorus treat you with a blow?' the commissioners asked Stephen. See ACO. II, I, p. 75 59.

²³⁷ Stephen of Ephesus was indeed an interesting character. One of the leading men at the council of 449, he occupied there the sixth place among the delegates. In the transaction of business also he played an important role. Thus in favour of reading the minutes of 448 even before presenting the *Tome of Leo* he was the second speaker after Juvenal (*ibid.*, p.97); of acquitting Eutyches, he was the third speaker after Juvenal (*ibid.*, p. 182) of condemning Flavian and Eusebius, he was the fifth speaker after Juvenal (*ibid.*, p. 192)—on all these occasions Juvenal spoke first. Stephen was the fourth—in the order of Dioscorus, Juvenal, Domnus and Stephen—to sign the decisions of the council at the close of the first session (*ibid.*, p.194 1067). It is clear therefore that he was one of the 'early signatories' referred to by Theodore. But at Chalcedon he behaved as though nothing of this kind had ever happened. However, even after his betrayal of 'Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius and other bishops', on 29 October the council of Chalcedon witnessed a scene in which he was accused of having plotted against Basanius of Ephesus and got him arrested, thereby securing the see for himself. The council deposed both Stephen and Basanius (*ibid.*, p. 409f.). In his *Patristic Studies* (173), Honigman refers to the story of how Stephen had concocted the legend of the seven sleepers in order to divert people's attention from his crime and avoid detection (see chapter on 'Stephen and Seven Sleepers').

²³⁸ ACO. ii, i. p. 76: 62. 'Dioscorus and Juvenal', said Theodore, 'extended to us blank papers'. This is certainly a false allegation, because if they wanted to do this, they would have engaged other people.

²³⁹ ACO. II, I, pp. 76-77 :65.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87 123-27.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88 130-32.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 88 :33.

²⁴³ See below p. 52.

²⁴⁴ Diogenes of Cyzicum, a town in one of the islands of the Hellespont, was also a leading figure at the council of 449. He voted on two major decisions of that council with speeches. See ACO. ii, i, p. 98 204 and p.183 884, and agreed with the others in the rest of the decrees. At Chalcedon he did not complain that his words had been misquoted in the minutes of Ephesus or anything of the kind, as did Basil of Seleucia who argued that

he agreed with the decisions of 449 out of fear. It is therefore clear that Diogenes had in fact maintained at Ephesus the position which were recorded about him in the minutes of that council. But in 449 he could not express any critical remark about the old monk.

²⁴⁵ ‘The creed of Nicea’, said Diogenes, ‘had received additions from the holy fathers because of the erroneous ideas of Apollinarius, Macedonius and men like them. The words, ‘who came down and became incarnate from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary’ have been inserted into the creed. But Eutyches left them out because he is an Apollinarian’.

Eutyches had incorporated the Nicene creed in his appeal, which contained the words, ‘For us and for our salvation, He came down, was incarnate and made man, suffered and rose on the third day’ (AGO. It, I, p. 90: 157). The words noted by Diogenes as having been added by the fathers to exclude heresies are to be found in the creed ascribed to the council of 381, which even the synod of 448 had not noted. This indicates that this latter creed had not yet become widely used in churches. From what we know of the position of Eutyches we can say most categorically that he would accept the addition, so that the comment of Diogenes does not deserve any attention.

²⁴⁶ AGO. II, i, p. 92 : 164. This is noted above p. 31.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92: 166.

²⁴⁸ See above p. 39.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92: 168.

²⁵⁰ *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, p. 60, n. I,

²⁵¹ AGO. II, i, pp. 92-93: 169. Basil of Seleucia was one of the men who had taken part in the synod of 448, the verification of the minutes on 13 April 449, the second council of Ephesus in 449 and the council of Chalcedon in 451. In 448 he gave expression to the position that in opposition to the impiety of Nestorius who divided the one Lord Jesus Christ into two *prosopa* and two sons, Cyril had taught that he was one *prosopon*, one Son and one Lord, made known as perfect God and perfect man. We therefore worship Jesus Christ, our one Lord, as made known in two natures; (*ibid.*, p. 117: 301). But when the report was read both at the verification and at the council of 449, Basil denied that he had said these words at all (*ibid.*, p. 144 : 546 and p. 173 : 791). At the council of 449 he said that he had objected to Eutyches’ statement, ‘two natures before’ and ‘one nature after’ the union, and that if he had said ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’, Basil himself and the fathers would be in agreement with the position of Eutyches. At Chalcedon, however, he gave up this irenic spirit. Basil was, in fact, one of the six men condemned by the commissioners as persons responsible for the decisions of 449 (see below p. 56). However, it should be admitted that his leadership at Ephesus was less than that of men like Stephen of Ephesus and Diogenes of Cyzicum.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 94: 177.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 94:181.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94: 182.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94:183.

²⁵⁶ For this incident at Chalcedon, see AGO. II, i, pp. 111-112: 247-269.

²⁵⁷ The importance of these letters is noted above pp. 9f.

²⁵⁸ AGO. II, i, p. 112 : 261. ‘It is therefore unlawful to acknowledge two natures’, said Eustathius, ‘but it should be one nature. This is the position affirmed in the testimony of the most blessed Athanasius’.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112: 263.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 113: 264. The part played by the commissioners in the council of Chalcedon on this as well as on several other occasions show that they had been instructed to represent the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion of 433. They saw to it that the real issue before the council was not raised, that the condemnation of Eutyches by the synod of Constantinople was ratified, and that the doctrinal letter of Leo or Rome was maintained.

²⁶¹ ACO. II, i, p. 113: 265.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 113: 267. This last statement of Eustathius, so far as we can judge from the minutes, was indeed a hard blow to the point of view of Dioscorus. In fact, the bishop of

Berytus made here an inexcusable confusion of the issue. The question before the council, for instance, was not what Flavian had written to the emperor in his diplomatic letter, but what the basis of the synod of 448 in condemning Eutyches was. In Flavian's letter to Theodosius II he held to a position which the Alexandrine side would admit as orthodox, but not the emphasis of the home synod of 448 which had asserted 'two natures after the union'.

²⁶³ For this entire episode, see ACO. II, i, pp. 113-114; 268-281.

²⁶⁴ ACO II, I pp 115-116 :289-298

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 117: 299. The argument that the documents referred to by Dioscorus here were Apollinarian forgeries, even granting that this is the truth, does not answer the point made by him. See below p. 180.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120:331. Longinus said that in agreement with Nicea and Ephesus as well as with Flavian and other bishops, he confessed that after the incarnation, the divinity of the Only Son of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, should be worshipped as from two natures.'

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*, II, p. 120 :332.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121 : 340-341.

²⁶⁹ ACO. II, i, p. 195 : 1068.

²⁷⁰ For these exclamations, see ACO. ii, i, p. 195 :1069-71. While shouting in this way, the oriental party repeated the words of the Trisagion—Holy God, Holy the Strong, Holy the Immortal, have mercy upon us.

²⁷¹ It is the creed of Nicea that is meant here.

²⁷² This refers to the creed ascribed to the council of Constantinople in 381. The synod of 448 had not mentioned either the council of 381 or its creed. At Chalcedon, however, both were mentioned several times. Yet there was difference in the exclamations of delegates after the reading of the creeds. Following the creed of Nicea, for instance, they said, 'We all believe in this. In this we have been baptized. In this we administer baptism. Blessed Cyril has taught thus. This is the true faith. This is the holy faith. This is the eternal faith. To this we have been baptized. To this we have been baptized. We all believe thus. Pope Leo believes thus. Cyril believed thus. Pope Leo has interpreted it'. But after the reading of the creed ascribed to Constantinople, they said, 'This is the faith of all. This is the faith of the orthodox. We all believe thus' (*ibid.*, p.276:15). The first is the creed with which the delegates are in fact acquainted. The second is admitted to be orthodox. However, for Chalcedon through which the emperors had planned to elevate the see of Constantinople, the latter creed had a special significance.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 195 : 1072. The commissioners' reference to 'the two canonical letters which had been confirmed and established at the first council of Ephesus' is important from several points of view. In fact, similar statements were made by them on 10 and 17 October at the beginning of the sessions on those days also. On none of these occasions they mentioned the council of Ephesus along with the other two earlier councils as an event which had helped the emperors to adopt their theological standpoint (see *ibid.*, p. 274 : 2 and p. 288 : 3). To add to this is the place assigned to Cyril of Alexandria. Of his voluminous writings, two letters only are declared acceptable to the emperors. It is indeed clear that, like Leo of Rome who was keen to have his *Tome* adopted by the council as its doctrinal standard, the emperors were trying to establish the Antiochene interpretation of the reunion of 433 as against that of the Alexandrine side. The two letters which answer the description of the commissioners here are obviously the Second and the Third Letters of Cyril to Nestorius, the latter with the anathemas. But the Third Letter did not see the light of day at Chalcedon, and the commissioners may not have referred to it. The letters read at Chalcedon were the Second Letter and the Formulary of Reunion. Drawn up only in 433, the Formulary cannot have been approved by the council of 431. Schwartz recognizes the difficulty, and remarks that the commissioners left the point intentionally vague (see *Über die Bischofslisten* op. cit., p. 2.). He does not however specify what the intention may have been, although he has indulged in a lot of speculation on issues like the excommunication of Leo by Dioscorus. We have some clear evidence to offer an answer here. The commissioners, as we have seen, had found Eutyches guilty, because he

had not accepted the Formulary of Reunion. Since this document had no synodical authority, the commissioners were claiming the same for it.

²⁷⁴ J. N. D. Kelly refers to the session on 10 October as 'the third of the Council'. see *Early Christian Creeds*, Longmans, 1950, p. 296. He remarks that Mansi had counted this the second session, but Schwartz has restored the order' (*ibid.*, p. 297, n. 1). Honigman also describes the meeting on 13 October as 'the second session' of the council. But neither of these men seems to ask himself how the meeting held on 13 October could be counted before the one on 10 October. They do this because Swartz in his edition of the minutes puts those of the meeting on 13 October before those of the session on 10 October, on the ground that the minutes of the former were approved by the council before those of the latter. If Schwartz is really right in this explanation, it shows that the leaders of the council had a reason for doing this. It may well be that they felt it necessary to save Rome from the embarrassment of two consecutive defeats, namely the one implied in the verdict of the commissioners on 8 October and the questioning of the *Tome*'s theological soundness by the Illyrian and the Palestinian delegates on 10 October. In any case, the judgement of Kelly and Honigman that the session on 13 October is the second session of the council cannot be admitted. The fact about the meeting on 13 is that it does not even deserve to be counted as a session of the council of Chalcedon.

²⁷⁵ This is what pope Leo tried to make out in his letter to emperor Theodosius II and his delegates asserted at the council of Chalcedon.

²⁷⁶ This was Atticus of Nicopolis, a town in Illyricum.

²⁷⁷ Seeing that a unanimously unquestioning acceptance of the *Tome* could not be obtained from the assembly, the commissioners had ordered on 10 October that the council be adjourned for five days, in order that those who had doubts about the *Tome* may meet with Anatolius of Constantinople and clear their misgivings whereby unanimity could be reached by the time the next session was held (ACO., II, i. p. 279 :31).

²⁷⁸ See below p. 73.

²⁷⁹ We have evidence that Dioscorus and the Egyptian bishops did not sign the *Tome*. It is clear from the opening speech of Paschasinus at the meeting on 13 October that the reason for Rome's antagonism for Dioscorus was his opposition to the *Tome*, and by the words, 'For I know how I have been singled out', which he said on 13 October (see below p. 64) he may well have given expression to this fact. From Rome's point of view, a refusal to admit the *Tome* meant not only heterodoxy, but even a rejection of papal supremacy, which, with reference to the patriarch of Alexandria, had a special significance. See below p. 65.

²⁸⁰ On 17 October the commissioners stated that they had no knowledge of the deposition of Dioscorus, and that the delegates who perpetrated the action alone would be responsible to God for it. See below pp. 73 f. n. 12.

²⁸¹ The list of participants in this meeting, as it is given in AGO. II, i, pp. 199-204: 1-2, contains 204 names. Sellers refers to the meeting which deposed Dioscorus in *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, pp. 111-113. in his treatment, the fact that this meeting was held two days before the date announced by the commissioners, and that it was attended by so small a number of delegates, is not mentioned. Of the earlier historians, Hefele notes them both. See *History of the Councils of the Church*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1895, vol. III, p. 320. But he offers purely conjectural interpretations. B. J. Kidd, anticipating Sellers as it were, ignores the facts left out by him. See *A History of the Church to 461*, Oxford, 1922, vol. III, p. 320. *Des Konzil von Chalkedon*, which carries an article by Thomas Owen Martin noting the slender attendance at the session where the so-called 28th canon was passed, does not seem to consider the fact that the incumbent of the second major see in Christendom was done away with by a meeting of less than half of the delegates to the council of Chalcedon.

²⁸² See ACO, II, i, p. 199 : 2. The regular sessions of the council were held at the church of the holy martyr Euphemia. See Mansi: VI 564, 937:VII 97, 117, 18, 185, 193, 204, 272, 293, 301, 313 and 424. Regarding one session, the place of its meeting is not

specified in the minutes. See Mansi VII 357. Alfons M. Schneider shows that the 'martyrion' was a chapel by the side of the church of St. Euphemia.

²⁸³ ACO. II, i, p. 279: 34-35. The party favourable to Dioscorus had pleaded in this way at the close of the first session of the council also. See above p.56. In his *Über die Bischopslisten* Schwartz maintains that out of great hatred for Dioscorus on account of his violent conduct at the council of 449, the bishops at Chalcedon by themselves decided to take special action against him. This is not what the documents really indicate. Our evidence, on the other hand, is that a party led by the Roman legates opposed Dioscorus, but an equally considerable body of delegates had held him in high esteem.

²⁸⁴ For the statement of the Roman legate Paschasinus, see ACO. II, i, p. 204 :4.

²⁸⁵ The petition of Eusebius is to be found in *ibid.*, pp. 204-205: 5. Since the session on 8 October had accepted the verdict of the commissioners and Dioscorus had been taken into custody by the state, the purpose of this meeting must have been to humiliate him.

²⁸⁶ For our discussion of this point, see above pp. 41.

²⁸⁷ ACO. II, i, pp. 206-207:14-19.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 207: 20-22.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 210: 36, 'Things have been set up canonically', said Cecropius, so that neither the commissioners nor any other laymen need be present, except, as a matter of family, your devoutness alone, as you have been accused in person'. The commissioners were, in fact, the presiding officers at every session of the council.

²⁹⁰ For these petitions, see ACO. II, i, pp. 211-221.

²⁹¹ See above p. 43.

²⁹² Historians like Hefele, Kidd and Duchesne have all maintained that it was a fact. Their view is propagated by more recent scholars like Schwartz, Honigman, Jalland and Sellers. In his *Über die. . .* Schwartz discusses when and how Dioscorus may have done this. But his treatment is a purely imaginary construction based on ideas taken from the petition of Theodore which stand in need of proof.

²⁹³ In his petition Theodore said, 'Concerning the question of the most holy and devout bishop of the apostolic see of great Rome, he had come from Egypt with about ten bishops (more bishops were not willing to come with him because he had planned to perpetrate the deed while passing through Ephesus) intending to have them tricked into signing the threat, as they were unwilling to do that. They did, however, carelessly sign that unlawful paper, weeping and groaning'. See ACO. II, i, p. 212: 47. There were at least thirteen bishops from Egypt at Chalcedon, so that the number ten of Theodore is an error. See below p. 74.

²⁹⁴ For a reference to and brief comments on the verdict of the Roman legates, see below pp. 64-65. On the question of Leo's excommunication by Dioscorus, it said, he dared to pronounce an excommunication against the most holy and devout archbishop of great Rome'.

²⁹⁵ ACO. II, i, p. 320: 14. 'Dioscorus has not been excommunicated on a question of faith', said Anatolius, 'but because he excommunicated the Lord archbishop Leo, and did not respond to the threefold summons. It is for this reason that he has been excommunicated'.

²⁹⁶ For the letter, see ACO. II, I, p. 476. It says, 'And besides all these, he extended his madness even to him who had been entrusted with the custody of the vine of the Saviour, we mean of course, your devoutness, and planned to excommunicate one who had at heart the concern for uniting the Church'.

²⁹⁷ For an English translation of this letter, see N&PNF, sec. ser. vol. XII, p.72. This is noted above p. 27, n. 110.

²⁹⁸ Kidd is of the opinion that the assembly took no notice of these petitions (*History of the Church, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 320). The fact, however, is that the petitions were all read and recorded, and that in the third summons the accused was even asked to answer charges contained in them (ACO. II, i, p. 221 : 70). Furthermore, the story that Dioscorus had excommunicated Leo of Rome came from the petition of Theodore.

²⁹⁹ For this summons, see *ibid.*, pp. 221-223.

³⁰⁰ John of Germanicia was a supporter of Nestorius, whom the council of Chalcedon asked on a later occasion to condemn Nestorius specifically in order not to be excommunicated. He did, in fact, play a fairly important role at the council.

³⁰¹ See above p. 59, n. 64. These words indicate that Dioscorus did not mind any decision the assembly was going to take against him.

³⁰² For the speech of the Roman legates, see ACO. II i, pp. 224-25: 94. Everyone of the points noted in the speech is based on a distorted reading of facts. In his second petition Eusebius of Dorylaeum had asserted that Dioscorus was a ‘partisan’ of Eutyches, which the legates repeat here without establishing it on the basis of evidence. Again, it is a fact that at least Juvenal of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Berytus, whom Leo had asked on 13 April 451 to be deleted from the diptychs along with Dioscorus, had not been in the fellowship of Rome till the time of the council of Chalcedon.

³⁰³ The words of the legates are very clear. Dioscorus was deposed, not by the assembly of bishops, but by the pope of Rome. The assembly did only appropriate the decision already given by the Head of the Universal Church to itself. No one at the council commented on these far-reaching claims.

³⁰⁴ For the statement of Anatolius, see ACO II, i, p. 225: 95. In agreement with the judgment of the Roman legates, he said, he also assented to the passing of the sentence. He specified the charge that Dioscorus had disobeyed the call of the synod.

³⁰⁵ For the votes of others, see *ibid.*, pp. 225-230: 96.

³⁰⁶ The assembly’s verdict is to be found in *ibid.*, pp. 237-38: 99.

³⁰⁷ This fact is not taken with the seriousness it demands by pro-Chalcedonian writers.

³⁰⁸ ‘Dioscorus’, writes Frend, ‘has gone down as one of the great villains of ecclesiastical history, but this is not how he appeared to his contemporaries at the time of his consecration or even to later historians’. (*op. cit.*, p. 26). The first part of this statement may be true of the pro-Chalcedonian tradition, which has been questioned by the non-Chalcedonian tradition. Ever since the council of 431 Christianity exists divided, and the history of no part can legitimately claim to exhaust ecclesiastical history’. That Dioscorus’s ‘vindictive nature, overbearing ambition and lack of scruple, however, involved him in a serious mistake’, (Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 28), is also the result of a one-sided reading of facts. Zacharia Rhetor of the sixth century describes him as ‘a peaceful man and zealous, who lacked the readiness and self-confidence of Cyril’. (C. S. C. O., vol. 83, Louvain, 1953—Syriac—p. 147.)

³⁰⁹ “The letter of the council of Chalcedon to Leo of Rome noted against Dioscorus bearing on the council of 449 :—(i) that he deposed Flavian, Eusebius and other orthodox prelates; (ii) that he acquitted Eutyches by his terror-won votes; (iii) that he ‘extended his madness’ to excommunicate Leo of Rome; (iv) that he refused to accept the *Tome of Leo*, thereby resisting ‘all dogmas of Truth’; and (v) that he remained unrepentant till the end. See the letter in ACO. II, i, pp. 475-477: 21. For an English translation, see N & PNF. sec. ser. vol. Xfl. In a number of letters Leo refers to Dioscorus. The charges noted in them are:(i) that he had dominated the council of 449 and forced on it his own arbitrary decisions, condemning Flavian, Eusebius, Theodoret and others, and rehabilitating the heresiarch Eutyches; (ii) that by controlling the council in a high-handed way, he disallowed the reading of the *Tome* which contained the apostolic faith in its pristine purity, and thus introduced much confusion in the Church; and (iii) that in his wickedness he did not spare even the pope himself, but dares to excommunicate his own ‘Head’, and in theology he held the same position as that of Eutyches. See Leo’s letters to emperor Theodosius II. Theodoret of Cyrus, empress Eudocia, and the monks of Palestine, in N&PNF. sec. ser., vol. XII. All these are unimaginable distortions of certain facts.

³¹⁰ Almost all historians of the council who adopt a pro-Chalcedonian standpoint seem to take the word *communion* here in the sense of eucharistic fellowship. But none of them shows even an awareness of the problem it raises.

³¹¹ In the then established tradition of the Church the only basis on which Leo could claim a higher position in such matters than the patriarch of Alexandria consisted in the canons of Sardica. But they authorized the bishop of Rome only to institute a fresh enquiry into

the case of a bishop who had an appeal against the decision of a council. See the canons in

J. Stevenson, *Creeeds, Councils and Controversies*, S.P.C.K., 1966. pp. 18-22. The action of Leo in the case of Theodoret is possible to be justified only in the light of the papal claims, which means that the pope was taking advantage of the Christological controversy to push the claims of his see over the Church.

³¹² See above p. 66, n. 88.

³¹³ See above p. 63, n. 79 and below p. 77, n. 23.

³¹⁴ The fact that there existed a lack of communication between Rome and Alexandria is noted by persons like Aloys Grillmeier in personal discussions. Both he and Charles Moeller (essay on 'Le Chalcedonisme et Le neochalcedonisme en orient de 451 a la fin du VI siecle' in *Das Konzil von Chalcedon, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 645) maintain that Rome came to know of the Cyrilline anathemas only in 519. This sounds confusing. To say that Rome took the initiative in crushing the Alexandrine patriarch, without ever understanding the theological position of the Alexandrine tradition, is not a credit. It is a fact that Leo of Rome claimed to bear witness to Christ's own mind inherited through the Apostle Peter, and yet very little of that mind could be found reflected in Leo's reactions in the dispute. To be sure, Leo missed a great chance to evince a superior kind of sensitivity in such matters over Cyril or Dioscorus, in consonance with his claims.

³¹⁵ ACO. II, i. p. 288: 2-3.

³¹⁶ This is one of the facts which render the present writer unable to follow the point of Schwartz in putting the minutes of the meeting on 13 October before those of the session on 10 October.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 288 : 4-5.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 289: 7.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90 : 8. The commissioners were trying to make sure that the bishops were really sincere in their acceptance of the *Tome*. This shows how delicate the situation in fact was, and how well the secular officials of the Byzantine state handled it.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-305.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298: 9 (98).

³²² It is interesting to note that both the Roman legates and the Illyrian bishops considered the *Tome* consonant with the creeds of Nicea and Constantinople as well as with the decision of the council of 431. For Dioscorus, though the faith of the Church consisted in the creed of Nicea as it had been confirmed by the council of Ephesus in 431 (and he would not object to the creed of Constantinople), the *Tome* was not consonant with it. The issue was therefore the *Tome*.

³²³ See below p. 78:

³²⁴ ACO. II, i, p. 305: 11.

³²⁵ See above p. 65.

³²⁶ ACO. II, i, p. 305 : 12. Hefele takes this statement of the commissioners merely as a warning to the bishops that they should hold themselves responsible for the five men. In fact he quotes as from Mansi the passage:- We have written on their account (those five) to the Emperor, and await his commands. You, however, are responsible to God for the five men for whom you intercede, and for all the proceedings of this synod' (Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, Eng. tr., T. & T. Clark, 1833, vol. 111, p. 332). Though Hefele gives an exact reference for this passage, the fact is that it cannot be found anywhere either in Mansi or in Schwartz. Both of them include a passage which may be rendered from the original Greek in this way. 'We have requested our divine and God-fearing emperor on their behalf, and are awaiting his reply. But your excommunication of Dioscorus has not been known either to the emperor or to us. And about those five for whom you appeal and concerning all the things that have been done at the holy synod, it shall be responsible to God.' By this statement the commissioners were obviously shirking all responsibility in that decision as well as in readmitting the five men without the Alexandrine patriarch. The statement is a clear proof that the imperial authority wanted only to unite the parties in the Church.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 305 :13. This is an added proof that Hefele is wrong in his reading of the commissioners' statement.

³²⁸ For the petition, see ACO. II, i, p. 306: 25. In the confession, they said: 'We have received from the beginning the orthodox faith from our holy fathers full of the Spirit, namely Mark the evangelist, martyr Peter, and our holy fathers Athanasius, Theophilus and Cyril. We renounce all heresies—of Arius, Eunomius, the Manichaeans, Nestorius, and those who say that the flesh of our Lord was from heaven and not from the holy Virgin Mary *Theotokos*, and we confess that he was like us in everything except sin. Thus rejecting all heresies, we hold to the catholic faith'.

³²⁹ For the entire episode of the Egyptian bishops at the council, see ACO. II, i, pp. 306-310:262

³³⁰ ACO it. i. p. 319: 4. John of Germanicia said, 'The definition has not been well made; it needs to be accurate'. For a reference to this John, see above p. 64 with n. 84.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 319: 6. The bishops shouted: 'The definition satisfies all; this is the faith of the fathers. He who thinks otherwise is a heretic. If anyone thinks differently, let him be anathema. Cast out the Nestorians. This definition satisfies all. He who does not condemn Nestorius, let him go out of the synod'.

³³² *ibid.*, p. 319: 7-8. The bishops who had signed the *Tome* may well have had a meeting the day previous to this session, where they prepared the draft and resolved to press for its approval by the council the next day.

³³³ Rome's point of view in the conflict is clearly expressed by the commissioners here. It is not that the council should formulate the faith in the light of established tradition, but that it should adopt the theological standpoint stated by the pope, whether it agreed with the tradition or not.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 319: II, The appointment of a committee was the suggestion of the emperors.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 319: 12. 'Cast out the Nestorians. Cast out the fighters against God. Yesterday the definition satisfied everyone. The emperor is orthodox. The empress is orthodox; the empress has driven out Nestorius. The commissioners are orthodox. Many years to the emperor; many years to the empress; many years to the emperor; many years to the commissioners. We want the definition to be signed over the gospels, It has satisfied everyone. Order that the definition to be signed. No mutilation should be permitted in the definition. He who does not sign the definition is a heretic. Holy Mary is *Theotokos*; he who does not think in this way is a heretic. The Holy Spirit has dictated the definition. He who does not sign it is a heretic. Mary is *Theotokos*; put that in the definition. Cast out the Nestorians. Christ is God'. This is how the bishops shouted.

³³⁶ The argument of the commissioners was that, while opposing 'two natures after the union', Dioscorus had insisted on 'from two natures'. The draft of the bishops contained only the latter position, so that Dioscorus' deposition was unjustified.

³³⁷ Noted above p. 63. For the full statement, see n. 79 on p. 63.

³³⁸ ACO. II, i, p. 320: 20.

³³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 321 : 24.

³⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 321 : 25.

³⁴¹ See above p. 61, n. 74.

³⁴² ACO. II, i, p. 321 26.

³⁴³ *A History of the Councils*.....op. cit., p. 345. What is clear from the account as contained in the minutes is that the bishops of the east knew only the art of vociferation and not clear thinking or defending a point on sound argument.

³⁴⁴ See above p. 53.

³⁴⁵ ACO. II, i. p. 321 28. It should be remembered that for Dioscorus the union of the natures was not only without change, division and confusion, but also without *mixture*.

³⁴⁶ This was the basis on which Dioscorus rejected the 'two natures after the union'. See above pp. 55f.

³⁴⁷ This argument was put forward in ancient times by Evagrius. In recent times Paul Galtier notes it in his essay published in *Dos Konzil von Chalkedon*.

³⁴⁸ For a positive appraisal of Theodoret, see the Prolegomena to the N. & P.N.F., sec. ser., vol. III. A convinced Antiochene theologian, Theodoret believed that Nestorius had

not deserved condemnation, and he had refused to subscribe to the verdict against the man till he was forced to do it on 26 October. He had stayed away even from accepting the reunion of 433 in the beginning, but he accepted it in 435, and continued in the fellowship of John of Antioch, making even an uneasy peace with Cyril. In the tension which ensued between the Alexandrine and the Antiochene sides following the reunion, he played an active role on behalf of the latter. After the death of John in 441, he was practically the leader of the Antiochene party, whereby making himself obnoxious in the eyes of the Alexandrines, both by his activities and by his writings. Thus complaints against him grew, and emperor Theodosius II ordered him to remain confined to his see. A short time later he was condemned by the council of 449. For the proceedings adopted against him by this council. See *Akten der Ephesenischen Synode Jahre 449*, ed. Johannes Fleming, Berlin, 1917 (Syriac), pp. 84-112. Soon he appealed to Leo of Rome and made common cause with him, and after the death of Theodosius II, he submitted a petition to the new emperors.

³⁴⁹ ACO. II, i, pp. 69-70: 25-46.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69: 26.

³⁵¹ For the exoneration of Theodoret, see ACO. II, i, pp. 365f :4-25.

³⁵² Theodoret is obviously referring to men like Theodore of Mopsuestia who had expounded the faith in the Antiochene tradition, but whom the Alexandrines considered heretics.

³⁵³ Following the rehabilitation of Theodoret, the council voted for the exoneration of three men—Sophronius of Constantina in Osroene, John of Germanicia, and Amphilochius of Side in Pamphylia. The last of these men is noted below p. 100. John of Germanicia was asked by the council to condemn Nestorius specifically in order to be acquitted. However, he was a person who had occupied a very leading role at the council during the earlier sessions and particularly at the meeting on 13 October. He was one of the men sent to summon Dioscorus on that day (see above p. 64), and on 22 October he opposed the adoption of the draft definition prepared by the bishops (see above p. 75), and gave counsel to the commissioners (see above p. 76).

³⁵⁴ The letter in the Syriac original is to be found in Johannes Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50. The Greek version, as it was presented to the council of 451, 15 included in ACO. II, 1, pp. 391-93:138.

³⁵⁵ Ibas refers here obviously to the leaders of the Antiochene theological tradition, like Theodore of Mopsuestia.

³⁵⁶ *History of Dogma, op. cit.*, p. 52.

³⁵⁷ Although Edessa was part of Syria I. it was strongly opposed to the Antiochene theological tradition and stood by the Alexandrine tradition.

³⁵⁸ For a discussion of the proceedings adopted against Ibas, see R. V. Sellers. *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.* pp. 49f.

³⁵⁹ Johannes Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-68 contains the minutes of the council of 449 with reference to the examination of the case of Ibas. This council read the report of earlier investigations and the letter of Ibas to Maris. Twenty-one bishops, including Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius and Stephen of Ephesus, signified that Ibas deserved excommunication. Now the bishops said, 'We all agree with the decision. We all exclude the fighter against God unanimously' (*ibid.*, p. 68).

³⁶⁰ For the proceedings at Chalcedon. see ACO. II, i, pp. 372-401.

³⁶¹ Honigman, *Juvenal of Jerusalem, op. cit.*, pp. 246-247.

³⁶² The reference here is to the council of 449.

³⁶³ The letter of Ibas to Maris is noted here.

³⁶⁴ ACO. II, i, p. 398 : 161. The view of the legates that in spite of the letter, its author was orthodox cannot have been made in the fifth century context out of a positive evaluation of either the council of 431 or the theology of Cyril of Alexandria.

³⁶⁵ *ibid.*, II i, p. 399:179.

³⁶⁶ *ibid.*, II i, p.399: 180.

³⁶⁷ At Ephesus in 449, when the reading of the letter of Ibas was over, the council exclaimed, 'These things defile the hearing. They befit the pagans. ' (*J. Fleming, op.*

cit., p. 52). At Chalcedon the Roman legates expressed their judgement that in spite of writing the letter in question, Ibas was orthodox. The council of 553 declared unequivocally that the letter was heretical, and that anyone who defends it either wholly or in part should be condemned (see the council's anathema 14).

³⁶⁸ Zacharia Rhetor reports of Eustathius of Berylus that, while signing, he added the words: 'These things I write because I am forced to do so'. The chronicler says also that there were many others who complained that their signatures had been given because of compulsion (see *op. cit.* I, p. 153.)

³⁶⁹ Gangra was the capital of the province of Paphlagonia on the southern side of the Black Sea.

³⁷⁰ It is worth noting that Dioscorus never wrote anything in self-defence like Nestorius. A letter of his written from his place of exile to Secundinus is preserved by Zacharia (I, pp. 15 1-52). It is indeed a dignified piece of writing, which discusses the faith (For a reference to the content of the letter, see below p. 185.)

³⁷¹ See the address in English translation in P. B. Coleman-Norton *Roman State and Christian Church. op. cit.*, document 472.

³⁷² *Ibid.* documents 475, 476, 477, 479, 480, 481, 483, 484, 487, and 489.

³⁷³ See note 4.

³⁷⁴ See above pp. 53 and 57 f. Faced with the challenge of the council's critics, the emperor had to change tactics, which is possible to be discerned in the mandates issued after the council.

³⁷⁵ See document 481 in Coleman-Norton, *op. cit.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.* document 489.

³⁷⁷ All these points are noted in document 489 of Coleman-Norton, *op. cit.*

³⁷⁸ Without going into details, it may be noted that before the council was finally adjourned, the assembly addressed a letter to Leo of Rome, offering him an account of the council and noting also the ruling made with reference to the see of Constantinople (see above p. 68 for a reference to this letter). The letter is diplomatic and even servile. Anatolius too wrote a similar letter. But Leo refused to accept the council and despatched letters of strong protest against the decisions concerning Constantinople to Marcian, Pulcheria and Anatolius himself (see these letters in Eng. tr. iii N.P.N.F. ser. volume XII).

³⁷⁹ This ruling which is commonly referred to as the 28th canon of Chalcedon was strongly opposed by the Roman legates. Leo, on his part, tried to persuade the emperor and the patriarch to give up the plan completely. But they, without compromising on this point, endeavoured to gain their end by diplomacy. Although this did not materialize, the non-Chalcedonian threat in the east made Leo accept the doctrinal decision of the council alone. As to the ruling, on the ground that the original text of the Chalcedonian canons contains only twenty-seven resolutions, even the reference to it as a 'canon' of Chalcedon has been called in question (see E. Schwartz: *Sitz. Eec.* Berlin Akad., 1930, p. 612: and *Byz. Ztschr.* 34, 1934, p. 132). From the point of view of this study the issue is not important.

³⁸⁰ One such letter addressed to Leo by Marcian of 15 February 453 is included by Coleman-Norton as document 482, *op. cit.*

³⁸¹ Marcian requested the pope to confirm the decrees of the council by means of a letter in order to show the council's opponents that their movement was inexcusable. Here, as elsewhere, emperor Marcian shows only a real lack of understanding of the issues.

³⁸² Vasiliev: *History of the Byzantine Empire—324-1453*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952, pp. 105-106,

³⁸³ *Juvenal of Jerusalem, op. cit.*, p. 211.

³⁸⁴ Zacharia Rhetor: *Ecclesiastical History, op. cit.* (Syriae), I, p. 156.

³⁸⁵ Zacharia Rhetor: *op. cit.*, I, p. 157.

³⁸⁶ Honigman, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

³⁸⁷ In two of his letters, one addressed to the monks of Palestine and the other to the synod of Palestine, Marcian refers to this incident. See Coleman-Norton. *op. cit.*, documents 484 and 487.

- ³⁸⁸ Iberia is Georgia of later times. This small kingdom was ceded to the Roman Empire in 363 by Jovian, and it continued under the protection of Constantinople.
- ³⁸⁹ See above p. 89, a. 5.
- ³⁹⁰ Coleman-Norton, *op. cit.*, documents 485 and 486.
- ³⁹¹ For Pope Leo's letters, see N. & P. N. F. see. ser., vol. XII.
- ³⁹² Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. *Vitae Virorum apud Monophysitas Celeberrimorum* (Syriac), pp. 21-27.
- ³⁹³ Honigman: *op. cit.*, p. 258.
- ³⁹⁴ Zacharia: *op. cit.*, I, 161.
- ³⁹⁵ Honigman: *op. cit.*, p. 257.
- ³⁹⁶ Honigman: *op. cit.*, p. 258; W. H. C. Frend: *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge, 1972, p. 153, n. 4.
- ³⁹⁷ Here as well as in a number of other instances we are indebted to Frend for the dates.
- ³⁹⁸ Michael le Syrien, *op. cit.*, (Syriac), p. 769.
- ³⁹⁹ Evagrius II: 5 in P. G. LXXXVI 2509 C.
- ⁴⁰⁰ A.H. Hore: *Eighteen Centuries of Orthodox Greek church*, James Parker, 1899, p. 288.
- ⁴⁰¹ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- ⁴⁰² Zacharia: *op. cit.*, I, p. 155. This officer had approached Dioscorus to elicit his signature for the Chalcedonian definition, on condition that he would be restored to his see (see below p. 181). For the letter, see Coleman-Norton: *op. cit.* document 481.
- ⁴⁰³ Timothy had been made a presbyter by Cyril and he esteemed Dioscorus. He was nicknamed 'Aelurus' meaning 'Cat' by the party of Proterius to ridicule him because of his short stature (Zacharia : *op. cit.*, I, pp.169-70.)
- ⁴⁰⁴ Timothy had already been opposed to Proterius.
- ⁴⁰⁵ Zacharia: *op. cit.*, I, p. 170.
- ⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 171.
- ⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 171.
- ⁴⁰⁸ Evagrius, *op. cit.*, bk. II: 8 in P. G. LXXXVI 2524-A. Frend gives 28 March 457, Maundy Thursday, as the date for the death of Proterius This does not agree with the report of Zacharia, for whom this must be after Easter (see Frend. *op. cit.*, and Zacharia, II, 170).
- ⁴⁰⁹ Thracia on the south-western coast of the Black Sea was a border area of the empire, which had to be constantly guarded from barbarian invasion -Leo was a quartermaster in the army which had been stationed there.
- ⁴¹⁰ Evagrus II, 8 in PG. LXXXVI 2524-B-2525-C.
- ⁴¹¹ For the letter of Timothy. see Zach, I, pp. 175-78.
- ⁴¹² For emperor Leo's circular letter, see Evagrius in PG LXXXVI 2528-A-2529-B. Coleman-Norton *op. cit.*, includes it as document 495.
- ⁴¹³ Zacharia *op. cit.*, I, p. 178.
- ⁴¹⁴ Side was the chief city of Pamphylia.
- ⁴¹⁵ The Chalcedonian tradition takes emperor Leo's referendum as an evidence that the council was ratified by the east. Emperor Justinian refers to it in this way in his letter to the council of 553. In our times Charles Moeller and G. Konidaris maintain this view. See the essay on 'Le Chalcedonisme et le neochalcedonisme in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon, and The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* vol. X, no. 2.
- ⁴¹⁶ Seeing that Timothy could carry on his opposition to Chalcedon from Gangra, he was removed to a more remote place where, Zacharia says, the inhabitants were barbarians (*op. cit.*, I, 184.)
- ⁴¹⁷ Zacharia I, p181
- ⁴¹⁸ Berytus is the same as Beirut of modern times.
- ⁴¹⁹ Zacharia. *op. cit.*
- ⁴²⁰ The word means 'wobble cap'
- ⁴²¹ Zacharia I. p183
- ⁴²² Zacharia, I, p. 209.
- ⁴²³ Zenonis was a supporter of the party that remained loyal to the memory of Eutyches.
- ⁴²⁴ Zacharia, *op. cit.* I p. 211.

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- ⁴²⁵ For the encyclical of Basiliscus see Evagrius III, 4 in PG. LXXXVI 2600 A—2604 B. Zacharia gives only part of it (*ibid.* 1, pp. 211-213). Coleman Norton includes it as document 542.
- ⁴²⁶ Zacharia, *op. cit.* 1, pp. 215-f.
- ⁴²⁷ At Chalcedon the rival claims of Stephen and Basianus for the see of Ephesus were resisted in favour of John, whom people did not accept. They raised Paul, but he was expelled by the state. Now Basiliscus recalled him. This council supported Paul who had signed the encyclical
- ⁴²⁸ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 213.
- ⁴²⁹ For the reply of the bishops, see *ibid.* pp. 213.215.
- ⁴³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 219.
- ⁴³¹ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
- ⁴³² Zacharia, *op. cit.* 1, p. 219.
- ⁴³³ For the counter-encyclical, see Coleman-Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 918.
- ⁴³⁴ *ibid.* document 526.
- ⁴³⁵ For the circular letter, see Zacharia, *op. cit.*, 7, pp. 221-223.
- ⁴³⁶ See below pp. 108 and III.
- ⁴³⁷ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 222-23, Frend's observation that the petition asked for an Alexandrine to be made patriarch and not a nominee of Acacius, as in the case of Calendon of Antioch (*op. cit.*, p. 177) does not agree with the account in Zacharia.
- ⁴³⁸ For the *Henotikon*, see Zacharia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 227-31 and Evagrius III, 14 in PG LXXXVI 2620 C—2625 A. Coleman-Norton, *op. cit.*, includes it as document 527.
- ⁴³⁹ Duchesne, *op. cit.*, III, p. 349.
- ⁴⁴⁰ See Acacius' letter to Peter Mongus in Zach. 1, pp. 235-37, and a letter of Peter to Acacius in Evagrius m, 17 in PG LXXXVI 2629 B—2633 A.
- ⁴⁴¹ This is the point of Severus of Antioch in his homily 125 (P. O. Tome XXIX Fasc. 1, ed. F. Graffin, Pads, 1960. With the addition of Peter, the hymn would read: 'Holy God, Holy the Strong, Holy the Immortal, Thou who wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us'. Calendon put in the words 'Christ the King' between 'Immortal' and 'Thou'.
- ⁴⁴² Zacharia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 233-35.
- ⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-38.
- ⁴⁴⁴ See above. p. 76
- ⁴⁴⁵ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 231f.
- ⁴⁴⁷ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 2-3. Rend notes that according to Michael the Syrian, the opponents of Peter included Theodorus of Antioch, two priests, two deacons and two 'great archimandrites' (*op. cit.*, p. 180, n. 4). This point is noted, not by Michael who wrote in the twelfth only, but also by Zacharia in the sixth century. The latter shows that the opponents of Peter included presbyters Julian and John of Alexandria, deacons Elad and Serapion, bishops Theodore of Antioch, John and another from Egypt, archimandrite Andrew, sophist Paul and other known monks.
- ⁴⁴⁸ See letter of Peter noted above p. 110.
- ⁴⁴⁹ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 5.
- ⁴⁵⁰ Vasiliev: *History of the Byzantine Empire*, *op. cit.*, p. 109. A *silentiary* was an usher who kept guard at the doors during meetings of the imperial council and imperial audiences.
- ⁴⁵¹ Evagrius III, 32, noted by Vasiliev: *Justin the First*, *Dumbarton Oak Studies I*, Harvard University Press. 1950, p. 79.
- ⁴⁵² The term 'stylite' refers to the remarkable phenomenon of a monk who lived in a cell on the top of a pillar sometimes as high as forty feet from its foot.
- ⁴⁵³ There is a Simon the stylite in the non-Chalcedonian Syrian tradition.
- ⁴⁵⁴ Peter's letter to Fravitta is included by Zacharia, *op. cit.*, 11, pp. 11-14. Fravitta also had sent a letter to Peter. See *ibid.* pp. 9-11.
- ⁴⁵⁵ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, 11, pp. 19-20. Zacharia says that Athanasius and Sallustius had already exchanged letters expressing unity, so that they need not be considered to act in 'unwonted concord' as Frend does (*op. cit.*, p. 200).

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- ⁴⁵⁶ For this story, see Zacharia, *ibid* pp. 39-48.
- ⁴⁵⁷ For this work in its Syriac version with a French translation, see *Patrologia Orientalis*, Tome II, Fascicule 3, No. 8, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau.
- ⁴⁵⁸ For this passage, see *ibid.* (Syriac), p. 236.
- ⁴⁵⁹ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 218. See also n. 4.
- ⁴⁶⁰ Zacharia *op. cit.*, II, pp. 48-49.
- ⁴⁶¹ 'One of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh' was the emphasis of the Scythian monks on the Chalcedonian side.
- ⁴⁶² The dates of Flavian II (498-512) as noted by Frend (*op. cit.*, p.214) do not agree with the account of Zacharia who shows that when Anastasius was made emperor on Wednesday of the Holy Week in 491, the bishops of the major sees were: Euphemius of Constantinople, Flavian of Antioch, Athanasius of Alexandria, Sallustius of Jerusalem and Felix of Rome who had succeeded Simplicius. See *op. cit.*, II, p. 15.
- ⁴⁶³ Zacharia. *op. cit.*, II, p. 50.
- ⁴⁶⁴ For the council of Sidon, see *ibid.* pp. 50-51.
- ⁴⁶⁵ For the petition, see Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52-54.
- ⁴⁶⁶ Frend, *op. cit.* p. 219.
- ⁴⁶⁷ For the names of these bishops, see P. O., Tome II, *op. cit.*, pp. 319, 320, and 321
- ⁴⁶⁸ Three lives of Severus are available, which may be found in P. O., vol. II and IV
- ⁴⁶⁹ Nubia was a kingdom in Africa to the south of Egypt which adopted Christianity from about the fourth century, For Nephahius, see above p 113
- ⁴⁷⁰ Severus' work against Nephahius published as *Scriptores Syri: Series quarta—Tomus VII* by C. S. C. O., Louvain 1949.
- ⁴⁷¹ Anastasius' letter is included as document 543 by Coleman. Norton, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁷² *Cathedral homilies* of Severus are found in P. O. vols. IV,VIII, XVI, XX,XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXXV and XXXVI.
- ⁴⁷³ For the letters of Severus, see P. O., vol. XII, and *The Sixth Select Letters of Severus*, ed. E. W. Brooks, London, 1902-4.
- ⁴⁷⁴ For the hymns, see P. O. Tome VI, Fas. I, No.26, and Tome VII, Fas, 5, No. 35.
- ⁴⁷⁵ *Séveré d'Antioche Le Philaléthe*, ed. Robert Hespel, C. S. C. O., vol. 133. *Scriptures Syri* 68, Louvain, 1952.
- ⁴⁷⁶ Lebon, C. S. C. O., books I and 2. *Syri* 58, Louvain, 1952; book 3, Pt. 1, *Syri* 45, Louvain, 1952; and pt. 2. *Syri* 50, Louvain. 1933.
- ⁴⁷⁷ *Séveré d'Antioche, La Polémique Antijulianiste*, C. S. C. O., vols. 244. 295 and 318. ed. Robert Hespel, Louvain, 1964.
- ⁴⁷⁸ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 62-63.
- ⁴⁷⁹ Frend, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-33.
- ⁴⁸⁰ Zacharia *op. cit.*, II, pp. 54-56.
- ⁴⁸¹ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 233 notes that Ariadne died in 515. Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 57 has it as 553.
- ⁴⁸² Vasiliev *Justin the first*, *op. cit.*, pp. 68f.
- ⁴⁸³ Steven Runciman *Byzantine Civilization*, Edward Arnold, 1959, p. 35.
- ⁴⁸⁴ In his very good study, *Justinian and Theodora*, Robert Browning discusses clearly how Justinian carried on his wars. See Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1971.
- ⁴⁸⁵ Vasiliev's treatment of Justin's election (*op. cit.*, pp. 68f) is an effort to defend the incident. But he admits that the election had to be conducted with great care.
- ⁴⁸⁶ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
- ⁴⁸⁷ C. S. C. O. vol. 104 (Syriac), pp. 17-19.
- ⁴⁸⁸ *Michael le Syrien*, vol. IV (Syriac). pp. 266-270.
- ⁴⁸⁹ C. S. C. O., vol. 104, *ibid.*, p. 26.
- ⁴⁹⁰ *Chronicon Anonymum, op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ⁴⁹¹ *Justin the first, op. cit.*, p. 76.
- ⁴⁹² Hore *op. cit.*, p. 280.
- ⁴⁹³ This title is used in the petition of the home synod of July 518.
- ⁴⁹⁴ *Chronicon Anonymum, op. cit.*, pp. 16f.

⁴⁹⁵ Frend. *op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁴⁹⁶ Zacharia. *op. cit.*, II, pp. 62 and 63. This author notes that Vitalian, Flavian's godson, had a great grudge against Severus, and that he instigated Justin to issue such orders.

⁴⁹⁷ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁴⁹⁸ Halicarnassus was a town in Caria, one of the south-western coastal provinces of Asia Minor.

⁴⁹⁹ For the letter. see Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 102-103.

⁵⁰⁰ The word 'corruptible' is loaded with meaning. The idea that after his burial our Lord's body rose again from the dead, without undergoing decay is noted in the New Testament (see Acts 2 27; 13 :35), and this was the accepted teaching of the Church. This however is not the idea raised here. For what is referred to here, see below pp. 209f.

⁵⁰¹ Julianism is formally rejected by all eastern church traditions that are opposed to Chalcedon, so that he cannot be included as belonging to them.

⁵⁰² See the letter in Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 103-104.

⁵⁰³ This letter and Severus' answer are included by Zacharia. *ibid.* pp. 104-112

⁵⁰⁴ See above pp. 21f.

⁵⁰⁵ *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 319-f.

⁵⁰⁶ See below p. 141.

⁵⁰⁷ Sarkissian, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁵⁰⁸ See T. Nersoyan, *op. cit.*, and Sarkissian, *ibid.*

⁵⁰⁹ A full-length account of the council is given by Michael the Syrian, with the ten anathemas which it approved. See *op. cit.*, pp. 457-461.

⁵¹⁰ Michael, *ibid.*, p. 485.

⁵¹¹ Frend. *op. cit.*, p. 270. Frend comments here that the synod of Theodosius did not mention the second council of Ephesus along with Nicea and first Ephesus. This comment can in fact be made about almost any doctrinal decision or statement put out by the non-Chalcedonian side. Their point is that the council of 449 only reiterated the position of the council of 431, so that it does not have to be specially noted.

⁵¹² See Robert Browning: *Justinian and Theodora, op. cit.*, pp. 38f.

⁵¹³ *History of the Byzantine Empire, op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁵¹⁴ Romily Jenkins *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries—A. D. 610-1071*, Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1966, pp. 12-3.

⁵¹⁵ For the letter or Severus to Justinian, see Zacharia II, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-31. Wigram notes (*op. cit.*, p. 114) that Severus excused himself on the ground of illness. The letter does not support this comment.

⁵¹⁶ A summary of this confession is included by Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 115-123

⁵¹⁷ Frend, *op. cit.*, pp. 265f.

⁵¹⁸ This is the only information we have of these meetings.

⁵¹⁹ Wigram, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵²⁰ The question how the dispute arose is discussed in chapter one above. In its light the comment of Frend cannot be taken seriously.

⁵²¹ Robert Browning: *Justinian and Theodora, op. cit.*

⁵²² *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, p. 314.

⁵²³ *Michael le Syrien, ibid.*, p. 277; Gregorii Barhebreii, *Chronicon Syriacum* (Syriac) Paris, 1890, p. 78; C. S. C. O., vol. 81, p. 192; *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, II, PO.. Tome I Fascicule 4, p. 459.

⁵²⁴ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁵²⁵ Vasiliev : *History of the Byzantine Empire, op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁵²⁶ This denunciation referred to his translation from Trebizond to the see of Constantinople. Canon 15 of the Council of Nicea prohibits a bishop, presbyter or deacon to be transferred from one city to another.

⁵²⁷ Most of this letter is included by Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 139-140.

⁵²⁸ *History of the Byzantine Empire, op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁵²⁹ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 190.

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- ⁵³⁰ See P. O., Tome 1, Fasc. 4, *op. cit.*, p. 472. The author says that all the monasteries were full, and that there were thirty-two flourishing farms as a source of their sustenance.
- ⁵³¹ *Michael le Syrien op. cit.*, p. 556
- ⁵³² *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, p 456
- ⁵³³ This is noted from John of Asia. See C. S. C. O., vol. 104, p. 405.
- ⁵³⁴ These letters are included by Zacharia, II, *op. cit.*
- ⁵³⁵ Though the sources agree on 8 February as the day of Severus' death, The year is noted differently, some giving 537, some 538 and others 539.
- ⁵³⁶ Jacob participated actively in the consecration of two patriarchs of Antioch.
- ⁵³⁷ For this number, see *Michael le Syrien. op. cit.*, p. 365. This author notes that the number is found from the papers of Jacob.
- ⁵³⁸ Originally the word 'jacobite' was not a term of reproach used against the non-Chalcedonian body by their chalcedonian opponents. It was, on the other hand, a name employed by a party opposed to Jacob in the Syrian church to disparage those who supported him. As we shall see below, in the seventies of the sixth century there arose a clash between Jacob and patriarch Paul the Black, with the result that the community was split into two camps. It was within this context that the name 'Jacobite' came to be coined and used. See *Michael le Syrien*, p. 357, and below p. 151.
- ⁵³⁹ The inhuman persecution let loose on the non-Chalcedonian bishops and clergy, monks and nuns, and people in general by Chalcedonian ecclesiastical leaders like Ephraim of Antioch, Paul of Edessa and Abraham bar Kili of Amida is described in moving words by Syrian historians.
- ⁵⁴⁰ *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers.* see, ser., vol. XIV, p. 302.
- ⁵⁴¹ Harold Lamb *Constantinople Birth of an Empire* Robert Hale, 1957, p. 275
- ⁵⁴² C. S. C. O., vol. 104, *op. cit.*, pp. 409f.
- ⁵⁴³ *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 312.13.
- ⁵⁴⁴ John wrote in Syriac. The part III of his Ecclesiastical history has been brought out as vol. 105, C. S. C. O., 1935, and the fragments of part II as an appendix to vol. 104, pp. 403-415.
- ⁵⁴⁵ *For Lives of the Eastern Saints*, see P. O. vols. 17-19.
- ⁵⁴⁶ *Michael le Syrien. op. cit.*, pp. 287-88.
- ⁵⁴⁷ For a summary of the letter, see N & P. N. F. see.. *op. cit.*, pp. 302-3.
- ⁵⁴⁸ For the sentence, see *ibid.* pp. 306-11.
- ⁵⁴⁹ Theodore was indeed one of the most outstanding biblical exegetes and theologians of the Antiochene School. For a reference to him, see below pp. 276f.
- ⁵⁵⁰ See N & P. N. F., sec. ser.. *op. cit.*, p. 306.
- ⁵⁵¹ See above p. 81.
- ⁵⁵² See above p. 81.
- ⁵⁵³ See *ibid.*, pp. 310-11.
- ⁵⁵⁴ For the disposal of the case of Ibas by the council of Chalcedon, see above pp. 83f.
- ⁵⁵⁵ *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, p. 325.
- ⁵⁵⁶ As we shall see below the Julianist emphasis is found more in the Christology worked out by the Chalcedonian side than in that of the other.
- ⁵⁵⁷ This Athanasius is noted above on p. 132.
- ⁵⁵⁸ *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 335-36.
- ⁵⁵⁹ Longinus, a monk from Nubia who lived in Constantinople in the company of Theodosius and whom the patriarch wanted to make a bishop for his country, was consecrated only after the death of Theodosius. But he was detained in the capital for about three years because of imperial intervention. These unity meetings were held while Longinus was still in Constantinople and he took part in them as well as in the ecclesiastical affairs of his day, which is noted below pp. 150f'.
- ⁵⁶⁰ For the entire episode, see John of Ephesus. *op. cit.*, I 24-25.
- ⁵⁶¹ C. S. C. O., vol. 105, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁶² *Ibid.* II: 43. John of Ephesus preserves the declaration of Paul in these words: 'I, Paul who had been misled and lost, having found the true faith, turn, in my own will and freedom, without compulsion or coercion and join the Church of God. By this written

declaration I confess to you: my Lord John, ecumenical patriarch, that I concur with the council of the six hundred and thirty holy fathers who had met in the city of Chalcedon and with the letter of the holy and blessed pope or Rome which accords with the confession of Peter, chief of the Apostles, till my last breath. No return or change from it will happen to sue for ever. I confess these things and confirm them with my own signature, I, bishop Paul. I confess, concur with, and accept everything written in this declaration’.

⁵⁶³ For the story of Paul’s reordination and death, see John of Ephesus, 1:14. and *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, p. 339. Paul was bishop of Aphrodisias, the chief city or Caria.

⁵⁶⁴ John of Ephesus, *op. cit.*, I: 37.

⁵⁶⁵ See John of Ephesus, *op. cit.*, II: 36.

⁵⁶⁶ See *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 3 19-320.

⁵⁶⁷ Friend puts the date of Sergius’ consecration as 557 (*op. cit.*, p. 290). For this date, see William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*. Amsterdam Philo Press, 1966, p. 87. Friend’s view that Sergius was not apparently made as Severus’ successor is contradicted by Syrian Church historians who include Sergius’ name in the list of Antiochene patriarchs following Severus.

⁵⁶⁸ For a reference to this split, see above p. 137, n. 57.

⁵⁶⁹ For a fairly detailed account of Paul’s last days and death, see John of Ephesus, *op. cit.*, IV: 53f.

⁵⁷⁰ The death of Jacob is discussed in *ibid.* IV : 33.

⁵⁷¹ Friend seems to think that the tritheistic doctrine had connection with the ‘one incarnate nature’ of the non-Chalcedonian side, which in our opinion is far-fetched, as his evaluation of the non-Chalcedonian position elsewhere really is. See Friend, *op. cit.*, pp. 290f. The incident is an indication of the fact that in the fifth and sixth centuries the east produced daring thinkers.

⁵⁷² John of Ephesus discusses the story of Tritheists in *op. cit.* V.

⁵⁷³ John of Damascus includes John Philoponus as one of the leaders of the non-Chalcedonian body (*St. John of Damascus: The Fathers of the Church, A New Translation*, vol. 37, pp. 139ff. Here the Damascene is clearly wrong.

⁵⁷⁴ John of Ephesus. *op. cit.*. V: 15.

⁵⁷⁵ For this story, see *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 386f.

⁵⁷⁶ John of Ephesus, *op. cit.*, IV: 391.

⁵⁷⁷ For the life of Athanasius, see *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 387f.

⁵⁷⁸ For these letters, see *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 392f

⁵⁷⁹ The story of how the Arab Christian kingdom of the Ghassanids came to be destroyed by the emperors of Constantinople is discussed by John of Ephesus. See *op. cit.*, V.

⁵⁸⁰ S. C. O., vol. 81, pp. 215f. Chosroes is said to have built two churches for his Christian wife, one dedicated to Sergius and the other to *Theotokos*.

⁵⁸¹ *Michael le Syrien.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 389f

⁵⁸² *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁵⁸³ *History of the Byzantine Empire, op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁵⁸⁴ *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, p. 410.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 408f.

⁵⁸⁶ This was the name by which the non-Chalcedonian Christians had been referred to by the Chalcedonian body.

⁵⁸⁷ For the letter, see *ibid.*, pp. 403f.

⁵⁸⁸ For the statement, see *Michael le Syrien, op. cit.*, pp. 405f.

⁵⁸⁹ *Michael le Syrien.*, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

⁵⁹⁰ For the *Tome*, see ACO. II. 1, pp. 10f. The Latin original with an English translation is given in T. H. Bindley, *op. cit.*

⁵⁹¹ Pope Leo quotes here from the old Roman creed, and not from the Nicene creed.

⁵⁹² The *Tome of Leo* quotes the words of Eutyches, ‘*Confiteor ex duabis naturis fuisse Dominum nostrum ante adunationem post adunationem vero unam confiteor*’. The original Greek in which the monk had expressed these words did not have the word corresponding to the *vero* of the Latin in which the *Tome* had been compiled.

⁵⁹³ It is this divergence between Cyril and Leo which Paul Galtier, in his efforts at reconciling the two men, seems to overlook. As we shall see, the Formulary of Reunion does not justify the role played by Rome in the conflict (see Galtier's essay on *Le Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie et Saint Leon le Grand a Chalcedon* in *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon*, *op. cit.*, vol. I).

⁵⁹⁴ For the definition, see ACO. H, I, p. 326: 30-34. T. H. Bindley, *op. cit.*, includes the Greek original and an English translation.

⁵⁹⁵ A. Grillmeier (*op. cit.*, p.458, ii. I) notes that the 'in two natures' had been employed by some of the fathers even before the time of the council of Chalcedon. This fact is not disputed by non-Chalcedonian theologians like Severus of Antioch. But Severus insists (see below p. 192,n. 18) that these were random statements which had not produced any established tradition. But with the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy, a tradition based on the 'from two natures' had been established in the Church. The council of Chalcedon violated this principle, without any real need. For Eutychianism could be avoided in the light of existing tradition itself.

⁵⁹⁶ As we have already noted (above p. 12), Theodoret took the 'one *hypostasis*' of Chalcedon only in the sense of 'one *prosopon*'. Charles Moeller refers to this fact as a theological contribution of Theodoret (see essay on 'Le Chalcedonisme in *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 658f.)

⁵⁹⁷ See above p. 53.

⁵⁹⁸ See above pp. 139f. For a reference to the council of 553. In the light of available evidence we can say that after the council of 451, men in the east who shared the tradition of Atticus saw that they were in agreement with the council's critics on this point. This fact was expressed by the *Henotikon* of Zeno in 482. Drawn up possibly by none other than Acacius of Constantinople, it insisted that the Anathemas were an authoritative document. Following this incident, the Chalcedonian side in the east made explicit their acceptance of the Cyrilline work. It is this point of view that the council of 553 asserted.

⁵⁹⁹ Charles Moeller maintains that the Anathemas of Cyril were not accepted by the council of Chalcedon, that the council endorsed the theology of Cyril only insofar as the reunion of 433 had sanctioned, and that Rome had ignored the Anathemas till 519. He shows, however, that all these things changed with the council of 553 (see essay, *op. cit.*, p. 645). In support of this view it is possible to refer to the standpoint consistently adopted by the imperial commissioners at the council of 451. It should however, be observed that if this viewpoint had been pressed at Chalcedon, the council would not have reached the seeming unanimity which it attained, because a great section of the council's participants were loyal disciples of Cyril. It is these men who left things vague at Chalcedon and enabled their successors to assert their position in the sixth century.

⁶⁰⁰ The issue bearing on the Cyrilline Anathemas was indeed a very serious one. The following facts about them deserve special mention:

- i. The document had been sent by Cyril to Nestorius in the form of an ultimatum, and Cyril was the victor at the council of 431. It is most unlikely that the document would have been left out by the council.
- ii. The counter-council, over which John of Antioch presided, condemned Cyril, Memnon of Ephesus and all those who accepted the Anathemas of Cyril.
- iii. In his letter to Maris, Ibas writes clearly that the Anathemas had been accepted by the council of 431, and Ibas had, as a monk, accompanied the Syrian delegation to that council.
- iv. The effort of the Antiochenes during the time of the negotiations which preceded the re-union of 433 to make Cyril withdraw the Anathemas cannot be explained unless the document had been invested with a synodical sanction.
- v. Men like Atticus of Nicopolis who attended the council of Chalcedon considered the document authoritative, and those who criticized it did not call in question this view.
- vi. In ancient times no critic of the Anathemas endeavoured to ignore them on the ground of the argument that they had no synodical sanction.
- vii. In his *Bazaar*, Nestorius also argues that the Anathemas had been approved by the council of 431.

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⁶⁰¹ *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶⁰² See above p. 174, n. 6.

⁶⁰³ See above pp. 76f.

⁶⁰⁴ See R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, pp. 207f for his detailed discussion of the subject.

⁶⁰⁵ See *Christ in Christian Tradition, op. cit.*, pp. 480f.

⁶⁰⁶ See above p. 15, ii. 36 for our reference to this document.

⁶⁰⁷ Zacharia Rhetor, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 150. This story, the accuracy of which need not be doubted, shows that though a child of his age subject to the mistakes of his contemporary ecclesiastical leaders, Dioscorus was led by real conviction, for which he was ready to suffer.

⁶⁰⁸ The statements made by Dioscorus both at the council of 449 and at that of 451 are all included in AGO. II. i. We have referred to several of them. As to his literary remains, two of his letters addressed to Domnus of Antioch (see an English translation in S. O. F. Perry: *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, Dartford, 1881, pp. 327-343), one letter to the monks of Enaton (see *ibid.* pp. 392-394), and one letter to Secundinus (Zacharia Rhetor. *ibid.* pp. 151-152), have come down to us.

⁶⁰⁹ See above p. 55.

⁶¹⁰ See above p. 53.

⁶¹¹ See above p. 55.

⁶¹² *Christ in Christian Tradition, op. cit.*, p. 459.

⁶¹³ Dioscorus quotes Epistle to the Hebrews II: 16.

⁶¹⁴ Dioscorus writes in the letter that 'in everything', namely 'in nerves, and hair, and veins, and belly, and heart, and kidneys, and liver, and lungs—in short, in all the things that are proper to our nature our Redeemer's animated flesh, which was born of Mary with a rational and intelligent soul, came into being without the seed of man'.

⁶¹⁵ See above p. 173.

⁶¹⁶ In his monograph on Philoxenos of Mabbog, Andre de Halleux mentions his reasons for considering Philoxenos a monophysite. For our comments on this reading, see below pp. 290f.

⁶¹⁷ This point has to be insisted in the face of the tendency shown by pro-Chalcedonian writers at least from the time of John of Damascus to include all those who rejected the council of Chalcedon as holding to varying degrees of the monophysite heresy.

⁶¹⁸ For the Letter, see Zacharia *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 175-178.

⁶¹⁹ *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, p. 262.

⁶²⁰ Unlike Severus, Philoxenos does not define the terms which he uses. He insists, however, that God the Son became real and perfect man, but that he did not assume another nature or person (Philoxeni Mabbogensis, *Tractatus Tres De Trinitate Et Incarnatione*, C. S. C. O. vol. 9. ed. A. Vaszhalde, 1961, pp. 181-182). Andre de Halleux takes this emphasis as a sign of monophysitism in Philoxenos. The fact, as we see it, is that for Philoxenos the term 'nature' means a concrete being.

⁶²¹ One of the ever-repeated objections of Philoxenos to Nestorianism is that it conceives of the manhood as having been formed in the Virgin's womb by itself and then being assumed by God the Son. In this position, argues Philoxenos, there are two natures and two persons, namely God the Son and the man Jesus.

⁶²² 'The Word is the same', writes Philoxenos, 'both before and after the incarnation' (see *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45).

⁶²³ 'We believe', insists Philoxenos, 'that the Word became flesh, The Word was not changed into the flesh; neither was the flesh changed to the Word' (*ibid.*, p. 46).

⁶²⁴ It is not that the Word indwells a man, as they prate. But he indwells us men, namely the common nature, not one individual man. God's indwelling individual men has happened always, as in the prophets and saints' (*ibid.* p. 168). Based possibly on this and such other passages. Andre de Halleux expresses the opinion that Philoxenos did not understand the manhood of Christ as a particular (see *op. cit.*, pp. 375. 420, & e). This reading is certainly incorrect. For what Philoxenos rejects is not the individual character of Christ's manhood, but only the idea that the manhood was formed as a particular

person independent of the incarnation. This is a position affirmed by both Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian sides in the east.

⁶²⁵ 'He who is consubstantial with the Father', maintains Philoxenos, 'the same became consubstantial with us through the incarnation' (*Tractatus.... op. cit.* p. 131). Therefore, Jesus Christ is at once God and man.

⁶²⁶ Had he not become man to begin with, there would be no possibility for him to die', writes Philoxenos; 'for God is spirit and he does not undergo death' (*Tractatus.... ibid.*, p. 98). It should be remembered here that for Philoxenos death was the central purpose of the incarnation. Therefore, if the manhood was not real and dynamic, Jesus Christ would not have fulfilled the mission of his earthly life. This admission cannot come from monophysitism.

⁶²⁷ Philoxenos. *Tractatus... op. cit.* p. 52.

⁶²⁸ 'For it is written', writes Philoxenos, 'that the Word became flesh, which means perfect man' (*ibid.*, p. 39). If Grillmeier's language of the 'Word-flesh' Christology is aimed at ignoring this admission, his theory is indeed questionable.

⁶²⁹ Andre de Halleux, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

⁶³⁰ See above pp. 130-f.

⁶³¹ A summary of the confession presented by the men to the emperor is included by Zacharia (see, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 115-123).

⁶³² *Contra Grammaticum, op. cit.*, III, p. 12.

⁶³³ Severus refers to the imprecise expressions of fathers like Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen and even Cyril before the break-out of the Nestorian controversy (*Severi Antiocheni Orationes ad Nephaliu, C. S. C. O.* Tomus VII. ed. J. Lebon, 1949, Syriac, pp. 3f and *Contra Grammaticum, op. cit.*, III pp. 1f.

⁶³⁴ This is a point very consistently made by Severus in almost all his writings bearing on the subject.

⁶³⁵ The point made by modern scholars that the passages thus reproduced by Severus and other non-Chalcedonian leaders were derived from Apollinarian forgeries is not ignored here. For our comments on it, see above pp. 179-80.

⁶³⁶ *Philalathes op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁶³⁷ *Ad Nephaliu op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁶³⁸ For a discussion of the Chalcedonian work and Severus' *Philalathes*, See R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, pp. 284-f with the notes.

⁶³⁹ The Syriac version of the *Philalathes*, as published by the C. S. C. O., is not complete; there are several parts missing in it.

⁶⁴⁰ This shows that Chalcedon was defended by distorting the position of its critics.

⁶⁴¹ *Philalathes, op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁶⁴² The point is made repeatedly by Severus. In the *Philalathes*, for instance, after discussing the meaning of the 'one incarnate nature of God the Word', Severus writes: This indicates the indivisible unity. For the flesh continued to remain what it was without being converted to the nature of the Word; neither was the nature of the Word changed to the flesh. But incarnation took place in truth, without either change or phantasy' (*ibid.*, p. 133). In *Contra Grammaticum*, while discussing the meaning of the terms *hypostasis* and *prosopon* and after referring to the body-soul analogy, Severus writes: In the same way, from Godhead and manhood, i.e. from human flesh endowed with a rational soul, each in its perfection according to its respective principle. Emmanuel is one *prosopon*, by means of the concurrence of both into union without change or confusion' (I. p. 77).

⁶⁴³ It should be remembered that sixth century pro-Chalcedonian effort at defending the council of 451 was based on the claim that Cyril had anticipated Chalcedon.

⁶⁴⁴ Severus complains that 'the author of the book did maliciously mutilate the words of Cyril. On certain occasions he has added, and on some others he has reduced things' (*Philalathes, op. cit.* p. 129).

⁶⁴⁵ Both in the *Philalathes* and in the *Contra Grammaticum* Severus discusses the question of the reunion of 433 at some length, referring to Cyril's letters to Acacius of Melitene, Valerian of Iconium and Succensus of Diocaesarea (see *Philalathes, pp.* 197f and *Contra Grammaticum*, II, pp. 10f).

- ⁶⁴⁶ For a reference to this subject, see above pp. 8f. Severus quotes the passage in question in *Philalethes*, p 201 and in *Contra Grammaticum*, II, p. 33.
- ⁶⁴⁷ *Philalethes*, pp. 200-201.
- ⁶⁴⁸ The two natures after the union', writes Severus, 'signifies that for those who maintain it the man by himself was formed in the womb first and he was later indwelt by the Word. This indwelling they describe by means of the word 'union'. Accordingly, they predicate two natures of the Emmanuel and employ the expression 'two natures after the union' (*Philalethes*, p. 138).
- ⁶⁴⁹ As we shall see, this reading of the Antiochene position by Severus was not incorrect.
- ⁶⁵⁰ *Philalethes*, p. 140, and *Contra Grammaticum*, I, p. 182.
- ⁶⁵¹ *Philalethes*, p. 140.
- ⁶⁵² *Contra Grammaticum*, I, pp. 134-5.
- ⁶⁵³ *Philalathes*, pp. 140-141.
- ⁶⁵⁴ *ibid.* pp 148-9
- ⁶⁵⁵ Severus maintains that when once the 'one *hypostasis*' of the Chalcedonian definition is taken in the sense of 'one *prosoyon*' there is no idea in it which Nestorius would reject.
- ⁶⁵⁶ *Contra Grammaticum*, I, pp. 118f. Severus quotes Nestorius: 'I, personifying the Church, speak the same thing to everyone. I, Christ, perfect God and perfect man, not as natures that are confused one with the other, but as united' (p. 119).
- ⁶⁵⁷ This emphasis is made with great force by Severus in many places. For example, see *Contra Grammaticum*, I, pp. 178f.
- ⁶⁵⁸ For Severus' reference to the letter. see *Philalethes*, pp. 177-8.
- ⁶⁵⁹ Sellers refers to the letter of Theodoret to John of Agae in *The Council of Chalcedon*, *op. cit.*, p. 213, n. 2. He remarks that Theodoret tried to convince John of Agae that the 'one *hypostasis*' of Chalcedon did not mean 'one *substantia*.' Sellers, however, does not show what the word meant for the bishop of Cyrus. Charles Moeller sees in Theodoret's aligning *hypostasis* with *prosoyon* a theological contribution (*Das Konzil Von Chalkedon*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 658.)
- ⁶⁶⁰ *Contra Grammaticum*, I, p. 294.
- ⁶⁶¹ A large number of such documents are included by Zacharia Rhetor, John of Ephesus, and *Michael le Syrian*. Many of them are noted in the present study.
- ⁶⁶² Zacharia Rhetor, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 161f.
- ⁶⁶³ John maintained, writes Zacharia, that 'God the Word himself became the body and suffered in it, if he suffered at all, whereby denying that he was united to a human body' (see p. 163).
- ⁶⁶⁴ Zacharia Rhetor, *op. cit.*, p.164.
- ⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 362.
- ⁶⁶⁶ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- ⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 186.
- ⁶⁶⁸ For a reference to the letters, see *ibid.* p. 186.
- ⁶⁶⁹ For this letter, see *ibid.* pp. 186-202.
- ⁶⁷⁰ The letter of Timothy excommunicating Isaiah and Theophilus is included by Zacharia, *ibid.*, pp. 202-205. Isaiah and Theophilus maintain, wrote Timothy, that the body of our Lord is consubstantial with himself, but not with us. and that he did not become man in reality (p. 203). In this letter Timothy fixed the time of penance for those who return from heresy at one year, following the injunction of Cyril and Dioscorus before him. For a reference to this point, see above pp. 104f.
- ⁶⁷¹ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
- ⁶⁷² Zacharia, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202
- ⁶⁷³ Zacharia, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
- ⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 209f.
- ⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid. op. cit.*, pp. 215-6. The incident is noted above p. 105
- ⁶⁷⁶ 'Eutyichians', writes Philoxenos, 'admit only that God assumed the human form and likeness, while refusing to affirm that he took anything from Mary while assuming the body. They think that to grant this would lead to saying that the incarnation brought about an addition to the Trinity (Philoxenos, *op. cit.*, p. 154).

- ⁶⁷⁷ 'If the Eutyrians', insists Philoxenos, 'believe as we do that everything made, particularly the nature of man, is God's creation, let them not speak like the Manichaeans that the body of God is not from us..... God's creation is good, so that the Creator became man from it. If they hesitate to admit this, let them say clearly that the nature of man is from the evil one and show themselves to be not only phantasiasts, but also Manichaeans (*ibid.* pp. 42-43).
- ⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 141.
- ⁶⁷⁹ Philoxenos, *op. cit.* p. 141.
- ⁶⁸⁰ See above p. 21.
- ⁶⁸¹ *Contra Grammaticum, op. cit.*, II, p. 239. A similar position had been assumed against the statement of Eutyches by Timothy Aelurus (see *The Council of Chalcedon, op. cit.*, p. 262).
- ⁶⁸² *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. XII, pp. 190-1.
- ⁶⁸³ *Ibid.* vol. VIII, p. 221.
- ⁶⁸⁴ *Ad Nephaliium*, C. S. C. O., Tomus VII, ed. 3. Lebon, 1949. p. 141.
- ⁶⁸⁵ See above p. 51.
- ⁶⁸⁶ See above p. 74.
- ⁶⁸⁷ See above p. 104.
- ⁶⁸⁸ See above p. 109.
- ⁶⁸⁹ P. O., vol. XII. pp. 264-268. This is noted above p. 31. For this Sergius, see above p. 133.
- ⁶⁹⁰ See above p. 31.
- ⁶⁹¹ P. O. vol. XII, pp. 267-268.
- ⁶⁹² See above pp. 30f.
- ⁶⁹³ See above pp. 20f., 34,n. 155.
- ⁶⁹⁴ For the letters exchanged between Sergius and Severus, see *Ad Nephaliium, op. cit.*, pp. 70f.
- ⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2.
- ⁶⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 74-7.
- ⁶⁹⁷ *Ad Nephaliium, op. cit.*, p. 79.
- ⁶⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 79. Severus admits further: 'While, therefore, we anathematize those who affirm that the Emmanuel is two natures after the union with their operations and properties, it is not for speaking of natures, or operations, or properties, that we place them under condemnation; but because, while affirming two natures after the union, they ascribe the operations and properties to each nature, whereby dividing them' (*ibid.*, p. 80).
- ⁶⁹⁹ See above pp. 126f.
- ⁷⁰⁰ Julian's letters to Severus are included in *Severe d'Antioche La Polemique Antijulianiste*, C.S.C.O., vol. 244, ed. Robert Hespel, 1964.
- ⁷⁰¹ This sentence is taken from British Museum manuscript, additional number 12158, p. 31.
- ⁷⁰² British Museum MS, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- ⁷⁰³ *La Polemique Anti-Julianiste*, II B, ed. Robert Hespel, CSCO, p. 183.
- ⁷⁰⁴ This is an important emphasis of Julian, which is repeatedly noted by Severus.
- ⁷⁰⁵ British Museum M. S. *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- ⁷⁰⁶ R. Draguet: *Julien D'Halicarnasse et sa Controverse Avec Severe D'Antioche Sur L'incorruptibilité du Corps Du Christ*, Louvain, 1924.
- ⁷⁰⁷ See above p. 141.
- ⁷⁰⁸ See below pp. 271.
- ⁷⁰⁹ Draguet seems to be unduly influenced by the notion that suffering and death came on man in consequence of the fall, so that by nature the manhood of Adam before his disobedience and sin was essentially incorruptible. Although this view had supporters among some pre-Chalcedonian fathers and though Chalcedonian theologians developed it further from the sixth century, it is not shared by Severus.
- ⁷¹⁰ Severus reproduces a passage from Julian, which insists: 'Not that he was corruptible before (the resurrection), but he only appeared to be corruptible. After the resurrection, he

only showed himself to be in reality incorruptible' (*La Polemique* I, p. 50). In answering the point, Severus asks: 'if he was incorruptible, impassible and immortal, how do you say that he was subject to suffering? It should, therefore, be that the death of our Lord was in phantasy and not in reality' (*La Polemique... op. cit.*, p. 51).

⁷¹¹ The point is made several times by Severus (see *ibid.* pp. 80-1, 233, ii A, p. 27).

⁷¹² *Ibid.* p. 226.

⁷¹³ 'If Emmanuel', writes Severus, 'wished only to be united to an immortal and impassible body and in it to fight the battle for us, since by nature he was God possessing impassibility and immortality, what need was there for the incarnation? Therefore, he united to himself a body which was consubstantial with us and suffered like us, and which was prone to suffer and to die, and he died like a triumphant warrior' (*La Polemique op. cit.* I, p. 130).

⁷¹⁴ British Museum MS, *op. cit.*, p. 26

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷¹⁶ Man is by nature mortal', writes Severus, 'because he came into being from nothing. If, however, he had continued to maintain his vision of God, he would have transcended the natural corruptibility and remained incorruptible' (*La Polemique* I, p. 30). Severus argues that everything created, including the angels, is liable to change and cites the example of satan in his support. As for man, he refers to the words reported to have spoken by God to Adam: 'Dust you are, and to dust you shall return', and insists that God did not tell Adam: 'Dust you have now become', implying that Adam had originally been created mortal (*La Polemique* I, p. 34).

⁷¹⁷ A. Sanday: *Anti-Julianistica*, Beyrout, 1931, Syriac, p. 69.

⁷¹⁸ This point is noted several times by Severus (*La Polemique* II A, pp. 35-6; II-B, p. 222. This passage is taken from *La Polemique* I, pp. 166-7.

⁷¹⁹ Severus argues that man had fallen from the grace of God, and that God the Word became incarnate in order to restore the divine grace of immortality to the human race. For this, divine justice required that 'he who had fallen should once again fight his battle and score a victory' (*La Polemique* I, pp. 36.7).

⁷²⁰ He left the body to be such that it would endure guiltless passions and death, because, as we said, he wished that our defeat may again be fought out justly, and that by his resurrection he may begin first with the flesh united to him impassibility, immortality, incorruptibility and glory for the entire human race, whose first-fruit he had become' (*La Polemique* I, p. 70).

⁷²¹ 'If the flesh in which he became incarnate was incorruptible, impassible and immortal', asks Severus, 'how would he have destroyed the dominion of death? The crucifixion of Christ would have been pointless. The saying of the Apostle that 'by death he may destroy him who had held sway over death' would be meaningless. He (the devil) would be defeated completely only if the flesh was such as would endure suffering and death without sin' (*ibid.*, p. 51). It should be noted that the question of where the new creation begins is answered by Julian by pointing to the virgin birth of our Lord, but that Severus would refer it to the resurrection see *La Polemique* II B, pp. 222f.

⁷²² 'It is not because God the Word was incapable of making the flesh immortal and impassible from the moment of its union with himself that he left it to remain passible and mortal, but because he wished to take on himself our battle' (*La Polemique* I, p. 235).

⁷²³ 'Because he assumed a mortal and corruptible body which, for this reason, was liable to suffer, along with the flesh he made his own its passions as well. While the flesh was suffering, it is affirmed that the Word himself suffered. In this way we confess that he was crucified, and that he died. When the flesh endured the suffering, the Word was not there by himself' (*La Polemique* p. 233).

⁷²⁴ 'Although the suffering and death of God our Saviour were voluntary and aimed at curing our diseases, yet they belonged by nature to the flesh which was passible and which indeed suffered' (*Ibid.* p. 133).

⁷²⁵ The idea underlying this passage is expressed again and again by Severus. This one taken from British Museum M. S. *op. cit.*, p. 30. The Syriac of the two sentences in the

middle is rather clumsy, but we believe that the translation given here brings out the point of the writer.

⁷²⁶ One of the ever-repeated points made by Severus in his *Contra Grammaticum* is that the manhood of Christ was individuated manhood, so that as man he was a particular man (see below pp. 227f.).

⁷²⁷ This also is an idea repeatedly stressed by Severus.

⁷²⁸ Severus' insistence that the new creation began in the resurrection as against Julian's theory that it was inaugurated by the virgin birth should be noted here (see above p. 214, n. 59).

⁷²⁹ Norman Pittenger: *The Incarnate Word* Harper and Brothers, New York, 1959, pp. 12-3.

⁷³⁰ *Michael Le Syriene, op. cit., p. 379.*

⁷³¹ *Patrologia Orientalis, op. cit., vol. XII, p. 195.*

⁷³² N. & P. N. F., sec, ser., vol. IV, pp. 168f.

⁷³³ *Contra Grammaticum, op. cit., I (Syriac) p. 56.*

⁷³⁴ *Ibid. p. 62.*

⁷³⁵ *Ibid. pp. 57-8.*

⁷³⁶ *Ibid. p. 59.*

⁷³⁷ *Ibid. p. 62.*

⁷³⁸ Severus himself admits this fact. See *Ad Nephaliu*, p. 167, and *AntiJulianistica, p.*

94.

⁷³⁹ *Contra Grammaticum, I pp. 81f.*

⁷⁴⁰ See P. O. XII. p. 196; *Contra Grammaticum, I, pp. 68E*

⁷⁴¹ *Contra Gr. I, p. 145.*

⁷⁴² *Contra Gr. I, p. 74.*

⁷⁴³ *Ibid., p. 76.*

⁷⁴⁴ Like any theologian of his age, Severus regards the body and soul in man as independent entities created and brought into union by God in each human being.

⁷⁴⁵ *Contra Gr. I, p. 77.*

⁷⁴⁶ *Contra Gr. I, p. 181.*

⁷⁴⁷ *Contra Gr. I, pp. 77f*

⁷⁴⁸ See below pp. 282f.

⁷⁴⁹ *Contra Gr. I, pp. 154-7; P. O., vol. VIII, p. 216.*

⁷⁵⁰ See above pp. 152f.

⁷⁵¹ See above pp. 2041, n. 15, where Philoxenos' objection to Eutychianism is noted. The bishop of Mabbogh criticizes it on the ground that it refused to admit that God the Son assumed the body from the Virgin's womb.

⁷⁵² 'Just as every flesh that is being formed', argues Philoxenos, 'comes into being in the womb and there it grows, in the same way the Word, when he willed to become incarnate wonderfully, did not take the flesh from anywhere else but the womb, and in it he was conceived. For it was not to the flesh of somebody else, but to that of his own, that he was united' (*Tractatus.....op. cit., p. 40*). Again: 'As he emptied himself, brought himself down, and came into the Virgin; he became incarnate from her and was made man; he was conceived and was born and he identified himself with us in everything except sin. This was his flesh, not of anybody else' (*ibid. p. 53*).

⁷⁵³ This is a point repeatedly made by Philoxenos and Severus. Philoxenos, for instance, maintains 'The self-emptying [of the Son] happened first, and then he became incarnate. It was he who emptied himself that became flesh' (*Ibid. p. 57*).

⁷⁵⁴ 'We have learned of two births for the Son of God', writes Philoxenos, 'one by nature and the other by will. One is from the Father and the other is from the mother. One is beyond time and eternal, and the other is in time and human' (*Tractatus....., p. 70*).

⁷⁵⁵ The real purpose of the incarnation is our salvation. Philoxenos insists on this idea by connecting it with baptism. He writes: 'Because he who by nature is the Son was born of the Virgin, we have become children of God by his grace through baptism' (*Tractatus..... p. 87*).

⁷⁵⁶ That God the Son united to himself real and perfect manhood, is insisted on again and again by Philoxenos. 'The complete man', he writes to the monks of Senoun, 'was redeemed in God. Since the whole of Adam had come under the curse and been depraved, the whole of him was taken by God and renewed. The Lord who became incarnate gave his body unto death for the sake of everybody, and his soul for the salvation of all souls. In this way the whole of our nature was recreated in him into a new man' (*Lettre Aux Moines de Senoun, C.S.C.O.* vol. 231, ed. Andre de Halleux, 1963, p. 9).

⁷⁵⁷ See below p. 238.

⁷⁵⁸ *Tractatus*..... pp. 84f.

⁷⁵⁹ The child', writes Severus, 'was not formed independently by himself in the womb of Mary, the Virgin *Theotokos* as heretics vainly think. The Word who is before the ages united to himself flesh endowed with soul and mind from the very beginning of its formation in the womb' (*Contra Gr. I, p. 184*).

⁷⁶⁰ *Contra Gr. I, p. 183*.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 183.

⁷⁶² In the womb the child that was conceived by the Virgin had his normal growth. The confession that he became incarnate means that the flesh was formed in the very Word who by nature is not incarnate. He grew by degrees and received the human likeness. But the flesh did not come into being apart from the union with the Word (*Contra Gr. I, p. 183*).

⁷⁶³ See above p. 213.

⁷⁶⁴ For the letter, see P. O., XII, pp. 260-261.

⁷⁶⁵ For this discussion, see *Philalethes, op. cit.*, pp. 136-7. By this understanding of the meaning of *Theotokos* the concern of the Antiochene school can be conserved.

⁷⁶⁶ Noted in Severus' letter to Oecumenius, P. O. XII, p. 176.

⁷⁶⁷ Luke 2: 52.

⁷⁶⁸ P. O. XII, pp. 266f.

⁷⁶⁹ John 1:14.

⁷⁷⁰ Galatians 4:4

⁷⁷¹ Zacharia Rhetor, *op. cit.*

⁷⁷² *La Polemique I*, p. 138.

⁷⁷³ *La Polemique I*, p. 131.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁷⁷⁵ For a reference to the confession, see above pp. 130f.

⁷⁷⁶ For a reference to these letters, see above p. 133.

⁷⁷⁷ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 200.

⁷⁷⁸ For a summary treatment of this subject, see R. V. Sellers: *Two Ancient Christologies*, London, 1954, p. 89, especially note 2.

⁷⁷⁹ In the words of G. L. Prestige, 'According to Valentinians (ap. Iren, haer: 5, I), Achamoth, the abortive and degenerate fruit of the final aeon in the divine Absolute (pleroma), was homoousion with the angelic ('spiritual') beings, and thus superior to the physical creation'. See *God in Patristic Thought*. London, 1952, p. 197.

⁷⁸⁰ The grammarian writes, as quoted by Severus, 'For this reason, the blessed Cyril accepts those who affirm of Emmanuel two natures', thereby fleeing from the heresy of Apollinarius. And again, he admits the affirmation of 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' in order to condemn Nestorius. When both of them are affirmed, they indicate the correct opinion. However, if one of them is excluded, there would come in the evil opinion of heresy'. See *Contra Gr. I*, p. 131.

⁷⁸¹ *Tractatus*.....*op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁷⁸² *Ibid.* p. 190.

⁷⁸³ For a reference to the confession, see above p. 130f.

⁷⁸⁴ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 20.

⁷⁸⁵ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 21.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁸⁸ *Contra Gr.* I, p. 21. For this council, see above p. 122.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22. Severus then continues by arguing that in accusing the non-Chalcedonian body of holding a theory of one *ousia*, the grammarian does not furnish even a single piece of evidence. See *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷⁹¹ *Contra Gr.* I, p. 200.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 203. In refuting the grammarian, Severus asks him to show how Christ could be affirmed as being ‘in two *ousias*’. How, for instance, could the *ousia* of the flesh which existed even before the union with God the Word be individuated and still remained *ousia*? Is it that God the Word united to himself *hypostatically* ‘the common’ of the manhood? Is it not that he united to himself one body, endowed with soul and mind, which belonged to the human *ousia*, namely, to the entire human race, whereby becoming consubstantial with our race? (*ibid.*, p. 267). The grammarian should therefore admit, argues Severus, that his real purpose, despite affirming ‘in two *ousias*’, is to assert ‘in two *hypostasis*’, implying the confession that the babe in the womb was formed by itself apart from the union with God the Word. This is why, insists Severus, the grammarian affirms ‘two natures after the union’, from which it was bound to follow a doctrine of ‘two *prosopa*, two sons, and two Christs’ (*ibid.*, p. 268f)

⁷⁹³ *Philalathes op.cit.* p 181f

⁷⁹⁴ ‘God the Word who, without a beginning and in eternity, had been born from the Father without passion and without a body, became incarnate...’ (*ibid.*, p. 131).

⁷⁹⁵ ‘He became incarnate’, writes Severus, ‘by the Holy Spirit from the holy and ever-Virgin Mary *Theotokos*, [by assuming] a body which was of the same nature with us and which was endowed with a rational and intelligent soul, while the body had not come into being before God the Word indwelt the womb of the Virgin’. At the same time, Severus insists that ‘God the Word united to himself our entire *ousia*, leaving out nothing of which our manhood is composed’ (*Philalathes, op. cit.*, p. 132.).

⁷⁹⁶ This is an ever-repeated emphasis of Severus.

⁷⁹⁷ *Contra Grammaticum*, II, pp. 110f.

⁷⁹⁸ Basil, writes Severus, ‘recognizes him who became incarnate as indivisible. He draws a boundary between the time before the incarnation and the time after the incarnation. Before the incarnation, he was without flesh: but after the incarnation, he was with flesh’ (*Contra Gr.* II, p. 117)

⁷⁹⁹ *Contra Gr.* II, p. 115.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p.34.

⁸⁰¹ *Contra Gr.* I, p. 91.

⁸⁰² *Ad Nephaliium, op. cit.*, p. 29. This comment follows a few quotations from pseudo-Julius of Rome, and the reference here is to him.

⁸⁰³ C. S. C. O. vol. 17, p. 121.

⁸⁰⁴ *Contra Gr.* I, p. 185.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 239-40. Here and in many other places Severus employs the body-soul analogy in man.

⁸⁰⁶ *Contra Gr.* I, p. 87.

⁸⁰⁷ *Contra Gr.* I, p. 148.

⁸⁰⁸ This is an emphasis which we have already noted.

⁸⁰⁹ *Contra Gr.* I, p. 184.

⁸¹⁰ *Contra Gr.* I, pp. 227.

⁸¹¹ This is an ever-repeated emphasis of Severus. To reproduce one passage:

When we meditate on the realities of which the one Christ is composed, we shall see in our minds the two natures which have converged into the indivisible union. After the thought of union, it is not correct to affirm two natures, because the natures have not come into concrete existence separately, but from them both it is the one *hypostasis* and one nature of the Word incarnate that had been completed (*Contra Gr.* I, p. 119).

⁸¹² *Contra Gr.* II, p. 9.

⁸¹³ See above pp. 198f

⁸¹⁴ *Contra Gr.* II, p. 28.

The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined

- ⁸¹⁵ See the conclusion of Lebon's essay on 'Le Christologie de Monophysisme Syrien' in *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon*, vol. 1. and the concluding remarks of Andre de Halleux, *op. cit.*
- ⁸¹⁶ See above p. 197.
- ⁸¹⁷ See below pp. 277f.
- ⁸¹⁸ *Ad Nephaliu*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
- ⁸¹⁹ This point is already noted. See above p. 209.
- ⁸²⁰ Similar views are held by both the Antiochene and the Chalcedonian sides also, though with slight differences. See below pp. 269f. 279f.
- ⁸²¹ See above pp. 195f. For further elucidations, see below. pp. 279f.
- ⁸²² As St. Paul puts it, 'where sin increased, grace abounded all the more' (Romans v, 20). Philoxenos maintains that through the incarnation God created man anew in his own personality see above p. 232.
- ⁸²³ See below p. 265.
- ⁸²⁴ See essay in *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon*, *op. cit.*, p. 703.
- ⁸²⁵ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 187.
- ⁸²⁶ David Beecher Evans: *Leontius of Byzantium An Origenist Christology*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Thirteen, 1970.
- ⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 146.
- ⁸²⁸ *St. John of Damascus; Writings*, 'Fr., Frederic H. Chase, Jr., New York, 1958.
- ⁸²⁹ *op. cit.*
- ⁸³⁰ See above pp. 193f
- ⁸³¹ See above pp. 139f.
- ⁸³² From the way in which non-Chalcedonian theologians are deplorably misrepresented by this council, one has to raise the question whether the council had not been wrong in this reading of the position of these men also.
- ⁸³³ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, see. ser., vol. XIV, p. 344.
- ⁸³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 344.
- ⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 344.
- ⁸³⁶ The men referred to are: Theodorus of Pharan; Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter of Constantinople; Honarius of Rome; Cyrus of Alexandria; Macarius of Antioch; Stephen; and Polychronius.
- ⁸³⁷ Is it possible that they held this view?
- ⁸³⁸ For Themistius, see below p. 263.
- ⁸³⁹ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 145.
- ⁸⁴⁰ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 146.
- ⁸⁴¹ See above pp. 240f. It should be noted that in defining terms, John of Damascus agrees with Severus. 'We have repeatedly said', he writes, 'that substance means the common species including the persons that belong to the same species—as, for example, God, man—while person indicates an individual, as Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Peter, Paul' (*op. cit.* p. 275).
- ⁸⁴² *Contra Gr. I* p. 200.
- ⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 166.
- ⁸⁴⁴ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
- ⁸⁴⁵ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 179, 199.
- ⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1, 34.
- ⁸⁴⁷ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 38.
- ⁸⁴⁸ See above pp. 239f.
- ⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 252.
- ⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 255.
- ⁸⁵¹ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 253.
- ⁸⁵² *Contra Gr. I*, p. 153.
- ⁸⁵³ Col. 2: 09.
- ⁸⁵⁴ *Contra Gr. I*, p. 154.
- ⁸⁵⁵ *Contra Gram. I*, pp. 107-8.
- ⁸⁵⁶ See above p. 237, n. 3.

- ⁸⁵⁷ *St. John of Damascus; Writings, op. cit.*, includes this work as its first part.
- ⁸⁵⁸ See above pp. 143f. and 152f.
- ⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- ⁸⁶⁰ See above pp. 126f. and 209f.
- ⁸⁶¹ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- ⁸⁶² John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 274 & c.
- ⁸⁶³ The Damascene writes that Christ has a ‘compound nature’, not in the sense of some thing new made of two things. (*ibid.*, p. 271.)
- ⁸⁶⁴ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
- ⁸⁶⁵ The birth of our Lord, writes John. ‘was not by seed but by creation through the Holy Ghost, with the form not being put together bit by bit, but being completed all at once with the Word of God Himself serving as the person to the flesh’ (*ibid.*, p.270) On the other, he insists that the natures are ‘united to each other in one compound person’ (*ibid.*, p. 274).
- ⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 274.
- ⁸⁶⁷ The Damascene maintains that ‘after the union, the two natures are preserved in the one composite Person, that is to say, in the one Christ, and that they and their natural properties have real existence’ (*ibid.*, p. 277).
- ⁸⁶⁸ John of Damascus. *op. cit.*, p. 287.
- ⁸⁶⁹ See below pp. 278f.
- ⁸⁷⁰ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
- ⁸⁷¹ See above p. 258.
- ⁸⁷² John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
- ⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 292.
- ⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 293.
- ⁸⁷⁵ See above pp. 214f.
- ⁸⁷⁶ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
- ⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 297.
- ⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 301.
- ⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 297.
- ⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 298.
- ⁸⁸¹ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
- ⁸⁸² *La Polemique I*, pp. 36f
- ⁸⁸³ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
- ⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 317.
- ⁸⁸⁵ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
- ⁸⁸⁶ See above pp. 208f.
- ⁸⁸⁷ *Ad Nephaliium, op. cit.*, pp. 82f.
- ⁸⁸⁸ *La Polemique II B*, p. 193.
- ⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 134.
- ⁸⁹⁰ See above pp. 209f.
- ⁸⁹¹ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
- ⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 332.
- ⁸⁹³ *La Polemique I*, p. 130. See p.212, n.52 above where a fuller passage is reproduced.
- ⁸⁹⁴⁸⁹⁴ *La Polemique II A*, p. 20.
- ⁸⁹⁵ In his Cathedral homily 125 Severus offers an exposition of the *Trisagion*, to this effect. See above p. 110.
- ⁸⁹⁶ The non-Chalcedonian Christology is admittedly a continuation of the Cyrilline interpretation of the person of Christ, which had been developed in depth in opposition to the teaching of the Antiochene School. It is not therefore, surprising if the non-Chalcedonian position happens to be very critical of the Nestorian position, although we should go beyond the polemics of the past in evaluating it. But the anti-Nestorian trend of the Chalcedonian side, particularly in the face of its claim that the council or 451 had worked out a synthesis of all existing traditions in the Church, cannot be justified.
- ⁸⁹⁷ *Contra Gr.* II, p. 120.

The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined

- ⁸⁹⁸ Francis A. Sullivan, s. j., *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Rome, Apud Aides Universitatis Gregoriana, 1956,
- ⁸⁹⁹ Rowan Greer. *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian*, The Faith Press. 1961.
- ⁹⁰⁰ R. A. Norris, Jr.. *Manhood and Christ*, Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1963.
- ⁹⁰¹ Sullivan, *ibid.*, p. 283. For our reference to the way in which Theodore was denounced and condemned as a heretic by the council of 553, see above pp. 139f. The ground of this action of the council was the judgment that he was responsible for working out the Nestorian heresy.
- ⁹⁰² Rowan Greer, *ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁹⁰³ Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- ⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- ⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 206.
- ⁹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- ⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- ⁹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- ⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- ⁹¹⁰ Sullivan. *op. cit.*, p. 213.
- ⁹¹¹ For this passage, as we have translated from Syriac, see above p. 197. Norris, *op. cit.* includes it, p. 215.
- ⁹¹² Norris, *ibid.*, p. 215.
- ⁹¹³ Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
- ⁹¹⁴ See above pp. 222f.
- ⁹¹⁵ Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-4.
- ⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 229f.
- ⁹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- ⁹¹⁸ Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- ⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.
- ⁹²⁰ Sullivan, *ibid.*, p. 253.
- ⁹²¹ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p.295.
- ⁹²² See above pp. 242
- ⁹²³ Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 160f.
- ⁹²⁴ After explaining the body-soul analogy, as noted above, pp. 248f. (p.425), Severus writes: 'In the same way, from Godhead and manhood, in., from human flesh endowed with a rational soul, each in its perfection according to its respective principle, Emmanuel is one *prosopon*, by means of the concurrence of both into union without change or confusion. He has the *hypostasis* of God the Word, by which I mean his eternal Godhead, without any change, and the manhood which he united to himself ineffably remained in its' *hypostasis* without conversion. But it is not possible to ascribe to each of them, that is to the Godhead of the Only-begotten and to the manhood which is united to him a specific *prosopon*, because they are perceived in composition, not as having been independently formed or as existing separately. 'But by their God-befitting and ineffable coming together there is completed one *hypostasis* from Godhead and manhood and correspondingly one *prosopon*, namely of God the Word incarnate'. (*Contra Gr.* I, p. 77).
- ⁹²⁵ See above pp. 209f.
- ⁹²⁶ See above pp. 198f.
- ⁹²⁷ Sullivan. *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- ⁹²⁸ Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
- ⁹²⁹ Norris. *op. cit.*, pp. 218-9. Noted above pp. 280f.
- ⁹³⁰ Norris. *op. cit.*, p. 225
- ⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.
- ⁹³² *Ibid.*, p. 227.
- ⁹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 228.
- ⁹³⁴ Norris, *op. cit.*
- ⁹³⁵ See above p. 213.
- ⁹³⁶ See above pp. 213f.

⁹³⁷ See above pp. 211f.

⁹³⁸ *La Polemique—I*, p. 40.

⁹³⁹ Norris, *op. cit.* p. 195.

⁹⁴⁰ John of Damascus, *op. cit.*, p. 318. Noted above p. 504.

⁹⁴¹ *The Incarnation of the Word*.

⁹⁴² *Op. cit.*, pp. 359, 363, 514 & c

⁹⁴³ See above p. 238.

⁹⁴⁴ See above p. 189, n. 8.

⁹⁴⁵ See above pp. 266f.

⁹⁴⁶ See above pp. 278f.