

# The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon

*Translated with an introduction and notes  
by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis*

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Translated Texts for Historians  
Volume 45

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Translated with introduction and notes by  
RICHARD PRICE and MICHAEL GADDIS

*Volume One*  
General Introduction  
Documents before the Council  
Session I

Liverpool  
University  
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## PREFACE

The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451) must be one of the longest surviving texts from the ancient world, and they make the council itself possibly the best-documented event in Roman, or early church, history.<sup>1</sup> They are extremely revealing for the politics of the council, the role of the emperor and his officials, the concerns and loyalties of the bishops, and a host of matters relating to church affairs. They are not rich in theological debate, but they remain the essential source for determining what the bishops themselves intended when they approved the Definition of the Faith and the other decrees. It is hoped that this, the first fully annotated edition and the first complete translation into a modern western language, will stimulate interest in this imposing and revealing document.

### AUTHORSHIP AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The division of labour between the two authors was as follows. The translation is the work of Richard M. Price, on the basis of a first draft of the greater part of the text by Michael Gaddis. The General Introduction is by Gaddis, except for Section V, 'The Theology of Chalcedon', which is by Price. The introductions, commentaries and footnotes to each section of text, the glossary, and the indices are by Price. Of the two appendices, the first on 'The Documentary Collections' is by Gaddis, and the second on 'Attendance and Ecumenicity' is by Price.

Acknowledgements are owed to our predecessors. The Greek version of Sessions I to VI was fluently and accurately rendered into French by that expert translator A.J. Festugière.<sup>2</sup> Even more impressive is the pre-revolutionary Russian version, which translates the whole text and indeed

1 As observed by Ste. Croix, 'The Council of Chalcedon'.

2 *Ephèse et Chalcédoine* (Paris, 1982), and *Actes du Concile de Chalcédoine: Sessions III–VI* (Geneva, 1983).

the complete Acts of all the ecumenical councils of the patristic age;<sup>3</sup> there is no equivalent edition in any western language. Thanks are also due to the TTH readers, Michael Whitby and Claudia Rapp; their work on so long a text was selfless and unenviable. Without this varied assistance, the translation would certainly be less accurate than, we hope, it is. Thanks are also due to Fergus Millar, who offered comments on the General Introduction; both he and Michael Whitby gave further assistance by providing copies of as yet unpublished work, including Michael Whitby's edited version of G.E.M. de Ste. Croix's stimulating essay 'The Council of Chalcedon'. Throughout the project Mary Whitby has been the ideal editor, infinitely patient with our delays, yet replying immediately to every query.

This is the first edition of the Acts to provide substantial annotation, in the form of commentary on each session and footnotes. We are recurrently indebted to Hefele-Leclerq, *Histoire des conciles*, vol. 2, pt 2 (1908), 649–855, which explicates as well as summarizes. Of the briefer analyses of the sessions we would single out for perspicacity Bolotov, *Lectures on the History of the Early Church* (1917).<sup>4</sup> Inevitably, however, a modern historian approaches the material with different loyalties and presuppositions than those of his predecessors; he is not tied to the tradition of ecclesiastical history, which saw Chalcedon uniquely through the eyes of the victors. Without belittling the achievements of the council, we may acknowledge that the circumstances of its meeting and the politics that shaped its course did not permit truth and justice to reign undisturbed.<sup>5</sup>

### PRINCIPLES OF THE TRANSLATION

This translation of the Acts of Chalcedon follows the Greek text published in Eduard Schwartz, *ACO* II.1 (1933–5), with supplementation, at times of whole pages, at others of words or phrases, from the ancient Latin version in Schwartz, *ACO* II.3 (1935–7), which represents the original Greek text more fully and often more accurately than the extant Greek edition; all such

3 *Deyaniya Vselenskikh Soborov* (Kazan, 1908).

4 *Lektsii po istorii drevnei tserkvi*, vol. 4 (St Petersburg, 1917), 237–318.

5 Two important articles that illustrate the more modern approach (anticipated, be it noted, by Eduard Schwartz himself) are M.J. van Parys, 'The Council of Chalcedon as Historical Event', *Ecumenical Review* 22 (1970), 305–20, and G.E.M. de Ste. Croix's posthumously published paper 'The Council of Chalcedon'. Another recent discussion of exceptional quality is Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society* (2001), ch. 53. On the theological issues the outstanding commentator until his death in 1994 was André de Halleux.

supplements are indicated in the notes.<sup>6</sup> This does not constitute a translation of all the material in *ACO* II, which includes, for example, most of the letters of Pope Leo and the *Codex Encyclius* of 458, but it does include the complete minutes of the council and all its decrees and canons, supplemented by a selection of documents (largely letters) that relate to the council, divided into two sections – ‘Documents before the Council’ and ‘Documents after the Council’.

In translating key Latin words we take into account their probable Greek originals, as indicated in the word lists in *ACO* II.3.3 pp. 124–48, based on those parts of the Acts that survive in both versions. Words placed by Schwartz in square brackets as deserving deletion on grammatical or textual grounds are normally omitted. Words added by ourselves to clarify the meaning are placed in square brackets; these must be distinguished from supplements based (almost invariably) on the Latin MSS, indicated by brackets of the form ‘{ }’ and always annotated.

We are careful about consistency in the translation of honorifics, for example: εὐλαβέστατος = most devout, εὐσεβέστατος = most pious, θεοφιλέστατος = most God-beloved, θεοσεβέστατος = most religious, φιλόχριστος = Christ-loving, μεγαλοπρεπέστατος καὶ ἐνδοξότατος = most magnificent and glorious. Honorifics no more expressed admiration than such English conventions as referring to a member of parliament as ‘the honorable member’: note for example XIII. 5, ‘The most devout Anastasius, having neither the fear of God before his eyes nor respect for the laws of your piety ...’. But the actual omission of an honorific remained expressive, as when at the climax of the trial of Dioscorus, the president, Bishop Paschasinus, referred to Dioscorus by his unadorned name (III. 79).

English superlative forms are generally clumsier than their Greek and Latin equivalents, and I would have liked to lighten the texture by eliminating every occurrence of ‘most’. But that would have sacrificed some intriguing distinctions: archbishops are ‘most holy’, but councils are ‘holy’, by implication *more* holy than archbishops; and when applied to persons the simple positive is less stereotyped than the superlative. It is ironic that in this way the superlative actually weakens the meaning.

A particular problem arises from the use in the Greek (and Latin) of such forms of address as ‘your reverence’ or ‘your holiness’. The noun is always

<sup>6</sup> Two points where the two editions significantly diverge – the list of signatories to Dioscorus’ condemnation, and the version of the Nicene Creed included in the Definition – are discussed in detail in the commentaries to Sessions III and V respectively.

in the singular, even where a plurality of persons is being addressed. This feature of the Greek is preserved in the French and Russian translations of the Acts. English usage prefers the plural (e.g., ‘your reverences’), but less familiar expressions are ugly in the plural (e.g., ‘your sacrednesses’), and the Greek is sometimes ambiguous as to whether a single person or several persons are being addressed. Take, for example, I. 21, where Dioscorus addresses the lay chairman of the session as ‘your magnificence’: there is no answer to the question whether he is addressing the chairman in particular, or, while intending his remark for the chairman, formally addressing the whole board of officials seated around the chairman. Therefore, to avoid introducing distinctions absent in the Greek, we have kept to the singular form. The one exception is our use of ‘your holinesses’ as the normal form where many bishops are being addressed; here the plural form is sufficiently familiar in English to make the singular unnatural and liable to misunderstanding.

The forms and spelling of names are sometimes erroneous and often inconsistent in the MSS. We have silently corrected and regularized them; full annotation of these variations would be inappropriate in an edition of this kind, while selective annotation could be misleading. For personal names we adopt the forms to which Schwartz gives preference in his names indices (*ACO* II.6 pp. 3–81), though with the usual modifications standard in English, e.g., ‘James’ for *Jacôbos* and ‘Lucian’ for *Loukianos*, and the use of Latin spellings, e.g., ‘Aetherius’ rather than ‘Aitherios’. English usage is often inconsistent or undecided, for example in where, and where not, to reduce final ‘-ianus’ to ‘-ian’, and where, and where not, the Greek ending ‘-on’ should lose its final ‘n’; it is not for us to try to impose a more logical but more artificial system. For place names we adopt the forms to be found in the lists in A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*.<sup>7</sup>

## NUMBERING OF THE SESSIONS

The numbering of the sessions is problematic. The Greek and Latin editions differ in the numbering and to some extent in the order of the acts of the council; this arises principally from the different placing and numbering of the ‘act’ consisting of Canons 1–27. Further complications are the existence

<sup>7</sup> 2nd edition (1971), ‘Appendix IV: Tables’. Note, incidentally, that ‘ch’ in Greek names, as in ‘Chalcedon’ itself, should be pronounced like the ‘ch’ in ‘chord’ and not like the ‘ch’ in ‘church’.

of several acts outside the numbered sequence and the omission of some of the minor acts in either the Greek or the Latin version. The numbering we adopt arises from our decision to exclude Canons 1–27 from the numbered sequence, since there is no evidence that they were discussed or approved at a session of the council. Our numbering happens to be almost identical to that of the Latin edition, which has generally been followed in western treatments of the council (such as Hefele-Leclerq), except that we include the second act of 31 October as Session XV, where it conveniently replaces the canons and enables our numbering of the final session to coincide with that in the Latin Acts and Hefele-Leclerq.

Strictly, a distinction should be drawn between the ‘Acts’ of the council, of which several could be transacted in one day, and the ‘sessions’ of the council, each lasting one day: the *Breviarium* of Liberatus, composed in Carthage in the early 560s, lists and numbers the sessions (*sessiones*, *conventus* or *secretaria*) accordingly, and details the acts (*actiones*) each one transacted.<sup>8</sup> A different numeration for ‘sessions’ and for ‘acts’ would therefore be both logical and traditional; but it would be confusing for the modern reader and is not adopted here.<sup>9</sup> Table 1 (*see over*) sets out the variations.

<sup>8</sup> *Breviarium* 13, *ACO* 2.5 pp. 119–23. Facundus in his *Defence of the Three Chapters* accordingly numbers the ninth and tenth acts of the Latin edition as falling in the seventh and eighth sessions (5.3.6); see A. Fraïsse-Bétoulières in Facundus, *Défense des trois chapitres*, vol. 2, pt 2 (SC 479), 242–5 nn.

<sup>9</sup> A solution would be to refer to the work of the council as a series not of ‘sessions’ but of ‘acts’. But the word ‘session’ is more natural to English ears and is too well established to be jettisoned.

**Table 1. Different Numerations of the Acts and Sessions**

<i>Agenda</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Session in Liberatus</i>	<i>Act in Greek edition</i>	<i>Act in Latin edition</i>	<i>Session in our edition</i>
Ephesus II	8 October	I	I	I	I
The Faith	10 October	II	III	II <sup>10</sup>	II
Trial of Dioscorus	13 October	III	II	III	III
Tome of Leo	17 October	IV	IV	IV	IV
Carosus and Dorotheus	20 October	–	Unnumbered (‘18’ in <i>ACO</i> 2.1)	Omitted	Unnumbered
Photius and Eustathius	20 October	–	Unnumbered (‘19’ in <i>ACO</i> 2.1)	Omitted	Unnumbered
The Definition	22 October	V	V	V	V
Promulgation of Definition	25 October	VI	VI	VI	VI
Antioch and Jerusalem	26 October	VII	VIII	VII	VII
Theodoret	26 October	VII	IX	VIII	VIII
Ibas (1)	26 October	VII	X	IX	IX
Ibas (2)	27 October	VIII	XI	X	X
Domnus	27 October	–	Omitted	Unnumbered	Unnumbered
Ephesus (1)	29 October	IX	XII	XI	XI
Ephesus (2)	30 October	X	XIII	XII	XII
Nicaea and Nicomedia	30 October	X	XIV	XIII	XIII
Perrhe	31 October	XI	XV	XIV	XIV
Letter of Leo	31 October	–	XVI	Omitted	XV
Canon 28	1 November	XII	XVII	XVI	XVI
Canons 1–27	–	XI	VII	XV	–

10 The oldest Latin edition, however, the *versio antiqua* (for which see p. 84) has the second and third acts in the same order as the Greek.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AHC	<i>Annuario historiae conciliorum</i>
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
ByzZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CCC	<i>Creeeds, Councils and Controversies</i> , J. Stevenson, rev. W.H.C. Frend
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
ChH	<i>Church History</i>
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DR	<i>Downside Review</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEC	<i>Encyclopedia of the Early Church</i> , ed. A. Di Berardino
ep(p).	<i>epistola(e)</i>
ER	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
EThL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FC	The Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>



<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LRE</i>	<i>The Later Roman Empire</i> , A.H.M. Jones
NF	neue Folge
NPNF	Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana periodica</i>
<i>ODByz</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. P. Kazhdan
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. Migne
<i>PGL</i>	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G.W.H. Lampe
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne
<i>PLRE 2</i>	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. 2, ed. J.R. Martindale
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
<i>RSCC</i>	<i>Roman State and Christian Church</i> , ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton
<i>RThL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
SBAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SGLG</i>	<i>Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia</i>
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
{ }	Supplements to the Greek text, as annotated, from the Latin version
[ ]	Translator's additions, to clarify the meaning
I. 50	Session I, paragraph 50
50	Paragraph 50 of the session that is being annotated
50n.	Note at paragraph 50

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Council of Chalcedon in 451 marked a defining moment in the Christological controversies that tore apart the church of the Eastern Roman Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries. Theological division, political rivalry and sectarian violence combined to produce what ultimately became separate Chalcedonian and miaphysite<sup>1</sup> churches, a split that persists to this day. Whether seen as a milestone in the development of orthodox doctrine, or as a divisive and misguided occasion of schism, Chalcedon is typically remembered in terms of its doctrinal product, the Definition of Faith. But surprisingly little attention has been devoted to examining the process by which that result was reached, the day-by-day deliberation of the council as revealed in its documentary acts.<sup>2</sup>

The Acts of the fifth-century councils offer us a type of source material extremely rare in the ancient world, the verbatim transcripts of a deliberative assembly in operation. The Roman Senate, which met continuously for nearly a thousand years, has left almost no direct record of its proceedings and is known to us mainly from later sources often written several generations after the events they claim to describe.<sup>3</sup> The church councils show us bishops and imperial officials grappling with issues ranging from high theology to ecclesiastical discipline to episcopal corruption. The Acts of Chalcedon, a collection of transcripts and miscellaneous documents

1 The miaphysite churches rejected Chalcedon and followed a one-nature Christology. See Glossary.

2 On the importance of the Acts, see Ste. Croix, forthcoming.

3 With only a very few exceptions, such as Claudius' speech to the Senate on the enfranchisement of the Gauls: *CIL* XIII no. 1668; cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 11.23–5. On the Roman Senate in the early imperial period see Talbert 1984. On verbatim recording of official proceedings see also Coles 1966 and Millar 2006. For the late antique period, we have the senatorial acclamations recorded at the presentation of the Theodosian Code, on which see the essays in Harries and Wood 1993 and Matthews 2000. For a general survey of ancient record-keeping practices see Posner 1972. Other examples of verbatim transcripts in the late antique period included court records, acts of the martyrs, public disputations, and some sermons.

relating to the business of the council, fill several volumes in Eduard Schwartz's magisterial edition of the *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*. The record of Chalcedon itself incorporates lengthy excerpts from the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 (the so-called 'Robber Council'), as well as earlier transcripts from bishop Flavian's 448 trial of the monk Eutyches in Constantinople and Eutyches' subsequent appeal to the emperor in early 449. At each stage the records of earlier proceedings were read back, subjected to challenge, and themselves became occasion for further controversy. The Acts offer us a unique demonstration of the convergence between the concerns of church leaders and the bureaucratic and legalistic imperatives of the secular government. Together, they express a late-antique obsession with textuality, and with the authentication of texts, as a basis for legitimate authority in both secular and religious spheres. Controversies over the text itself took place in the context of larger debates on the meaning of Christian faith and on how the church was to be governed, the disputes of the councils reflecting clashing models of ecclesiastical authority.

## I. CHURCH COUNCILS AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT

### Councils of the Church

The Greek term *synodos* served to describe both general councils with claims to legislate for all of Christendom as well as the smaller assemblies that met with greater frequency and less fanfare at the regional or local level.<sup>4</sup> Christian doctrine and orthodoxy was codified and defined between the fourth and seventh centuries by 'great, holy and ecumenical' councils, assembled by the emperor's mandate and composed of bishops who claimed to represent the entire Christian world or *oikoumene*. These councils pressed their claim to orthodox authority with varying degrees of success, depending upon the doctrinal preferences of later generations. Eventually seven synods received more or less universal acceptance as 'Ecumenical Councils' (see Table 2).

Later church tradition located the origins of councils in ancient times, fifth-century assemblies of hundreds of bishops seeing themselves in a seamless continuity reaching all the way back to the Apostles' gathering in

<sup>4</sup> The bishops at Chalcedon referred to themselves as 'the great, holy and ecumenical council', e.g. in the council's letter to Pope Leo, Documents after the Council 2, vol. 3, 120-8

**Table 2. The Seven Ecumenical Councils**

Council	Date
Nicaea	325
Constantinople I	381
Ephesus I	431
Chalcedon	451
Constantinople II	553
Constantinople III	680–81
Nicaea II	787

Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> In their view, the Holy Spirit inspired the pronouncements of these councils just as it had the first disciples of Christ. Modern scholars, meanwhile, have sought out secular precedents for ecclesiastical gatherings, citing procedural continuity from institutions such as the Roman Senate or the *curiae* of municipal governments.<sup>6</sup> At any rate, clearer evidence emerges by the late second century for local and regional meetings summoned by bishops to deal with doctrinal questions or disciplinary issues. In some cases, the bishops invoked the power of their assembled unanimity to rein in troublesome laypeople.<sup>7</sup> But if a bishop himself were accused of heresy or misconduct, or if the legitimacy of his election were questioned, only his colleagues could claim authority to judge him.<sup>8</sup> Provincial and regional synods grew more frequent in the late third and beginning of the fourth centuries, along with that era's overall growth in Christian numbers. Persecution occasionally suspended or disrupted these gatherings.<sup>9</sup> Far more damaging for the unity of the church were the aftershocks of persecution,

5 Apostles in Jerusalem: *Acts* 15. Several influential collections of canons, though actually dating from later centuries, were commonly attributed to this apostolic gathering. In later Byzantine art, depictions of the ecumenical councils often borrowed heavily from iconographic conventions for representing the assembled Apostles: Walter 1970.

6 The connection between senatorial/curial procedure and that of the councils is discussed, e.g., in Gelzer 1907, Batiffol 1919a. On the imperial-era Senate, see Talbert 1984; on local *curiae*, Jones 1964, 737–66.

7 One of the first known examples was the mid-second century meeting of bishops in Asia Minor to condemn Montanists: Eusebius, *HE* 5.16.10.

8 As, e.g., in the case of Paul of Samosata, condemned for heresy and deposed in 268 by a synod of bishops who met in Antioch: Eusebius, *HE* 7.28–30; cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 65.

9 The eastern emperor Licinius, after falling out with Constantine around 320, decreed a prohibition on travel and assembly by Christian bishops: Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 1.51.

which dominated the agendas of these early councils as they struggled to define terms for the penance and reconciliation of those who had lapsed – and to reconcile the bitter disputes and eventual schisms stemming from the debates between rigorists and accommodationists.<sup>10</sup>

*Constantine and the Council of Nicaea*

The significance of the emperor Constantine's (306–37) conversion for the government of the church cannot be overestimated. The emperor's profession of Christian faith ushered in a new age of far-reaching imperial intervention in ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>11</sup> The time of Constantine and his successors saw a profound shift in the political centre of gravity towards the Greek-speaking eastern half of the empire, with its new and explicitly Christian capital of Constantinople, the 'New Rome'. After 395, the administrative division of the empire into its eastern and western halves became permanent. The fifth-century councils were organized and held under the auspices of the eastern emperors alone, even though the imperial letters (*sacra*) that summoned the bishops went out under the names of their western colleagues as well.

The council that assembled in Nicaea in 325 set precedents both in terms of church–state relations and also in its ecumenical scope. Where previous synods had drawn bishops by the dozens from across provinces or regions, this council brought together nearly three hundred bishops from all over the Christian world – including even a few from beyond the borders of the empire – their travel made possible by the cessation of persecution and encouraged and subsidized by a newly supportive regime. Although the council itself did not specifically use the term 'ecumenical', it was the first such assembly that could plausibly claim to represent all of Christendom.<sup>12</sup> Historians face the difficulty of disentangling what actually happened at

10 The Novatian schism of the mid-third century, and the Meletian and far more consequential Donatist schism of the early fourth century, all stemmed from this controversy. The councils at Elvira (canons 1–2), Ancyra (canons 1–6, 8–9) and Nicaea (canons 8, 11–12, 14) spent considerable time addressing this issue.

11 The literature on the significance of Constantine for church and state is enormous: Drake 2000 offers a good overview. For ecclesiastical politics under Constantine's sons, see esp. Barnes 1993.

12 Bishops from all over the Roman Empire (and a few from Persia) attended Nicaea, although the vast majority of them came from the Greek-speaking eastern provinces. For the attendance lists see Honigmann 1942–3. Although the word 'ecumenical' is not used in the council's own official pronouncements, it was not long before the term was applied to Nicaea, e.g. in Athanasius, *ep. ad Afros* 2.

Nicaea from later generations' elaboration and imagination. No *Acta* survive from Nicaea, and indeed it is uncertain whether any were actually taken. Unlike the better-documented fifth-century councils, we have from Nicaea only its final products, the creed and canons. Little can be said about the day-to-day events, the details of conciliar procedure or the mechanisms for decision making at Nicaea, thanks to Eusebius' deliberate vagueness and a dearth of other contemporary sources.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, the broad outlines of the council's agenda are clear enough. The immediate occasion for the assembly was the rancorous dispute between the presbyter Arius and the bishop Alexander of Alexandria, over whether the Son was fully God, or a created being of lesser status than the Father. The council addressed this Trinitarian controversy through the adoption of a new creed declaring Christ to be *homoousios* ('of the same substance') with the Father. Ecumenical councils, even though they were nearly always summoned to resolve a particularly pressing doctrinal issue, typically had also to make time for a range of organizational and disciplinary issues. Nicaea clarified the boundaries of regional ecclesiastical hierarchies, laid down rules for the reconciliation of both the lapsed and the schismatic rigorists, and standardized the date of Easter throughout the empire. The conciliar project at Nicaea, as later at Chalcedon, would suffer from competing imperatives: should the council attempt to define the faith more precisely, in order to exclude the beliefs of those to be condemned as heretics, or should it strive rather to produce a broad and inclusive statement of faith, in the interests of harmony and unanimity? Constantine leaned strongly towards the latter vision, expressing his desire that all the bishops come to a consensus and affix their signatures to the creed. Those few who refused were deposed and exiled. Like later emperors, Constantine believed disunity to be offensive to God and placed the highest value upon ecclesiastical harmony – a fact that helps explain why, a decade after Nicaea, the emperor would turn sharply against Athanasius and others for their stubborn refusal to reconcile with Arius.

Nicaea, like later councils, did not succeed in bringing an end to its doctrinal controversy. Those whose views had not prevailed were not easily

13 Eusebius was not enthusiastic about the *homoousion*, and for that reason his own orthodoxy came under some suspicion in later years. His account in the *Life of Constantine* gives much fulsome praise of the emperor and little real information. The later ecclesiastical historians (Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret) discuss the council, but they were writing generations after the fact; their representation of Nicaea is thoughtfully analyzed in Lim 1995, 182–216.

subdued or reconciled. Despite the apparent near-unanimity achieved at the council – only two bishops explicitly defied the emperor by refusing to sign the creed, and were promptly exiled – many went home with second thoughts. In subsequent years many bishops backed away from the council and from the controversial term *homoousios*, which – as its detractors never tired of pointing out – was a made-up word that appeared nowhere in Scripture. Nicaea’s doctrinal statement, which a century later would be the standard against which others’ orthodoxy could be measured and found wanting, was in its own time rejected by many as an unacceptable innovation upon the faith.

### *The aftermath of Nicaea*

For the next half-century, Constantine’s imperial successors struggled to maintain order in a church bitterly divided by the controversies over the Trinity and by the factionalism and rivalries of the bishops. This period has left us a bewildering profusion of creeds, regional synods and general councils.<sup>14</sup> Some of the mid-century assemblies attracted hundreds of bishops from throughout the empire, and were certainly considered by their conveners to have pronounced authoritatively on the faith, but their differences with Nicaea meant that later generations could not accept them as ecumenical.<sup>15</sup>

The intimate and complicated relationship between state and church was not the simple ‘caesaropapism’ described by some earlier scholars but rather a much more complex process in which shifting factions of bishops – whose orientation around both personalities and theological platforms made them in many ways analogous to modern political parties – competed for the support of the emperors.<sup>16</sup> Secular authorities in this period showed little interest in dictating the substance of theology but rather a marked preference for endorsing creeds and definitions they saw as moderate compromises. This ‘centrist’ approach – visible in the support of Constantius II (337–61) and Valens (364–78) for the Homoian faction which saw itself as a sensible middle position between what it regarded as the doctrinal excesses of both

14 For a comprehensive treatment of the fourth-century Trinitarian controversies see Hanson 1988; most of the relevant sources are collected in Stevenson, *CCC*.

15 In this category were the councils of Sardica (343), Ariminum and Seleucia (359) and the several meetings in Sirmium (351, 357, 358). For the documentary record of fourth-century councils see *Acta et Symbola Conciliorum quae Saeculo Quarto habita sunt* (ed. Jonkers 1954).

16 On ‘caesaropapism’ see Geanakoplos 1965 and Dagrón 2003.

hardline Nicene Homoousians and radical Arians<sup>17</sup> – would guide imperial policy again and again in the following centuries.<sup>18</sup> In much the same manner, Chalcedon would attempt to present itself as the *via media* between the opposing heretical extremes of Eutyches and Nestorius.

### *Constantinople I*

But the doctrinal ‘centre’ itself could and did shift with time. By 381, when Theodosius I gathered about 150 bishops for a council at Constantinople, theological opinion among the eastern bishops was swinging decisively away from the older Homoian and Homoiousian alternatives and toward a renewed Nicene position, thus bringing the east into line with the traditionally pro-Nicene western provinces from whence the new emperor himself had come. This council, like its predecessor, has not left any *acta* and so its procedural details are lost to us.<sup>19</sup> The council reaffirmed the Nicene Creed while adding a new affirmation of the Holy Spirit’s divinity and consubstantiality, an issue that had not been addressed at Nicaea. It was at Constantinople that Nicaea’s status as the foundation of Trinitarian orthodoxy was firmly secured. Strengthened both by imperial edict and by a growing consensus of bishops, its credal formulation would be subject to no further major challenges. Theodosius and his imperial successors were firmly committed to the Nicene faith, and the remaining non-Nicene bishops and congregations were gradually marginalized into sectarian irrelevance. Constantinople itself was not formally commemorated as the ‘second ecumenical council’ until 451.<sup>20</sup> But at Chalcedon the ‘150 fathers’ of Constantinople would be acclaimed alongside the ‘318 fathers’ of Nicaea.

### *The fifth century*

By this time, Nicaea itself had become effectively sanctified in retrospect. The middle of the fourth century was rewritten by the fifth-century ecclesiastical historians as a time of heretical dominance, when emperors wavered

17 Homoousians, following Nicaea, believed in the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, while radical Arians stressed their dissimilarity. The Homoians said simply that Christ was *homoios* (similar) to the Father.

18 On the Homoian faction of bishops and imperial support for them in the mid-fourth century, see Brennecke 1988.

19 On the 381 Council of Constantinople, Hanson 1988, 791–823 offers a comprehensive overview; L’Huillier 1996, 101–42, has a detailed discussion with emphasis on the council’s canonical legislation.

20 See our commentaries on Session II, with regard to Constantinople’s creed, and Session XVI, with regard to the canons on the status of Constantinople.



in their commitment to orthodoxy and corrupt Arian bishops persecuted Athanasius and other steadfast defenders of the faith. Hagiography and legend proliferated around the first ecumenical council. Although contemporary sources had estimated between 250 and 300 bishops in attendance, by the end of the fourth century the assembled holy fathers were reckoned to number the highly significant figure ‘318’ – the number of Abraham’s companions in Genesis 14:14.<sup>21</sup> A century after the fact, memories of Nicaea centred around stories of unlettered confessors confounding and humbling philosophers and dialecticians with simple professions of belief, symbolizing the primacy of faith over logic and argument.<sup>22</sup> By the time of the fifth-century councils, all parties agreed on the sanctity of the Nicene Creed, to which any additions or alterations were *ipso facto* heretical.<sup>23</sup> In 449, Bishop Flavian would be condemned and deposed for teaching a faith allegedly ‘different’ from that of Nicaea.

Recent scholarship has argued that the late fourth and early fifth centuries were characterized by a new emphasis on appealing to tradition and authority, and a growing concern that ordinary believers be protected from the complexities of theological discussion and the dangers of heresy.<sup>24</sup> The deepening prejudice against public disputation was typified in Gregory of Nyssa’s famous complaint about opinionated bath-attendants and money-changers avidly discussing the nuances of the Trinity.<sup>25</sup> Those who sought public argument on matters of faith were characterized as strife-loving troublemakers driven by *philoneikia*, an inherent quarrelsomeness that inevitably led to heresy and schism. In such an environment, fidelity to received tradition was valued above theological originality. It was universally agreed that ‘innovation’ on the faith of the Fathers was a grave doctrinal error. On the other hand, ecclesiastical authorities also recognized that it was occasionally necessary to deal with new doctrinal questions that had not

21 On Nicaea and the ‘318’, see Aubineau 1966.

22 Lim 1995, esp. 182–216.

23 This was formally legislated in canon 7 of the first council of Ephesus, *ACO* 1.1.7 p. 105. This canon was quoted at Ephesus II and in turn read back at Chalcedon: I. 943. Cf. discussion in L’Huillier 1996, 159–63.

24 This is the general thesis of Lim 1995; cf. esp. chapters 5–7.

25 Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit*, PG 46.557: ‘The whole city is occupied with these conversations ... the clothes-sellers, the money-changers, the food vendors. If you ask for change, they philosophize about the Begotten and the Unbegotten. If you ask the price of bread, the answer is: “The Father is greater and the Son inferior.” If you ask, “Is the bath ready?” he will answer, “The Son was created from nothing.”’ Cf. commentary at Lim 1995, 149ff.

been anticipated by previous fathers, to define the faith more precisely in order to counteract new heresies. The bishops at Chalcedon, in composing language to address the vexed question of Christ's incarnation, would have to tread a very fine line between necessary precision and unacceptable invention.<sup>26</sup>

Even as each new conciliar definition in turn added to the cumulative weight of orthodoxy, so too did prominent individual theologians. Figures such as Athanasius (328–73) and Cyril of Alexandria (412–44), controversial and partisan in their own time, after their deaths were transformed into consensus 'saints' whose own words – often quoted out of their original context – became touchstones for measuring others' orthodoxy.<sup>27</sup> Arguments were now to be settled by appeal to authorities, so that Cyril could be judged correct by likening his views to those of Athanasius, while Nestorius could be proven a heretic simply by comparing his writings to the teachings of past heretics such as Paul of Samosata or Arius.<sup>28</sup>

## Background to Chalcedon

### *Structure of ecclesiastical politics and hierarchy of church leadership*

In the middle of the third century, the Carthaginian bishop Cyprian assured his assembled colleagues that none of them would 'set himself up as a bishop of bishops', meaning that no bishop ought to lord it over his fellows or seek power within the church beyond his own see.<sup>29</sup> But some bishops had always been more equal than others. Primacy and rank among the leaders of the church found their basis in a combination of ecclesiastical history and contemporary politics.<sup>30</sup> Traditions of apostolic foundation underlay the claims of local Christian communities, who preserved tombs and relics of the earliest disciples that became attractions for pilgrimage. Their bishops, in turn, asserted an authority based upon their claimed direct descent via ordination and succession from those same apostles. The sixth canon of Nicaea, codifying long-standing precedent, recognized that Rome, Alexandria and Antioch all enjoyed a special authority over churches in their

26 Allegations, and denials, of 'innovation' at Chalcedon: e.g., I. 138–40, 160, 451–6, 525; IV. 98; V. 34.

27 This process of 'patrifaction' is aptly described by Gray 1989.

28 Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch 260–68; Arius, presbyter of Alexandria c.260–336.

29 Cyprian, at the Council of Carthage in 256, trans. in ANF vol. 5, 565. Cf. Rives 1995, 285–310. Rapp 1998 discusses the term 'bishop of bishops' as applied to emperors. Nestorius would later accuse Eutyches of attempting to set himself up as a 'bishop of bishops': *Bazaar of Heracleides*, Bedjan, 459; trans. Driver and Hodgson, 336.

30 The issue of ecclesiastical primacy is comprehensively discussed in Daley 1993.

regions.<sup>31</sup> But the structures of secular power also left their mark upon the church, whose episcopal hierarchy generally organized itself along provincial and diocesan boundaries corresponding to those of the civil government. Leading bishoprics tended to be found in the Roman Empire's chief cities, their status drawing both from the prestige of the city and from the greater material resources commanded by a major congregation. Constantinople, with no credible Christian history prior to the fourth century, saw its ecclesiastical status rise in concert with its new-found role as imperial capital. The metropolitan centres of each imperial province, meanwhile, housed the seats of 'metropolitan' bishops who claimed leadership of the subordinate or 'suffragan' bishops in dependent cities.

A characteristically late-antique language of honour and patronage served to describe the relationships among greater and lesser bishops. These ranks and obligations were not merely 'honorific' in our sense of the word but were expected to convey real patterns of deference and (sometimes) obedience.<sup>32</sup> Metropolitans claimed the right to ordain other bishops within their provinces, while the bishops of the great patriarchal sees exercised the same prerogative with respect to metropolitans. They also presided over local and regional synods in which they could hear appeals and judge the conduct of subordinate bishops and clergy. At the ecumenical councils, a strict order of precedence governed the listing of bishops and determined the sequence in which they would speak. The *acta* commonly show suffragan bishops following the lead and the opinions of their metropolitans. At the top of the hierarchy, and at the head of the councils, sat the bishops of the prestigious and influential patriarchal sees. Although the honorific 'patriarch' was in the fifth century commonly applied to leading bishops, especially those of Rome and Constantinople, it was not until the late sixth century that it would acquire its formal and consistent usage as referring to the 'pentarchy' of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople and Jerusalem. But each of these sees would be a major player at the fifth-century councils, and they deserve special introduction.

### *Rome*

The bishops of Rome, since ancient times also called *papa* or pope, claimed a primacy over the church that derived from Christ's commission to Peter.<sup>33</sup>

31 See discussion of this canon in Daley 1993, L'Huilier 1996, 45–53.

32 This point is argued by Daley 1993.

33 Based, e.g., on Mt 16.

Their see enjoyed tremendous prestige and importance due both to Rome's own imperial status and to its claim to the martyrdoms and relics of Peter and Paul. Churches in the Latin west from Gaul to Africa looked to Rome for spiritual leadership, canonical direction and jurisdiction in cases of appeal, though not as often or as consistently as Rome might have wished. While many churches might have sought the support of Rome when it suited their interests to do so, the pope could not expect to command the obedience of bishops beyond central Italy on any consistent basis.<sup>34</sup> In practice Rome's bishops often competed for influence with those of Carthage, a major Christian centre since the second century, and Milan, rising in status by the late fourth century as a frequent imperial residence. In contrast to those cities, home respectively to such towering figures as Cyprian and Ambrose, the Roman papacy produced few major theologians prior to Leo (440–61). Rome's role in the doctrinal controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, which were driven almost exclusively by arguments and events in the Greek-speaking eastern empire, was typically more reactive than creative. During the Trinitarian struggles of the fourth century, the popes remained solidly pro-Nicene and frequently gave refuge to Nicene partisans such as Athanasius at times when these men were unwelcome in the east. Bishops elsewhere, quite willing to appeal to Rome when it suited their needs, would not necessarily see their agreement with the pope as 'obedience', even though Rome preferred to interpret it that way. Ecumenical councils, summoned by the emperors, were always held not far from the centres of imperial control in the east. The popes, perhaps for that reason, quickly established a precedent of refusing to attend these councils in person. Instead they sent representatives who attempted to create an impression of being in charge. Their role, they insisted, was not to deliberate along with the assembled bishops but rather to inform them of the pope's judgements. But Rome's practical ability to affect the outcome of conciliar deliberations was somewhat limited due to both geographical and linguistic isolation, increasingly a problem in the fifth century as political conditions made travel more dangerous and as it apparently became more difficult for the papal offices to find staff literate in Greek.<sup>35</sup> At the councils, the pope's representatives were often hampered by ignorance of that language, speaking

34 See discussion in Jones 1964, vol. 2, 887–90.

35 As, e.g., during the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius, discussed below. Cf. also Pope Leo's *ep.* 113 of 453 to Julian of Cos, complaining of his inability to decipher the Greek Acts of Chalcedon.

only in Latin and forced to follow conversation through interpreters. Nevertheless, it was the consistent position of the popes from the fifth century onwards that no council could be held 'ecumenical' without their blessing and participation.<sup>36</sup>

### *Alexandria*

Alexandria had traditionally asserted authority over all of Egypt and Libya, a claim ratified at Nicaea. Its bishop was also called *papa* – or, by numerous detractors, 'Pharaoh'.<sup>37</sup> Egyptian bishops were under their patriarch's firm control to a much greater degree than elsewhere, since the region lacked an intermediate hierarchy of provincial metropolitans to insulate suffragan sees from Alexandria's direct authority. The material foundations of the patriarch's power lay in Alexandria's stranglehold over Egypt's economy and its critical role as supplier of foodstuffs to Constantinople. Ever since the time of Athanasius (328–73), the patriarchs had also forged close links with Egypt's powerful monastic movement. Theophilus (384–412) summoned monks from the desert to destroy the Serapeum and cleanse Alexandria of the remnants of paganism; Cyril (412–44) commandeered the ships of Egypt's grain fleet to bring the militant ascetics to Ephesus and intimidate supporters of Nestorius.<sup>38</sup> In the doctrinal battles of the fifth century, Alexandria's position was determined not only by its consistent theological emphasis on the unity of Christ but also by a sort of ecclesiastical geopolitics. Alexandria made a particular point of challenging the rising power of Constantinople, waging an often ruthless vendetta that seemed to continue from one episcopal generation to the next – Theophilus and Chrysostom, Cyril and Nestorius, Dioscorus and Flavian.<sup>39</sup> Cyril and Dioscorus also supported Juvenal's campaign to elevate the status of Jerusalem, which could only come at the expense of the jurisdiction of Antioch.

<sup>36</sup> A claim asserted by the papal representatives at Chalcedon, e.g. I. 9.

<sup>37</sup> As, e.g., at Chalcedon, I. 530. The more powerful they became, the more enemies they made: Session III of Chalcedon describes complaints brought against Dioscorus of Alexandria regarding his abuses against Egyptian clerics.

<sup>38</sup> Serapeum: Rufinus, *HE* 11.22–30; on Ephesus, see below.

<sup>39</sup> On the ongoing rivalry between Alexandria and Constantinople, see esp. Baynes 1926. Later conflicts were foreshadowed as early as 379 by the aggressive (and ultimately unsuccessful) attempt by Peter to place an Alexandrian candidate on Constantinople's ecclesiastical throne. Elm 1998, discussing Chrysostom and Theophilus, explores how such conflicts could develop even in the absence of major theological controversy.

*Antioch*

Antioch in Syria had a Christian tradition arguably prior to that of Rome – after all, Peter and Paul had preached there first. But by the fifth century it was not one of the strongest players. Antioch’s effective sway over its traditional sphere of influence – comprising the whole of the imperial diocese of Oriens, and stretching from the Euphrates to the Sinai – cannot be compared to that of Alexandria in Egypt. Its bishop was much more of a *primus inter pares*. Frequent schisms, disputed elections and multiple claimants to the episcopacy in the late fourth century had held back any significant development of Antiochene institutional power. The ‘Antiochene school’ of theology, an intellectual powerhouse since the end of the fourth century, of course played a fundamental role in the Christological disputes. But its most prominent names typically hailed from other cities – Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus – and often tended to overshadow the occupant of the see of Antioch proper. At the First Council of Ephesus in 431, John of Antioch led the eastern bishops first in opposition to the Cyrillians and two years later to reconciliation. But by the time of Ephesus II in 449, his successor Domnus presented a far weaker profile, completely powerless to protect his fellow bishops against the judicial assaults brought by Dioscorus of Alexandria.<sup>40</sup> The eastern bishops and their Antiochene theology did not possess the broad base of monastic, clerical or popular support enjoyed by their Egyptian counterparts, a fact made painfully clear by the vitriolic opposition to Ibas of Edessa documented in Chalcedon’s tenth session. Many of their clergy and parishioners regarded them as heretical ‘Nestorians’ and were all too willing to side with the Alexandrians.

*Constantinople*

Despite Constantine’s designation of his namesake city as ‘New Rome’, its bishops were not especially influential until the end of the fourth century – which, not coincidentally, was the same time that Constantinople had become the permanent seat of the eastern imperial government rather than just one of several temporary capitals for the itinerant emperors of the pre-Theodosian

40 On Domnus’ role at Ephesus II, see the summary of the Syriac Acts given below. The bishops at Chalcedon, at a session which met on 27 October 451 but was not formally numbered (translated here after the tenth session), chose to offer him a comfortable retirement rather than restore him to office.

age.<sup>41</sup> During Gregory of Nazianzus' short and unhappy tenure as bishop (379–81), he headed a small and beleaguered Nicene congregation and had to fend off challenges from a rival supported by Alexandria.<sup>42</sup> The Council of Constantinople in 381 marked a turning point in the city's ecclesiastical status. Its third canon granted the new capital 'primacy of honour' second only to old Rome, a pronouncement whose exact significance would later be hotly contested at Chalcedon. During the fifth century, Constantinople and Rome frequently clashed over claims to jurisdiction in Thessalonica and the rest of Illyricum. Bishops from John Chrysostom (398–404) onwards attempted to enforce a Constantinopolitan hegemony over Asia Minor, claiming the right to ordain metropolitans and intervene in local affairs, but major sees like Ephesus – whose Christian traditions went back to the first century – fought back.<sup>43</sup> The desire to maintain some measure of independence from Constantinople may help explain why, at both councils of Ephesus, that city's bishop sided with the Alexandrians.<sup>44</sup>

Constantinople's position at the political and geographical crossroads of power allowed the patriarch to maintain a special 'Home Synod' (*synodos endemousa*) with a membership including not only bishops from nearby cities but also whichever others happened to be visiting the capital, in a sort of ad hoc standing tribunal that could handle a variety of ecclesiastical business. For the trial of Eutyches in 448, Flavian was able to gather about 30 bishops, most of them hailing from Asia Minor, Thrace and the Greek islands. Holding the patriarchal office in the imperial capital had both advantages and disadvantages. The primate had access to the emperor – who often played a significant role in selecting candidates for the office – but so did the bishop's rivals and enemies.<sup>45</sup> Constantinople's powerful monastic

41 On Constantinople as imperial capital under the Theodosians, see Holum 1982; on its ecclesiastical history see, e.g., Baynes 1926; on relations between the episcopacy and the monastic movement see Dagron 1970.

42 See, e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 25 and 26; *De Vita Sua* 728–1029; cf. canon 4 of the Council of Constantinople.

43 On Chrysostom's intervention in Ephesus, see Palladius, *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* 13.129–30; Socrates, *HE* 6.11.

44 Bishop Memnon fully supported Cyril in 431, and Stephen seemed to go along with Dioscorus in 449 – although Stephen later claimed at Chalcedon (I. 56–60) that he had been coerced. Note that by the time of Chalcedon Stephen's own legitimacy was in doubt, since Bassianus also claimed the episcopacy of Ephesus: the council's eleventh and twelfth sessions were devoted to examining this case. Knowing that he would himself soon face judgement, Stephen would certainly have found it prudent to distance himself as far as possible from Dioscorus.

movement developed largely independently from the episcopacy and beyond its oversight. Ever since the reign of the first Theodosius, the city's archimandrites and ascetics had cultivated their own networks of patronage by serving as spiritual advisers to key figures at the imperial court.<sup>46</sup> Chalcedon's canons, attempting to place monasticism under tighter episcopal supervision, were clearly directed in large part against the monks of the capital.<sup>47</sup>

### *Jerusalem*

Jerusalem began the fourth century as the backwater town of Aelia Capitolina, subordinate to Palestine's main civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Caesarea Maritima. But the growing popularity of Holy Land pilgrimage and rising interest in Christian holy sites from the time of Constantine and Helena onwards, and the development from the late fourth century of a substantial monastic presence in the nearby Judaeian desert, brought increasing attention and prominence to Jerusalem and, by extension, to the city's bishop.<sup>48</sup> Bishop Juvenal (422–58) made it a major goal of his decades-long career to raise Jerusalem to a patriarchal status with jurisdiction over large areas of Syria, Palestine and Arabia that had traditionally been regarded as belonging to Antioch's sphere of influence. He allied himself with Cyril at Ephesus I and with Dioscorus at Ephesus II, on each occasion siding with the Alexandrians against the Antiochenes. But at Chalcedon the politically astute Juvenal sensed the way the wind was blowing and switched sides, thus saving his own position. Chalcedon's seventh session records the ratification of an agreement between Juvenal and Maximus of Antioch to concede the three Palestinian provinces to Jerusalem's authority while reserving Phoenicia and Arabia to Antioch.<sup>49</sup>

45 Theodosius II had dictated the selection of Nestorius as bishop, a decision he later regretted: see below.

46 Eutyches, discussed below, used his connections at court to great effect. On Constantinopolitan monasticism see esp. Dagron 1970 and also Bacht 1951.

47 See, e.g., canons 4, 5, 8, 18, 21 and esp. 23.

48 On Jerusalem's development as a centre of pilgrimage, see Hunt 1982 and Wilken 1992.

49 Honigmann 1950 gives a detailed and comprehensive narrative of Juvenal's life and career. During Chalcedon's first session, after Flavian's confession of faith had been read and declared orthodox, Juvenal crossed the aisle to join the opponents of Dioscorus: I. 282–4. Although deposed along with Dioscorus by the imperial commissioners at the end of the first session (I. 1068), he was forgiven and readmitted by the fourth session (IV. 11–18). Chalcedon's seventh session ratified the agreement between Juvenal and Maximus.



*Patriarchal rivalry and episcopal misconduct*

Conflict between these major sees, and also among lesser bishops, could erupt over a variety of issues. Jurisdictional disputes were a most common source of discord, whether between the great patriarchates, or among lesser bishops whose cities might contest the dignity of metropolitan status within a province. Several of the later sessions of Chalcedon dealt with such interepiscopal disputes.<sup>50</sup> The admonition that bishops should not interfere in the affairs of fellow bishops beyond their jurisdiction was frequently asserted, and frequently disobeyed.<sup>51</sup> Even though the legal basis for Alexandria to judge Constantinople, or vice versa, was dubious at best, the bishops of either city were on several occasions willing to receive and entertain the charges of disgruntled clerics fleeing their rival's jurisdiction.<sup>52</sup>

Such accusations of misconduct against bishops often served as a convenient weapon in larger theological controversies if, as was sometimes the case, there was not yet a firm consensus on the proper definition of faith and taking too explicit a doctrinal position might prove risky.<sup>53</sup> But it would be a mistake to take the numerous stories of episcopal misbehaviour brought forward at church councils as merely cynical pretexts for the harassment of Christological foes. Such charges offer a window into the ways in which late antique Christians understood the rights and wrongs of ecclesiastical authority, reflecting the contradiction inherent in the episcopal office between worldly power and spiritual leadership. The greater a bishop's wealth, political influence and judicial authority, the greater the risk that a corrupt prelate might be tempted to overreach the lawful bounds of his jurisdiction and make himself into a 'bishop of bishops', a tyrant of the church – a role in

50 Thus, e.g., the seventh session on Juvenal and Maximus; the unnumbered session on Photius and Eustathius; and the thirteenth session on Eunomius and Anastasius.

51 Thus, e.g., canon 2 of Constantinople, with commentary by L'Huillier 1996, 115–19; and canon 20 of Chalcedon.

52 Thus John Chrysostom received the Tall Brothers, who had fled from Theophilus of Alexandria's jurisdiction (Socrates, *HE* 6.9), and Theophilus in turn presided over the 403 Synod of the Oak which entertained numerous complaints brought against John by his own clergy. A generation later, Nestorius likewise angered Cyril by entertaining some Alexandrian clerics who wished to bring charges against their bishop: Cyril, *epp.* 2 and 4.

53 For this reason, perhaps, the trial of Dioscorus of Alexandria at Chalcedon's third session emphasized allegations of abusive behaviour both in Alexandria and at the Second Council of Ephesus, rather than formally and explicitly charging him with heresy (see our analysis in vol. 2, 30–34). The opponents of Ibas, likewise, supplemented their doctrinal complaints with a wide variety of misconduct charges: X. 73.

which Dioscorus of Alexandria, at the Second Council of Ephesus, seemed all too willing to cast himself.<sup>54</sup>

Fear of bishops' power, however, was balanced by the equally pressing imperative to preserve the dignity and authority of the episcopal office, in the face of widespread challenges from militant ascetics and rebellious clerics. Chalcedon would seek to enhance the bishop's supervisory control over monks and monasteries, reiterate earlier prohibitions against harbouring and communicating with clerics excommunicated by their own bishops, and attempt to prevent such people from 'conspiring' against their bishops.<sup>55</sup> In late antique minds, heresy and misconduct went together – doctrinal error was proof of bad character, and corrupt behaviour was in turn thought characteristic of the unorthodox.<sup>56</sup> Thus bishops might justify their extra-territorial meddling, or monks and clerics their disobedience, on grounds of concern for orthodoxy and justifiable outrage at the heresy of their adversaries. The resulting conflicts could only be resolved through appeal to higher authority. Ordinary bishops would be judged by their metropolitan in a provincial synod, metropolitans by the bishop of a patriarchal see in a diocesan synod or perhaps in a forum like Constantinople's Home Synod. But if the patriarchal bishops themselves were implicated in controversy, only an ecumenical council summoned by imperial mandate could settle the issue.

## II. THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CRISIS: THE TWO COUNCILS OF EPHESUS

### Cyril, Nestorius and Ephesus I

Scarcely had 'the impiety of Julian'<sup>57</sup>... been washed away by the blood of the martyrs, and the madness of Arius fettered in the shackles forged at Nicaea', when 'the Devil, the hater of good' launched a fresh war against the church – by 'devising anew certain questions and answers.' With these words, equating doctrinal innovation with diabolical intervention, the ecclesiastical historian Evagrius Scholasticus opened his narrative of the fifth

54 The concept of the 'tyrant bishop' is explored more fully in Gaddis 2005, esp. chapters 7 and 8.

55 Cf. Chalcedon canons 4, 8, 9, 13, 18 and 21.

56 On the rhetorical construction and representation of heresy, see, e.g., Le Boulluec 1985, Lyman 1993.

57 The last pagan emperor, reigned 361–3.

century's Christological controversies.<sup>58</sup> The outbreak of strife over Nestorius' views on the question of the Mother of God (*Theotokos*), and the subsequent Council of Ephesus in 431, signalled that the now-settled Trinitarian arguments of the fourth century had given way to new and more dangerous divisions over the very nature of Christ and the incarnation.<sup>59</sup>

### *Nestorius and Cyril*

Nestorius had been summoned from an Antiochene monastery in 428 to take the episcopacy of Constantinople at the request of the emperor Theodosius II, who hoped that the selection would bring peace to the faction-ridden church of the capital.<sup>60</sup> The new bishop had already distinguished himself as a 'firebrand' for his virulent crusades against heresy when in 429 he became embroiled in controversy by publicly backing a preacher who had condemned the term *Theotokos* ('Mother of God') in reference to the Virgin Mary. In addition to offending a broad swath of Christian popular devotion that in the early fifth century was placing increasing emphasis on veneration of the Holy Virgin, Nestorius' stance drew the unwelcome attention of Alexandria's powerful bishop Cyril, who was already annoyed by the former's friendly reception of dissident Egyptian clerics.<sup>61</sup> The ensuing struggle, played out in the years both before and after the Council of Ephesus in 431 as each side sought to line up allies, demonstrated Cyril's skill at swaying public opinion and Nestorius' utter political ineptitude. The precise distinctions of his theological argument – that Mary was technically mother only of Christ's humanity, not of his divinity – were easily caricatured by his opponents as an assault on the Holy Virgin and indeed on the very divinity of Christ.<sup>62</sup>

58 Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE* 1.1, trans. Michael Whitby. This sentiment reflected the common view that Satan was responsible for the outbreak of new heresies and schisms, seeking to accomplish, through dividing the church from within, what he had not been able to do through earlier pagan persecution. Cf. Urbainczyk 1997 for discussion of similar themes in the work of Socrates. For mistrust of doctrinal questioning and debate see Lim 1995.

59 The Christological and doctrinal issues are discussed in greater detail in 'The Theology of Chalcedon', pp. 56–75 below.

60 Socrates, *HE* 7.29; Nestorius, *Bazaar of Heracleides*, Bedjan, 377–82, trans. Driver and Hodgson, 274–7.

61 On the cult of the Virgin in the early fifth century, its patronage by the Theodosian dynasty and particularly by Pulcheria, and its role in the Nestorian controversy, see esp. Holm 1982, 147–74. But cf. Price 2004, downplaying the significance of Marian devotion and seeing the controversy as an entirely Christological argument. Egyptian clerics: Cyril, *opp.* 2 and 4.

62 The conflict between Cyril and Nestorius, both before and during the council, is discussed in detail in McGuckin 1994; cf. also Redies 1998. Wessel 1999 and Sillett 1999 also provide valuable insights.

Cyril achieved perhaps his greatest coup by securing the support of Rome – an accomplishment that his successor Dioscorus would conspicuously fail to replicate in 449, with disastrous results. Both Cyril and Nestorius had written to Pope Celestine (422–32) seeking to enlist his support. But while Cyril thoughtfully made sure that his letters were rendered into Latin before being sent, Nestorius' missives in Greek apparently sat in Rome for several months untranslated and unread.<sup>63</sup> It did not help, also, that Nestorius had given sanctuary to several western clerics fleeing papal condemnation as Pelagian heretics.<sup>64</sup> Due in part to Cyril's skilful presentation, and in part to the disadvantage imposed by language difficulties, Celestine – who showed much less understanding of the Christological issues being debated in the east than would his successor Leo – apparently concluded that Nestorius' beliefs on the incarnation were somehow akin to Pelagianism, at that time the main doctrinal controversy facing the western church. Celestine refused to engage Nestorius in any dialogue, issuing a stern peremptory demand that Nestorius renounce his views or be excommunicated. Understanding the matter only through a frame of reference provided him by Cyril's letters, Celestine effectively left it up to Cyril to define the terms by which Nestorius' orthodoxy or heresy would be judged. But Nestorius, at least for the time being, still had the support of the imperial court and of like-minded Syrian bishops led by John of Antioch. With such powerful players lined up on opposing sides, the only hope of settling the issue was by recourse to a general council.

### *The First Council of Ephesus*

The council held at Ephesus in the summer of 431 defined patterns and precedents that would shape the course of subsequent gatherings.<sup>65</sup> Like the

63 See Cyril's letter to Celestine (*ep.* 11, *ACO* 1.1.5 p. 12) and Celestine's letter to Nestorius (*ACO* 1.1.1 p. 78), both of 430. This sorry fact was indicative of the west's rapid decline in comprehension of Greek in the fifth century, caused largely by the permanent political division of the empire and the increasing dangers of travel resulting from invasions and the collapse of public order. A fourth-century pope would have had much less difficulty finding qualified Greek speakers in Italy. Cf. Leo's complaint in *ep.* 113 of 453.

64 Pelagians: followers of Pelagius (c.350–c.425), an ascetic teacher whose beliefs on free will and sin had been condemned by the western church.

65 The Acts of Ephesus I and a comprehensive assortment of documents relating to it are collected and edited by Schwartz, *ACO* Tomus 1; and are translated into French by Festugière. Cf. also Nestorius' *Bazaar of Heracleides*. The council is treated, e.g., by Holum 1982, 147–74; Scipioni 1974; McGuckin 1994, esp. 1–125; L'Huilier 1996, 143–79; and esp. Halleux 1993b.

later councils, its proceedings were taken down in detail by teams of notaries and then rendered into authoritative *acta*. Each side in the controversies of 448–51 looked back to Ephesus I, all parties by that point accepting it as having pronounced authoritatively upon the faith in its condemnation of Nestorius and approval of Cyril's teaching as a touchstone for orthodoxy.<sup>66</sup> Dioscorus of Alexandria attempted to replicate Cyril's success in a second council held in 449 in the same city. Although he was more successful than Cyril in controlling the agenda and immediate outcome of his synod, his heavy-handed tactics at what opponents called a 'Robber Council' cost him any hope of achieving legitimacy in the long run. Chalcedon, two years later, bent over backwards to enlist the teachings of the late Cyril, as given at Ephesus I, in support of its own Christology.

Ephesus I's eventual rise to unquestioned ecumenical status and near-universal acceptance might have seemed unlikely to contemporaries observing the chaos of its actual proceedings. Cyril, whose allies and followers packed the streets of Ephesus, decided to summon the council into session before John of Antioch, and his fellow Syrian bishops, all supporters of Nestorius, had arrived in town. The first session, on 22 June, was called by Cyril with only a day's notice, over the protests of many bishops – and against the express wishes of Count Candidian, the emperor's representative, who found himself helpless to restrain the course of the proceedings. Over 150 bishops were present, mainly from Egypt and Asia Minor. Cyril controlled the proceedings with the support of his allies Memnon of Ephesus and Juvenal of Jerusalem. Although formally summoned for the canonical three times to answer the charges against him, Nestorius – as Dioscorus would do at the third session of Chalcedon – chose to shun a forum dominated by his enemies. This allowed the Cyrillian assembly to judge and condemn him *in absentia*. The question of faith was settled not by discussion but by reference to patristic authority. Cyril's letter to Nestorius was read out, compared with the Nicene Creed and with selected quotes from fourth-century fathers, and acclaimed as orthodox. Passages from the preaching and writing of Nestorius were then read, likened to the teachings of Paul of Samosata<sup>67</sup> and other long-dead heretics, and declared by the assembled bishops to be at variance with the faith as defined by Nicaea and

<sup>66</sup> Some, like Theodoret and Ibas, did so with considerable reluctance. The Cyrillian document accorded 'canonical' status was his second letter to Nestorius (Cyril, *ep.* 4).

<sup>67</sup> Bishop of Antioch c. 260–268, condemned as a heretic for excessive emphasis on Christ's humanity.

the Fathers. In a conciliar setting, orthodoxy was from now on to be judged not by overt argument or competitive scriptural exegesis but by comparison with carefully selected proof-texts from earlier fathers.<sup>68</sup> Perceived similarity to the teachings of a known heretic, likewise, could convict one of heresy. Once Nestorius' guilt was established, the same strategy could later be used to impugn the orthodoxy of other Antiochene theologians based on their associations with him.

Having passed their judgement, the Cyrillians moved quickly to secure support, sending out official proclamations in the name of the entire council. Additional sessions met through July of 431. The council reiterated its decisions once the pope's representatives had arrived. It is unclear whether Cyril's claim to be presiding over the council in the name of Pope Celestine was justified – since the pope had in fact sent his own envoys – but in any event Rome endorsed the condemnation of Nestorius and the decrees of the council.<sup>69</sup> The Roman position, of course, was that the pope had given his judgement and the council had no role other than to ratify it. The eastern bishops at Cyril's council, for their part, welcomed the pope as a valuable ally but certainly understood their relationship to Rome in less subordinate terms.

The session held on 22 July deserves special mention, since its declaration would prove crucial to Dioscorus' strategy in 449 and the reading of its acts would feature prominently at both Ephesus II and Chalcedon. According to a report presented by the presbyter Charisius, certain clerics linked to Nestorius had supervised the readmission to communion of former Quartodecimans.<sup>70</sup> The statement of faith to which the repentant ex-heretics were asked to subscribe was not the Nicene Creed, but rather another formulation that contained unacceptably 'Antiochene' language on the relation between the divine and human in Christ. In response the bishops adopted a resolution commanding that, upon pain of deposition and excommunication, no one might propose or compose a definition of faith that

68 Cf. Lim 1995, who argues that the late fourth and early fifth century saw a gradual shift towards disapproval of the use of explicit disputation in matters of faith.

69 The official acts list him as 'Cyril of Alexandria, also representing Celestine of Rome' (e.g., in the session of 22 July 431, read back at Chalcedon I. 911) but of course Cyril controlled the production of those acts.

70 The text of this session is given at Chalcedon I. 911–45 below. Quartodecimans: a group condemned as heretical in fourth- and fifth-century canons due mainly to their practice of celebrating Easter according to the Jewish calendar rather than following the schedule set by the Church. On this episode, see Millar 2004b.

differed from the one set out at Nicaea.<sup>71</sup> This far-reaching measure, counted as Ephesus' seventh canon, would be understood by later churchmen with varying degrees of rigour. Was it acceptable, they wondered, to add further elaborations or explanations to deal with questions that had not been anticipated by Nicaea? Nevertheless, all future doctrinal discussions would be conducted under the shadow of a canon that many believed made a crime of innovation and originality beyond what had been established at Nicaea.

In the meantime, John of Antioch and his followers had arrived and promptly convened around 40 bishops for their own counter-synod. The two assemblies each claimed to represent the sole legitimate council and anathematized the other. Since the Cyrillians and the Antiochenes met separately, each produced their own set of *acta* that purported to show perfect unanimity, and each party selected only those documents that supported its own arguments. To get an accurate picture of events at Ephesus requires one to read both accounts, along with the many letters of complaint and other documents produced by the disputants.

The two parties remained at impasse for many weeks, duelling assemblies of bishops refusing to recognize each other. Deploying militant Egyptian monks shipped in from Alexandria, and with the support of the bishop of Ephesus, Cyril controlled the streets of the city through sheer physical intimidation. Nestorius initially had come with the backing of the imperial government, supported by the emperor who had chosen him for the episcopate in the first place, and by powerful political friends such as the counts Candidian and Irenaeus.<sup>72</sup> His residence in Ephesus was guarded by soldiers who chased away the bishops bearing summonses from the Cyrillian council.<sup>73</sup> But the council was distant from the capital and the emperor's attempts to control the proceedings and maintain order were ineffective. Candidian, who had asked the Cyrillians not to convene before the arrival of the Antiochenes, could do little but protest as both sides ignored his orders. Theodosius finally commanded both factions not to leave Ephesus until a

71 Technically a *horos* or definition (cf. Chalcedon I. 158–9) but commonly called 'seventh canon'. See L'Huillier 1996, 159–63.

72 Candidian and Irenaeus: see *PLRE* 2, 'Candidianus 6' and 'Irenaeus 2'. Irenaeus later became bishop of Tyre, and was condemned and deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus, on which see below.

73 This was cited by the Cyrillians as evidence of tyrannical violence on his part (cf. *ACO* 1.1.2 p. 12; 1.1.3 pp. 3–5), but Nestorius (in his *Bazaar of Heracleides*, Bedjan, 199–200; trans. Driver and Hodgson, 135) insists it was necessary for his own protection against Cyril's followers.

solution could be reached, and ordered the deposition and arrest of both Cyril and his ally Memnon of Ephesus, as well as of John of Antioch.

Intrigue followed as the competing assemblies manoeuvred for recognition. Over the next year Cyril enjoyed considerable success in enlisting allies at the imperial court, including the empress Pulcheria, a number of court officials, the prominent ascetic Dalmatius and many other Constantinopolitan monks, both through persuasion and through substantial material inducement.<sup>74</sup> Thus prevailed upon from many directions, Theodosius II rethought his initial support for Nestorius and pressed for a reconciliation between Cyril and the easterners. This was not accomplished until April of 433, when Cyril and John formalized their agreement in the Formula of Reunion.<sup>75</sup> The Antiochene bishops, who were prepared with varying degrees of reluctance to accept the term *Theotokos*, agreed to condemn their troublesome colleague Nestorius. Cyril, in turn, backed away from the Twelve Anathemas, his most extreme doctrinal statement which had effectively condemned the entire Antiochene approach to Christological exegesis.<sup>76</sup> But the fundamental theological divisions remained unresolved.

### *Aftermath of Ephesus I*

The Antiochene bishops, heirs to a proud exegetical tradition tracing back to such luminaries as Diodore of Tarsus (d. c.390) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), were by no means ready to swallow Cyrillian Christology.<sup>77</sup> Theodoret of Cyrhus quickly distinguished himself as their intellectual leader, a prolific writer of history, theology and hagiography who did not conceal his disdain for the Alexandrian bishop. Although he assented to the Formula of Reunion, Theodoret refused to anathematize his old friend Nestorius, and would not do so until the bishops at Chalcedon demanded it

<sup>74</sup> Cyril, *ep.* 96 of 433 (*ACO* 1.4 pp. 224–5) preserves an impressive itemized list of the bribes and presents paid to various members of the imperial court in the aftermath of Ephesus. Cf. Batiffol 1919b.

<sup>75</sup> Cyril, *ep.* 39, read at the trial of Eutyches in 448, and in turn at Ephesus II and Chalcedon: I. 246.

<sup>76</sup> The Twelve Anathemas are set out in Cyril's third letter to Nestorius, *ep.* 17, *ACO* 1.1.1 pp. 33–42. By the time of Chalcedon, even Antiochenes accepted Cyril as one of the 'fathers' – but they chose to accept the moderate Cyril of the Formula of Reunion while ignoring the more hardline Cyril of the Twelve Anathemas.

<sup>77</sup> Sillett 1999 argues that the 'genealogical' representation of Antiochene theology as deriving from particular teachers was in part a construction of Alexandrian polemic, intended to taint eastern theologians by emphasizing their connections with Nestorius.



of him.<sup>78</sup> The presbyter Ibas, who would later replace the pro-Cyrrillian Rabbula as bishop of Edessa, in 433 wrote a letter to Mari the Persian – for which, due as much to its harsh language against Cyril as to its doctrinal teachings, the unfortunate Ibas would be condemned at Ephesus II and would earn a leading role in miaphysite demonology. Although rehabilitated at Chalcedon, Ibas' legacy would suffer further in the next century, when the Fifth Ecumenical Council would list the letter of the long-dead bishop as one of 'Three Chapters' to be anathematized in the interests of reconciling the anti-Chalcedonians.<sup>79</sup>

Cyril, and his successor Dioscorus after him, did not satisfy themselves with the disgrace of Nestorius, whom they saw as only an offshoot of far more deeply buried heretical roots. They sought to bring down the entire Antiochene school of Christology by tarring it with the label 'Nestorian'.<sup>80</sup> Cyril, dead by 444, almost immediately became a 'father', and by 449 his name would be mentioned with as much reverence as Athanasius, the late hero of the fourth-century Trinitarian debates. The inclusion of his Second Letter to Nestorius in the official *acta* of Ephesus I had elevated it to the status of a *de facto* definition of faith, recited at later councils along with the creed of Nicaea. Doctrine aside, Theodoret, Ibas and other Antiochenes could be condemned simply for criticizing him.<sup>81</sup> Nestorius, exiled to the Great Oasis in Egypt, had decades to reflect and compose his lengthy *apologia*, and lived to comment bitterly on the continued doctrinal conflicts leading up to Chalcedon.<sup>82</sup> The unfortunate bishop, despite his best efforts at self-justification, found himself cast as the new arch-heretic – an Arius for the fifth century. Later anti-Chalcedonian literature, suffused with fear and hatred of Nestorius, gave eager credence to conspiracy theories alleging that the architects of Chalcedon had secret plans to reinstate him and enshrine his teachings as orthodoxy – plans that were forestalled only when the heretic was struck down by God before he could be recalled from exile.<sup>83</sup>

78 Session VIII.

79 The other two 'Chapters' were the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and the anti-Cyrrillian writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus.

80 This strategy is well described by Sillett 1999, esp. ch. 2.

81 At Ephesus II's second session, summarized below.

82 See Nestorius' *Bazaar of Heracleides*, written sometime in 450 or early 451, since it discusses events at Ephesus II and Flavian's downfall in considerable detail, but does not refer to Chalcedon directly. Nestorius is thought to have died shortly after writing this text, perhaps during the council itself: see, e.g., Evagrius, *HE* 1.7.

83 See, e.g., Ps.-Zachariah of Mitylene, *HE* 3.1. Stories seeing the hand of God in Nestorius' death appear also in Chalcedonian traditions, e.g., Evagrius 1.7. The parallel to the death of Arius, as reported by Athanasius (*ep.* 54) is no coincidence.

'Nestorianism', as understood by those who used it as an epithet, had become a theological strawman whose most extreme propositions – such as dividing Christ into two separate persons, or calling Jesus a 'mere man' – bore little resemblance to the actual teachings of their namesake. At Ephesus II and Chalcedon, bishops and theologians could be held orthodox based on the congruence of their teachings with those of Cyril, or anathematized based on their resemblance to the supposed doctrines of Nestorius.

#### **448: The trial of Eutyches**

The uneasy truce between Christological factions, already unravelling in the mid-440s, shattered in the autumn of 448 when formal charges of heresy were brought against the archimandrite Eutyches. The elderly ascetic, once a follower of the late Dalmatius, had for the past several decades presided over a community of some 300 monks on the outskirts of Constantinople. He enjoyed considerable prominence both in and outside the capital.<sup>84</sup> Cyril had corresponded with him and sent him a personalized copy of the Acts of Ephesus.<sup>85</sup> Eutyches was a spiritual adviser to the emperor himself, and godfather to the powerful eunuch Chrysaphius, a dominant figure at the imperial court since at least 443.<sup>86</sup> By the late 440s, Eutyches had become known throughout the east as a prominent exponent of an extreme miaphysite theology that, opponents charged, denied the humanity of Christ. Theodoret of Cyrhus' polemical dialogue *Eranistes* (c.447), though it does not mention Eutyches by name, was understood to condemn his ideas. But his complaints against Eutyches backfired, due to Theodosius II's respect for the monk and mistrust of the 'Nestorian' tendencies of Antiochene teaching. In February of 448 the emperor responded by reiterating a harsh condemnation of 'Nestorianism', deposing Irenaeus, Nestorius' old friend and now bishop of Tyre, and ordering the burning of Nestorius' writings.<sup>87</sup>

In November of 448, Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum – once a layman who had been among the first to denounce Nestorius – interrupted a meeting of Constantinople's Home Synod to present a bill of indictment formally accusing Eutyches of heresy. Bishop Flavian of Constantinople, himself also a believer in a two-nature Christology, nevertheless made a show of

84 On Eutyches and Constantinopolitan monasticism, cf. Dagron 1970, Bacht 1951.

85 So Eutyches claimed in his petition to Ephesus II: I. 157.

86 On Chrysaphius, see Goubert 1951; *PLRE* 2 'Chrysaphius'.

87 *ACO* 1.1.4 pp. 66–7.

trying to dissuade his colleague from pursuing such a prominent and influential figure. Eusebius, a zealous accuser, insisted on pressing a legalistic and adversarial case against the abbot on the basis of heretical statements already made, while the more cautious Flavian preferred to speak in terms of friendly paternalistic correction and promised that all would be forgiven if Eutyches renounced his errors.<sup>88</sup> Eusebius, not without reason, feared retaliation from Eutyches' powerful friends and repeatedly demanded assurances that the case would not be dropped.<sup>89</sup>

Over several days, clerics accompanied by notaries were sent three times to deliver formal summonses to Eutyches. The emissaries conveyed his refusals back to the synod. According to the notaries' reports, while conversing with the clerics Eutyches made various statements, which the bishops at the synod found heretical.<sup>90</sup> Meanwhile, Eusebius presented additional evidence that Eutyches had been circulating statements of faith among the other abbots and had attempted to rally them in opposition to Flavian.<sup>91</sup> Some of the monks supported Eutyches, but others appeared at the synod to speak against him and sign his condemnation – testimony to a developing split within Constantinople's powerful monastic movement that had not been apparent in previous controversies.<sup>92</sup> Eutyches, like any defendant facing a forum dominated by his enemies, was understandably reluctant to appear. He offered varying excuses for his absence, at one point citing a vow never to leave his monastery, and at another time pleading illness.<sup>93</sup> But knowing that refusal of a third summons would mean condemnation by default, after several delays he finally promised to present himself.

The case of Eutyches occupied the Home Synod in seven different sessions spread out over two weeks. The sequence of events was as follows [citations in brackets are to Chalcedon's first session]:

1. Monday 8 November: Eusebius of Dorylaeum presents and reads the formal indictment; John and Andrew sent to deliver the first summons to Eutyches. [I. 223–35]
2. Friday 12 November: Reading of Cyril's letters from Ephesus I; statements

<sup>88</sup> Chalcedon, I. 417. For Flavian's role see further, p. 116 below.

<sup>89</sup> See, e.g., I. 477–86. If Eusebius failed to prove the case he could in turn be prosecuted as a false accuser.

<sup>90</sup> At, e.g., I. 445–57, but the veracity of the record was later contested, e.g. I. 695–8.

<sup>91</sup> I. 381–97, 432–44.

<sup>92</sup> As Dagron 1970 points out.

<sup>93</sup> I. 359 and 397, referring to the vow; I. 414, claiming illness.

- of faith by each bishop present. [I. 238–53]
3. Monday 15 November: John and Andrew report on their visit to Eutyches. Mamas and Theophilus sent to deliver the second summons. Eusebius presents evidence that Eutyches has been inciting dissent among the other monasteries of Constantinople. Mamas and Theophilus return and report. Memnon, Epiphanius and Germanus sent with the third summons. [I. 354–404]
  4. Tuesday 16 November: Monks from Eutyches' monastery arrive, report his illness, and ask for leniency. [I. 405–19]
  5. Wednesday 17 November: Memnon, Epiphanius and Germanus return and report. Eutyches promises to appear next Monday. Other monasteries and abbots report back with additional stories of Eutyches' incitements. [I. 420–44]
  6. Saturday 20 November: Eusebius requests the presence of various witnesses. Mamas and Theophilus interrogated about alleged heretical statements made by Eutyches during their visit of 15 November. [I. 445–57]
  7. Monday 22 November: Eutyches finally arrives, accompanied by silentiary Magnus. Patrician Florentius invited to sit in. Eutyches interrogated about his faith and condemned. Formal sentence read and signatures of bishops and archimandrites appended. [I. 458–552]

When Eutyches finally appeared before the synod, he brought with him deliberate reminders of his connections to power. The silentiary Magnus accompanied him along with an escort of soldiers. By imperial request, the patrician and ex-prefect Florentius sat in on the session 'lest harm come to orthodoxy' – an unobvious hint that the emperor had little faith in the ability of Flavian and his colleagues to prevent such harm.<sup>94</sup> When the bishops demanded a statement from him of his own beliefs, Eutyches demurred, claiming that it was enough to profess faith in the creed of Nicaea and in the teachings of Cyril and Ephesus I. The aged monk sought to present himself as a simple and unlearned man of faith with little knowledge of or patience for the theological sophistries employed by interrogators who sought to trap him in heresy. Appearing to defer to his questioners – 'Before I did not say this ... but now, since Your Sacredness has said it, I say it'<sup>95</sup> – he was in fact laying a trap of his own, allowing the bishops to go on record with

<sup>94</sup> On Florentius, see *PLRE* 2 'Florentius 7'. The emperor's letter introducing him is at I. 468.

<sup>95</sup> I. 522, in response to their demand that he affirm that the Son was consubstantial with us.

statements that would later be turned against them at Ephesus.<sup>96</sup> His repeated insistence on Nicaea as the only acceptable basis for faith – and his concomitant horror of ‘innovation’ – was a conviction that would be shared by Dioscorus and his colleagues at the imminent general council, and would also underlie much of the later opposition to Chalcedon. For his refusal to concede that Christ existed in two natures after the incarnation, and for his audacious defiance of episcopal authority, the bishops of the Home Synod pronounced judgement against him.<sup>97</sup> In an unusual move, the abbots of Constantinople who had refused to support Eutyches were invited to append their signatures after those of the bishops.<sup>98</sup>

Eutyches did not go quietly. Amid the chaos that apparently ensued after the reading of the verdict, he called out an appeal to a ‘council’ of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Thessalonica – a statement that the official minutes mysteriously failed to record.<sup>99</sup> He followed up with letters to the bishops of these major sees, asking that his case be judged by an ecumenical synod. The appeal did not go unheard. Within four months, the emperor himself would give orders for the convocation of a general council.<sup>100</sup> The November 448 synod was itself put on trial in a hearing held the following April at the behest of Eutyches’ supporters.<sup>101</sup> That inquiry was characterized by intense examination and contestation of the docu-

96 Thus I. 535, apparently in response to Flavian’s demand (I. 788, somehow not recorded in the official minutes) that he concede two natures after the incarnation: ‘Since Your Sacredness teaches it, I say it ... but I have not found it clearly stated in the scriptures, nor did all the fathers say it. If I anathematize ... I anathematize my fathers.’

97 The actual sentence against Eutyches, pronounced by Flavian and read into the minutes at I. 551, is vague as to the exact nature of his heresy. It refers only to ‘heresies of Valentinus and Apollinarius’, fairly generic accusations, and makes no clear reference to anything actually said by Eutyches at the synod – so it could indeed, as later alleged (I. 838) have been written up in advance of the trial.

98 I. 552.31–53. But while the bishops’ subscriptions read, ‘I have given my sentence and signed’, the abbots said only ‘I have signed’. Eutyches later complained, in his appeal presented to the council at Ephesus (I. 185) that in an ‘unprecedented’ manner the condemnation had been circulated among the monasteries and signatures demanded from the other monks.

99 I. 818–9, testified to by the deacon Constantine and the patrician Florentius. Eutyches hoped in vain that Leo of Rome might take his side (cf. Leo, *ep.* 20) but he found strong allies in Dioscorus of Alexandria and Juvenal of Jerusalem. Bishop Anastasius of Thessalonica was not present at either Ephesus II or Chalcedon, in both cases being represented by Quintillus of Heraclea, and did not play any significant role in the controversies.

100 Ordered on 30 March 449, to convene at Ephesus that August. Theodosius’ letter of invitation to Dioscorus is given at I. 24.

101 Eutyches himself was not present at the April 449 hearings, but was represented by the monks Constantine, Eleusinius and Constantius.

mentary record, a process largely responsible for the complicated and confusing nature of the *acta* later read into the record at the first session of Chalcedon. Eutyches' supporters charged Flavian's notaries with falsification and corruption, alleging that they had altered the record in order to manufacture incriminating statements that Eutyches now denied having made. To back up their claims, the Eutylichians produced their own transcripts of the synodal proceedings and demanded that these be compared with the official versions taken by Flavian's notaries. Their attack upon the *acta* of Flavian's synod earned them a new hearing, which took place in accordance with the emperor's orders on 13 April 449.<sup>102</sup> At this session, the transcripts from the Home Synod were read back, line by line, and frequently challenged by Eutyches' representatives. The notaries were summoned, interrogated, and threatened, and they indignantly defended themselves while at the same time offering excuses as to why the transcription of spoken words was something less than an exact science.<sup>103</sup> Additional testimony given two weeks later, in an appeal before the Master of Divine Offices Flavius Martialis, brought forward the accusation that Eutyches' written condemnation had been drawn up by Flavian after the second summons and in advance of the monk's appearance, and that he could have had no hope of a fair hearing.<sup>104</sup> Although the appeal did not produce a definitive result – it was decided to defer the matter to the new council scheduled to meet at Ephesus later that year – it succeeded in casting considerable doubt upon the substantive and procedural legitimacy of Flavian's synod.

Flavian had sent an immediate report to Pope Leo regarding the condemnation of Eutyches, but Leo somehow did not receive it until months later.<sup>105</sup> His response – the famous *Tome of Leo* – came in June of 449. In this lengthy letter the pope agreed with Flavian, condemned the doctrines of Eutyches, and laid down a firmly two-nature understanding of Christology.<sup>106</sup> Leo intended the *Tome* as a definitive pronouncement on the faith, and

102 The transcripts of this inquiry were in turn read back at Ephesus, and again finally at Chalcedon: I. 555–828. An earlier session on 8 April, presided over by Thalassius of Caesarea, is referred to at I. 558–9 but not recorded in our *acta*.

103 I. 576–614, 644, 721–5, 767, 778–82.

104 On 27 April: I. 829–49, esp. 838. The testimony was given by the silentary Magnus.

105 Flavian's letter: Leo, *ep.* 22; cf. *ep.* 26. Cf. Leo's letter to Flavian of 18 February 449 (Leo, *ep.* 23) complaining that Flavian had not yet sent him a 'full account' of the proceedings against Eutyches. Ironically, Eutyches had been the first to appeal to the pope, even before his trial writing to ask Leo's support in condemning 'Nestorian' heretics. Cf. Leo's cursory response at *ep.* 20. Eutyches appealed again (Leo, *ep.* 21) to protest his condemnation by Flavian.

106 Dated 13 June 449; Leo, *ep.* 28. Translated below at II. 22.

instructed his envoys to present it at the imminent council at Ephesus. But Dioscorus and his allies manoeuvred to keep it off the agenda at Ephesus' first session.<sup>107</sup> Two years later, at Chalcedon's second session, it would finally be read and acclaimed by the assembled bishops.

### **The 'Robber Council': Ephesus II**

The second gathering of bishops in Ephesus took place in 449. This was a council effectively dominated by Alexandria, under the presidency of its ruthless and ambitious patriarch Dioscorus, who had been Cyril's arch-deacon before the latter's death in 444. Upon taking office, Dioscorus efficiently purged relatives of Cyril from positions of influence and stripped them of the wealth and property they had managed to accumulate under the previous episcopacy. Cyril's dispossessed and disgruntled relations were in large part the source of the complaints of abuse brought against Dioscorus at Chalcedon's third session. Dioscorus quickly distinguished himself as an ardent proponent of Alexandrian one-nature Christology and as a bitter adversary of anything 'Nestorian' or Antiochene.

#### *Background to Ephesus II*

For several years prior to the council, Dioscorus had conspired with like-minded bishops, clerics and monastic leaders in the eastern provinces in a campaign to foment opposition to the 'heretical' bishops associated with Antioch. Domnus, lightweight nephew of John of Antioch, who succeeded his uncle in 441 but by all accounts did not match his leadership, was in little position to mount an effective defence.<sup>108</sup> By the late 440s, groups of militant monks and clerics were in more or less open revolt against several Syrian bishops. The controversial Ibas of Edessa had been the subject of a series of investigations into complaints by his disgruntled clergy going back to 445. In April of 449, the count Chaereas visited Edessa to be met by crowds chanting slogans against Ibas.<sup>109</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus was ordered by a harshly worded imperial edict to be confined to his see, kept away from

<sup>107</sup> Cf. I. 82–6, referring not to the Tome itself but to Leo's letter to the council (Leo, *ep.* 33 of 13 June 449), which was intended to preface it; see also I. 87–106, inquiries at Chalcedon as to why the letter had not been read. See discussion below.

<sup>108</sup> Domnus had come from the monastery of Euthymius in Palestine, and would return there after 449: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius* 16, 20.

<sup>109</sup> Chaereas' reports were read at the second session of Ephesus II and are recorded in the Syriac Acts: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 14–61. See discussion below.

the council, and to have ‘no freedom of speech’.<sup>110</sup> Known as an intellectual leader of the Antiochenes and a fierce critic of Cyril, Theodoret aroused a virulent hatred among the Alexandrians, who would later object loudly to his presence at Chalcedon.

Scholars have often stressed the key role of the court eunuch Chrysaphius, a backer of Eutyches and of the Alexandrians, who had risen in influence in the early 440s even as the once powerful empress Pulcheria had fallen out of favour.<sup>111</sup> But too much focus on the emperor’s advisers perhaps unfairly minimizes the priorities and prejudices of Theodosius himself, who had by now turned bitterly against Nestorius and everything associated with him. His distrust of the Antiochenes was such that he was willing to countenance an open assault on the principles of episcopal hierarchy by encouraging zealous monastic leaders such as the militant Syrian Barsaumas to defy their bishops and be seated in their own right at the council.<sup>112</sup> The purpose of the new council, according to Theodosius, was to reiterate, confirm and strengthen the faith of Nicaea and the teachings of Cyril as articulated at the prior council of Ephesus. Its mandate was not to consider doctrinal questions or write new definitions but simply to ‘root out’ the remnants of Nestorian heresy, the case against Flavian and the Antiochene bishops being essentially prejudged.<sup>113</sup>

### *The Second Council of Ephesus*

Dioscorus of Alexandria, in collaboration with Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea and several other prominent bishops, was able to set the agenda and control the course of events at the council.<sup>114</sup> Pursuing the same strategy as Cyril had done 18 years previously, he brought militant Egyptian monks with him to Ephesus to intimidate dissident bishops. This time, with the full backing of the emperor, Dioscorus faced no effective

110 Edict of 30 March 449, read at I. 24. The direction of an imperial edict against a specific individual who had not already been formally condemned for heresy seems to have been quite unprecedented.

111 Cf. Goubert 1951; Holm 1982, 191–207.

112 Theodosius’ letter of invitation to Barsaumas is at I. 48; cf. I. 47. At the end of the session, Barsaumas pronounced sentence and signed along with the bishops, in last place: I. 1066.

113 Thus Theodosius’ mandate to Elpidius, at I. 49, explaining that he had summoned the council ‘to completely excise the root of evil’.

114 At the end of the first session of Chalcedon, the imperial commissioners deposed Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius of Caesarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Isaurian Seleucia, indicating that these six were seen as the ringleaders: I. 1068.



opposition in the immediate term. But his failure to secure the support of the pope, as Cyril had done, meant that the council would never command universal acceptance. Although the reality of the Second Council of Ephesus is sometimes difficult to distinguish from its later caricature as a ‘Robber Council’, fortunately its documentary record has survived in detail. The first session of Ephesus, itself incorporating transcripts from the earlier trial of Eutyches, was in turn read back at Chalcedon’s opening session and thus survives as part of the official Greek acts of the latter. But according to testimony later given at Chalcedon, Dioscorus’ notaries at Ephesus deliberately excluded dissenting voices and even used violence to prevent any other scribes from making an independent record. Chalcedon would feature numerous examples of bishops disowning or repudiating statements attributed to them in the record from Ephesus, or instead claiming that those statements had been extracted by force.<sup>115</sup> But while two years later many sought to evade responsibility by pinning sole responsibility on Dioscorus, a close reading of the record suggests that a substantial majority of the bishops present went along willingly or even enthusiastically.<sup>116</sup>

At the first session, which commenced on 8 August 449 with 135 bishops present, Dioscorus moved quickly to secure his supremacy by marginalizing the papal envoys, already handicapped by the necessity of speaking and listening through translators. Pope Leo’s dyophysite Tome would hardly have been helpful to Dioscorus’ cause – so he made sure that Leo’s letter introducing it was ‘received’ but never read to the assembled bishops or entered into the documentary record.<sup>117</sup> The synod then turned to its main business, the hearing of Eutyches’ appeal. The ensuing re-examination of his case effectively turned the tables and put Flavian’s synod on trial. Transcripts first of the 448 Home Synod and then of the April 449 inquiry were read back, punctuated by frequent interruptions denouncing Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum as Nestorians and heretics for their documented insistence on ‘two natures’. Then Dioscorus sprung his trap. After ordering a reading of the acts from Ephesus I relating to its seventh canon, and asking the bishops to reaffirm the rule condemning anyone who

115 I. 54–65, 121–34, 149–50, 167–78, 323–9, 496–7, 530, 851–2.

116 I. 62: Opponents of Dioscorus complained, ‘We were one hundred and thirty-five in all; forty-two were ordered to keep silent; the rest were Dioscorus and Juvenal and the disorderly mob; that left only fifteen of us. What could we do?’

117 I. 82–6; with later complaints at Chalcedon, I. 87–106. The letter mentioned here would have been Leo, *ep.* 33, addressed directly to the council; if the pope’s envoys had been allowed to present it, they would next have gone on to introduce the Tome.

taught a creed ‘different from that of Nicaea’, he abruptly declared Flavian and Eusebius guilty of innovation and pronounced them deposed.<sup>118</sup> At that point the synod seems to have erupted into chaos. The protests of Flavian and the papal legates were overruled, and soldiers and club-wielding monks allegedly entered and threatened the bishops in order to coerce their assent. The papal envoys fled, the deacon and future Pope Hilary thanking the saints for his harrowing escape.<sup>119</sup> Flavian, imprisoned and apparently handled roughly, died under suspicious circumstances soon afterward.<sup>120</sup>

### *The Syriac Acts*

The acts of the second session on 22 August were not read back at Chalcedon and do not survive in their Greek original. They are known to us from a sixth-century Syriac translation preserved in a monastery of the miaphysite church that regarded Chalcedon as the ‘false’ council and Dioscorus as a martyr.<sup>121</sup> Since we have not translated that text, a brief summary is in order.<sup>122</sup> Attendance had fallen off somewhat, the second session opening with 112 bishops present.<sup>123</sup> The council first heard from messengers who reported that the papal envoys were nowhere to be found and that Domnus of Antioch had excused himself under the pretext of illness: in a vain effort to save his own skin, he communicated his approval of the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius. Dioscorus and his colleagues then turned to the unfinished business of condemning and deposing other ‘Nestorian’ bishops and wiping out the Antiochene faction once and for all.

118 These acts (from Ephesus I’s session of 22 July 431, discussed above) were read back and acclaimed at I. 911–61; Dioscorus pronounced the unexpected sentence on Flavian at I. 962.

119 Upon his return to Rome, the grateful Hilary (later pope, 461–8) left the inscription *liberatori suo beato Iohanni* (‘to his liberator, the blessed John’) in the baptistery of St John Lateran in Rome. It is published in Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 980.

120 On the uncertain circumstances of Flavian’s death, which might have occurred as late as several months after the council, see Chadwick 1955.

121 The scribe, in his postscript to the Syriac manuscript, names himself as John, living in the monastery of Mar Eusebius at Kafra D’Bartha (near Apamea), and gives a date of 535: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 156–9.

122 *Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus*, second session: Syriac text with facing German translation in *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming; English trans. in Perry 1881.

123 The list of bishops present at the second session is in *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 6–9. The monk Barsaumas’ name is appended to the end of the list, for a total of 113 present. Cf. Honigmann 1942–3, 28–38 for an attempt to reconcile the attendance lists from the two sessions of Ephesus II.

In order to do this they made use of complaints brought against the bishops by local clergy and monks in Syria, a wide variety of misconduct charges that offer a glimpse into the seamy underside of local church administration. Any powerful bishop would tend to make enemies among his clergy, but, in the context of larger political and theological disputes, disgruntled subordinates could expect more easily to find a hearing. Charges of Nestorian heresy, of course, also featured prominently. None of those accused and condemned was present to defend himself – a breach of due process that was one of several reasons why this council ultimately acquired its distasteful reputation.<sup>124</sup>

The action against Ibas occupies nearly as much space as all the rest combined, incorporating the lengthy official reports of the count Flavius Chaereas, sent to investigate the situation in Edessa three months previously. Chaereas duly documented and forwarded to the emperor transcripts of the orchestrated acclamations and slogans of assembled crowds, petitions filed by prominent laypersons and clergy, and proceedings of hearings held in Edessa, all of which convey the impression of a population united in hatred of their bishop.<sup>125</sup> During these hearings, reference was made back to prior investigations of Ibas held at Hierapolis, Antioch, Berytus and Tyre.<sup>126</sup> The complainants claimed that they had been trying for years to present their case but that Domnus conspired to block the investigations and protect his colleague. The allegations covered a range of misdeeds, from embezzling church funds to ordaining adulterers, thieves and paedophiles as priests. Many witnesses testified to Ibas' doctrinally dubious statement – which he later tried to deny – that 'I do not envy Christ becoming God, for inasmuch

124 Theodoret had been barred from the council by imperial decree (Chalcedon, I. 24) and Ibas was actually imprisoned (Chalcedon, X. 1). Although Domnus was in town, pleading absence due to illness, the synod made no attempt to give him any notification that he was to be put on trial – let alone the canonical three summonses – before proceeding with his case. None of the other bishops dealt with at the second session appears to have been present.

125 Chaereas' reports, as read at the second session of Ephesus II: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 14–61. Imperial authorities typically took great care to ensure that such demonstrations and acclamations were recorded and forwarded to the capital: see generally Roueché 1984. These were undoubtedly orchestrated to produce a false impression of unanimity among the Edessenes. At Berytus in 449, Ibas was able to refer to a statement of support signed by 65 of his clerics: Chalcedon, X. 141.

126 Hierapolis in 445, before Domnus; Antioch in early 448, again before Domnus; Tyre and Berytus in early 449, before Photius, Eustathius and Uranius. Portions of the acts of these sessions were read back at Chalcedon's tenth session.

as he became God, so also have I'.<sup>127</sup> Ibas' letter of 433 to Mari the Persian, in which he had sharply criticized Cyril, was read before the synod to the outraged shouts of the bishops, who promptly condemned him.

Next on the list was Daniel, Ibas' dissolute nephew and bishop of Carrhae (Harran), who had plundered church property to purchase gifts for his mistress. In this instance, as with Ibas, the accusers claimed that Domnus had stonewalled previous attempts at investigation. Perhaps recognizing that some characters were beyond rehabilitation, Chalcedon did not reopen his case. The synod then turned its attention to Irenaeus, former count and exiled friend of Nestorius, who had since been ordained by Domnus to the bishopric of Tyre. When this had been brought to the emperor's attention in 448 he had ordered Irenaeus deposed, and Photius had replaced him in Tyre. The council now condemned him as an associate of Nestorius and confirmed his deposition. Next came Aquilinus of Byblus, deposed for Nestorian heresy and association with other heretics. His main crime, apparently, was that he had been ordained by Irenaeus. The bishops then heard a complaint against Sophronius of Constantia (Tella), a suffragan of Edessa and another illustrious nephew of Ibas. Several clerics presented a long and fascinating indictment (*libellus*) charging him with engaging in sorcerous divination rituals, studying astrology, and consorting with Jews. The council reached no decision on his case, preferring to leave the issue for the new metropolitan bishop of Edessa.<sup>128</sup>

For Theodoret, widely regarded as the intellectual ringleader of the Antiochenes, the charges focused largely on doctrinal error. The presbyter Pelagius read a long *libellus* alleging that Theodoret and Domnus had coerced him into signing a 'Nestorian' two-nature profession of faith against his will. The bishops then listened to a reading of Theodoret's letter arguing against Cyril's Twelve Anathemas, followed by extracts from his apologetic work.<sup>129</sup> Dioscorus then asked the council to condemn him and to request that the emperor order his books burned, and the bishops quickly concurred.

127 *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 42–9; cf. Chalcedon X. 81.

128 Nonnus, soon appointed to replace Ibas, would represent Edessa at the sessions of Chalcedon prior to Ibas' reinstatement. Sophronius remained in office, since he was seated at Chalcedon with no apparent objections. But at the eighth session, he was one of several bishops (including Theodoret) who were pressured to pronounce an unambiguous anathema upon Nestorius: VIII. 26–7.

129 Theodoret, *ep.* 151, an open letter to Syrian monks, possibly dated as early as 431. The second work, according to the Alexandrian notary, was entitled *Apology of Theodoret, on behalf of Diodore and Theodore, warriors for the true religion*.

Two years later at Chalcedon, the cases of Theodoret and Ibas would be reopened and the men rehabilitated, over the loud and strenuous objections of many bishops still sympathetic to Dioscorus.<sup>130</sup> Domnus, again pleading illness, sent his concurrence to the condemnations of his friends and colleagues, but this act of appeasement did not save him from becoming the final target.

After a lacuna, the manuscript resumes with the case of Domnus already under way. The sequence of the agenda was no accident. With Irenaeus deposed, Domnus could then be blamed for having ordained him. Only after Ibas and Theodoret had been condemned could Domnus be held culpable for his association with them. The first indictment presented against Domnus charged him with nothing more than nodding approvingly while Theodoret made blasphemous remarks, uttered the potentially treasonous statement ‘no one believes by imperial edict’ and cast a copy of the decrees of Ephesus I into a fire.<sup>131</sup> Domnus himself was then accused of various blasphemies and of treating roughly those who disagreed with him. It was alleged that Domnus performed irregular ordinations of known heretics, and even that his own election had been uncanonical.<sup>132</sup> The chief notary then read for the bishops two exchanges of letters between Dioscorus and Domnus that had taken place a year previously.<sup>133</sup> Dioscorus complained about reports he had heard from Antioch that Domnus was tolerating the expression of ‘Nestorian’ opinions. Domnus reciprocated by expressing similar concern at hearing that some in Alexandria were uttering extreme theopaschite statements such as ‘God died’.<sup>134</sup> The Antiochene bishop then sought to defuse tension by appealing to the Formula of Reunion agreed by Cyril and John in 433. He reminded Dioscorus that Cyril had chosen not to press his Twelve Anathemas, and said that the teachings contained therein would never be accepted in the churches of Syria and ought not be forced upon the

130 At Chalcedon, Sessions VIII (Theodoret), IX and X (Ibas).

131 Interestingly, none of these accusations involving Theodoret were brought up during Theodoret’s own case, perhaps because it was considered more important to convict him of heresy on the basis of his writings. The ‘edict’ referred to the emperor’s 448 order that Irenaeus be deposed and that the writings of Nestorius be burned, which supposedly provoked angry murmurings when it was first promulgated in Antioch: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 114–17.

132 *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 122–9.

133 *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 133–47. The letters were carried back and forth by the monk Theodosius, an ally of Dioscorus who reported to him on activities in Antioch and who would later lead a rebellion against Juvenal of Jerusalem (see below).

134 *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 146–7.

Antiochenes. It was at this point that the synod condemned Domnus, anathematizing him explicitly for his rejection of Cyrillian teaching.

The reunion agreement notwithstanding, the Second Council of Ephesus seems in effect to have defined acceptance of the Twelve Anathemas as a precondition for orthodoxy. At Ephesus I, Cyril's correspondence with Nestorius had been introduced to prove the orthodoxy of one and the heresy of the other. Dioscorus, offering a similar exchange as the culmination of his case against Domnus, undoubtedly saw himself as a new Cyril writing to a new Nestorius – and probably envisaged his own letters becoming canonical documents of faith to stand alongside those of his predecessor.

Its business finished, the council adjourned and reported its decisions to the emperor. Theodosius praised the work of the synod, and issued a law barring 'Nestorians' from the priesthood and ordering the burning of Theodoret's works.<sup>135</sup> At the emperor's direction, Dioscorus circulated an encyclical letter that all bishops were to sign. It contained no doctrinal statement, but simply demanded that they accept the decrees of both Ephesian councils and that they approve the condemnations directed against the 'Nestorians'.<sup>136</sup> The bishops at Ephesus II declined to adopt a formal creed or definition of faith, since their purpose, as they saw it, was simply to affirm Nicaea and Ephesus I and condemn innovations upon them.<sup>137</sup>

### III. THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

#### **Prelude to Chalcedon: 449–51**

The Second Council of Ephesus concluded with Dioscorus and Alexandria effectively dominating the whole church of the eastern empire and enforcing a firmly one-nature Cyrillian Christology, in concert with Juvenal – who took the fall of Domnus as an opportunity to expand his own patriarchal jurisdiction – and with the full blessing of the emperor. Pope Leo, though safe in Italy, was left marginalized. Even after the pope enlisted the western emperor Valentinian III, the empress Galla Placidia and other members of the imperial family to support his protests, Theodosius still insisted that the

135 *ACO* 2.3.2 pp. 347–8, no. 106.

136 *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 151–5.

137 A sentiment probably shared by the greater part of the bishops at Chalcedon, who even after they had condemned Dioscorus and Ephesus II showed great reluctance to compose a new definition – doing so only after heavy pressure from both imperial authorities and papal representatives: see Sessions II and V.

decrees of Ephesus II were valid and refused to reconsider the cases of the deposed bishops.<sup>138</sup> The rival patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch were left in disarray. Dioscorus contrived to install his own representative (*apocrisiarius*) Anatolius as the new bishop of the capital, and Anatolius then consecrated Maximus to the see of Antioch.<sup>139</sup> But their Alexandrian connections notwithstanding, once in office these two men would show no hesitation in advancing the interests of their new sees and turning against Dioscorus when it became politically expedient.

The next year brought an abrupt reminder of just how decisively the condition of the church depended upon the disposition of the emperor. Although emperors rarely presumed overtly to dictate the content of theology, when the bishops themselves were divided over doctrine then the government's support of one side could easily tilt the balance – and withdrawal of that support could lead to dramatic reversals. On 26 July 450, the emperor Theodosius II was thrown from his horse while hunting and died soon after. His sister Pulcheria assumed effective power, and within the space of a few months executed the eunuch Chrysaphius,<sup>140</sup> announced her marriage<sup>141</sup> to the elderly Thracian general Marcian, arranged his acclamation as the new emperor, and in short order set about undoing the work of Dioscorus. The new regime immediately reached out to Leo, who demanded acceptance of his Tome as a condition for re-establishing communion. Both

138 Their correspondence is contained in the letter collections preserved in the Acts prior to Chalcedon's first session, all dated to early 450: Latin versions in *ACO* 2.3.1 pp. 13–17 and Greek in *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. 5–8. See our Appendix 1: The Documentary Collections, vol. 3, 157–92.

139 This was a severe transgression of the normal boundaries of patriarchal authority, and Pope Leo complained bitterly about it even after both bishops had signed his Tome and supported his doctrinal position at Chalcedon: see, e.g., Leo, *ep.* 106 of 22 May 452. Maximus' background is uncertain. He may or may not have been the same Maximus who as a deacon of Antioch in the 430s criticized bishop John for being insufficiently anti-Nestorian and to whom Cyril wrote his *epp.* 57 and 58.

140 Chrysaphius had already fallen out of favour, a few months previously, due to political-military intrigues by the barbarian general Aspar, but his departure had brought no noticeable change in ecclesiastical policy as long as Theodosius himself still lived. Thus the common characterizations of the emperor as having been 'seduced by Chrysaphius' are not entirely fair. On the fall of Chrysaphius, see Goubert 1951; Holum 1982, 205–08.

141 Since the empress intended to persist in her famous vows of virginity, this was understood by all to be a marriage in name only. On Pulcheria, see generally Holum 1982. But some anti-Chalcedonian sources later tried to claim, rather ludicrously, that Pulcheria and Marcian had had an adulterous affair prior to Theodosius' death: cf. Burgess 1993–4.

Anatolius and Maximus quickly subscribed and encouraged other bishops to follow suit.<sup>142</sup> Flavian's remains were brought to Constantinople and interred with full honours.<sup>143</sup> The new climate encouraged many bishops to reconsider their support for Ephesus II. Its detractors sought, with increasing success, to cast it as illegitimate not because of its theology but because of the brutal and violent way in which it was conducted. Leo gave Dioscorus' council a name that stuck, calling it *Latrocinium*, a 'council of robbers'.<sup>144</sup> The Alexandrian bishop himself was characterized as a 'tyrant-bishop', driven by pride, arrogance and rage to divide the church in his pursuit of power.<sup>145</sup>

Discussion quickly turned to the possibility of a new council. In order to avoid a repeat of Ephesus II, Leo insisted that any such council be held in Italy where he could control the agenda. It would of course have been out of the question for hundreds of eastern bishops to travel to Italy, and since the imperial authorities likewise saw the need for close supervision, that dictated a location nearer to the capital. In May of 451, Marcian sent out letters summoning bishops to a council that would meet in September in the city of Nicaea.<sup>146</sup> The choice of venue, of course, was no accident. As Dioscorus had sought to be a second Cyril at a Ephesus II, so Marcian and Pulcheria reached back to an earlier conciliar model, wishing to cast themselves as the new Constantine and Helena presiding over the Second Council of Nicaea.<sup>147</sup> But practical reality soon intruded upon this dream. A heavy governmental and military presence would be needed to prevent supporters of Dioscorus and Eutyches from disrupting the new council, and many bishops were reluctant to attend at all unless the emperor himself were there to take charge.<sup>148</sup> Marcian, however, could not give the council his full

142 Cf. Documents before the Council 3, 9, and the letters in *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. 8–10, 47–52, summarized in our Appendix 1: The Documentary Collections, vol. 3, pp. 157–92.

143 Letter of Pulcheria to Leo: Latin in *ACO* 2.3.1 pp. 18–19 and Greek in *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. 9–10. At Chalcedon, Flavian would be acclaimed by some as a martyr: e.g., I. 280. On the circumstances of Flavian's exile, death, and posthumous rehabilitation, see Chadwick 1955.

144 Leo to Pulcheria, *ep.* 95 of 20 July 451: *non iudicium sed latrocinium*.

145 This theme is developed further in Gaddis 2005, chs 7 and 8.

146 *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. 27–8, translated in Documents before the Council 6.

147 Thus the later tradition that Chalcedon claimed 636 bishops in attendance – considerably more than the actual number present and, more to the point, exactly double the 318 of Nicaea: Honigmann 1942–3, p. 46. On attendance figures see our Appendix 2: Attendance and Ecumenicity, vol. 3, pp. 193–203.

148 Pulcheria, writing to the governor of Bithynia, commanded him to take strict measures in order that monks and other troublemakers be kept out of the way: *ACO* 2.1.1 p. 29; Documents before the Council 13.



attention while also directing military efforts against the Huns in Illyricum. Nicaea not only suffered from cramped facilities but was also some distance from the capital.<sup>149</sup> Thus at the last minute the emperor asked the bishops already assembling in Nicaea to relocate to Chalcedon, across the straits from Constantinople and a quick and convenient boat ride from the imperial palace.<sup>150</sup> This imposed a few weeks' additional delay, and it was not until 8 October 451 that the council could finally begin its work.

### **The council**

One cannot understand Chalcedon without reference to Ephesus II and the backlash against it. The tyranny and violence of the 'Robber Council' cast a long shadow over the bishops and officials who gathered for the new synod. The architects of Chalcedon sought above all to contrast their enterprise with that of Dioscorus, in which they saw a perfect model of how not to run a council. The Alexandrian bishop, who only two years earlier had stood dominant over the eastern church, saw his position steadily unravelling as many of his erstwhile supporters took account of changed circumstances, and his numerous enemies now felt free to speak out. Dioscorus did not help matters when, en route to the council, in a final act of arrogance he anathematized Pope Leo – the last and worst of the misdeeds that would be charged against him at Chalcedon.<sup>151</sup>

Imperial and ecclesiastical authorities agreed upon the need to set a very different tone in order to claim greater legitimacy for the new council. Where Ephesus II emphasized the zealous condemnation of the enemies of true doctrine, Chalcedon offered moderation, reconciliation and consensus. The leaders of the council sought to convey an image of ordered legitimacy and procedural fairness in contrast to the violence of Ephesus II, which had allowed zeal against heresy to override canonical due process. But although Chalcedon depended less upon overt physical coercion, its outcomes were every bit as predetermined as they had been at Ephesus. The notaries

149 Nicaea (modern Iznik) is approximately 150km from Constantinople, and would have required a few days' travel.

150 *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. 28–30; Documents before the Council 14 and 15.

151 Dioscorus' condemnation of Leo was cited prominently in the formal sentence pronounced against him by the papal legates: III. 94. He had done this in the presence of some 10 other Egyptian bishops, probably while they were assembled at Nicaea in August or September.

diligently recorded dissident voices – with some notable exceptions<sup>152</sup> – but the authorities restrained excessive displays and kept a firm order. All significant decisions were taken in advance or behind the scenes, while the role of the formal sessions was largely to approve those decisions by unanimous consensus.

*The presidency of the council*

Since the peace of the church was clearly too important to be trusted to the bishops, effective presidency of the council was given to a committee of prestigious laymen who held either high-ranking posts in the imperial government or membership in the Constantinopolitan senate. Most were current or former officials and consuls, and in the official acts they are always listed according to a strict hierarchical ranking.<sup>153</sup> Their numbers varied, with an especially heavy presence at the opening sessions – where disorder was most likely to be expected – and during the emperor's visit.<sup>154</sup> Some of their names will be familiar to the attentive reader from their role in earlier proceedings, including Florentius, whose interventions at the 448 Home Synod were the subject of considerable controversy during the April 449 inquiry; Martialis, before whom Eutyches' supporters made his official appeal in 449; and Nomus, who had earlier been known as an associate of Chrysaphius and a backer of Eutyches. Past displays of partiality for one side or another did not, apparently, disqualify them from acting as judges now.<sup>155</sup> Flavius Anatolius, patrician, *magister militum* and former consul, is always listed in the first place and was clearly the leader of the committee. The official acts always record the commissioners speaking in unison, but Anatolius can be assumed to be the true source of their pronouncements.<sup>156</sup>

152 In some later sessions, particularly those concerning the faith, it seems likely that the transcript does not record all that was said. See our commentaries on the second, fourth and fifth sessions.

153 Delmaire 1984 gives a comprehensive prosopographical analysis of the commissioners and discusses their offices and hierarchical ranking.

154 There were 19 at the first session; 18 at the second and the fourth; none at the third; and 38 accompanying the imperial couple at the sixth; for all the remaining sessions, only Anatolius, Palladius and Vincomalus were present. On these men, see *PLRE 2*, 'Anatolius 10', 'Palladius 9' and 'Vincomalus'.

155 On Florentius, see I. 720–5, 771–81; on Nomus, see, e.g., III. 57. See *PLRE 2*, 'Florentius 7', 'Martialis' and 'Nomus 1'. But, where bishops were concerned, the rules were different: accusers and accused were to be seated apart from the other bishops who would be sitting in judgement upon them.

156 Anatolius: cf. Delmaire 1984; *PLRE 2* 'Anatolius 10'. On the role of Anatolius and the other commissioners see St. Croix, forthcoming.

He was one of three men – the others being Palladius, praetorian prefect of the east, and Vincomalus, master of divine offices – who presided over many sessions that did not draw the full committee.<sup>157</sup> Only the third session – when Dioscorus was put on trial – proceeded with no supervision by imperial officials, perhaps so that the government might escape direct responsibility for his condemnation. Remembering the chaos of the previous council, and fearing the violence of Dioscorus' supporters, most bishops preferred the order that would be ensured by a heavy imperial presence. This very practical concern outweighed any qualms they might have felt about such a blatant intrusion of secular power into the sacred affairs of the church.<sup>158</sup> Marcian himself, accompanied by Pulcheria, arrived to address the council in person during the sixth session – a weight of imperial presence far beyond what had been felt at either of the Ephesian councils, and perhaps not matched since Constantine and Nicaea.

Pope Leo, who in accordance with long-standing papal tradition did not condescend to appear in person, was represented by bishops Paschasinus of Lilybaeum, Lucentius of Asculanum, and Julian of Cos, and the presbyter Boniface. Of these, only Julian of Cos was fluent in Greek; the others spoke through interpreters. They were recognized as holding formal presidency over the council, although the imperial commissioners more typically directed the agenda in practice. The papal legates pronounced sentence on Dioscorus during the third session, and were able to dictate the terms of the Definition of Faith. But at the council's final session, the twenty-eighth canon ratifying Constantinople's ecclesiastical primacy in the east was adopted over their strenuous objections.

### *The physical setting*

The council convened in the martyrrium of St Euphemia in Chalcedon.<sup>159</sup> The imperial commissioners sat in the middle, in front of the rails of the sanctuary. To their left sat the pope's envoys, the archbishops Anatolius and Maximus, Thalassius of Caesarea, and the bishops of Syria and Asia Minor.

157 Session V, Sessions VII to XVI, and the sessions on Photius and Eustathius and on Domnus. Session III and the session on Carosus and Dorotheus do not record the presence of any secular officials.

158 On late-antique Christian fears about the role of secular power in the church, see Gaddis 2005 esp. ch. 2.

159 There are few archaeological remains in the area of Chalcedon, modern Kadiköy. On the physical setting of the council, see Schneider 1951. Evagrius, *HE* 2.3 has a vivid description; cf. the useful notes in Whitby's translation.

To their right were seated the supporters of Dioscorus, initially including Juvenal and the bishops of Palestine and Illyricum as well as those of Egypt. As was customary at such gatherings, a copy of the Gospels was displayed in the centre, to signify the true presidency over the council held by Christ. The centre space was also reserved for those speaking, for those presenting accusations or those present as defendants.<sup>160</sup>

### *The delegates*

Although it is not easy to ascertain the exact number of bishops or their representatives who attended the synod, there seem to have been approximately 370 physically present.<sup>161</sup> Official sources contemporary with the council claimed that 500 or 520 bishops had attended Chalcedon.<sup>162</sup> But the lists preserved in the acts for individual sessions seldom record much more than about 300 present at one time.<sup>163</sup> The discrepancy may be explained by the common practice of metropolitans signing on behalf of absent suffragans. The official count seems to have included many who were not actually present, double-counting both the absent bishop and the presbyter or deacon who represented him. Through such generous reckoning, we arrive at a number close to the traditional 520.<sup>164</sup>

### *The chronology of the sessions*

Our translation follows the chronological order of the sessions as closely as possible. Further details are given in the introductions to each of the sessions. The sequence of events that took place is detailed in Table 3.

### *The arrangement of the Acts*

In compiling the official Greek record of the council the imperial authorities rearranged the sessions in order to group the acts into three logical divisions,

160 During the first session, both Dioscorus and Theodoret were directed to sit apart from the rest of the bishops: I. 5-14, 25-35.

161 For a more detailed analysis of the numbers, see our Appendix 2: Attendance and Eumenicity, vol. 3, pp. 193-203.

162 Cf. the council's concluding letter to Pope Leo: *ACO* 2.1 p. 475, translated in vol. 3, Documents after the Council 2.

163 At the first session, 342; at the second, 305; at the third only 204, reflecting the deliberate absence of Dioscorus' supporters; at the fourth, 305; at the sixth, 324 listed at the beginning of the session, although there are 452 signatures on the Definition; the remainder of the sessions only list the first 55-8 names followed by 'and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council.'

164 Following Honigmann 1942-3.

**Table 3. Chronology of the Sessions of the Council of Chalcedon**

Session	Date	Proceedings
First	Monday 8 October	Reading of acts from the Home Synod and from Ephesus II. Provisional sentence against Dioscorus and five other bishops
Second	Wednesday 10 October	Bishops commanded to produce new Definition of Faith; task delegated to committee. Leo's Tome and Cyril's letters read and acclaimed.
Third	Saturday 13 October	Trial and condemnation of Dioscorus
Fourth	Wednesday 17 October	Bishops affirm conformity of Leo's Tome with the faith. Petitions are presented by Egyptian bishops and Constantinopolitan monks
Carosus and Dorotheus	Saturday 20 October	Case of Carosus and Dorotheus
Photius and Eustathius	Saturday 20 October	Case of Photius and Eustathius
Fifth	Monday 22 October	Definition of Faith debated, modified and accepted
Sixth	Thursday 25 October	Address by emperor Marcian. Bishops acclaim and sign the Definition
Seventh	Friday 26 October	Agreement between Juvenal and Maximus
Eighth	Friday 26 October	The case of Theodoret
Ninth	Friday 26 October	Beginning of the case of Ibas
Tenth	Saturday 27 October	Continuation of the case of Ibas
Domnus	Saturday 27 October	Case of Domnus
Eleventh	Monday 29 October	Beginning of the case of Stephen and Bassianus of Ephesus
Twelfth	Tuesday 30 October	Continuation of the case of Stephen and Bassianus
Thirteenth	Tuesday 30 October	Case of Eunomius of Nicomedia and Anastasius of Nicaea
Fourteenth	Wednesday 31 October	Case of Athanasius and Sabinianus of Perrhe
Fifteenth	Wednesday 31 October	Reading of Pope Leo's letter to the council
Sixteenth	Thursday 1 November	Debate over twenty-eighth canon

the first dealing with the re-examination of Ephesus II and the trial of Dioscorus, the second with matters of faith, and the third with all other business. The prominence given to Ephesus underscores the degree to which Chalcedon constituted itself as a deliberate reaction against its predecessor.

*The case of Dioscorus*

The first session, devoted to examining the record of the prior council, was characterized by loud and rancorous argument between partisans of Dioscorus and his opponents, with vigorous shouting both against his admission to the council and against that of Theodoret, and frequent angry interjections while the acts from Ephesus were being read. Gradually and dramatically Dioscorus' support melted away as former allies, including most notably Juvenal, got up and crossed the aisle to sit with the easterners. Of the 150 bishops at Ephesus II, 124 were also present or represented at Chalcedon.<sup>165</sup> While the vast majority of these bishops had been complicit in the decisions of the council, by the time of Chalcedon most of them were only too willing to evade responsibility by pointing blame solely at Dioscorus, disavowing statements they had made at Ephesus by claiming coercion or falsification.<sup>166</sup> At the conclusion of the first session the imperial commissioners pronounced a provisional sentence of deposition against six bishops, but in the course of the fourth session, all but Dioscorus would be rehabilitated and seated again.<sup>167</sup> The third session, in the meantime, focused squarely on the conduct of Dioscorus himself, employing a discourse of ecclesiastical 'tyranny' to cast him as sole architect of the 'Robber Council', intent on destroying the peace of the church through his rage and ambition. Egyptian clergy and laity, all dispossessed relations or friends of Cyril, conveniently appeared to testify against him – and the council, which would later issue canons discouraging such behaviour by subordinate clerics, gave an eager reception in this instance. Chalcedon faced the dilemma of restraining a too-powerful bishop without undermining the principles and institutions of episcopal hierarchy that had been threatened by the recent disorders. Dioscorus chose to stay away, correctly surmising that he could not receive a fair hearing from a council determined to overturn everything he had done at Ephesus. Ignoring three summonses from the synod, Dioscorus incurred the canonical penalty of deposition. The vagueness of

165 Honigmann 1942–3, pp. 40–1.

166 See, e.g., I. 54–65, 121–34, 180–84, 187–93, 851–63.

167 I. 1068, IV. 11–18.

the exact nature of the charges against him was entirely deliberate. The authorities were no doubt relieved to be able to depose him for simple failure to appear, and thus to avoid pronouncing any judgement upon his orthodoxy. It allowed his supporters, meanwhile, to maintain his innocence and even to venerate him as a martyr.<sup>168</sup> Dioscorus, and Ephesus II, were never explicitly condemned as heretical but instead rejected on grounds of lawlessness and violence.

### *Matters of faith*

Issues of doctrine, the primary concern of the council, occupied the second, fourth and fifth sessions.<sup>169</sup> First on the agenda was the reading of Leo's Tome, suppressed at Ephesus, and now enthusiastically acclaimed by the synod. With the bishops' subscription to Leo's Tome and the two-nature Christology expounded therein, Leo would have been satisfied. The rest of the bishops, while happy to accept Leo's teaching as orthodox, preferred not to commit themselves to a definitive rejection of the one-nature interpretations so widespread in the eastern provinces. It was the imperial officials, not the pope or the eastern bishops, who demanded that the council compose a new and explicit Definition of Faith – perhaps because Marcian could not claim to be a 'new Constantine' without a doctrinal product comparable to the Nicene Creed. The bishops expressed great reluctance to the imperial demand, agreeing only after the emperor threatened to move the council to Italy.<sup>170</sup> Their first attempt at a definition, which seems to have contained a compromise formula based on *ek duo phuseon* ('from two natures') that was acceptable to the vast majority, was not enough to satisfy the papal legates. Tellingly, the text of that draft creed was not recorded in the minutes. Theology was apparently too important to be left to 300 bishops, so when they were commanded to revise the formula, the task was entrusted to a select committee of leading churchmen who met behind closed doors. No records were kept of their deliberations, and the definition they finally produced was offered to the council as a finished product – faith should not be seen to be subject to debate or discussion.

Chalcedon sought to present itself as steering a sensible middle course between the opposite extremes represented by Eutyches – who, according to caricature, denied Christ's humanity – and Nestorius, who was widely, if

<sup>168</sup> On Chalcedonian and miaphysite views of Dioscorus, cf. Lebon 1946.

<sup>169</sup> A detailed discussion of the theological issues addressed at the council can be found in 'The Theology of Chalcedon', pp. 56–75 below.

<sup>170</sup> V. 22–5.

unfairly, thought to have taught 'two sons'. The bishops were bound by Leo's adamant insistence on a firm statement of two natures after the incarnation, but they sought also to produce a formula that would not exclude those of a more traditionally Alexandrian and miaphysite bent. The Definition of Faith, with its intricate and elaborate affirmations, declarations, qualifications and reservations, reflected the complexity of the council's task. Chalcedon walked a fine line between necessary clarification and impermissible innovation, facing the burden of proving that its own formulation was consistent with Nicaea and the fathers so as to avoid charges of invention.

The council's ambitious project inspired immediate opposition in a diverse group ranging from Egyptian bishops still loyal to Dioscorus, to Constantinopolitan monks not used to obeying their bishop. They considered themselves both pro-Nicene and anti-Nestorian, and worried that the council was falling into heretical error. Although they did not have a consistent or well-articulated Christological position of their own, they knew what they did *not* accept. Invoking their own understanding of tradition and their reverence for dead fathers, they found justification for rejecting the interpretive authority of the council's bishops.<sup>171</sup> The attitude displayed by these 'Nicene fundamentalists' at the fourth session offers an early glimpse of the sentiments that would drive the broad-based opposition to Chalcedon in later years.

### *The canons*

The widespread disobedience by these monks and others over the previous few years necessitated a strong legislative response in order to reassert the institutions and hierarchies of episcopal power. Thus canons issued in the council's name subjected existing monasteries to episcopal control, forbade new foundations without the bishop's permission, directed monks to remain within their monasteries and barred them from involving themselves in secular or ecclesiastical business.<sup>172</sup> Further measures spelled out explicit prohibitions against clergy and monks disobeying their superiors or forming 'conspiracies' against their bishops. Charges brought by clerics against their bishops were not to be entertained without careful and sceptical examination, and bishops were not to receive clerics who had been excommunicated

171 Egyptian bishops: IV. 19–62; Constantinopolitan clerics: IV. 63–116 and again in the session on Carosus and Dorotheus.

172 Canons 4 and 7. L'Huillier 1996, 206–67, has extensive commentary on all the Chalcedonian canons.



by a fellow bishop.<sup>173</sup> Some of these initiatives were first proposed by the emperor during the sixth session, and were clearly aimed at curbing the recent disorderly behaviour of monks such as Barsaumas and the followers of Eutyches.<sup>174</sup> The overall result of the canons was to strengthen episcopal supervision of a monastic movement whose relationship to the official hierarchy had hitherto been tenuous and ill defined. The bishops sought to impose an ordered, coenobitic, disciplined model of monasticism as the norm, discouraging ascetics from wandering and other independent activities that might lead to rebellious behaviour.<sup>175</sup> At the same time a council, much of whose time was preoccupied with judging allegations of corrupt behaviour by leaders of the church, needed to restrain the capacity of the bishop to misuse his power. Thus other canons addressed episcopal and clerical corruption by condemning the sale of offices, forbidding clergy from engaging in secular business deals and directing that henceforth an *oikonomos* or steward should manage the finances of each diocese so that its bishop might be removed from pecuniary suspicion or temptation.<sup>176</sup>

#### *Theodoret and Ibas*

The main business of the council had been completed by the sixth session. But the emperor commanded that the bishops remain until all other business was resolved, referring to them a variety of petitions and cases that in normal times would have been heard either by the imperial court or by the patriarch's Home Synod. Continuing its reversal of the decisions taken at Ephesus II, the council then undertook the rehabilitation of Theodoret and Ibas. Both men aroused loud and vocal opposition, and the case of Ibas had to be prolonged for an additional day as petitioners brought complaints against him and sought to re-examine earlier proceedings in his case. After hearing the transcript from the inquiry held at Tyre and Berytus in early 449, which had, in less than resounding terms, acquitted Ibas of the heresy and misconduct charges against him, the imperial commissioners called for a reading of the minutes from Ephesus II relating to Ibas. But it must have become clear at this point that reopening the Acts of the *Latrocinium* could only embarrass the more than 100 bishops who had then cheered the

173 Canons 8, 18, 21.

174 At the sixth session, Marcian proposed early drafts (VI. 17–19) of what would become canons 4, 3 and 20, respectively.

175 The attempt by the church hierarchy to contain and institutionalize asceticism is the theme of Caner 2002, whose pp. 223–41 discuss Chalcedon's canons on the subject.

176 Canons 2, 3, 26.

condemnations of those now being restored. The papal envoys quickly objected, with Anatolius, Juvenal and other leading bishops following suit, declaring that Ephesus II and all its decisions were nullified as ‘lawless’.<sup>177</sup> Thus the proceedings of that council’s second session were never read back at Chalcedon and did not make it into the official record.

### *Other measures*

The bishops then adjudicated a variety of other matters, either jurisdictional disputes between different sees or contested occupancy of individual sees. Although each case was specific and local, the council’s resolutions made statements of principle that would, at least in theory, set general precedents for the government of the church. One of these principles was the clear delineation of the boundaries of episcopal influence and a desire to stabilize the existing hierarchies. There should be one metropolitan per province, and the council frowned upon attempts by some suffragan sees to raise their own status by petitioning the imperial government either to divide a province in two or to honour a second city with ‘metropolitan’ status.<sup>178</sup> The legitimacy of episcopal succession was paramount, and the council deposed bishops whose elections had been tainted by irregularity or violence.<sup>179</sup> At the same time the council made it clear that it was not the place of lower clergy to judge or disobey their superiors, no matter how corrupt they might be, and expressed its abhorrence at instances where clerics and laity had risen up to drive out their bishop.<sup>180</sup> In situations where both claimants were tainted for one reason or another, the council put both aside and demanded an entirely new election. Some cases were referred back to the judgement of metropolitans or provincial synods. Through the course of these sessions, Bishop Anatolius and his functionaries took several opportunities to assert

177 X. 143–60. The imperial commissioners (Anatolius, Palladius and Vincomalus) seem not to have pressed the issue against the objections of the bishops.

178 Among the specific cases addressed by the council were those of Eunomius of Nicomedia and Athanasius of Nicaea at the thirteenth session, and Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus. Canon 12 explicitly prohibited any efforts to divide provinces or create metropolitan sees. When the emperor announced that the council’s host city would be honoured with metropolitan dignity (VI. 21) he made sure to specify that Chalcedon’s new rank was to be ‘in name only’ and was not to interfere with the rights of the provincial metropolis, Nicomedia. But the biggest perpetrator of jurisdictional self-promotion was Juvenal, whose claims were endorsed by the council at the seventh session.

179 As was the case with both Stephen and Bassianus, whose rival claims to the see of Ephesus were adjudicated in the eleventh and twelfth sessions.

180 As had been the fate of Athanasius of Perrhe, discussed in the fourteenth session.

expansive claims of Constantinople's right to intervene in local disputes and preside over elections.<sup>181</sup>

*The dispute over Constantinople*

Debate over the status and jurisdiction of Constantinople came to a head at the sixteenth session, when the papal envoys challenged the resolution that has come down to us as the twenty-eighth canon. It had apparently been drafted at an informal and unrecorded session of the previous evening, from which the papal envoys had been absent.<sup>182</sup> This measure opened with a reassertion of the Council of Constantinople's (381) designation of the city as 'New Rome', and a declaration that the see should enjoy privileges equal to those of Old Rome. These statements would engender much controversy in later centuries, but in the immediate context they served as a preamble to a specific claim that Constantinople had the authority to consecrate metropolitans in Asia, Pontus and Thrace. In theory the canon restrained Constantinople, by clarifying that the patriarch's authority applied only to metropolitans and restricting it from any influence on episcopal elections below that level, even though Constantinople had exercised such influence in some past cases. The papal legates demanded that the bishops testify whether coercion had been used to secure their assent. When they failed to uncover any evidence to this effect, the canon was adopted over their strenuous objections. The pope opposed the canon not only on the basis of Rome's claims – since the measure was carefully worded to concede that Old Rome remained in first place – but also because of the implied demotion of the ancient apostolic sees of Antioch and Alexandria that necessarily followed from Constantinople's elevation to second place. The apparent irony of Leo standing up for the patriarchal status of Alexandria only underlines the degree to which the pope held the long-term dignity of the office to be more important than the character of its most recent occupant.<sup>183</sup>

With this final session, the council officially concluded and the bishops were free to leave. The majority undoubtedly did, but some may have stayed around to assist in the drafting of the canons and to compose the council's

181 Cf. at the session on Photius and Eustathius, 32; XI. 53–61 on Constantinople's role in affairs at Ephesus; XIII. 37–41 on Bithynia. Canons 9 and 17 formalized Constantinople's jurisdiction in appeals.

182 XVI. 4–6, 45.

183 See, e.g., *ep.* 106 of 22 May 452, rebuking Anatolius for his 'ambition' in seeking to overshadow the apostolic sees of Alexandria and Antioch: *ACO* 2.1.2 pp. 252–4, translated in vol. 3, Documents after the Council 10.

official proclamations.<sup>184</sup> Over the next few months, the emperor issued several edicts confirming and enforcing the decrees of the council.<sup>185</sup> Delicate negotiations with Leo dragged on for more than a year, and only in March of 453 did the pope formally accept the council's decisions on the faith – while continuing to reject the controversial twenty-eighth canon.<sup>186</sup>

#### IV. CHALCEDON'S LEGACY

##### The aftermath

'Chalcedon', remarked Norman Baynes, 'came not to bring peace but a sword.'<sup>187</sup> It became immediately apparent that the council, far from securing a doctrinal consensus, was itself becoming a source of further controversy. Most opponents of the council did not necessarily support Eutyches. They did, however, regard Chalcedon as at best an unnecessary innovation upon Nicaea and at worst as doctrinally unsound, fearing that both Leo's Tome and the convoluted Definition of Faith came dangerously close to a 'Nestorian' division of Christ into two persons.<sup>188</sup> Many of the bishops of the east had either approved the Definition themselves or had it approved on their behalf, and as late as 457/8 the vast majority of metropolitans responded to the Emperor Leo's encyclical letter by claiming their continued support for Chalcedon.<sup>189</sup> The earliest opposition to the council came from among lower clergy and especially monastic leaders who considered Chalcedon a betrayal of the true faith and were not afraid to defy their bishops. The first target of their wrath was Juvenal, who had dramatically abandoned Dioscorus and switched sides during the first session, and who upon his return to Palestine was greeted by angry protests that soon escalated into violent insurrection. The rebels forced Juvenal to flee Jerusalem and ordained as bishop the monk Theodosius, who occupied the city for

184 The council's address to Marcian and letter to Leo appear at the end of the official acts: *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. 469–77, translated in vol. 3, Documents after the Council 1–2. For the problematic origin of the Address to Marcian see vol. 3, 105–7.

185 These also appear at the end of the official acts: *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. 478–83, translated in vol. 3, Documents after the Council 3–6.

186 Cf. Leo, *epp.* 110–16.

187 Baynes 1926, 126.

188 Mistranslations – whether accidental or deliberate – of the Tome into Greek appeared to make him speak of 'two persons', as Leo complained in *epp.* 130 and 131.

189 A Latin version of the *Codex Encyclius* is preserved in the *Collectio Sangermanensis*, edited by Schwartz in *ACO* 2.5 pp. 9–98.

more than a year, attracting widespread support and even enjoying the patronage of the widowed empress Eudocia.<sup>190</sup> Marcian and Pulcheria responded with great caution at first, writing numerous letters to archimandrites and clerics in Egypt and Palestine in an attempt to persuade them to accept Chalcedon. Not until 453 did they resort to military force to crush the rebellion and reinstall Juvenal. In Constantinople, the troublesome monks Carosus and Dorotheus were apparently still leading their monasteries as late as 455. Dioscorus, exiled to Gangra after the council, upon his death in 454 was celebrated by many as a confessor and a martyr.<sup>191</sup> The maintenance of a Chalcedonian consensus depended heavily upon strong imperial support. When the emperor Marcian died in early 457, Egyptian supporters of Dioscorus took advantage of the interregnum to overthrow the pro-Chalcedonian bishop Proterius, lynching him in the street and elevating Timothy Aelurus in his stead.<sup>192</sup>

The lines of division gradually emerged over the next few decades, with strong interest groups in favour of Chalcedon and equally strong factions against it.<sup>193</sup> Egypt honoured the memory of Cyril and Dioscorus, resisted the demands of the imperial government, and clung firmly to a miaphysite Christology. Syria was bitterly divided between supporters and opponents of the council. Palestine, initially a hotbed of opposition, eventually swung over to support of Chalcedon. In each of these regions the sympathies of archimandrites and monastic movements were highly influential.<sup>194</sup> The Latin west, following the lead of Rome, was firmly pro-Chalcedonian. The popes held to a two-nature Christology based on Leo's Tome, and since Chalcedon had accepted that document they would tolerate no diminution of that council's status. The patriarchs of Constantinople, meanwhile, understood that their own claims to ecclesiastical supremacy in the east – ratified

190 On events in Palestine, see Honigmann 1950, 247–57; Holum 1982, 217–25.

191 Cf. the late fifth-century *Life of Dioscorus* by Theopistus and the sixth-century *Life of Macarius of Tkow*.

192 Pulcheria had already died in 453. Proterius had been one of Dioscorus' leading presbyters, but the Alexandrians could not accept his consecration at the hands of four Egyptian bishops who had agreed to the condemnation of Dioscorus at Chalcedon. On the violence in 457, see *ACO* 2.5 pp. 84–6; Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* 4.2; Evagrius, *HE* 2.8; cf. discussion in Gregory 1979, 163–201.

193 Generally on ecclesiastical history in the centuries after Chalcedon, see Frend 1972 and Meyendorff 1989; Grillmeier 1987, 1995, 1996 are comprehensive and essential. Steppa 2002 explores the sixth-century anti-Chalcedonian perspective through the works of John Rufus.

194 See Bacht 1951 for detailed discussion and analysis of the role of monks in post-Chalcedonian conflicts.

by Chalcedon's twenty-eighth canon – depended upon their vigorous defence of that council and its decisions. Popular opinion in Constantinople, led by the zealous Acoemete<sup>195</sup> monks, likewise supported the council and opposed any attempt to compromise with its opponents.

### **Subsequent attempts at reconciliation**

Emperors who favoured a miaphysite position, or sought reconciliation with those who did, often found themselves unpopular in the capital city and on bad terms with the popes. Zeno's *Henotikon* of 482 tried to find common ground by declaring that Christ is 'one and not two' while avoiding any discussion of 'natures' and neither endorsing nor condemning Chalcedon. This effort to turn back the clock only succeeded in alienating both sides, failing to conciliate hardline anti-Chalcedonians while provoking a schism with Rome that would last until 518. The emperor Anastasius, widely thought to have miaphysite sympathies, was on his accession in 491 compelled by the patriarch to swear an oath – which he did not keep – to uphold Chalcedonian orthodoxy.<sup>196</sup>

With the accession of Justin in 518, and his more famous nephew Justinian in 527, the imperial government committed itself more or less firmly to upholding Chalcedon. Its attempts to impose a Chalcedonian orthodoxy met inevitable resistance, to which it responded with violent coercion – thus giving the emerging miaphysite churches powerful traditions of persecution and martyrdom that would make any future reconciliation all the more difficult.<sup>197</sup> The anti-Chalcedonians, driven by imperial force from the major cities, found sanctuary in the countryside and in the monasteries. During this period they transformed themselves from a simple opposition movement into a separate church, with its own bishops and priests forming an alternative and parallel hierarchy. The miaphysite church in Syria would eventually come to be called 'Jacobite', after Jacob Baradaeus (c.542–78), an itinerant bishop who travelled throughout the east and performed

195 Acoemetes: 'sleepless ones'; a monastic movement nicknamed for their practice of continuous liturgical prayer. Staunchly pro-Chalcedonian, from the late fifth century onwards they played a significant role in the ecclesiastical politics of the capital.

196 For the oath, see Evagrius *HE* 3.32; on Anastasius' religious policies, see Frend 1972, 190–220.

197 Persecutions in Syria by Chalcedonian authorities under Justin are commemorated in miaphysite sources such as the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, trans. Witakowski.

clandestine ordinations. The Chalcedonians, meanwhile, became known in Syria as ‘Melkites’, the ‘imperial’ church, due to their association with state power.

Despite the imperial government’s pro-Chalcedonian tilt, attempts at reconciliation and compromise did not cease. The powerful empress Theodora held to a miaphysite faith herself, and until her death in 548 acted as a patroness and protector to anti-Chalcedonian monks and bishops. Justinian, an emperor who took an unusually active role in theological deliberation, arranged a series of discussions between Chalcedonians and moderate miaphysites. He sought to win over opponents of Chalcedon by interpreting that council in a more strongly Cyrillian light and by renouncing ‘Nestorian’ and Antiochene teachings more explicitly.<sup>198</sup> To this end he proposed in 543 the condemnation of three long-dead teachers who had been central to fifth-century Antiochene Christology. The anathemas against the ‘Three Chapters’, as they were commonly known, condemned all the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the anti-Cyrillian writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and the Letter to Mari by Ibas of Edessa. This compromise, which formed the basis for the ecumenical council summoned by Justinian to Constantinople in 553, managed to offend both sides. To hardline miaphysites, after a generation of schism and persecution, the very name of Chalcedon was unacceptable no matter how carefully one parsed its doctrinal statements. It was and would always be a false council, a ‘Nestorian’ betrayal of the true faith. Westerners, for whom the spectre of Nestorius was overshadowed by that of Eutyches, worried that any attempt to make Chalcedon acceptable to miaphysites risked abandoning the doctrine of Leo. Many, too, feared the precedent that would be set by posthumous anathematization of long-gone theologians who had, after all, died ‘in the peace of the church’. Since Theodoret and Ibas had been declared orthodox at Chalcedon, how could they be condemned without condemning the council itself?<sup>199</sup> Even after Pope Vigilius was brought to Constantinople by force

198 On sixth-century attempts at Neo-Chalcedonian synthesis, see generally Gray 1979; on Justinianic attempts to manipulate the patristic tradition during the Three Chapters controversy, see Gray 1997.

199 This problem was finessed, in the case of Theodoret and Ibas, by singling out only certain of their specific writings – Theodoret’s writings against Cyril, and Ibas’ Letter to Mari – rather than condemning them as persons: cf. Frend 1972, 279–82. In the case of Ibas, the sixth-century theologians attempted to claim that Chalcedon had not accepted his letter as authentic. But at Ephesus II several witnesses testified that Ibas had admitted authorship: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 52–5.

and compelled to assent, many bishops in the west continued to reject the anathemas against the Three Chapters. In the end Justinian was no more successful at forcing consensus than his predecessors had been, and the Christological divisions persisted.

In the early seventh century Heraclius and his patriarch Sergius, amid the emergencies of first the Persian wars and then the Arab conquests, made one last attempt at bridging the divide between Chalcedonians and miaphysites. They formulated a compromise position that emphasized, initially, a single energy (Monoenergism) and then a single will (Monotheletism) behind the two natures of Christ. This solution, despite its strong imperial backing, nevertheless aroused opposition from figures such as Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem and Pope Martin of Rome, who feared that the emphasis on a single will would essentially abolish the distinction between natures that formed the centre of the Chalcedonian Definition. The famous monk Maximus the Confessor (c.580–662), who suffered torture and mutilation for his preaching against the new doctrine, lent the legitimacy of martyrdom to the anti-Monothelete cause. Emperors after Heraclius gradually backed away from his attempt to force consensus. Constans II in 648 tried to undo the controversy by fiat, issuing a *Typus* that outlawed any discussion of energies or wills. This did not end the controversy, and Rome and Constantinople remained at odds. By 681, Constantine IV had essentially given in to the papal position, sponsoring a new ecumenical council that condemned Monotheletism once and for all.<sup>200</sup>

The Third Council of Constantinople in 681 would be the last to address Christological questions. A final *de facto* settlement of the centuries-long controversy came not from any formal reconciliation or discussion but as a natural result of the empire's loss of miaphysite-leaning Syria and Egypt to Islam. By the end of the seventh century, Constantinople was left with a much-reduced but more cohesive polity whose remaining population was linguistically Greek and ecclesiastically Chalcedonian. There was no longer any need for emperor or patriarch to attend to the views of miaphysites. Beyond Byzantium's borders, non-Chalcedonian churches survived and even flourished, some of them lasting to the present day. As the traditional Hellenized elite culture faded away, these communities passed on their teachings and traditions in local vernacular literatures. Independent miaphysite churches persisted in Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and

200 On Monoenergism, Monotheletism and other seventh-century developments, see generally Meyendorff 1989, 333–73.



Ethiopia, while dyophysite ‘Nestorian’ sects spread from Persia into Central Asia, India and as far as China.<sup>201</sup> The divisions stemming from Chalcedon remain unresolved.

## V. THE THEOLOGY OF CHALCEDON

### Chalcedon and Nicaea

The Acts of Chalcedon often refer to the great theologians of the past as the ‘fathers’ (first at I. 10), a usage that developed after the Council of Nicaea of 325 to refer to the bishops at Nicaea and to those theologians, earlier or later, who bore witness to the Nicene faith. Fidelity to the Nicene Creed was indeed a leitmotif of the Council of Chalcedon, where it was repeatedly insisted that the Nicene Creed contains the whole orthodox understanding of God and Christ in a nutshell, with the result that later texts can be no more than commentaries upon it.<sup>202</sup>

The clearest indication, perhaps, of the mind of the majority of the bishops who attended the Council and acclaimed the Chalcedonian Definition is to be found in the *Codex Encyclius* of the emperor Leo I. The year 457 saw the death of the emperor Marcian, who had masterminded the Council six years earlier. The council’s opponents in Alexandria took advantage of the situation to overthrow and lynch their pro-Chalcedonian patriarch Proterius, and to elect in his place Timothy Aelurus, an uncompromising anti-Chalcedonian.<sup>203</sup> Both the pro-Chalcedonians and the anti-Chalcedonians of Egypt appealed to the rest of the Christian world for support. The new emperor Leo decided on an extensive consultation: he wrote to Pope Leo and to all the metropolitan bishops in his dominions, requesting honest and conscientious answers to the questions: what should be done about Timothy, and what should be said about Chalcedon? The bishops, deeply shocked by the murder of Proterius, answered overwhelmingly against Timothy and in favour of Chalcedon; 470 of them signed letters to this effect (according to Photius), with only the bishops of a single province (Pamphylia Secunda) partly dissenting. The emperor approved their judgement, and issued their

201 On the development of miaphysite Christian churches and cultural traditions in lands beyond the borders of the eastern empire, see Fowden 1993, 100–37. On the evolution of the various Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian churches in the east, see Binns 2002.

202 For the crucial importance of the Nicene Creed both at Chalcedon and in the preceding stages of the controversy, see de Halleux 1985.

203 He was also firmly anti-Eutychian; see Lebon 1908, 685–6.

replies in a document known as the *Codex Encyclius*. Half of it survives in an early Latin translation.<sup>204</sup>

The reason why the *Codex Encyclius* has not been used as a guide to the meaning of the Definition is that it is from the theological point of view a sadly disappointing document. The bishops show little inclination to discuss theology; few of them offer any detailed comments on the contents of the Definition. One characteristic of all the replies stands out prominently: all the bishops gave their approval to Chalcedon on the grounds that it followed the Nicene Creed. It is, of course, a familiar fact that the Definition begins by quoting this creed, but modern commentators have been slow to appreciate the importance of this for the interpretation of the text as a whole. In view of the reluctance of the fathers to approve any new definition, on the grounds that the Seventh Canon of the Council of Ephesus<sup>205</sup> had forbidden the use of any formulary of the faith beyond the Nicene Creed, the composers of the Definition were obviously concerned to claim that it was based on the creed. Did the statement reiterated so monotonously in 457/8 that Chalcedon had confirmed Nicaea mean anything more than that Chalcedon was orthodox? Modern historians of the development of doctrine would consider it absurd to suppose that Nicaea had solved the Christological problem in advance: its creed does indeed contain an article on the incarnation, but this consists of no more than a simple affirmation of the doctrine, expressed in wholly traditional language.

The question that needs to be asked, however, is how the bishops of 457 viewed the matter. If they had agreed with modern interpretation that sees no solution to the fifth-century debate in the early fourth-century formula, it would have been vacuous to argue, as they all did, that the teaching of Chalcedon was orthodox because it was Nicene. Clearly, they thought that Nicaea contained an implicit refutation of the errors that Chalcedon was concerned to condemn – the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. An argument that Nicaea had implicitly condemned Eutyches even before the unfortunate heresiarch had been born was spelt out in the Address to Marcian published in the proceedings of the council (our Documents after the Council 1). This text argues that the affirmation in the creed that Christ ‘was enfleshed’ means that he truly assumed our flesh from the Virgin, while the affirmation that Christ ‘became a human being’ expresses that he

204 *ACO* 2.5 pp. 24–98. For a full analysis, see Grillmeier 1987, 195–235.

205 This canon, adopted on 22 July 431, comes in the minutes of Session I of Chalcedon (I. 945).

assumed not only a human body but also a rational soul. Likewise, the bishops of Syria Prima, in their reply to the emperor Leo's consultation, argued that the Eutychian denial that Christ shared our nature is refuted by the teaching of the creed on the incarnation.<sup>206</sup> Nicaea had condemned Eutyches in advance, and therefore in order to condemn Eutyches all Chalcedon had to do was to reaffirm Nicaea. This means that the full quotation of the Nicene Creed at the beginning of the Definition should not be brushed aside, as in most modern commentaries on the text, as if it were a mere preface, a pious declaration of orthodox intent, before the Definition gets on to the real work.

The close connection that the council asserted between its own work and the Nicene Creed relates to its own conception of its task, which was not to achieve progress in theological understanding but to define the limits of Nicene orthodoxy; this stress on tradition did not represent intellectual sclerosis but rather an awareness that the task of a council in defining orthodoxy and the task of a theologian in developing doctrine are two quite different things. The Second Council of Ephesus of 449 had condemned Flavian of Constantinople less for heresy than for setting up a new doctrinal test as a requirement for full membership of the Christian Church. The fathers of Chalcedon accepted a new doctrinal definition only because it sought to uphold and protect the faith of Nicaea, shared by all members of the church.<sup>207</sup> The penalty of not only degradation but also excommunication imposed on Dioscorus of Alexandria at the third session of the council may seem chillingly severe, but the concern of the bishops was to preserve the faith affirmed at every baptism and expressed in each celebration of the eucharist.<sup>208</sup> It was the unity of the rites of initiation into the church and the foundations of Christian community that Chalcedon was concerned to maintain, not some academic ideal of precise definition and intellectual progress. Indeed, a modern reader who comes to the Acts in quest of illumination about the niceties of Chalcedonian Christology will be disappointed by the lack of theological debate worthy of the name.

<sup>206</sup> *ACO* 2.5 p. 33.

<sup>207</sup> Note that the final paragraph of the Definition, insisting that 'no one is allowed to produce or compose or construct another creed or to think or teach otherwise', is a reaffirmation of the definitive status of the Nicene Creed, not a reference to the Definition itself.

<sup>208</sup> A credal recitation was standard at baptism from at least the second century. The adoption of the creed into the eucharistic liturgy was a post-Chalcedonian development (Dix 1945, 485–8), but expressed a sense of the link between communion and belief that was traditional.

Whatever claims were made for the Nicene Creed as a perfect expression of faith in Christ, needing no more than precise interpretation to counter later heresies, it can be argued, however, that so far from solving the Christological problem in advance it actually accentuated it. As interpreted by the end of the fourth century, the teaching of the Council of Nicaea on the consubstantiality of Father and Son implied so strong a doctrine of the Son's full divinity as to highlight the problem of how a single being could be both God and man. Christ as God is timeless, immutable, omniscient, impassible (that is, incapable of suffering), while Christ as man was created in time, underwent the changes attendant on human life, confessed himself ignorant of some things (notably of the day and hour of the end; Mt. 24:36), and suffered on the cross. All the theologians in the Nicene tradition acknowledged the paradox and mystery of this conjunction. All were agreed that Christ possesses two sets of contrasting attributes and yet remains a single person. The Chalcedonian doctrine of one Christ, who is acknowledged in two natures that unite to form a single person, was to this extent common property.

The key final section of the Definition runs as follows (V. 34):

Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all in harmony teach confession of one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and the same truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like us in all things apart from sin, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary the *Theotokos* in respect of the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation (the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis), not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, Only-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ, even as the prophets from of old and Jesus Christ himself taught us about him and the symbol of the fathers has handed down to us.

Before attempting an interpretation of this text, we need to set it in the context of the Christological controversy of the preceding 25 years.

### Antiochene and Alexandrian Christology

In the period before Chalcedon, there were two leading schools of Christological inquiry in the Greek east.<sup>209</sup> The Antiochene school of Syrian theologians, of whom the most controversial was Nestorius (d. 450/1) and the most gifted Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and Theodoret of Cyrhus (d. c. 466), was concerned to protect the changelessness of Christ's Godhead and at the same time to give scope for the freedom of his manhood; this led to a stress on the distinction between the two constituent elements in Christ, Godhead and manhood.<sup>210</sup> They therefore used such formulae as 'two natures', 'two hypostases' (that is, two realities or beings), even 'two persons', 'conjoined' (not mixed or blended) in 'the person of union'.<sup>211</sup> Against them was soon ranged what is generally referred to as the Alexandrian school, meaning in effect Cyril of Alexandria (bishop 412–444), developing the thought of his great predecessor Athanasius (d. 373).<sup>212</sup> Cyril gave prime emphasis to the unity of Christ, which he expressed with such formulae as 'one incarnate nature', 'one hypostasis', 'two natures in contemplation alone' (that is, distinct as we describe them but not separate in reality), 'one after the union',<sup>213</sup> 'one from two', and the like. Cyril did not deny that the natures united in Christ preserve their differences, but he insisted that they were no longer two ontologically distinct realities. Since both sides agreed that Christ is both God and man 'without confusion, change, division, or separation' (to use the famous expression in the Definition), the argument over terminology was sterile, and can give the impression that both sides really agreed but were keen to disguise the fact.

However, there was more substance to the debate than this. Modern theologians contrast 'Christology from below', which makes the humanity of Christ its main concern, and 'Christology from above', which presents the divine Son or Word who 'became' or 'indwelt' flesh (see John 1:14). However much theologians today may assert that both approaches are valid and

209 The best treatments in English are Young 1983, 178–289, and Grillmeier 1975, 414–519. For a caution over talk of two 'schools' see Gavrilyuk 2004, 137–9.

210 This is illustrated in the collection of excerpts from Nestorius given in the Acts at I. 944.

211 For 'nature', 'hypostasis' and 'person', see Glossary, vol. 3, 207–10.

212 See Russell 2000, esp. 3–63, and 2004, 191–205.

213 'One after the union' balanced 'two before the union' – expressions that were not intended in a temporal sense, as if the two natures existed in separation before the union and then came together, but in a logical one: only if we mentally set aside the union does Christ appear as two, while in reality Christ is a single being.

need to complement, not oppose, each other, they certainly produce two very different pictures of Christ. In the period before Chalcedon, the Antiochene school presented a Christology from below, while the Alexandrian school presented a Christology from above. It is in their gospel commentaries that the difference comes across most clearly. Compare, for example, how Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyril of Alexandria comment on the verse, 'I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself' (John 12:32):

[Theodore] He says: 'I do not trust in my own strength, but through the nature which indwells in me I hope to conquer Satan ... God the Word made me his own once and for all time when he assumed me; and it is clear that he will not leave me to act at random. When therefore the God of all hears our judgement and sees that Satan has inflicted death on me unjustly and undeservedly, abusing his tyranny against me, he will order me to be freed from the bonds of death, with the result that I shall then have confidence to pray to God for all the children of my race, so that those who share with me in the same nature may also participate in the resurrection.'<sup>214</sup>

[Cyril] Christ alone, as God, was able to procure all good things for us ... Christ draws [human beings] to himself and does not, like the disciples, lead them to another. Here he shows himself to be God by nature, in that he does not make a distinction between himself and the Father; for it is through the Son that one is drawn to the knowledge of the Father.<sup>215</sup>

The consciousness of the Antiochene Christ is a human consciousness of the one who recognizes the dignity he has received of being united to the eternal Son, while the consciousness of the Alexandrian Christ is that of the divine mind that has condescended to operate in a human being. Theodore's Christ can even address the Son in the second person or refer to him in the third, as a distinct personal subject. Meanwhile, Cyril was so influenced by Athanasius' presentation of Christ as a divine mind indwelling a human body that in his long series of homilies on the Gospel of Luke he makes virtually no reference to Christ's human mind (or soul), even though he never doubted that he had one. Accordingly, critics ancient and modern have faulted the Antiochenes for offering an inadequate account of the unity of Christ, and have accused Cyril of having an inadequate conception of his humanity. The Chalcedonian Definition condemns Nestorius, as the representative of the dangers in Antiochene Christology, for dividing Christ into 'two sons' or

214 Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentario al Vangelo di Giovanni*, 209–10.

215 Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, PG 74. 96 AB.

persons, one divine and the other human, and condemns Eutyches, as the representative of a perversion to which Alexandrian Christology was prone, of undermining the true humanity of Christ.

And yet these criticisms do both sides less than justice. So far from teaching that Christ is a compound of two persons, a divine Son consubstantial with the Father and a human son adopted by the Father as other human beings are, the Antiochenes insisted that Christ is *one* Son, in whom the humanity is so lifted up as to share in the relationship enjoyed by the eternal Son with his heavenly Father. At the same time they insisted that Christians do not worship Christ's Godhead while venerating his manhood, but offer one and same worship to Christ, God and man. In other words, although Christ in his internal constitution is a compound of two distinct realities, he is one in his relationships both with the Father and with the human race.<sup>216</sup> At the same time, Cyril was able to accommodate human limitations in Christ, even mental limitations, through developing the language of St Paul about the self-emptying (*kenôsis*) through which the one who 'was in the form of God ... took the form of servant, being born in the likeness of men' (Phil. 2:6–7): as he wrote, Christ 'has divine knowledge as the Wisdom of the Father but, since he has put on the measure of ignorant humanity, in his condescension he appropriates this together with the rest.'<sup>217</sup> Cyril repeatedly contrasted the reality of Christ's divine powers with the 'appearance' of human limitations – not in the sense of a false appearance, but in the sense that human nature is an 'appearance' in contrast to the invisibility of the Godhead.<sup>218</sup>

### Controversy and consensus

In the context we have sketched of two Christological approaches, both of which had their strengths and their internal correctives, the crucial question became, which of the two was more faithful to the tradition of the Church? The Christological controversy of the fifth century began in 428 when

216 See the important summary of Antiochene doctrine in the expanded paraphrase of the creed attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia and used by Nestorius' agents in Asia Minor (I. 921).

217 Cyril, *Defence of the Twelve Chapters against Theodoret*, PG 76. 416C.

218 It remains a weakness that Cyril invokes *kenôsis* when interpreting specific gospel testimonies to human limitations in Christ but tends in most contexts to treat Christ's humanity as 'deified', that is, so taken up by the Godhead as to enjoy divine powers. The difference between the earthly Christ and the heavenly, ascended Christ is constantly blurred.

Nestorius, as the newly installed bishop of Constantinople, publicly criticized the attribution to the Virgin Mary of the title *Theotokos* ('God-bearer') on the grounds that she gave birth not to the Godhead of Christ but to his humanity. He was not perhaps aware that the title had been used by a number of pre-Nicene and Nicene fathers, including Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, and the Cappadocians,<sup>219</sup> but he could point out that it was not used in the Nicene Creed; indeed this creed (in contrast to the Constantinopolitan Creed of 381) makes no mention of Mary at all. Against these arguments Cyril insisted that the *Theotokos* title was simply a corollary of the fact that Jesus' human birth is ascribed in the creed to the eternal Son – 'one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God ..., consubstantial with the Father ..., who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man.' He was therefore able to claim that Nestorius was undermining the authority of the creed.

In developing this argument in his Second Letter to Nestorius, written in February 430, Cyril proceeded to defend the ascription of Christ's human experiences to the eternal Son:

He is spoken of as begotten also according to the flesh from a woman, not as though his divine nature received the beginning of its existence in the holy Virgin ...; but since for us and for our salvation he united manhood to himself hypostatically and came forth from a woman, he is for this reason said to have been born in the flesh. ... He is said to have undergone fleshly birth, as making his own the birth of his own flesh. So too we say that he both suffered and rose again, not as though God the Word suffered in his own nature either blows or the piercing of the nails or the other wounds (for the divine is impassible because it is also incorporeal); but since it was the body that had become his own that suffered, he himself again is said to have suffered these things for us, for the impassible one was in the suffering body ... So again, when his flesh was raised, the resurrection is spoken of as his, not as though he fell into corruption (God forbid!), but because again his own body was raised.<sup>220</sup>

Cyril's argument is cautious: he does not assert crudely that it was God the Word who was born, suffered, died and rose again, but rather that he 'is spoken of' as the subject of the human experiences. Since the eternal Son has made a human nature his own, human attributes and experiences may appropriately be attributed to the Godhead in credal profession. This is a

<sup>219</sup> See Lampe, *PGL*, 639. Bishop John of Antioch, a critical ally of Nestorius, pointed this out to him, *ep.* 4, *ACO* 1.1.1 p. 95. 19–20.

<sup>220</sup> The full text is in the Acts of Chalcedon, I. 240.



defence of the classic *communicatio idiomatum* – the expression of the union by ascribing to each nature what strictly belongs to the other. In recognition of the duality in Christ, Cyril is happy to use language that expresses the coexistence in Christ of two united natures: ‘The Godhead and the manhood by their ineffable and indescribable coming together into unity perfected for us the one Lord and Christ and Son ... He united manhood to himself ... The impassible one was in the suffering body’ (ibid.).

It is this that made possible the accord reached by Cyril and his Antiochene opponents early in 433. The Antiochenes accepted the condemnation of Nestorius, while Cyril proved his own moderation by accepting in his Letter to John of Antioch a doctrinal statement drawn up by the Antiochene party, the Formula of Reunion, of which the main part runs:

We therefore acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man made up of a rational soul and body, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead and the same on the last day for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary in respect of his manhood, the same consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood. For there has occurred a union of two natures, and therefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord. By virtue of this understanding of the union which involves no merging, we acknowledge the holy Virgin to be *Theotokos*, because God the Word was enfleshed and became man and from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her.<sup>221</sup>

Cyril’s understanding of the ‘two natures’ in Christ was different from that of the Antiochenes: he came to insist that the two natures are ‘separate’ only in the sense that the human mind has to think of them separately (‘two in contemplation alone’). Nevertheless, he agreed that the differences between the natures are not annulled by the union, and this was an adequate basis for an accord with Antioch.<sup>222</sup>

Cyril’s acceptance of this formula and of the orthodoxy of the Antiochenes, apart from Nestorius himself, caused dismay to some of his followers. The reason was that after writing his Second Letter to Nestorius he had in the meantime adopted a belligerently miaphysite (one-nature) position: he had come to insist that Christ is ‘one incarnate nature’, to employ the Johannine affirmation of the Word *becoming* flesh with emphasis (while

<sup>221</sup> For the full text, see I. 246. I omit the final sentence on the distribution of the sayings between the two natures, for this could not really be squared with Cyril’s theology and was accordingly omitted in the paraphrase of the Formula incorporated into the Chalcedonian Definition.

<sup>222</sup> See de Halleux 1993a.

being careful to add that this involved no change in the divine nature itself), and to attribute all the human experiences to the divine Son as their one and only personal subject – in reaction to the Antiochene ascription of the human experiences of Christ to the human nature treated as a distinct subject of attribution. It was this difference regarding the identity of the subject in Christ that was the key factor that set the two schools in opposition to each other. Cyril expressed his stance in a particularly aggressive form in the Twelve Chapters, or Anathemas, which he appended to his Third Letter to Nestorius (of November 430):<sup>223</sup>

Anathema 1. If anyone does not acknowledge Emmanuel to be God in truth and therefore the holy Virgin to be *Theotokos* – for she gave fleshly birth to the flesh that the Word of God had become –, let him be anathema.

Anathema 12. If anyone does not acknowledge the Word of God as having suffered in the flesh, been crucified in the flesh, tasted death in the flesh, and become firstborn from the dead, since as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema.

Dioscorus and his supporters laid great emphasis on these Anathemas, or Chapters, while denying authority to the Formula of Reunion. Our view of how Cyrillian is the Chalcedonian Definition will depend on to which of these two Cyrils – the moderate Cyril of the Second Letter to Nestorius and the Letter to John of Antioch, or the uncompromising Cyril of the Twelve Chapters – we give priority.

### **Cyril at Chalcedon**

The fathers of Chalcedon were profuse in their professions of loyalty to Cyril. Even when judging the Tome of Pope Leo (the great western Christological statement, formally approved at Chalcedon), their criterion of orthodoxy remained agreement with Cyril; this is clear throughout the lengthy discussion of the Tome in the fourth session.<sup>224</sup> Even more revealing was an earlier moment, when in the second session there occurred a reading of the Tome that was interrupted at several points by dissentient voices. Some of the bishops present took offence at the words, ‘[Christ] has from us the humanity that is less than the Father, and he has from the Father the Godhead that is equal with the Father.’ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, the champion

<sup>223</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, *Select Letters*, 28–33.

<sup>224</sup> See Diepen 1953, 74.

of the Antiochene party, defended Leo by pointing out, ‘There is a similar instance in the blessed Cyril which contains the words, “He became man without shedding what was his own, for he remained what he was; he is certainly conceived as one dwelling in another, that is, the divine nature in what is human”.’ (II. 26). Nothing could be more indicative of the mood of the council than the fact that even Theodoret had to defend the Tome by appealing to the authority of Cyril. His own attitude was far more critical: he had strongly attacked Cyril’s Twelve Chapters back in the pamphlet war in early 431 and had been very reluctant to accept Nestorius’ subsequent condemnation. But he clearly recognized that it would be disastrous to argue that there was something valuable in the Tome of Leo that was lacking in Cyril; instead, he played along with the conviction of the majority that Cyril provided the yardstick of orthodoxy. It was as an expression of this conviction that the Second Letter to Nestorius and the Letter to John of Antioch were read out and acclaimed at the second session of the Council (II. 18–19), in the place of honour immediately after the recitation of the creed. These are the two letters that we have already cited as the key texts of ‘moderate’ Cyrillianism; and these are the letters of Cyril that are referred to with immense respect as the ‘conciliar letters’ of Cyril in the Chalcedonian Definition itself.

It is to misconceive the mood of the council to think of the Definition as attempting a synthesis between Cyril’s theology and that of the Antiochene school. It is to be noted that the council fathers always refer to the Formula of Reunion as the ‘Letter of Cyril to John of Antioch’: they treat the formula as having become, by adoption, a Cyrillian text, and accord no credit whatsoever to the Antiochene school for its production. The way they treated Theodoret in the eighth session as virtually a repentant heretic is clear evidence that, although after the quashing of the decrees of Ephesus II they had no choice but to reinstate him, they were only ready to do so after subjecting him to personal humiliation. The fathers only accepted from Antioch what they knew Cyril had not only tolerated but also made his own.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Contrast Chadwick 1983, 12, ‘The Council of Chalcedon protected the *droit de cité* of Antiochene Christology’, and de Halleux 1990b, 52, Chalcedon ‘guaranteed the values of the “Antiochene” view of Christology’. It could be argued that this was implied by the Definition’s Dyophysite language, but it was not the intention of the council fathers, nor was it the actual fruit of the council after the debates of the sixth century. For the lack of Antiochene sympathies in the members of the committee that produced the final form of the Definition, see our commentary on Session V (vol. 2, 188–9).

It would also be a mistake to interpret the Definition as a synthesis between Alexandria and Rome. The council solemnly approved the Tome of Leo, and it was as a result of Roman insistence that the Definition contains an unambiguous statement of two natures in Christ. There were significant non-Cyrrillian features in the Christology of Leo, as of the west in general; in a word, while Cyril treated Christ's human nature as the instrument of the divine Word, Leo emphasized the cooperation of the two natures in 'the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus' (1 Tim. 2:5).<sup>226</sup> If we take Leo's Christology as our starting point, a very different interpretation of the Definition emerges. But this was certainly not envisaged by the council fathers themselves: they interpreted the Tome as simply a confirmation of the insistence by the Home Synod of Constantinople of 448, in its condemnation of Eutyches, that Christ is consubstantial both with the Father and with us men, and that therefore there are two natures in Christ that remain distinct even after the union (I. 526). The distinctive features of western Christology echoed in the Tome were of no concern to the council fathers whatsoever.<sup>227</sup> In all, despite the formal approval of the Tome by the eastern bishops both before the council, at the council, and in the Definition itself, it remained far less important for them than the conciliar letters of Cyril.

But what of the uncompromising Cyril of the Twelve Chapters? During the first session of the Council of Ephesus of 449 the two conciliar letters were read out in the course of reading the minutes of the Home Synod of Constantinople of 448 (I. 240, 246). Hereupon Bishop Eustathius of Berytus pointed out to the assembly that the Letter to John of Antioch needed to be interpreted in the light of the letters Cyril had written subsequently to his supporters, giving a miaphysite slant to his acceptance of the Formula of Reunion (I. 261). When this comment was read out at Chalcedon, the chairman asked the council whether it could be squared with the two conciliar letters. In an angry response, Eustathius 'came forward to the centre, threw down a book and said, "If I have spoken wrongly, here is the book of Cyril. Let it be anathematized and let me be anathematized"' (I. 265). The effect of Eustathius' intervention was marred when he proceeded to adduce the miaphysite sympathies of Flavian of Constantinople, and could then do

226 For Leo's Christology, see Grillmeier 1975, 526–39, and 1987, 149–72; Sellers 1953, 228–53; Studer 1985; Mühlenberg 1997, 14–16.

227 This was due not merely to Greek indifference towards western theology but to the deficiencies of the Tome itself, which was a contribution to rhetoric rather than theology. Not until the Monoenergist and Monothelete controversies of the seventh century did it make any positive contribution to theological understanding.

nothing but humbly apologize when the chairman asked why he had condemned Flavian for heresy (I. 267–9). Similarly, after the reading of Leo’s Tome at the second session Bishop Atticus of Nicopolis argued that the Tome needed to be compared to the Twelve Chapters (II. 29). In a subsequent informal meeting of the bishops, the Roman delegates had to satisfy their eastern colleagues by playing down the dyophysite emphasis in the Tome (IV. 9, after §98), but nothing more was heard of Cyril’s Chapters or indeed of any other of his controverted writings.

### **An analysis of the Definition**

To this emphasis on the Cyril of the Second Letter to Nestorius and the Letter to John of Antioch I have given the name ‘moderate Cyrillianism’. It is this that dominates in the Chalcedonian Definition itself, to an analysis of which we may now turn.<sup>228</sup>

The final section of the Definition, as read out at the fifth session of the council, runs as follows:

Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all in harmony teach confession of one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly God and the same truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like us in all things apart from sin, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary the *Theotokos* in respect of the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation (the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis), not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, Only-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ.<sup>229</sup>

The Christological model employed here is one that begins with Godhead and humanity as two distinct natures and then affirms their union in Christ.<sup>230</sup>

228 The main points in the following discussion accord with those of Norris 1996, 140–7.

229 V. 34. For the stages in the drafting of the Definition, see our commentary on the fifth session, vol. 2, 184–90.

230 Note that the attributes that define the two natures include individualizing notes (such as begotten of the Father and born of Mary) as well as generic ones. Later Greek theology treated the two natures as generic and attributed all the individualizing notes to the one hypostasis; this changed the meaning of the Chalcedonian formula.

This may seem an Antiochene emphasis on duality, but that there are two elements in Christ, distinct but united, was equally affirmed by Cyril himself.<sup>231</sup> Typical of Cyril's exposition of this model was the use of expressions that shifted the emphasis onto the oneness in Christ. What in fact we have here is a restatement of the Formula of Reunion (quoted at p. 64 above) with modifications taken from Cyril. The Formula's undeveloped affirmation that 'there has occurred a union of two natures, and therefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord' is expanded in a way that echoes the following statement in the Second Letter to Nestorius:

While the natures which were brought together in true union are different, yet from them both is the one Christ and Son – not as though the difference of the natures was destroyed by the union, but rather the Godhead and the manhood by their ineffable and indescribable coming together into unity perfected for us the one Lord and Christ and Son.

The language of 'coming together into unity', together with the insistence that this is a unity of 'hypostasis', that is, of concrete, individual existence, gives conceptual clarity to the insistent repetition of 'one and the same Son'.

Famously, the clause referring to two natures was redrafted at the last moment to satisfy the emperor and the Roman delegates, who insisted on a formal affirmation of a continuing duality in Christ after the union – in accordance with the Home Synod's condemnation of Eutyches and with the Tome of Leo. But note that the clause is so worded as to echo closely a less controversial statement a few lines above:

We all in harmony teach *confession of one and the same* Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect IN Godhead and the same perfect IN manhood ... *one and the same* Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, *acknowledged* IN two natures.

Here the expression in the Formula of Reunion 'perfect God and perfect man' is changed to 'perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood' in accordance with Cyril's paraphrase of the Formula in his Letter to John of Antioch; the effect is to reduce the two natures to two sets of contrasting attributes possessed by the same subject. The same is implied by the way in which in the key clause, 'the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis', it is not 'two natures' that are said to be united but the distinctive character, or

<sup>231</sup> For a correct understanding of the Definition, it is crucial to realize that Cyril used the 'composition' model of two elements that make up the one Christ as well as the 'narrative' or 'kenotic' model of the divine Word who emptied himself to become flesh. See Norris 1975.

features, of Godhead and manhood. The verbal ascription of these attributes to 'two natures' has the force of protecting the two sets from mutual contamination; it is not to be understood as attributing them to two distinct beings or two subjects of attribution.<sup>232</sup>

The treatment of the two natures as two sets of attributes raises the question of whom, then, if not the natures, is the personal subject in Christ? A set of attributes, even two sets of attributes taken in conjunction, cannot add up to a personal subject! The obvious candidate is the 'one person and one hypostasis'. It is true that this features in the Definition almost as if it were the product of the union, with the two natures of Godhead and manhood 'coming together' to form a new compound, but this is simply an accident of the Christological model employed, that of two elements that join to form a unity: the language of 'coming together' arises from a mental analysis of the union, in which we think of the two constituents separately and then of their union; Cyril used it constantly, without any intention of casting doubt on the affirmation that the union consists in the pre-existent divine hypostasis of the Word uniting to himself a human nature: the one hypostasis for Cyril was not a product but the subject of the union.<sup>233</sup> Clearly the one person and hypostasis is identical to 'one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ' who comes in this section of the Definition as the subject who possesses the two sets of attributes. Is this subject simply Godhead and manhood existing and acting together, as equal co-partners in the union, or is it the eternal Word? Now in the second half of this key section of the Definition the Son is further defined as 'one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten ... one and the same Son, Only-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ'. Note here how the Son is defined by some terms that could be applied to both natures (Christ, Son, Lord) and by some that apply only to the divine nature (Only-begotten, God, Word), while none of the terms used is specifically human. This is not, then, a symmetrical definition of the Son, but deliberately echoes the language of the Nicene Creed, where the subject

232 This interpretation agrees with that in the *Assurance* issued by Cyrus of Alexandria in 633, 'The same [Christ] is perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, and is discerned in two natures in this respect alone' (*ACO*, Ser. 2, vol. 2, 598.16–18). Unfortunately the expression 'two natures' was widely used at the time of Chalcedon to express a less nuanced Dyophysitism; this naturally led many Cyrillians to criticize Chalcedon's adoption of the expression.

233 In the west, however, this clause of the Definition, which derives with modifications from Leo's Tome, was understood in the opposite sense. 'For Leo the one person is not the point of origin but the result of the union' (Studer 1985, 454).

of the incarnation and the human experiences is defined as ‘one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten . . . , God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father’ – that is, as specifically God the Word.

In all, the ‘one hypostasis’ of the Definition is indeed the eternal Word – not separated from the manhood, but the Word incarnate, that is, a personal subject divine in his own nature and existing from all eternity, who adopted and made his own a second, human nature and all the qualities and experiences of that nature. The Definition is indeed based on the Formula of Reunion, originally an Antiochene document, but it interprets and paraphrases it in strict accordance with what we have called moderate Cyrillianism.<sup>234</sup>

### Chalcedon’s qualified Cyrillianism

But how would the other Cyril – the uncompromising Cyril of the Twelve Chapters – have judged the Definition? In 437, in a letter that accompanied copies of his last major work, the dialogue *That Christ is one*, he wrote as follows:

I have written a short book on the incarnation, summing up the faith under three heads: the first is that the holy Virgin is *Theotokos*, the second is that Christ is one and not two, while the third is that the Word of God, while remaining incapable of suffering, suffered in his own flesh for us.<sup>235</sup>

The Definition certainly affirms *Theotokos*, and is equally insistent that Christ is one and not two, but it does not assert explicitly that the subject of the passion was the eternal Word. Now the Antiochenes had directly attacked ‘theopaschite’ expressions – that is, expressions that attribute the passion on the cross to the Godhead: they insisted that it was the manhood alone that suffered. While agreeing with the Antiochenes about the impassibility of the

<sup>234</sup> Our analysis may seem to do less than justice to what was new at Chalcedon: ‘The Chalcedonian Definition is a landmark in the history of Christian thought by reason of its distinction between nature and person’ (Chadwick 1983, 11). In applying ‘nature’ to the duality in Christ and ‘person and hypostasis’ to the unity, Chalcedon paved the way for developments in the sixth century when the meaning of these terms was exhaustively analysed, but since in the Definition itself they were vague and undefined it cannot be said that the council itself marked any advance in Christological understanding; nor did it claim to.

<sup>235</sup> *Ep.* 64, *ACO* 1.4 p. 229 (Collectio Casinensis 299); see Cyril of Alexandria, *Deux dialogues christologiques*, 75–8. Note the falsity of the oft-repeated assertion that Cyril moderated his language and effectively dropped the Chapters after agreeing to the Formula of Reunion.



Godhead, Cyril insisted nonetheless that we must at the same time profess that God the Word is the one who suffered, albeit not in his own nature but in the human nature he had made his own; as he wrote in the Third Letter to Nestorius:

We profess that the very Son begotten of God the Father and Only-begotten God, although in his own nature he is impassible, suffered in flesh for us according to the scriptures, and that he was in the crucified body, appropriating impassibly the sufferings of his own flesh.<sup>236</sup>

What do we find in the Definition? On divine impassibility it states that the council criticizes those ‘fantasizing that the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible’, and ‘it removes from the list of priests those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible’ (V. 34). This was intended to rebut not Cyril’s defence of the theopaschite language but the errors of Eutyches, who was (unfairly) understood to teach such a merging of the two natures in Christ that both lost their distinctive properties and the Godhead became as changeable and vulnerable as his creatures. Nevertheless it is a weakness in the Definition that it fails to express the paradox that is arguably the heart and kernel of the mystery of the incarnation.<sup>237</sup>

It can still be argued, however, that in the debate between Alexandria and Antioch on the propriety of the theopaschite language the Definition is by implication on the Alexandrian side. Let us note that in the creeds that are given pride of place in the text the grammatical subject of ‘suffered’ is ‘Jesus Christ . . . , God from God . . . , consubstantial with the Father’. It was the whole burden of Cyril’s Second Letter to Nestorius, a text formally approved in the Definition, that all the human experiences, including the sufferings, are to be ascribed to the Word of God, and I have argued that this is also the implication of the Definition’s concluding section. Chalcedon is not to be read as discouraging theopaschite expressions, but rather as refusing to shove them down everyone’s throat.

A certain reserve about theopaschite language was typical of moderate Cyrillianism. This was not just a position temporarily adopted in the most diplomatic, and therefore possibly the least sincere, of Cyril’s writings, nor a mere compromise concocted at Chalcedon, but had become by the time of the council the dominant theology of the Greek east. This has been

<sup>236</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, *Select Letters*, 20.

<sup>237</sup> This criticism was forcibly made by Severus of Antioch, *Homiliae Cathedrales* 1.12–25, PO 38, 260–7. For the importance of the theopaschite issue, see O’Keefe 1997a and 1997b.

illustrated by several writers from the doctrinal position of Bishop Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, who deserves particular attention since he was the originator of the expression adopted by the Definition ‘acknowledged in two natures’.<sup>238</sup> When Basil produced this phrase at the Home Synod of 448 he linked it explicitly to the teaching of Cyril (I. 301); he even defended qualified miaphysite expressions, both at Ephesus II (I. 791) and more surprisingly at Chalcedon (I. 176), as equivalent to the assertion of two natures. Yet his surviving writings avoid theopaschite language, and in their treatment of the passion lay heavier emphasis on the impassibility of God than on the fact that the Word made the sufferings his own. A cautious attitude towards theopaschite expressions could be found within the Cyrillian camp as well as at Antioch.

In all, the Definition, through its emphasis on the creed as interpreted by Cyril, implied that the passion can properly be ascribed to the eternal Son, and yet it refused to elevate this into a criterion of orthodoxy. In so doing it reflected a dominant consensus that appealed from Cyril drunk to Cyril sober, from the Cyril who made enemies to the Cyril who found friends. Of course this moderate position owed something to the determined and sustained rejection of Cyril’s Twelve Chapters by the champions of the Antiochene school, but it would be a mistake to think of the Chalcedonian fathers as themselves consciously attempting a synthesis between Alexandria and Antioch. They believed they were being loyal to Cyril.

### **The broader perspective**

In arguing for the essentially Cyrillian character of the Definition, in accordance with the best modern studies,<sup>239</sup> one may hope to do justice to both the logic of the Definition and the circumstances of its composition. But to understand the persistence and inconclusiveness of the subsequent debate over the Definition, which in the ecumenical context as well as in the world

<sup>238</sup> For Basil’s Christology, see van Parys 1971 and Martzelos 1994. For the meaning of ‘acknowledged in two natures’ see vol. 2, 189, n. 15.

<sup>239</sup> The outstanding analysis of the text and its sources is de Halleux 1976. De Halleux 1994 is sharply critical of an attempt by Martzelos 1986 to read the *full* Cyrillian position into Chalcedon, but agrees that ‘Catholic and Protestant historiography of the dogma tends nowadays to recognize the Cyrillian character of the Definition’ (pp. 468–9). The dominance of the Cyrillian reading of the Definition in current scholarship is confirmed by Wendebourg 1997, 208. But some scholars still see the council as a defeat for Cyrillian Christology, e.g. Mühlenberg 1997.

of scholarship continues to this day, it is equally important to recognize its ambiguities.<sup>240</sup>

We have seen how the Definition took as its basis the Formula of Reunion; this was in origin an Antiochene document, dyophysite in structure as well as in details of wording. We noted also how, in the final revision, pressures from Rome and the emperor imposed the inclusion in the Definition of an unambiguously dyophysite formula ('in two natures'). The work of the editorial committee in making this material serve as an expression of Cyrillian Christology was brilliant but artificial. There is something defective in a conciliar document that requires such nicety of exegesis as we have attempted above.

The assertion of two natures and the avoidance of theopaschite expressions were open, as we have shown, to a perfectly Cyrillian interpretation. But the fact that they were accompanied in the work of the council by the condemnation of Dioscorus and reinstatement of Theodoret (and his controversial ally Ibas) gave plausibility to the charge that the Definition, while pretending to honour Cyril, had in fact betrayed him.<sup>241</sup> It is this that led immediately after the council to determined opposition in some parts of the east, and eventually to the schism between the rest of the church and the churches variously called 'Monophysite' (a pejorative term, best avoided), 'miaphysite', 'Oriental Orthodox', or simply 'non-Chalcedonian'.<sup>242</sup> Meanwhile, while the bishops of Chalcedon interpreted Leo's Tome according to the teaching of Cyril, western theologians down the centuries have read the Definition in the light of the teaching of Leo and of western Christology generally; despite their common loyalty to the Chalcedonian formula, more divides Eastern Orthodox Christology from the main current of western Christology than from that of the miaphysite churches. None of these various readings of the Definition is simply erroneous, since all can be traced back to voices within the council itself. The great majority of the council fathers who signed the text assured themselves (as is clear from the *Codex Encyclius*) that it did no more than expound the obvious meaning of

240 For recent ecumenical dialogue between Oriental Orthodox, Eastern Orthodox and western Christians, centred on problems arising from Chalcedon, see Gregorios et al. 1981; de Halleux 1991; Kirchschräger and Stirnemann 1992; Wendebourg 1997; Olmi 2003.

241 The simple fact that the Definition used a 'two nature' formula damned it in the eyes of the allies and followers of Dioscorus, quite apart from any other consideration.

242 'Non-Chalcedonian' to designate the miaphysites ignores the existence of the Dyophysite non-Chalcedonian tradition maintained in the Assyrian Church or 'Church of the East' (the ancient Church of Persia), which has never accepted the condemnation of Nestorius.

the Nicene Creed in terms indebted to Cyril of Alexandria; but history was to show that the Chalcedonian Definition had opened a Pandora's box.

## VI. COMPOSITION AND TRANSMISSION OF THE ACTS

### The recording of the acts

In ecclesiastical controversies, the written word and the technologies of its recording could become weapons. This had already been demonstrated long before the outbreak of the Christological disputes.<sup>243</sup> The transcription of inquiries and disputations necessarily reflected the attempts of the winning party to manipulate the agenda, but it also allowed the losers to write their own objections into the record, recording for posterity their challenges to the legitimacy of the proceedings and their appeals to justice and proper procedure. The written record could then be used by both sides in subsequent disputation and polemic. The conference held at Carthage in 411 between Donatist and Catholic bishops has left us a level of documentation matching or exceeding that of the fifth-century ecumenical councils, offering a wealth of detail on notarial procedure that may be compared to record-keeping practices at Chalcedon. Unlike Chalcedon, this was a formally and explicitly adversarial affair between two separate churches whose bishops deeply mistrusted each other, and accordingly the imperial commissioner presiding over the conference took extraordinary measures to ensure the accuracy of the documentary record. At Carthage, imperial scribes (*exceptores*) assisted and supervised as teams of both Donatist and Catholic notaries worked in shifts to transcribe the proceedings, and at the end of each day both sides' notes were compared and cross-checked. The scribes took shorthand notes into *codices notarum*, which would later be rendered into a formal version or *scheda* whose accuracy was to be guaranteed by the signatures of bishops from both parties so as to ensure that neither faction could challenge the legitimacy of the *gesta*.<sup>244</sup>

We have slightly less explicit information about the number and affiliations of scribes at the various synods prior to Chalcedon. When all went smoothly, the transcription process was intended to be invisible. Later

243 See, e.g., Lim 1995 ch. 7, discussing Ambrose's anti-Arian council at Aquileia in 381.

244 The *Acts of the Conference of Carthage* can now be read, with French translation and thorough introduction and commentary, in Lancel's outstanding edition in SC. On notarial procedures at this conference, see Tengström 1962 and esp. Teitler 1985 ch. 2. On the conference generally, see also Shaw 1992 and Tilley 1991.

readers were supposed to see only the finished version authenticated by episcopal signatures. Only when the transcript itself came under critical scrutiny, as was the case during the trial of Eutyches and its aftermath, do we learn about the details of notarial practice. Flavian's Home Synod of 448 was transcribed by at least five of his ecclesiastical notaries, all of whom were summoned to testify in the April 449 inquiry.<sup>245</sup> By the time of that hearing, Eutyches' representatives had access to their own copies of the transcript, and were able to point to apparent discrepancies between their version and the official acts. When the synod delivered its formal summons to Eutyches, notaries went along to record his response. This seems to have been standard practice in such cases.<sup>246</sup> The scribe would take down shorthand notes in his aide-memoire, and would then render these into more formal minutes which he would read back to the bishops at the synod.<sup>247</sup> During the questioning of the notaries, it became clear that in several instances the formal transcript did not match their original notes.<sup>248</sup> The notary John defended himself by protesting that it was not possible even for the most skilled tachygraphists to record accurately every word of a spoken conversation.<sup>249</sup> Further disputes then arose over the transcript of the Home Synod itself, with Florentius denying statements attributed to him and several bishops professing uncertainty as to what exactly had been said at what point. Did the full synod actually rise as one and pronounce anathema upon Eutyches, as the minutes seemed to suggest?<sup>250</sup> At this juncture Aetius let slip another embarrassing secret of notarial procedure, admitting on the one hand that the remarks of one or two bishops were often written down as the authoritative pronouncements of the whole, and on the other hand that many things were often said in the synod that the notaries were directed not to write down.<sup>251</sup> The ensuing investigations required careful comparison between copies kept by Eutyches' partisans, the original drafts of the

245 I. 576–7. The notaries named here are discussed in Teitler's prosopographical appendix: Aetius 2, Asterius 3, Asclepiades, Nonnus 2, and Procopius 3. On the transcription of the proceedings at the Home Synod, see the appendix to Millar 2006.

246 The same procedure was followed in Chalcedon's third session for the triple summonses directed at Dioscorus: III. 14–24, 32–6, 72–8.

247 'Aide-memoire' translates *hypomnestikon* (*commonitorium* in the Latin), probably referring to tablets used for shorthand note-taking. These would later be transcribed into formal minutes, called *hypomnemata*; in Latin, *memoranda* or *gesta*.

248 I. 619–82.

249 I. 644.

250 I. 536, with subsequent discussion at I. 757–70.

251 I. 767.

notaries, and the official version of the acts.<sup>252</sup> Even though the formal *scheda* were supposedly guaranteed by the bishops' signatures, the imperial officials demanded that the bishops swear under oath as to whether the words in the transcript were correct.<sup>253</sup>

When attending the councils, it was not unusual for prominent bishops to bring along their notaries to take independent transcripts. At Ephesus II, Juvenal of Jerusalem and Thalassius of Caesarea had their own scribes working alongside those of Dioscorus. But the chief notary (called protonotary or *primicerius notariorum*) of the presiding bishop would direct the agenda, receiving and reading documents and announcing the arrival of petitioners or witnesses. The Alexandrian presbyter and protonotary John filled this role in 449. Opponents later alleged that the scribes of Dioscorus had moved aggressively to control the proceedings and to monopolize the production of the transcript. Stephen of Ephesus complained that the Alexandrians had threatened his own notaries and seized their writing materials.<sup>254</sup> When the Acts of Ephesus were read back at Chalcedon, several bishops charged that the transcripts had been doctored to suppress dissenting voices and convey a misleading sense of unanimous support for Dioscorus.<sup>255</sup>

The agenda of the council of Chalcedon was directed by both secular officials and the patriarchal staff of the capital.<sup>256</sup> Two secretaries from the imperial consistory, Constantine and Veronicianus, took turns at the lengthy task of reciting back the acts of the prior councils.<sup>257</sup> In the later sessions, archbishop Anatolius' chief notary Aetius often helped them read out documents and in some cases seems to have been the source of the copies they used.<sup>258</sup> Although the Acts of Chalcedon make no direct reference to the

252 Original or official versions were called *authentia* (Latin *exemplaria*), while unofficial copies were *antigrapha* (Latin *rescripta*). See, e.g., I. 605–8.

253 See, e.g., I. 569–70, a demand received with much resistance. Cf. discussion of this episode in Teitler 1985, 100–03.

254 Cf. the complaints aired at Chalcedon, I. 122–34.

255 E.g., cf. I. 54–62, 121, 149.

256 See Ste. Croix, forthcoming, on the supervision of the council and the creation of the documentary acts.

257 Both secretaries were bilingual, often translating remarks for the benefit of the papal representatives. See *PLRE* 2, 'Constantinus 5' and 'Veronicianus 2'.

258 As, e.g., in Session II, where it apparently fell to the patriarch's office rather than the imperial chancery to keep authoritative copies of documents relating to the faith: cf. II. 13, 17, 18, 21. Aetius' role was not limited to mere reading and recital: he aggressively questioned Carosus and Dorotheus in Session IV, and throughout the Council took initiative in representing Anatolius' point of view.

process of their own transcription, it is likely that both imperial and patriarchal scribes were responsible for preparing the official documentary record of the council. These officials were able to control the production of the minutes just as effectively as had the Alexandrian scribes at Ephesus, albeit with less explicit violence.<sup>259</sup> There are a number of instances in which it is clear that the record did not include everything that was said, particularly when matters of faith were under discussion. The compilers of the Acts made a deliberate and explicit decision to suppress the text of the first draft definition that had been presented in Session V, and in several of the early sessions it seems likely that additional debate regarding Leo's Tome or the Definition took place but was not recorded.<sup>260</sup> Much of the council's crucial business was transacted at informal meetings of smaller groups of bishops outside of the official sessions, but these also were never recorded.<sup>261</sup> By contrast, Sessions I and III – both concerned with examining the conduct of the previous council and the behaviour of Dioscorus – seem to have been transcribed as fully as possible.<sup>262</sup> Scrupulous and verbatim documentation was expected for such quasi-judicial proceedings when a bishop or his conduct was put on trial, where all parties would demand assurance that proper procedures had been followed.<sup>263</sup> But a different imperative governed the treatment of discussions of faith or the drafting of canons, where the authority of the final product carried an implication of ecclesiastical unanimity that might be undermined by an excess of attention given to debates and disagreements.

### **The history of the text and the manuscript tradition**

Our translation is based upon the magisterial work of Eduard Schwartz, who between 1933 and 1938 prepared and published comprehensive critical

<sup>259</sup> miaphysite tradition claimed that some of the bishops had been coerced into approving the decrees of Chalcedon: Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* 3.1.

<sup>260</sup> V. 3.

<sup>261</sup> Among the most prominent examples of such 'off-record' meetings: a session held at the patriarch's residence prior to Session IV where Anatolius reassured wavering bishops as to the orthodoxy of Leo's Tome (IV. 9, after no. 99); the special committee of two dozen bishops who during Session V retreated into a side chapel to produce what was then presented as the Definition of Faith (V. 29); the complaint of the papal legates in Session XVI that Anatolius and the eastern bishops had adopted a draft of the twenty-eighth canon at an informal meeting on the previous day, at which neither they nor the imperial commissioners had been present (XVI. 2–6).

<sup>262</sup> See our commentaries on these sessions.

<sup>263</sup> A point made by Chrysos 1990, 88.

editions of both the Greek and Latin Acts as well as various subsidiary documents.<sup>264</sup> Schwartz faced an exceptionally difficult task in sorting through numerous different versions and piecing together the convoluted history of the Acts, which through several stages of rearrangement and redaction connect the actual council to the text we have. What follows largely summarizes his conclusions.<sup>265</sup>

### *The Greek Acts*

Responsibility for maintaining the official minutes taken during the council would have fallen in the first instance to the same professionals who had transcribed the proceedings and had handled documents from prior councils. The close cooperation between patriarchal scribes and imperial notaries during the council has already been noted. Bishop Anatolius and his chief notary Aetius probably supervised the drafting of the canons after the formal conclusion of the council.<sup>266</sup> Chalcedon's disciplinary canons were added to existing collections of canonical legislation and circulated separately from the rest of the acts.<sup>267</sup> Formal compilation and publication of the acts required a specific pretext, which was supplied by the ongoing tensions between Rome and Constantinople in the years immediately following the council. Marcian and Anatolius, already at odds with Leo over the twenty-eighth canon, grew increasingly impatient with the pope's failure to offer formal ratification of the decrees of the council.<sup>268</sup> In order both to defend Chalcedon against its many critics and to strengthen Constantinople's claims with respect to Rome, Marcian and Anatolius arranged for the formal compilation and publication of an official set of acts that would show emperor, patriarch and council all in agreement. This work was probably carried out between 454 and early 455.

Clues to the timing and purpose of this edition can be found in the letter

264 Documents relating to Chalcedon are edited by Schwartz in the six volumes of *ACO* 2. *ACO* 2.1 contains the Greek Acts, originally published in three parts. Part 1 (1933) has letter collections M and H and Session I; part 2 (1933) has Session II, letter collection B, Sessions III–VI and 'VII' (the canons); part 3 (1935) has Sessions VIII–XVII, and the actions on Carosus and Dorotheus and on Photius and Eustathius, as well as the various post-conciliar documents. *ACO* 2.3 contains the full Latin Acts based on the edition of Rusticus, on which more below.

265 Schwartz presents his conclusions on the composition of the Acts and their manuscript tradition in lengthy prefaces to each of the three parts of *ACO* 2.1.

266 See our commentary on the canons, vol. 3, 92–3.

267 Cf. Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.2 pp. v–ix.

268 The exchanges between Marcian, Anatolius and Leo are detailed in vol. 3, Documents after the Council 7–13.



collections that precede or accompany the acts themselves.<sup>269</sup> In both Ephesian councils, proceedings had begun with a reading out loud of the official orders (*sacra*) by which the emperor had convoked the council and summoned the bishops. But at Chalcedon, perhaps because of the large number of letters generated by Marcian and Pulcheria in the course of the council's last-minute relocation from Nicaea, this was not done.<sup>270</sup> Instead, the editors assembled collections of relevant letters and attached them to the written acts. These included not only the imperial summons to the current council but also reached back into the final year of Theodosius' reign to incorporate correspondence among emperors, members of the imperial family and bishops in the immediate aftermath of Ephesus II. The Greek Acts as they have come down to us include three separate document collections prior to the council, and an additional set of post-conciliar letters.<sup>271</sup> Here again we must draw upon Eduard Schwartz's exhaustive work in disentangling the complicated histories of these collections.<sup>272</sup> The compilers, when assembling the letters that went back and forth between Italy and Constantinople in 449–50, seem to have gone out of their way to diminish Pope Leo's prominence by emphasizing instead the complaints of western emperor Valentinian III and the imperial princesses Galla Placidia and Licinia Eudoxia against Ephesus II, and their demands for a new council.<sup>273</sup> One of

269 For a complete inventory and discussion of the letter collections, see our Appendix 1: The Documentary Collections, vol. 3, 157–92. The collections appended to the Greek Acts can be dated fairly precisely, due to the fact that the headings introducing the letters refer to some – but not others – of their authors in terms ('of blessed memory') indicating that they are no longer alive: Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 p. xii.

270 Chalcedon's opening session, after some arguments over seating, first heard the petition of Eusebius of Dorylaeum against Dioscorus and then moved directly into the reading of the acts from the prior council – beginning with the *sacra* of Theodosius II which had opened Ephesus II. Cf. I. 5–17; and Theodosian decrees at I. 24, 47–52. In the acts from Ephesus II, as read back at Chalcedon, these documents were placed even before the opening of the session and the attendance list.

271 We have translated some, but not all, of this material in Documents before the Council and Documents after the Council below; for the full contents of the letter collections, see our Appendix 1: The Documentary Collections, vol. 3, 157–92. Collections M and B are found, respectively, in the two main extant codices of the Greek Acts; collection H seems to have circulated separately. There is substantial overlap and repetition between the three collections; they include several documents (e.g., the Tome of Leo) that are also contained within the actual session acts. The authors of the Latin Acts (see below) drew upon all three collections.

272 For Schwartz's treatment of these, see *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. viii–xiv for collections M and H; 2.1.2 pp. ix–xii for collection B; 2.1.3 pp. xiii–xxii for the post-conciliar documents.

273 Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 p. x. But it is clear from the letters themselves that the western imperials wrote largely at Pope Leo's behest.

Leo's letters, as edited for the Greek Acts, was even mutilated to remove passages where the pope cited canonical authorities for his claim of jurisdiction to hear appeals from eastern bishops.<sup>274</sup>

The session acts themselves likewise show occasional traces of editing meant to undercut papal claims. The objections voiced by papal legates in the debate over the twenty-eighth canon, given fully in the Latin, are truncated in the Greek.<sup>275</sup> The Greek editors of Marcian's time transposed sessions II and III out of their chronological order, apparently so that the council's actions could be grouped into a coherent tripartite division that began first with the reversal of Ephesus II and condemnation of Dioscorus, then moved on to matters of faith, and relegated all other business to third place.<sup>276</sup> The all-important twenty-eighth canon, with its bold assertion of Constantinopolitan authority and consequent challenge to Rome, gained additional emphasis by its placement at the conclusion of the council rather than among the other twenty-seven canons.<sup>277</sup> At a fairly early point in the editorial process the actions on Carosus and Dorotheus and on Photius and Eustathius were left out, with the result that they were not counted among the conventional numbering of the sessions. But these texts, probably preserved separately in patriarchal or episcopal archives, survived to be restored by later editors.<sup>278</sup> The Acts went through only minor changes over

274 Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. x–xi. This was letter 1 of collection M. Interestingly, the full version of the same letter (Leo to Theodosius, 13 October 449; Leo, *ep.* 44) appears as no. 12 in the same collection, possibly added at a later date.

275 Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 p. xxiv. Cf. our notes to the sixteenth session, particularly XVI. 12–16 and 45.

276 The second session of 10 October, at which the Tome of Leo was read and acclaimed, is called 'third' in the Greek; the third session of 13 October, at which Dioscorus was tried and condemned, is called 'second' in the Greek. But the Latin Acts give them in chronological order, as do we.

277 The other twenty-seven canons were probably drafted by Anatolius and his staff after the formal conclusion of the council: see our introduction to the canons, below. Their placement within the Greek Acts as 'Session VII' reflected a common practice in synodal acts of listing canons immediately after the creed or definition of faith; Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxvii. The Latin Acts, by contrast, place them immediately before the final session on the twenty-eighth canon.

278 These two sessions do not appear in the Latin Acts, suggesting they were already missing from the Greek editions used by the sixth-century Latin translators. By contrast, the session on Domnus, appearing after Session X in the Latin Acts, does not survive in any Greek version. Schwartz suggests that the patriarchal offices in Constantinople would have kept the records of the session on Carosus and Dorotheus, while the action on Photius and Eustathius might have been preserved by the church in Berytus. Both texts would have been of general

the course of the next century. Schwartz concluded that the few significant and ideologically motivated editorial interventions found in the Greek Acts were carried out either in Marcian's time or during the controversies of Justinian's reign.<sup>279</sup> Copies of the Greek Acts remained readily available in Constantinople, and could be brought out for use in subsequent councils. At the end of the sixth century, Evagrius Scholasticus drew extensively upon the Acts of Chalcedon in composing his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.<sup>280</sup>

Marcian's official version of the Acts, of course, has not survived directly. At some point, probably early in the seventh century, a new round of editing rendered the Greek Acts into the form in which we have them and upon which Schwartz based his edition. The editors at this stage seem to have been interested less in ideology than in brevity. They undertook to shorten the text by abbreviating or excising the hundreds of repetitive judgements (*sententiae*) pronounced in turn by all bishops present at several of the sessions; by trimming attendance lists and signature lists for the less important sessions; and by deleting speeches in Latin, leaving only their Greek translations.<sup>281</sup> They did not bother to include the minutes from Ephesus I concerning that council's seventh canon, which had been read back at Ephesus II and in turn at Chalcedon's opening session.<sup>282</sup> The actions on Carosus and Dorotheus and on Photius and Eustathius were restored, but since the formal ordering of the sessions had apparently already been fixed, they had to be placed out of chronological sequence at the end of

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interest for their frequent citations of canonical law, and indeed they first appear in a collection of canons dating from the early seventh century: see the detailed discussion in Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xxii–xxx.

279 Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xxiv and xxvii. Cf. generally pp. xxiv–xxix, discussing the treatment of the sessions on Ibas, and our commentary on Session X. The Ecumenical Council of 553 faced the dilemma of justifying a posthumous anathema on Ibas, when Chalcedon had clearly readmitted him to communion. At X. 173, Eunomius of Nicomedia explicitly pronounced Ibas 'innocent' – a statement present in the Latin, but conveniently missing from the Greek Acts.

280 On the treatment of Chalcedon by later ecclesiastical authors, see Whitby 2003; and also Whitby's translation and commentary on Evagrius Scholasticus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Liverpool 2000).

281 The official minutes would have recorded the interlocutions of Latin speakers both in their original words and in the subsequent Greek translation: Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xxii–xxiii.

282 On the seventh-century editorial work, see Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. vii–viii and 2.1.3 pp. xxix–xxx. The session from Ephesus I (22 July 431) is given in full in the Latin Acts of Chalcedon's first session, and we translate it below at I. 911–45.

the acts.<sup>283</sup> This seventh-century version, though not physically extant, survives in later copies. Schwartz bases his edition primarily on two more or less complete manuscripts: Codex Venetus 555 ‘M’ and Codex Vindobonensis hist. gr. 27 ‘B’, dating (respectively) from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>284</sup> Both remained to be found by western collectors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Constantinople, where they had probably spent the intervening years in monastic or patriarchal libraries.<sup>285</sup>

### *The Latin Acts*

Prior to Chalcedon, Pope Leo had managed to obtain Latin translations of the minutes of Flavian’s Home Synod of 448 and of the first session of Ephesus II. These texts were put together with his own Tome and his other correspondence with Flavian, and published under the title *Collectio Novariensis de re Eutyichis*.<sup>286</sup> But, for Chalcedon itself, Leo was less fortunate. Very soon after the council, a copy of the minutes in Greek was brought to Rome, where neither Leo nor his staff could read it with ease. In March of 453 Leo wrote to Julian of Cos, who had represented him at the council, and complained that he still knew very little about what had actually taken place at Chalcedon. These linguistic difficulties – along with his opposition to the twenty-eighth canon – help explain Leo’s long hesitancy (much to the consternation of Marcian and Anatolius) to endorse the council’s decrees. He asked Julian to arrange for a full translation of the acts into Latin, but there is no evidence that this task was ever begun or that subsequent popes of the late fifth and early sixth centuries had access to a Latin version.<sup>287</sup>

283 The Greek Acts place them at the end of the council, after the session on the twenty-eighth canon, and Schwartz numbers them as ‘18’ and ‘19’. But chronologically they took place between the fourth and fifth sessions, on 20 October, and we have placed them there.

284 The two codices offer slightly different versions of the pre-conciliar letter collections. Schwartz includes both versions in his edition, titling them ‘M’ and ‘B’ after their respective manuscript sources: Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. v–vi. There are a number of other manuscripts of similar date containing portions of the acts or of the letters: cf. 2.1.1 pp. vi–viii.

285 Codex M, now in Venice, could still be found in Constantinople’s Stoudite monastery as late as 1446, when copies were made from it (e.g., Vaticanus 831 and its descendants) that eventually found their way west and would be used by Catholic scholars in the early seventeenth century to prepare the first printed versions of the conciliar acts. Codex B was obtained in Istanbul and brought to Vienna by Ogier de Busbecq, Habsburg ambassador to the Ottoman court in 1555–62: Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. v–vi.

286 Edited by Schwartz in *ACO* 2.2; cf. his introduction to that volume.

287 Leo to Julian of Cos, 11 March 453: Leo, *ep.* 113. Julian, unlike the other papal legates, was fluent in both languages.

Extant Latin translations of the complete acts seem to have been produced not at the pope's court but in Constantinople itself, where translators would have had ready access to the Greek originals.<sup>288</sup> Schwartz has identified three successive editions of the Latin Acts prepared during the middle decades of the sixth century, probably in connection with the ongoing disputes between Rome and Constantinople over the Three Chapters.<sup>289</sup> In contrast to the Greek editors of the previous century, these Latin translators tended to favour the papal position. The first edition (*versio antiqua*) was probably prepared in connection with Pope Vigilius' involuntary sojourn in Constantinople between 547 and 553. The translator omitted the letter collections and the fifteenth session.<sup>290</sup> This version was known to popes of the late sixth and seventh centuries, and several codices are extant. Soon after the Council of 553, a revised version (*versio antiqua correcta*) was prepared. This editor made various corrections and prefaced the Acts with some of the collected letters, which were arranged in a more strictly chronological order than in the Greek versions. The canons were moved towards the end of the text.<sup>291</sup>

The last and most thorough revision of the Latin Acts (*versio rustici*) was undertaken by the deacon Rusticus, nephew of Pope Vigilius, who suffered excommunication and was exiled to Egypt for his stubborn defence of the Three Chapters. Returning to Constantinople in 563, Rusticus took refuge at the monastery of the Acoemete monks, who were zealous supporters of Chalcedonian orthodoxy against imperial attempts to compromise with miaphysite positions. Here he found several Latin and Greek codices from which he worked in 564 and 565 to prepare his comprehensive Latin edition.<sup>292</sup> Rusticus' marginal comments give us useful information about the state of the sources available to him. The Greek codices used by him were more complete than those extant to us, preserving all *sententiae* and signature lists and incorporating the full text of the session that produced the

288 Schwartz published the Latin Acts as *ACO* 2.3, in three parts. Part 1 (1935) contains a collection of pre-conciliar letters and Session I; part 2 (1936) Sessions II–VI, with a number of post-conciliar documents inserted after the end of Session III; part 3 (1938) Sessions VII–XVI and the address to Marcian.

289 For what follows, see Schwartz, *ACO* 2.3.1 pp. vii–xii.

290 This short session, which consists only of a reading of Leo's letter to the council, is absent from the Latin and numbered sixteenth in the Greek; we include it as Session XV, below.

291 Thus the first twenty-seven canons are listed as Session VII in the Greek, but XV in the Latin.

292 On Rusticus and his work, see Schwartz's discussion in *ACO* 2.3.3 pp. xii–xxiii.

293 On Codex Parisinus and the later manuscript tradition of Rusticus, see Schwartz's discussion in *ACO* 2.3.1 pp. xii–xviii.

seventh canon of Ephesus I. A copy of Rusticus' version eventually found its way from Constantinople to Charlemagne's court: the earliest surviving manuscript is the ninth-century Codex Parisinus 11611, from which most other extant copies in western Europe seem to have derived.<sup>293</sup> Rusticus' edition is the primary basis for Schwartz's Latin version, and in our translation we have used it to restore material missing from the Greek Acts.

## **DOCUMENTS BEFORE THE COUNCIL**

### **INTRODUCTION**

We include a selection of the documents published by Schwartz in *ACO* that date to the period between Marcian's accession and the opening of the council, which serve to bring out the purpose of the emperor in summoning it and the reactions of Pope Leo of Rome. Notable are the emperor's eagerness over the details of the agenda, the pope's alarm over a council that would reopen doctrinal questions which he thought he had already settled himself, and the last-minute shift of the council's location from Nicaea to Chalcedon, to enable the emperor to maintain tighter control over it.

### **THE TEXTS: SELECTION AND LANGUAGE**

Both the Greek and Latin editions of the Acts include collections of documents more or less closely connected to the Council of Chalcedon and extending back three years before its opening. There are no fewer than three such collections in the Greek MSS (with some overlap) and one in the Latin. They include letters from the emperors Theodosius II and Marcian, from other members of the imperial family, both eastern and western, from Pope Leo, and from successive bishops of Constantinople; they are supplemented in *ACO* 2.4 by early collections of the letters of Leo. This mass of material is particularly illuminating for church politics in the last year of the reign of Theodosius II. We, however, have restricted ourselves to material postdating Marcian's accession in August 450 and relating directly to the Council of Chalcedon. Our selection concentrates on the aims and negotiations of Marcian and Pope Leo, and concludes with the letters of September 451 from Marcian to the council fathers assembled at Nicaea, where the council was planned to open, before it moved to Chalcedon.

The documents we translate are the following:

- (1) Marcian to Pope Leo (September 450)
- (2) Marcian to Pope Leo (22 November 450)

- (3) Pulcheria to Pope Leo (22 November 450)
- (4) Pope Leo to Pulcheria (13 April 451)
- (5) Pope Leo to Marcian (23 April 451)
- (6) Marcian to the bishops (23 May 451)
- (7) Pope Leo to Marcian (24 June 451)
- (8) Pope Leo to Marcian (26 June 451)
- (9) Pope Leo to Bishop Paschasinus (24 June 451)
- (10) Pope Leo to the Council (26 June 451)
- (11) Pope Leo to Pulcheria (20 July 451)
- (12) First Letter of Marcian to the Council (September 451)
- (13) Pulcheria to the Governor of Bithynia (September 451)
- (14) Second Letter of Marcian to the Council (September 451)
- (15) Third Letter of Marcian to the Council (22 September 451)

Of these documents nos 4, 5 and 7–11 come in the *Collectio Grimanica* of Leo's letters in the original Latin printed in *ACO* 2.4. The remaining nine documents come in the letter collections attached to the Acts, for which see Appendix 1: The Documentary Collections, vol. 3, 157–92. All of these nine, save 12 (which survives only in Latin), are extant in both Greek and Latin versions. It is evident that the Latin is the primary version for all the letters written to or by Pope Leo. It is equally obvious that Marcian will have communicated to the council fathers in Greek (we translate the Latin version of 12 only because the Greek is lost). There remains Pulcheria's letter to the governor of Bithynia (13), which as an imperial instruction to a high official may have been despatched in Latin, but where stylistic evidence proves that the Greek text is primary; see our note *ad loc.* These considerations determined in each case our choice of version to translate.

### COMMENTARY

Pope Leo refused to accept the decrees of the Second Council of Ephesus of August 449, which restored Eutyches and deposed a number of bishops, including Flavian of Constantinople, Domnus of Antioch, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa;<sup>1</sup> and the pope was personally insulted at the council by the suppression of his Tome condemning Eutyches: the document was received but not read. In consequence he famously condemned the council as a *latrocinium* or 'den of robbers' (as in Document 11, below). This led to a breakdown of ecclesiastical communion between Rome and the

1 See pp. 30–37 above.



churches of the east. Deadlock continued till the death of Theodosius II on 28 July 450. The general Marcian was chosen to succeed him;<sup>2</sup> to maintain the Theodosian dynasty he married Theodosius' sister the Augusta Pulcheria. There was an immediate change of ecclesiastical policy, with Eutyches being degraded and exiled without waiting for a formal rescinding of the decree of Ephesus II in his favour.

Since August 449 Leo had repeatedly pressed Theodosius II to authorize an ecumenical council in Italy, to reverse the decisions of Ephesus.<sup>3</sup> Marcian on his accession wrote to Leo, revealing his intention to call a council, nominally on Leo's authority, but actually in the east and under the emperor's control (Document 1). There followed a second letter from Marcian to Leo, issued on 22 November (Document 2), in which he stuck to his plan for an ecumenical council in the east, inevitably restricted to eastern bishops,<sup>4</sup> but invited Leo to come and preside over it. Both letters indicate, briefly and vaguely, that the prime business of the council would be the confirmation of the Christian faith – that is, in the first place, the condemnation of the errors of Eutyches. Marcian's letter was accompanied by one from Pulcheria (Document 3), which added the significant details that Archbishop Anatolius of Constantinople had signed Leo's Tome, that the council would deal with the cases of those bishops who had been deposed at Ephesus, and that in the meantime these bishops had been told by Marcian to reoccupy their sees, even before the council's decision. In fact, the emperor's agents were active in securing subscriptions to the Tome from as many bishops as possible in the regions dependent on Constantinople and Antioch, as is mentioned in a letter of Leo's (Document 9); already on 21 October Anatolius had held a synod at Constantinople at which he and his bishops signed the Tome and were formally restored to communion with the Roman see.<sup>5</sup>

It took some months for the letters of 22 November to reach Leo, who sent a brief holding reply to Marcian on 13 April 451,<sup>6</sup> while replying more fully to Pulcheria, in whose support he had more confidence (Document 4). To her he expressed the view that the reconciliation of those bishops who

2 See Burgess 1993-4.

3 Leo, *epp.* 43, 44, 54, 69, 70.

4 As Marcian's letter states, invitations to the council would go out to the bishops in Marcian's own domains – the east and Illyricum. For the bearings of this on the ecumenicity of the council see vol. 3, 202-3.

5 Chadwick 2001, 569. For a reference to this synod see Session on Photius and Eustathius, 23.

6 *Ep.* 78, *ACO* 2.4 p. 38 (*ep.* 36).

now repented of their support of Dioscorus could be effected by his own representatives and Anatolius of Constantinople acting in concert. On the same day he wrote to Anatolius himself to the same effect, insisting that the names of Dioscorus and his fellow-chairmen at Ephesus, Juvenal of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Berytus, should be excised from the diptychs read out at the liturgy, a step that Anatolius had shown no eagerness to implement.<sup>7</sup> The fact that in his letter to Pulcheria he urged her to give her support to the clergy of Constantinople who had remained loyal to the memory of Flavian through thick and thin shows that he did not yet trust Anatolius, who before his elevation had been Dioscorus' agent at Constantinople.

Just ten days later Leo had the opportunity to write to Marcian again (Document 5), and he now revealed his objection to the emperor's plan to hold a council in the east: he had no wish for a council which would reconsider doctrinal questions that, in his view, had already been resolved in his Tome, while the disciplinary questions relating to the standing of various bishops could be settled without calling a council. In subsequent letters<sup>8</sup> he added the objection that bishops in provinces threatened by war could not properly absent themselves from their dioceses. His reference to Sicily as 'that province that seems to be safer' in a subsequent letter (Document 7) implies that he was thinking of Italy; this shows his argument to be specious, since very few Italian bishops would attend an eastern council in any event. Undeterred by papal opposition, Marcian proceeded on 23 May to summon the eastern bishops to an ecumenical council, to be held at Nicaea in September of the same year (Document 6).

Why did Marcian insist on a council? It has been suggested that he believed that only a new ecumenical council could reverse the decisions of a previous ecumenical council.<sup>9</sup> It is true that when the council assembled it was asked to rule on the status both of the decrees of Ephesus II (which were nullified at I. 1068 and X. 145–59) and of the bishops who were responsible for the supposed excesses of the council (they were suspended at the end of the first session and, except for Dioscorus, reinstated in the fourth). But Marcian treated the vindication of Eutyches at Ephesus as null from the moment of his accession, and invited bishops deposed at Ephesus to return to their sees without waiting for a new council (see Document 3). An

<sup>7</sup> *Ep.* 80 of 13 April 451, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 38–40 (*ep.* 37).

<sup>8</sup> *Ep.* 83 of 9 June, *ACO* 2.4 p. 42 (*ep.* 41), and *ep.* 89 of 24 June (Document 7).

<sup>9</sup> De Vries 1974, 107. De Vries' analysis of the relations between pope and emperor at Chalcedon (101–60) is one of the best studies of the politics of the council.

ecumenical council was not like a modern parliament, which can make wrong decisions that are nevertheless valid, and valid decisions that can subsequently be repealed. Those who accepted a general council regarded its decrees as immutable, while those who did not accept it would regard its decrees as invalid even if they had not been repealed by a subsequent council.<sup>10</sup> It is true that a mere fiat by an emperor had the limitation that it could subsequently be reversed, particularly when a new ruler came to the throne. Marcian was determined to achieve something more definitive. The choice of Nicaea as the location for the new council was highly indicative: it implied that the work of the council would be a continuation, indeed a completion, of the work of the most revered of all councils. This is why the emperor entrusted all items of current ecclesiastical business to the council; it was not because he respected the legal force of the decrees of Ephesus II. Doubtless, he had already in mind the production of a new and definitive definition of the faith; this certainly required the convoking of an ecumenical council.

Leo bowed to the situation, and in the last week of June wrote two letters to Marcian that gave the names of those he had chosen to represent him at the council (Documents 7 and 8).<sup>11</sup> Since Marcian had written months before in terms that seemed to invite Leo to chair the council (Document 2), Leo presumed that his senior legate would chair the council on his behalf, thereby controlling the agenda; it was probably only when his representatives arrived in the east that they discovered that the pope had been hoodwinked.<sup>12</sup> He pleaded again that the council should not be an occasion for the reopening of the doctrinal debate: it should simply reaffirm Nicaea and condemn the heretics. At the same time he wrote to Bishop Paschasinus of Lilybaeum in Sicily, who was to be his senior legate; the letter (Document 9)

10 This was the view of Leo: in Document 8 he dismisses Ephesus II on the grounds that a council dedicated to 'the overthrow of the faith' has no validity. His argument is not that popes are superior to councils, but that Ephesus was no true council.

11 In these letters Leo does not formally give permission for the council to be summoned, but simply accepts the imperial decision. Contrast the intervention at Chalcedon (I. 9), where Leo's representative Lucentius condemns Dioscorus' holding of Ephesus II without papal permission, even though Theodosius II had called the council: 'He presumed to hold a council without the leave of the apostolic see, a thing which has never been done and may not be done.' Certainly Marcian would have had no intention of deepening divisions by summoning a council unacceptable to Rome.

12 Only the third session, the trial of Dioscorus, was chaired by the papal legates. Note how at the beginning of this session the papal legates stated that 'it is necessary that whatever is brought forward should be examined by our sentence' (III. 4).

is an impressive summary of the case against Eutyches, without the one-sided rhetoric and hostages to fortune that marred the Tome. He also wrote a letter to the bishops who would now assemble (Document 10), which was subsequently read out at the council (XV. 6). In this letter he instructed the bishops to reaffirm the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus of 431, and recommended his own Tome as providing the solution to the more recent doctrinal controversy; he also mentioned the need to reinstate the bishops who had been deposed at Ephesus II. In a subsequent letter to Pulcheria (Document 11) he wrote on the assumption that the principal business of the council would be accepting the repentance of the bishops who had played a leading role at Ephesus.<sup>13</sup> In all, Pope Leo regarded the doctrinal controversy as having been settled by his Tome; if there had to be a council, he held that, apart from settling the status of persons, it should simply acknowledge and confirm the teaching of the Tome, as the definitive ruling on the points at issue; the last thing he wanted was a reopening of the debate, as if the teaching of the heir and successor of St Peter were simply one among a plethora of competing voices.<sup>14</sup>

Our final group of documents is made up of imperial letters relating to the presence of the assembled bishops at Nicaea, in accordance with the letter of convocation of 23 May (Document 6). An initial letter from Marcian (Document 12) informed the bishops that, since he wished to attend in person, the opening of the council would be postponed until he had finished restoring order in Illyricum, devastated by Hunnic raids. A letter from Pulcheria to the governor of Bithynia (Document 13) instructed him to expel from Nicaea clergy and monks from Constantinople who were trying to stir up support for Dioscorus and Eutyches, and warned him that if there were further disturbances he would be personally answerable. In two subsequent letters (Documents 14 and 15), the second more peremptory than the first, Marcian told the bishops to proceed to Chalcedon, which was just across the Bosphorus from Constantinople (in contrast to the 60 miles between Nicaea and the capital), so that he would be able to attend the council without absenting himself from the centre of secular and military affairs. The move also enabled a fuller participation in the council by senior officials of state, and thereby a tighter control of the proceedings than would otherwise have

13 I omit a letter of Leo's to Pulcheria (*ep.* 84 of 9 June, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 43–4), written before Leo had heard of the final decision to hold a council. It envisages the disciplinary matters being resolved by his own legates and Anatolius of Constantinople acting in concert and presses that Eutyches be sent into distant exile.

14 See Chadwick 2003, 45–9.

been the case. The symbolic significance of Nicaea had to yield to more practical considerations.

Indicative of the politics of the council was Marcian's remark (Document 14) that the Roman delegates had expressed reluctance to attend the council in his absence. They must already have sensed the tensions between themselves and the majority of the eastern bishops that were to explode dramatically at the fifth session. It was indeed the firm hand of the emperor that would ensure that the outcome of the theological debate was acceptable to Rome.

The emperor remained vague as to the business that would be put before the council: he referred simply to 'the confirmation of the previous definitions of our holy fathers concerning the holy and orthodox faith' (Document 15). The bishops will have presumed that the main work of the new council, like the two councils at Ephesus, would be to reaffirm the Nicene Creed and condemn the newly arisen heresies that threatened the Nicene faith; they will have expected the chief doctrinal statement approved by the council to be Leo's Tome, just as the Council of Ephesus of 431 had not issued a new document but simply approved Cyril of Alexandria's Second Letter to Nestorius. It was not until the second session of the council on 10 October that the bishops learnt, to their shock and displeasure, that the emperor wanted them to produce a new definition of the faith (II. 2).

### (1) MARCIAN TO POPE LEO (SEPTEMBER 450)<sup>15</sup>

The victors Valentinian and Marcian, glorious and triumphant, always Augusti, to Leo, the most devout archbishop of the glorious city of Rome.

To this most great sovereignty I have come by God's providence and by the election of the most excellent senate and of the entire army.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, on behalf of the venerable and catholic religion of the Christian faith, by the help of which we trust that the strength of our power will be directed, we believe it to be proper that your holiness, possessing primacy in the episcopate of the divine faith, be first addressed by our sacred letters, urging and requesting your holiness to entreat the eternal deity on behalf of the stability and state of our rule, so that we should have such a purpose and a desire that, by the removal of every impious error through holding a council on your

<sup>15</sup> Leo, *ep.* 73, *ACO* 2.3 p. 17 (*ep. ante gesta* 27). The letter must have been sent soon after Marcian's accession on 25 August 450.

<sup>16</sup> For the role of senate and army in the election of an emperor see Jones, *LRE*, 322.

authority,<sup>17</sup> perfect peace should be established among all the bishops of the catholic faith, existing unsullied and unstained by any wickedness.

Issued at Constantinople, in the consulship of the lord Valentinian perpetual Augustus for the seventh time and of the most illustrious Avienus.

### (2) MARCIAN TO POPE LEO (22 NOVEMBER 450)<sup>18</sup>

Marcian to Leo, the most devout bishop of the church of the most glorious city of Rome.

Your holiness can be confident about our zeal and prayer, since we wish the true Christian religion and the apostolic faith to remain firm and be preserved with a pious mind by all people; indeed we are in no doubt that the solicitude of our power depends on correct religion and propitiating our Saviour. Therefore the most devout men, whom your holiness has sent to our piety, we have received willingly and, as was fitting, with a grateful heart.

It remains that, if it should please your beatitude to come to these parts and hold a council, you should deign to do this through love of religion; your holiness will certainly satisfy our desires and will decree what is useful for sacred religion. But if it is burdensome for you to come to these parts, may your holiness make this clear to us in your own letter, with the result that our sacred letters may be sent to all the east and to Thrace and Illyricum, that all the most holy bishops should assemble in a certain specified place, according to our pleasure, and declare by their own statements what may benefit the Christian religion and the catholic faith, as your holiness has defined in accordance with the ecclesiastical canons.

### (3) PULCHERIA TO POPE LEO (22 NOVEMBER 450)<sup>19</sup>

Pulcheria Augusta to Leo, the most devout bishop of the church of the glorious city of Rome.

We have received the letter of your beatitude with the respect due to

<sup>17</sup> Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 767 reads this letter as an invitation to Leo to hold an ecumenical council in Italy, but surely what Marcian is requesting is Leo's approval for a council to be held (under Marcian's direction) in the east.

<sup>18</sup> Leo, *ep.* 76, *ACO* 2.3 p. 18 (*ep.* 28). The date is given in the preface to the Greek version, *ACO* 2.1 p. 8 (*ep.* 8).

<sup>19</sup> Leo, *ep.* 77, *ACO* 2.3 pp. 18-19 (*ep.* 29). Since Leo responded to this letter (in Document 4) on the same day (13 April) as he replied (in *ep.* 78) to Marcian's letter of 22 November, we may also date Pulcheria's letter to 22 November.

every bishop; through it we have come to know that your faith is pure and such as should be rendered together with sanctity to the holy temple. I likewise and my lord, the most serene emperor my consort, always have persevered and now persevere in the same faith, shunning all wickedness, defilement and criminality. Therefore Anatolius, the most holy bishop of glorious Constantinople, has persevered in the same faith and religion and embraces the apostolic confession of your letter, after the suppression of the error generated by some at the present time, as your holiness will be able to discover clearly from his letter also, for he likewise has subscribed without any procrastination to the letter on the catholic faith sent by your beatitude to Bishop Flavian of holy memory.

Accordingly, may your reverence deign to indicate, in whatever way you may decide, that all the bishops of the entire east, Thrace and Illyricum, according to the pleasure also of our lord the most pious emperor my consort, should speedily assemble from the eastern parts in one city and, when a council has been held there, issue on your authority, according to the dictates of faith and Christian piety, decrees relating to the catholic confession and to those bishops who were previously excluded.

In addition, may your holiness know that, by order of our lord and most tranquil prince my consort, the body of Bishop Flavian of holy memory has been brought to the glorious city of Constantinople and appropriately placed in the basilica of the Apostles,<sup>20</sup> where his episcopal predecessors were customarily buried. And similarly those bishops who were sent into exile for the same reason, that they had concurred with the most holy Flavian in the concord of the catholic faith, he has commanded by the force of his ordinance to return, so that by the council's approval and the sentence of all the assembled bishops they may recover episcopal office and their own churches.

#### (4) POPE LEO TO PULCHERIA (13 APRIL 451)<sup>21</sup>

Leo to Pulcheria Augusta.

That which we always presumed about your piety's disposition, we have now fully discovered by experience – that, however varied the plots of wicked men by which it is assailed, nevertheless when you are present and equipped by the Lord for its defence the Catholic faith cannot be shaken. For God does not neglect either the mystery of his mercy or the deserts of your

20 The Church of the Twelve Apostles, built by Constantine and later rebuilt by Justinian.

21 Leo, *ep.* 79, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 37–8 (*ep.* 35). This is a reply to the preceding letter.

labour, by which you formerly expelled the crafty foe of holy religion from the very vitals of the church, when the Nestorian impiety was unable to maintain its heresy, for the reason that it did not escape the handmaid and pupil of the truth how much poison was poured into simple people by the specious lies of that glib man.<sup>22</sup> It was a consequence of this trial of strength that through your solicitude the machinations of the devil contrived by means of Eutyches did not remain hid, and those who had embraced one or other side in this twinned impiety were laid low by the single power of the catholic faith.<sup>23</sup> Your second victory was therefore the destruction of Eutyches' error, which, if he had had any soundness of mind, he could easily have avoided, since it had been repulsed in its originators and long ago laid low,<sup>24</sup> rather than trying to stir the fire into life from the buried ashes, in such a way as to share the lot of those whose example he followed, most glorious [empress]. We wish, therefore, to jump for joy and to fulfil appropriate vows to God for your clemency's prosperity, for he has already bestowed on you a double palm and crown through all parts of the world where the gospel of the Lord is preached.

Your clemency should know, therefore, that the whole Roman church hugely rejoices in all the works of your faith, whether the way you have with pious zeal assisted our representatives in everything and restored the catholic priests who by an unjust sentence had been ejected from their churches, or the way you have secured with due honour the return of the remains of that innocent and catholic priest, Flavian of holy memory, to the church he presided over so well. Assuredly in all these things the increase of your glory is multiplied, while you venerate the saints according to their deserts and desire to have the thorns and thistles removed from the Lord's field.

We have learnt from the account both of our representatives and of my brother and fellow-bishop Anatolius, whom you deign to vouch for, that certain bishops from among those who seem to have given consent to impiety request reconciliation and desire catholic communion. To their desires we grant effect in such a way that, responsibility being shared between the

22 By this date it was generally believed that Pulcheria had been opposed to Nestorius from his arrival in Constantinople in 428. But in reality she only turned against him after the Council of Ephesus of 431 on reception of massive bribes from Cyril of Alexandria; see Price 2004, esp. 33–4.

23 Pulcheria was opposed to Eutyches and Dioscorus from the first, and both Leo and the exiled Nestorius looked to her for support. But she did not openly come out on the Roman side until after the death of Theodosius II. See Holum 1982, 195–216.

24 Leo treats Eutychianism as a revival of the Apollinarian heresy condemned at various councils, including the Council of Constantinople of 381.



representatives we have sent and the above-mentioned bishop, the favour of peace is to be granted to those who have been set right and who condemn with their own signatures the wrongs that were committed, because our Christian religion requires both that true justice should constrain the recalcitrant and that love should not reject the penitent.

Because we know how much pious care your grace deigns to devote to catholic priests, we have ensured that it be made known that my brother and fellow-bishop Eusebius is living with us and sharing our communion.<sup>25</sup> His church we commend to you, for it is reported to be ravaged by the one who is said to have been unjustly put in his place. We also ask from your piety something that we do not doubt you will do of your own free choice – to support with the favour they deserve both my brother and fellow-bishop Julian and the clergy of Constantinople who adhered to holy Flavian of holy memory with faithful loyalty.<sup>26</sup> In relation to everything, we have through our representatives informed your piety of what needs to be done or decreed.

Issued on the Ides of April in the consulship of the most illustrious Adelfius.<sup>27</sup>

### (5) POPE LEO TO MARCIAN (23 APRIL 451)<sup>28</sup>

Leo to Marcian Augustus.

Although I replied earlier to your piety through the clergy of Constantinople,<sup>29</sup> yet on receiving the letter of your clemency through that illustrious

25 Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum had before his consecration opposed Nestorius in Constantinople. He was the prosecutor of Eutyches at the Home Synod of Constantinople of 448 (I. 223–490), for which he was deposed at Ephesus II (I. 962–1066). Imprisoned, he managed to escape to Rome. He attended the Council of Chalcedon, where he appeared as the prime plaintiff against Dioscorus (I. 14–16; III. 5).

26 Ever since the deposition of Flavian at Ephesus II, Leo had been much concerned to express support for those clergy and monks of Constantinople who remained faithful to his memory; see Leo, *ep.* 50, 51, 59, 61, 71, 72, 74, 75. Julian of Cos (for whom see I. 3.19n.) often acted as Leo's agent at Constantinople and was soon to be one of his representatives at the Council of Chalcedon.

27 Eastern documents, such as the Acts of Chalcedon, give 'Marcian and the one to be designated' as the consuls for the year, but western documents name only the western nominee, Adelfius. This reflects the delay in recognition of Marcian at the western court, granted only on 30 March 452, due to resentment over the lack of consultation regarding his elevation to the purple.

28 Leo, *ep.* 82, *ACO* 2.4 p. 41 (*ep.* 39).

29 This refers to *ep.* 78 (*ACO* 2.4 p. 38, *ep.* 36), a brief holding reply to the letter of Marcian given above (Document 2).

man the prefect of the city my son Tatian,<sup>30</sup> I found great cause for thanksgiving, because I have learnt that you are most eager for the peace of the church. The deserved and equitable fruit of this holy desire is that you should enjoy the same condition in your kingdom that you desire for religion. For when the Spirit of God confirms concord among Christian princes, confidence is doubly strengthened throughout the whole world, because the increase of love and faith makes the military power of each invincible, since the result of God's being appeased by a single confession is that the falsity of heretics and the enmity of barbarians are equally overthrown, most glorious one.<sup>31</sup> Since, therefore, the hope of heavenly assistance has been increased by friendship between the emperors,<sup>32</sup> I venture with greater confidence to stir up your piety on behalf of the mystery of man's salvation, lest you allow the importunate and impudent ingenuity of anyone to inquire into what must be held as if the matter were uncertain, and lest (although dissent even in a single word from the teaching of the gospels and apostles is forbidden, as is any opinion on holy scripture that differs from what the blessed apostles and our fathers learnt and taught) now at length illiterate and impious questions be raised, which formerly, as soon as the devil stirred them up through hearts attuned to him, were extinguished by the Holy Spirit through the disciples of the truth.

It is, however, most unjust that through the folly of a few we should be called back to conjectural opinions and the warfare of sinful disputes, as if deliberation were necessary, with a renewal of contention, as to whether Eutyches held impious opinions and whether a wrong judgement was delivered by Dioscorus, who in condemning Flavian of holy memory laid himself low and drove some of the more naive headlong to the same destruction. Now that many of them, as we have learnt, have had recourse to the remedy of reparation and are entreating forgiveness for their wavering trepidation, there is need to deliberate not over what form of faith should be embraced, but whose petitions should be granted and on what terms. Therefore, by means of the delegation which (God granting) will reach your

30 Tatian, prefect of the city of Constantinople 450–452, was to attend four sessions of the Council of Chalcedon. See *PLRE* 2, 1053–4.

31 Compare the declaration made in Constantinople by the newly consecrated Nestorius to Theodosius II in 428: 'Give me, my prince, the earth purged of heretics, and I shall give you heaven as a reward. Help me in destroying the heretics, and I shall help you in conquering the Persians' (Sozomen, *HE* VII.29).

32 In fact the court of Ravenna did not recognize Marcian till March 452. Leo is urging Marcian to work for concord between east and west by restoring ecclesial unity.

clemency speedily, whatever I judge pertinent to the interests of the case will be more fully and opportunely put to that most pious solicitude which you deign to feel over the convening of a council.

Issued on the ninth day before the Kalends of May in the consulship of the most illustrious Adelfius.

**(6) MARCIAN TO THE BISHOPS (23 MAY 451)<sup>33</sup>**

Copy of the *sacra* sent by the most pious and Christ-loving emperor Marcian to the most God-beloved bishops everywhere concerning their all assembling at Nicaea.

The victors Valentinian and Marcian, glorious and triumphant, always Augusti, to Anatolius.

Before all matters the things of God should be given priority, for we are confident that, when almighty God is propitious, the commonwealth is both protected and bettered. Therefore, because certain doubts appear to have arisen about our orthodox religion, as is indeed shown by the letter of Leo, the most God-beloved bishop of the glorious city of Rome, this in particular has pleased our clemency that a holy council should be convened in the city of Nicaea in the province of Bithynia, in order that, when minds agree and the whole truth has been investigated, and after the cessation of those exertions with which some people have lately disturbed the holy and orthodox religion, our true faith may be recognized more clearly for all time, so that henceforth there can be no doubting or disagreement. Therefore your holiness should exert yourself to come to the aforesaid city of Nicaea by the Kalends of September with whatever most God-beloved bishops you choose and whomever from the churches in the care of your priesthood you consider to be trustworthy and equipped for the teaching of orthodox religion.<sup>34</sup> May your God-belovedness know also that our divinity will attend the venerable council, unless perchance some public necessities engage us in a military expedition.

May God preserve you for many years, most holy and sacred father.

33 *ACO* 2.1 pp. 27–8 (*ep.* 13). Two Latin versions are extant (*ACO* 2.3 pp. 19–20, *epp.* 30–31), of which the first is addressed to all the bishops and the second lacks an addressee. The version given here, addressed to Anatolius of Constantinople, will have been one of many.

34 The imperial summons to the council was addressed specifically to the metropolitans, who had the responsibility of communicating it to the bishops under their authority, excluding any whom they judged unfit.

Issued on the tenth day before the Kalends of June in Constantinople in the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated.

**(7) POPE LEO TO MARCIAN (24 JUNE 451)<sup>35</sup>**

Leo to Marcian Augustus.

We believed that your clemency could grant our desire that in view of the present crisis you should order the priestly synod to be postponed till a more opportune time, so that, with priests being summoned from all the provinces, there could truly be an ecumenical council. But because out of love for the catholic faith you have resolved that the convocation should occur now, lest I should appear to oppose your pious decision, I have sent my brother and fellow bishop Paschasinus, summoned from that province which seems to be safer,<sup>36</sup> who can represent my presence. I have attached to him Boniface my brother and fellow presbyter, and added those whom we sent before, including as their colleague also my brother Bishop Julian.<sup>37</sup> We believe that with the help of God these men will transact every matter with such moderating influence that, through the curbing of all dissension, whatever led to complaint and commotion will be restored to the unity of peace and faith, and that no trace of either the Nestorian or Eutychian impiety shall be left in the hearts of any priests, since the catholic faith, which, with the Holy Spirit instructing us, we learnt from the blessed apostles through the holy fathers and also teach, lets neither of these errors infect it, most glorious one. If therefore there is anything in the way of diseases or wounds that can be healed through sincere amendment, we wish that it might be restored to true health. This amendment will not then be at all dubious, nor will it subsequently harm the simplicity of anyone, if it has not wished to cloak itself with any excuses, since the eradication of sin is obtained only by true confession. But because certain of the brethren, as we mention with sorrow, have not been able to maintain catholic constancy against the whirlwinds of falsity, it is meet that my aforesaid brother and

<sup>35</sup> Leo, *ep.* 89, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 47-8 (*ep.* 46).

<sup>36</sup> Sicily. The reference is to the danger from the Huns in other provinces.

<sup>37</sup> The Roman representatives at Chalcedon were Bishops Paschasinus of Lilybaeum (Sicily) and Lucentius of Asculum and the presbyter Boniface. At this stage a further presbyter, Basil, was intended to accompany them (Documents 8 and 10). The eastern bishop Julian of Cos also acted as a papal representative, as requested by Leo, *ep.* 92 (*ACO* 2.4 p. 49, *ep.* 49).

fellow bishop should preside in my place at the council.<sup>38</sup> For I am confident that those to whom we have entrusted this will labour there without animosity or partisanship to ensure that with the destruction only of heretical impiety truth and charity will reign in all the churches of God.

Issued on the eighth day before the Kalends of July in the consulship of the most illustrious Adelfius.

### (8) POPE LEO TO MARCIAN (26 JUNE 451)<sup>39</sup>

Leo to Marcian Augustus.

I had indeed requested your most glorious clemency to order that the council, which for the restoration of the peace of the eastern church was sought even by ourselves and is judged by you to be necessary, be postponed for a little while to a more opportune time, so that with minds more free from every anxiety those bishops who are detained by fear of enemies might also assemble. But because with pious zeal you give priority to divine matters over human ones, and believe in accordance with reason and religion that it will benefit the strength of your reign if there is no dissension in the minds of priests and no disagreement in the preaching of the gospel, I too do not oppose your inclination, hoping that the catholic faith, which can only be one, may be strengthened in the hearts of all. From the integrity of the faith there veered, on different paths but with equal impiety, Nestorius previously and now Eutyches, utterly abominable in their convictions, which, in opposition to the pure source of true light, they drew from the polluted lakes of diabolical falsity. Therefore the earlier synod of Ephesus deservedly and justly condemned Nestorius together with his doctrine; whoever persists in that error can have no hope of any remedy. The subsequent synod in the aforesaid city we cannot call a council, since it is clear that it was set in motion for the overthrow of the faith; your clemency, about to give assistance to Catholics through love of the truth, will annul it<sup>40</sup> by determining otherwise, most glorious one. Therefore through our Lord Jesus Christ, who

38 In fact Paschasinus presided only at the third session of the council. At all the other sessions the president was a lay official appointed by Marcian, the general Anatolius.

39 Leo, *ep.* 90, *ACO* 2.4 p. 48 (*ep.* 47).

40 *Cassavit* ('has annulled') has greatly superior manuscript authority to *cassabit* ('will annul'); the latter variant, discussed at PL 54. 933, is not even mentioned by Schwartz. But surely both the sense and *affutura* ('about to assist') in the same sentence require *cassabit*. Certainly the decrees of Ephesus II were not annulled until the tenth session of Chalcedon (X. 145–59) and Marcian's confirmation of the same on 6 July 452 (Documents after the Council 5).

is the initiator and director of your reign, I entreat and beseech your clemency not to allow the faith which our blessed fathers preached as received from the apostles to be re-examined, as if it were in doubt, and not to permit what was formerly condemned by the authority of our predecessors to be stirred up by attempts at revival, but that you should rather order that the decrees of the ancient synod of Nicaea should stand, with the suppression of the interpretations of the heretics. In respect of the wish of your clemency, do not deem me absent from the council, since you are to discern my very presence in the brothers whom I have sent, that is, Bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius, the presbyters Boniface and Basil, and also my brother Julian, whom I selected as their colleague. I am confident that with the help of Christ they will so act that there will be decreed what is pleasing to our Lord, with the assistance of the zeal of your piety, which [I pray] may promote peace, religion, and the preservation of the truth.

Issued on the sixth day before the Kalends of July, in the consulship of the most illustrious Adelfius.<sup>41</sup>

#### (9) POPE LEO TO BISHOP PASCHASINUS (24 JUNE 451)<sup>42</sup>

Leo to Bishop Paschasinus.

Although I have no doubt that the whole cause of the scandals that have arisen in the eastern churches concerning the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ is fully known to your fraternity,<sup>43</sup> nevertheless, lest anything may by chance have succeeded in eluding your care, I have despatched for your attentive review and study our letter, which we sent to Flavian of holy memory as a very full treatment of the matter,<sup>44</sup> and which the universal church embraces, in order that, understanding how fully the impiety of this entire error has with God's help been demolished, you yourself in your love for God may conceive the same spirit, and know that they are utterly to be detested who according to the impiety and madness of Eutyches have dared to assert that in our Lord, the only-begotten Son of God, who undertook the renewal of human salvation in himself, there are not two natures, that is, of perfect Godhead and perfect manhood, and who think they can deceive our

41 Leo made the same points in a further letter to Marcian (*ep.* 94, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 49–50, *ep.* 50), dated 20 July 451.

42 Leo, *ep.* 88, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 46–7 (*ep.* 45). Bishop Paschasinus of Lilybaeum was the senior of Leo's representatives at the Council of Chalcedon.

43 That is, to you as my brother in the episcopate.

44 Leo's Tome, read out at the second session of Chalcedon (II. 22).

attentiveness when they say they believe the one nature of the Word to be incarnate. For although the Word of God has indeed one nature in the Godhead of the Father and of himself and of the Holy Spirit, yet when he assumed the reality of our flesh our nature also was united to that unchangeable substance; for one could not speak of incarnation, unless flesh were assumed by the Word. And this assumption of flesh is a union so great and of such a kind that not only in the childbearing of the blessed Virgin but also in her conception one must not imagine any separation of the Godhead from the animated flesh, since Godhead and manhood came together in unity of person both in the conception and in the childbearing of the Virgin.

Hence there is to be abhorred in Eutyches an impiety that was formerly condemned and overthrown by the fathers in relation to previous heretics. This should have benefited this most stupid man, teaching him to beware through a precedent what he could not grasp intellectually, lest he evacuate the unique mystery of our salvation by denying the reality of human flesh in Christ our Lord. For if there is not in him real and perfect human nature, there is no assumption of ourselves, and the whole of what we believe and teach is, according to this man's impiety, emptiness and deceit. But because the truth does not lie and the Godhead is not passible, there abides in God the Word both substances in one person, and the Church confesses her Saviour in such a way as to acknowledge him both impassible in Godhead and passible in the flesh, as says the Apostle, 'Although he was crucified in virtue of our weakness, yet he lives in virtue of the power of God.'<sup>45</sup>

In order, however, that your love may be more fully instructed in all things, so that you may recognize clearly what they thought and what they preached to the churches about the mystery of the Lord's incarnation, I have sent your love certain passages from our holy fathers, which our representatives presented also in Constantinople together with my letter.<sup>46</sup> You should also know that the whole church of Constantinople, with all the monasteries and many bishops, have declared their assent and by their subscriptions have anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches together with their doctrines. You should know in addition that I have recently received the bishop of Constantinople's letter, in which he relates that the bishop of Antioch and, after the sending of missives throughout his provinces, all the bishops have demonstrated their assent to my letter and condemned Nestorius and Eutyches with the same subscription.

45 2 Cor. 13:4 (the word 'our' being added by Leo).

46 For the florilegium appended to the Tome, see *ACO* 2.1 pp. 20–25. For a list of its contents, see Appendix 1: The Documentary Collections, vol. 3, p. 162.

We think that the following should also be entrusted to your attention: because the reckoning of the feast of Easter does not escape your awareness, you should diligently inquire about a point we found in the instructions of Theophilus<sup>47</sup> and which troubles us, and that you should examine together with those who possess expertise in this calculation or rule when the day of the Lord's resurrection should be held in the fourth year to come. For, whereas the coming Easter is to be held, if God is propitious, ten days before the Kalends of April, and in the following year on the eve of the Ides of April, and in the third year on the eve of the Nones of April, Theophilus of holy memory has fixed the observance of Easter in the fourth year eight days before the Kalends of May: now this we find to be quite contrary to the rule of the church, for in our Easter cycle, as you deign to be well aware, the celebration of Easter in that year is set down in writing fifteen days before the Kalends of May.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, so that doubts may be resolved in every way, may your attentiveness carefully examine this point with all the experts, so that we may avoid mistakes of this kind in future.<sup>49</sup>

Issued eight days before the Kalends of July in the consulship of the most illustrious Adelfius.

### (10) POPE LEO TO THE COUNCIL (26 JUNE 451)<sup>50</sup>

Bishop Leo to the holy council held at Nicaea.

I had hoped, beloved, in view of the love of our fellowship, that all the priests of the Lord would persevere in a single zeal for the Catholic faith, and that no one would be corrupted by favour, or fear, of the secular power so as to depart from the way of truth. But because many things often come to pass that can generate repentance, and the faults of offenders are surpassed by the

47 Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria (385–412) produced a table of dates of Easter for a hundred years starting in 380. The Council of Nicaea had ruled that the churches should follow the Roman and Alexandrian calculations of Easter, but as this letter illustrates the Roman and Alexandrian calendars did not always coincide.

48 The four dates in Theophilus' calculation are 23 March 452, 12 April 453, 4 April 454 and 24 April 455. The Roman date for 455 is 17 April.

49 The issue of the dating of Easter remained perplexed. We find Leo writing to Julian of Cos in March 454 (*ep.* 131), instructing him to seek clear guidance from the emperor on the matter, and to Marcian himself in May 454, conveying his acceptance of the Egyptian calculation 'not because clear reason taught this but because I have been persuaded by concern for unity, which we maintain most of all' (*ep.* 137, *ACO* 2.4 p. 90. 12–13).

50 Leo, *ep.* 93, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 51–2 (*ep.* 52). A Greek translation was read out at Session XV of Chalcedon (XV. 6).



mercy of God, and punishment is for this reason suspended that there can be a place for amendment, we should therefore welcome the plan, full of piety, of the most clement emperor, by which he willed your holy fraternity to convene, in order to frustrate the intrigues of the devil and restore the peace of the church, while the rights and honour of the most blessed Peter the Apostle were safeguarded to the extent of his inviting us also in his letters to bestow our presence on the venerable council. This, however, is permitted neither by the pressure of the times nor by any precedent;<sup>51</sup> yet in these brethren, that is, Bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the presbyters Boniface and Basil, who have been despatched by the apostolic see, let your fraternity deem me to be presiding over the council. You are not deprived of my attendance, since I am present in my representatives and have for a long time not been failing in the preaching of the catholic faith, with the result that you cannot be in ignorance of what we believe from ancient tradition or in doubt as to what I desire.

Therefore, most dear brethren, through a complete rejection of the effrontery of arguing against the faith divinely revealed, may the futile infidelity of the erring cease, and may it not be permitted to defend what it is not permitted to believe, since, in accordance with gospel authority, the prophetic sayings and the apostolic teaching, the letter which we sent to Bishop Flavian of blessed memory declared most fully and most lucidly what is the pious and pure confession of the mystery of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

But because we are not ignorant that through vicious factionalism the condition of many churches was disrupted and that a great number of bishops were expelled from their sees and sent into exile because they would not accept heresy, and others were put in the place of those still alive, the remedy of justice should first be applied to these wrongs, and no one should be so deprived of his own that another enjoys what is not his own; for if, as we desire, all abandon error, no one need lose his rank, but those who have laboured on behalf of the faith should have their rights restored together with all their privileges. Let there, however, remain in force what was decreed specifically against Nestorius at the earlier council of Ephesus, at which Bishop Cyril of holy memory then presided, lest the impiety then condemned should derive any comfort from the fact that Eutyches is being struck down by condign execration. For the purity of faith and teaching,

51 This principle, which developed through accident, became axiomatic (see I. 83), and was breached only by Pope Vigilius' forced presence in Constantinople during the council of 553.

which we proclaim in the same spirit as did our holy fathers, condemns and prosecutes equally both the Nestorian and the Eutychian depravity together with their originators.

Fare well in the Lord, most dear brethren.

Issued six days before the Kalends of July in the consulship of the most illustrious Julius Adelfius.<sup>52</sup>

### (11) POPE LEO TO PULCHERIA (20 JULY 451)<sup>53</sup>

Leo to Pulcheria Augusta.

Your clemency's religious solicitude, which you unceasingly devote to the catholic faith, I recognize in everything, and give thanks to God at seeing you taking such care of the universal church that I can confidently recommend what I think agreeable to justice and benevolence, in order that there may the more swiftly be brought to a welcome issue what through the favour of Christ has hitherto been unimpeachably achieved by the zeal of your piety, most glorious one. The fact therefore that your clemency ordered the council to be held at Nicaea, while your mildness declined my request that it be held in Italy, so that, if the times proved sufficiently peaceful, all the bishops in our parts might be summoned and assemble, I have nevertheless accepted with such lack of disdain as to appoint two of my fellow-bishops and two fellow-presbyters who may suffice to represent me. There have been sent to the venerable council appropriate letters, to inform the convoked brotherhood what forms should be observed in this adjudication, lest any rashness should thwart the rules of the faith, the decrees of the canons, or the remedies of benevolence.

For, as I have very frequently written from the start of the affair, I have wanted such moderation to be observed in the midst of discordant views and sinful jealousies that, while indeed no excisions or additions to the completeness of the faith should be permitted, yet the remedy of forgiveness should be granted to those returning to unity and peace, for the reason that the works of the devil are then more effectively destroyed when the hearts of men are recalled to the love of God and neighbour. But how contrary to these warnings and entreaties of mine were the proceedings of that time is a long story to relate, nor is it necessary to record in the pages of a letter whatever

<sup>52</sup> 26 June 451. The Greek text (*ACO* 2.1 p. 32) reads 'five days before the Kalends of July', i.e., 27 June.

<sup>53</sup> Leo, *ep.* 95, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 50–51 (*ep.* 51).

it was possible to perpetrate in that meeting at Ephesus that was not a courtroom but a den of thieves,<sup>54</sup> where the chief men of the council spared neither those brethren who opposed them nor those who agreed with them; for in order to weaken the catholic faith and strengthen detestable heresy they stripped some of the privilege of rank and tainted others with complicity in impiety, showing indeed greater cruelty to those they deprived of innocence through persuasion than to those they made blessed confessors through persecution.

Nevertheless, because such men have done themselves the most harm through their wickedness, and because the greater the wounds, the more assiduous must be the application of the remedy, I have never in any letter decreed that pardon should be withheld even from them, if they came to their senses. And although we are unalterable in our detestation of their heresy, which is most inimical to the Christian religion, yet the men themselves, if they unambiguously amend and cleanse themselves by suitable reparation, we do not judge to be deprived of the ineffable mercy of God, but rather lament with those who lament and weep with those who weep, and in this way apply the justice of deposition without neglecting the remedies of charity. This, as your piety knows, is not a mere verbal promise but is also exhibited in our actions, inasmuch as nearly all who had been either seduced or compelled into assent with those presiding, by rescinding what they decreed and condemning what they signed, have obtained permanent remission of guilt and the favour of apostolic peace.<sup>55</sup>

If, therefore, your clemency deigns to consider my intentions, you will discover that I have acted throughout with the design of achieving the extinction of heresy alone, without the loss of any one soul, and that in the case of the initiators of these most fearsome storms I have for this reason mitigated my practice somewhat in order that their sluggishness might be stirred up by some degree of compunction to request forgiveness. Even though after their judgement, which was as impious as unjust, they cannot be held in such honour by the catholic fraternity as they were formerly, they nevertheless still retain their sees and enjoy their episcopal rank, with the prospect either of receiving the peace of the whole church, after truly

54 This echoes Christ's words when cleansing the Temple, 'My house will be called a house of prayer, but you are making it a den of thieves' (Mt. 21:13). The Latin word for 'den of thieves' is *latrocinium*, whence the soubriquet for Ephesus II of the 'Latrocinium' or 'Robber Council'.

55 By now numerous eastern bishops had recovered ecclesiastical communion with Rome through signing Leo's Tome.

making amends as is required, or if, contrary to my hopes, they persist in heresy, of being judged as is merited by their profession.

Issued on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of August in the consulship of the most illustrious Adelfius.

**(12) FIRST LETTER OF MARCIAN TO THE COUNCIL  
(SEPTEMBER 451)<sup>56</sup>**

Sacred letter sent to the council at Nicaea by Valentinian and Marcian.

It is our earnest desire that there be decreed appropriately those things that pertain to the holy and orthodox religion, in order that all doubt may be removed and fitting peace restored to the most holy and catholic churches; for this, we think, should have priority over all affairs. Because, therefore, we wish to be present at the holy council but public and necessary needs are detaining us on an expedition,<sup>57</sup> may your piety deign not to think it burdensome to wait for the presence of our tranquillity, but to pray that we, ordering well with the help of God the matters we have in hand, may be able to repair there, so that in the presence of our piety there may be decreed what will remove all discord and questioning and confirm the true and venerable orthodox faith.

**(13) PULCHERIA TO THE GOVERNOR OF BITHYNIA  
(SEPTEMBER 451)<sup>58</sup>**

Copy of the imperial letter sent by the most pious and Christ-loving empress Pulcheria to the consular of Bithynia<sup>59</sup> Strategius about securing order in the council, before it was decided to transfer the council from Nicaea to Chalcedon.

It is the aim of our serenity, even before civil matters, that the holy churches of God and those exercising priesthood in them should continue in peace and that the orthodox faith, which we firmly believe sustains our

56 The Greek text of this letter (unlike its two successors) is lost. We translate the Latin version, *ACO* 2.3 pp. 20–21 (*ep.* 32), undated.

57 Hunnic raids had ravaged Illyricum, and Marcian felt the need to conduct an expedition there, to restore order and morale. This postponed the opening of the council.

58 *ACO* 2.1 p. 29 (*ep.* 15), undated. The Latin version (*ACO* 2.3 p. 21) follows the Greek word for word, and betrays its secondary character by a number of slips and infelicities: most obviously, the Greek clause meaning ‘awaiting the presence of our power’ is very poorly rendered by ‘*sustinentes potentiae nostrae praesentiam*’ (lines 18–9).

59 Bithynia was the province in which Nicaea (and Chalcedon) lay.

reign, should be protected from disturbance or disruption by any class of person. So when some slight discord lately arose, we took much trouble to ensure that the multitude of most holy bishops from everywhere would assemble together at Nicaea, and that through the unanimity of all every disturbance would be obviated, and that in future the pure faith would prevail firm and unshakeable.

In accordance with our decree all the most religious bishops have arrived and await the presence of our power, who with the help of God will soon be present. But, as we have heard, certain of those went to upset the order dear to God, having infiltrated Nicaea, clerics and monks and laymen, are trying to cause a commotion, contesting what has been approved by us.<sup>60</sup> We are therefore of necessity sending this pious letter to your illustriousness, to ensure that with all firmness you totally expel from the city and its districts any clerics who are staying there without our summons or the bidding of their own bishops, whether they happen to enjoy rank or if some of them have been deposed by their own bishops, and also any monks or laymen whom no good reason calls to the council, so that, when the holy council has taken its seat in good order and without any disturbance or dispute, the revelation by Christ the Lord may be confirmed jointly by all. Be aware that if anyone in future be detected causing a disturbance while staying in the districts there, either before the arrival of our serenity or even after it, you will incur no slight danger.

**(14) SECOND LETTER OF MARCIAN TO THE COUNCIL  
(SEPTEMBER 451)<sup>61</sup>**

Copy of the second imperial letter sent to the holy council, assembled at Nicaea, on the need to transfer to Chalcedon.

The victors Valentinian and Marcian, glorious, triumphant, most great, ever august, to the God-beloved council.

Extremely pressing affairs of state have been the cause of our delay, though we are eager to come to the holy council; but we know from what your God-belovedness has written that many of you are suffering both from bodily ailments and from various other causes. Even though, therefore, very

<sup>60</sup> The reference is probably not to Egyptian monks instigated by Dioscorus, as suggested by Schwartz 1937, but to supporters of Eutyches from Constantinople, for whose activity during the council see IV. 76–88.

<sup>61</sup> *ACO* 2.1 pp. 28–9 (*ep.* 14), undated.

numerous affairs of state oblige us to remain here, nevertheless we consider that care for the holy and orthodox faith should have priority over everything else. For the most devout bishops and presbyters who have come on behalf of the most holy and God-beloved Leo, the archbishop of all-fortunate Rome, have begged our serenity that by every means we should attend the holy council, affirming that they do not choose to attend there in the absence of our piety. In accordance with the request of your religiousness, we ourselves, being extremely desirous that your most holy council should be convened speedily, are eager to come to you swiftly. Therefore, if it should please your religiousness, deign to come to the city of Chalcedon. For we shall hasten there, even if the needs of state are detaining us here, since we consider that the things that contribute to the true and orthodox faith and to the peace and good order of the most holy and catholic churches should have priority over everything else; and we do not doubt that this will also please your holinesses, lest the cramped conditions of the city should make you suffer more and the business of the holy council should seem to be protracted further by the absence of our serenity. Deign to pray for our rule, that our enemies may surrender to us and that the peace of the world may be confirmed and Roman affairs continue in tranquillity – which we are confident you are doing even now.

May God preserve you, most holy ones, for many years.

**(15) THIRD LETTER OF MARCIAN TO THE COUNCIL (22  
SEPTEMBER 451)<sup>62</sup>**

Likewise a copy of the third imperial letter sent to the holy council at Nicaea, while the most pious emperor was detained in Thrace, on the need to transfer without delay to Chalcedon.

The Emperors and Caesars Valentinian and Marcian, triumphant victors, ever august, to the holy council assembled at Nicaea according to the will of God and our decree.

Already and by our other divine letters we have instructed your religiousness to come to the city of Chalcedon for the confirmation of the previous definitions of our holy fathers concerning the holy and orthodox faith, so that the mass of the orthodox should no longer be deceived, straying in various directions, but that all may confess Christ our Lord and Saviour as is proper and as our most holy fathers have taught. Because of our fervent

62 *ACO* 2.1 p. 30 (*ep.* 16).

zeal for the faith we have deferred for the time being the pressing needs of state, since we attach great importance to the confirmation of the orthodox and true faith in the presence of our serenity. We trust that the events in Illyricum have reached your ears also: even though by God's will they received condign retribution, nevertheless the interests of the state required the departure of our serenity to Illyricum. But since, as has been said, we consider that nothing should have priority over the orthodox faith and its confirmation, we have on this account postponed for a time more distant campaigning. And now especially we urge your religiousness by this our divine letter to repair without any delay to the city of Chalcedon.

Since from the report to our serenity from Atticus, deacon of the most holy and catholic church in the imperial city, we have learned that your sacredness suspects that some of those who share the views of Eutyches, or someone else, may perhaps try to sow dissension or disorder, we instruct you on this account to come to the city of Chalcedon, with no anxiety at all over the aforesaid reason. For after everything relating to the orthodox and true faith has been decreed rightly and as is pleasing to God without any disturbance or disorder, we hope in God's clemency that each one of you will return home speedily. Therefore be eager to come, and make no delay in the matter, lest through your procrastination the search for the truth suffer delay. For we are extremely eager, once through the favour of the Almighty the matter has been concluded satisfactorily, to return again speedily to the highly successful campaign.

May God preserve you for many years, most holy and God-beloved fathers.

Issued ten days before the Kalends of October at Heraclea.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Heraclea in Thrace. The date and place are given only in the Latin version (*ACO* 2.3 p. 23).

# THE FIRST SESSION

## INTRODUCTION

The mammoth minutes of the first session of the council, of 8 October 451, contain a reading of the Acts of the first session of the Second Council of Ephesus of 449, the notorious ‘Robber Council’ whose decrees Chalcedon had been summoned to reverse. The bishops, many of whom had taken part in Ephesus II, had the embarrassment of hearing read out their statements and acclamations in favour of the now disgraced heretic Eutyches and in execration of the then disgraced but since rehabilitated Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople; their contrition was vocal and abject. Particular interest lies in the inclusion in the minutes of the Acts of the Home Synod of Constantinople of November 448 (§§223–552), which under Flavian’s chairmanship had condemned Eutyches: this document not only illustrates judicial procedure but is our best evidence for the theological debate that led to the convocation first of Ephesus II and then of Chalcedon. The session ended with the suspension of Dioscorus and five other bishops who shared particular responsibility for the proceedings at Ephesus II.

A modern reader who has limited time at his disposal and does not wish to stray outside Chalcedon may choose to be selective in his reading of this material: using the analysis provided below, he could restrict himself to the statements made at Chalcedon itself, adding, perhaps, the climax of the Home Synod of 448 (511–51) and Canon 7 of the First Council of Ephesus (943), which was cited at the second session of Chalcedon and echoed in the Definition.

## COMMENTARY

### **The text**

The Acts of the first session of the council are of exceptional length: in their full version (which survives only in the Latin edition) they make up 40 per cent of the Acts of all the sessions of the council. This is due in part to the



exceptional length of the session,<sup>1</sup> and in part to the fact that it included substantial readings from the Acts of Ephesus II (449), which were incorporated into the minutes.<sup>2</sup> The exceptional fullness and bulk of the record suggest that, when in the immediate aftermath of the council the Acts were edited and published, a full record of the first session was regarded as particularly important for the defence of the council – an attitude that shaped the treatment of the council as late as the composition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Evagrius Scholasticus at the close of the sixth century, which likewise concentrates on the work of the first session and makes no mention of the debates that led up to the formulation of the Chalcedonian Definition.<sup>3</sup> It was obvious that the Definition was the most important fruit of the council, but a fully minuted record of proceedings was felt to be particularly important where it set out the evidence against Dioscorus and Ephesus II. It is to be noted that the only later session whose minutes remotely approach those of the first session in bulk is the third, at which Dioscorus was tried and deposed; here it was important to show that the proper judicial procedure had been followed exactly. In contrast, it may have been felt that the dissension that accompanied the drafting of the Definition deserved no emphasis.

Since Ephesus II had itself included the reading of minutes from yet previous councils – which were now read at Chalcedon as part of the Acts of Ephesus – the minutes of the first session take on the character of a set of Chinese boxes, or matryoshka dolls, as Table 4 will show.

1 Note I. 942 *fin.*, ‘During the reading the lamps were lit’, and III. 3 (referring to the first session), ‘There followed a session devoted to the minutes, in which the glorious officials attended this holy assembly and examined the matter till late in the evening.’

2 Even allowing, however, for the exceptional length of the session, there would not appear to have been time for the complete minutes of the first session of Ephesus II to be read out. That the first part of the minutes was read out is shown by the repeated interruptions by bishops at Chalcedon (see the analysis below), but substantial abbreviation is suggested by the absence of such interruptions in the long section 555–849 (the minutes of hearings at Constantinople in April 449). Prime candidates for cutting were also 884–945 (consisting mainly of a long sequence of episcopal verdicts and readings from the Council of Ephesus of 431) and the list of signatories at Ephesus II at 1067. We may presume that the secretaries who read out the minutes of Ephesus II did some sensible pruning, while presenting the full text for inclusion in the Acts.

3 Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE* II.4 (trans. Whitby, 65–76).

**Table 4. Structure of the Minutes**

Chalcedon		1–67
	Documents relating to Ephesus II	24, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52
	Ephesus II	68
Chalcedon		69
	Ephesus II	70
Chalcedon		71–7
	Ephesus II	78–86
Chalcedon		87–107
	Ephesus II	108–20
Chalcedon		121–35
	Ephesus II	136–7
Chalcedon		138–40
	Ephesus II	141–8
Chalcedon		149–50
	Ephesus II	151–7
Chalcedon		158–63
	Ephesus II	164
Chalcedon		165–84
	Ephesus II	185–6
Chalcedon		187–96
	Ephesus II	197–222
	Constantinople (448), Session 1	223–5
	Ephesus II	226–9
	Constantinople (448), S. 1	230–5
Chalcedon		236–7
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	238–9
	Ephesus I (431)	240–5
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	246
Chalcedon		247–60
	Ephesus II	261
Chalcedon		262–9
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	270–1
Chalcedon		272–300
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	301–2
	Ephesus II	303–6
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	307–8
	Ephesus II	309–22
Chalcedon		323–9
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	330–1
Chalcedon		332–8
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	339–40

Chalcedon		341
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	342–6
Chalcedon		347
	Constantinople (448), S. 2	348–53
	Constantinople (448), S. 3	354–404
	Constantinople (448), S. 4	405–19
	Constantinople (448), S. 5	420–44
	Constantinople (448), S. 6	445–57
	Constantinople (448), S. 7	458–68
	Ephesus II	469
	Constantinople (448), S. 7	470–90
	Ephesus II	491–5
Chalcedon		496–7
	Constantinople (448), S. 7	498–503
	Ephesus II	504
	Constantinople (448), S. 7	505
	Ephesus II	506–10
	Constantinople (448), S. 7	511–27
	Ephesus II	528–9
Chalcedon		530–33
	Constantinople (448), S. 7	534–45
	Ephesus II	546–8
	Constantinople (448), S. 7	549–52
	Ephesus II	553–4
	Constantinople (13 Apr. 449)	555–828
	Constantinople (27 Apr. 449)	829–49
	Ephesus II	850
Chalcedon		851–63
	Ephesus II	864–910
	Ephesus I (22 July 431)	911–45
Chalcedon		942a
	Ephesus II	943a–64
Chalcedon		965
	Ephesus II	966–1067
Chalcedon		1068–72

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### The councils before Chalcedon

A recapitulation of events may assist the reader.<sup>4</sup> At the first session of the First Council of Ephesus on 22 June 431, Nestorius was condemned and Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius (given in full in the Acts of Chalcedon at I. 240) formally approved. Early in 433, Cyril and the Antiochene bishops agreed on the Formula of Reunion (contained in Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch, I. 246), a moderate Christological statement, deliberately vague at certain crucial points. Many of Cyril's supporters were disappointed with this compromise; while he was alive they were obliged to respect it, but after his death in 444 some of them, notably his successor Dioscorus and the Constantinopolitan archimandrite Eutyches, launched a campaign to impose the full Cyrillian position. As a counter-attack, in 448 Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum accused Eutyches of heresy before the Home Synod<sup>5</sup> of Constantinople, chaired by Archbishop Flavian, which deposed and excommunicated him.

The Acts of Chalcedon are our sole source for this synod, and therefore for the theology of Eutyches himself. Eutyches was condemned because he refused to accept that Christ is consubstantial with us men as well as consubstantial with the Father, or that there are in Christ two natures after the union (I. 511–49). It is manifest from the minutes of the synod that he rejected the dual consubstantiality, which even Cyril had accepted, not because he doubted the reality of Christ's human nature but because he feared that the expression undermined Christ's uniqueness as the Son of God (522).<sup>6</sup> His rejection of two natures after the union was shared by the whole Alexandrian school; it meant not that he doubted the presence in Christ of two sets of attributes, one divine and one human, but that he refused to call them 'two natures', which, in the language of the time, implied that they were two distinct entities. The demand by the synod that Eutyches should affirm two natures after the union breached the terms of the accord of 433, since the Formula of Reunion was ambiguous on this point: it stated, 'There has occurred a union of two natures', which left it ambiguous whether after the union there are two natures or one. Flavian of Constantinople chose to accuse Eutyches, however, first of asserting one nature after the union, not in the sense in which Cyril had used the phrase but in a way that implied the

4 For a fuller account see General Introduction, pp. 17–37.

5 See Glossary, 'Home Synod', vol. 3, 207.

6 Note that the Egyptian bishops, when issuing a statement of their faith after the condemnation of Dioscorus, were likewise reluctant to use the 'consubstantial with us' formula (IV. 25).

formation of a new compound in which the characteristics of the two natures are not simply united but assimilated to each other, and secondly of holding that the Lord's body is not of human essence and is consubstantial neither with Mary nor with us.<sup>7</sup> Pope Leo likewise, when he read the Acts, misunderstood Eutyches to deny the humanity of Christ; the whole of his famous Tome is vitiated by this mistake. There is no excuse for parroting Flavian's misrepresentation and Leo's misunderstanding today. One may agree with Henry Chadwick, writing on Eutyches' vindication at Ephesus II: 'Eutyches was declared orthodox. That verdict, when Cyril's Anathemas and his Eucharistic doctrine were adopted as [the] criterion was justifiable – much more so than later estimates of Eutyches were to allow.'<sup>8</sup>

In April 449, a series of hearings was held at Constantinople to investigate claims by Eutyches that the Acts of the synod misrepresented him and that Flavian had treated him unjustly; their minutes were read out, in whole or in part, at the first session of Ephesus II and consequently at Chalcedon as well (I. 555–849). Most of the record covers the meeting held on 13 April and chaired by the patrician Florentius to investigate a complaint from Eutyches that the minutes of the Home Synod of 448 had been falsified. A minute investigation revealed that the envoys sent by the synod had attributed to Eutyches some statements of uncertain authenticity, but it cannot be said that the claim that his doctrine had been distorted was made good. But some distortion in the record did indeed emerge. In the published account of the dramatic confrontation when Eutyches finally appeared at the synod (511–45) Archbishop Flavian demanded of Eutyches no stronger dyophysite (two-nature) formula than acknowledgement that Christ is 'from two natures' (513), a formula taken from Cyril of Alexandria. But, according to a number of witnesses at the hearing of 449 (773, 788, 791, 804, 811), Flavian had in fact pressed Eutyches to accept the stronger dyophysite formula, rejected by Cyril, of two natures after the union. The absence of this from the official minutes shows that they were doctored to protect Flavian (unavailingly as it turned out) from accusations of Nestorianism. Equally revealing is the evidence (754, 791, 798) that at the synod Bishop

7 See Flavian's letter to Pope Leo, *ACO* 2.1 pp. 38–40, esp. 38.25–39.3.

8 Chadwick 2001, 561. See also Draguet 1931. Note, however, that already at the first session of Chalcedon (168) Dioscorus insisted that his concern was not to defend Eutyches but the faith; and from his exile in Gangra after the council, according to Timothy Aelurus, he anathematized those Eutychians who held that the Lord's body was in any way different from our body (Ebied and Wickham 1970, 360). Even if Eutyches' rejection of the dual consubstantiality was capable of an orthodox interpretation, it was still a mistake.

Basil of Seleucia had tried to help Eutyches by suggesting a sound miaphysite (one-nature) formula and that this had led to an angry exchange with Eutyches' accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, an uncompromising dyophysite. None of this appears in the minutes, which represent the synod fathers as united in their support of Flavian and Eusebius. The tendency for minutes to gloss over disagreements by omitting 'incidental' remarks (for which see a notary's admission at 792) is not surprising but needs to be constantly remembered.<sup>9</sup>

Further damage to Flavian's reputation as an impartial judge emerged at a hearing a fortnight later on 27 April, when an imperial official revealed that in the course of the synod Flavian had discouraged the attendance of the patrician Florentius on the grounds that Eutyches' condemnation was already signed and sealed, and this even before the luckless defendant had appeared in court (838, 842).

Judgement on Eutyches' appeal was deferred until August 449, when the Second Council of Ephesus was convoked by the emperor Theodosius II and chaired and dominated by Archbishop Dioscorus of Alexandria. At its first session, an appeal from Eutyches against his condemnation was received and read (157, 164, 185), while a letter from Pope Leo condemning Eutyches was received (84) but not read (88–9). There followed the reading of the Acts of the Home Synod of 448 and of the meetings in April 449, after which Flavian was given no adequate opportunity to present his defence (868–82); the bishops proceeded to quash Eutyches' condemnation (884) and to receive sympathetically an appeal (887) from the monks of his monastery, who had shared his excommunication. They then affirmed their loyalty to the Nicene Creed and their disapproval of any alterations to it, and proceeded to condemn Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum for contravening, or at least adding to, the creed in the doctrinal affirmations they had demanded of Eutyches (962–1067).<sup>10</sup>

Pope Leo denounced Ephesus II as a 'robber council',<sup>11</sup> and the bishops

<sup>9</sup> Then, as now, secretaries had the unenviable task of distinguishing between remarks whose omission would offend and remarks whose inclusion would offend; for an example of the latter, see 772 with our note.

<sup>10</sup> At the first session of Ephesus II were read the minutes of a session of Ephesus I which condemned Nestorius for requiring repentant heretics to subscribe to an expanded creed (921, 943). This provided a precedent for condemning the Home Synod of 448 for the doctrinal demands it made on Eutyches. See our note at 943. for the ambiguity between 'adding to' and 'contravening' the creed.

<sup>11</sup> Leo, *ep.* 95 (Documents before the Council 11).

who took part in it and then later changed sides claimed (notably at the first session of Chalcedon) that Dioscorus had got his way only through gross intimidation. In view, however, of the injustice of Eutyches' condemnation at the Home Synod of 448, one may concede some propriety in Ephesus' condemnation of Eutyches' chief accuser, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, for vexatious prosecution, and of Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, the chairman at the synod, whose bias against the defendant had been exposed in the hearings of April 449.<sup>12</sup> But Ephesus, in ignoring the Formula of Reunion and in condemning a whole series of Syrian bishops, including Domnus of Antioch, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Ibas of Edessa and Daniel of Carrhae (all of whom reappear in the Acts of Chalcedon), breached the accord of 433 no less than the Home Synod of 448 had done.

Ephesus II looked at first like a decisive victory for Dioscorus, but the unrelenting hostility of Rome caused a schism in the church that could not be tolerated indefinitely. When Theodosius II died suddenly in the summer of 450, the court of Constantinople immediately reversed its ecclesiastical policy. Eutyches was subjected to restraint, and the bishops were pressed to sign Leo's Tome, as the only way to restore ecclesiastical communion with the west. A new council was summoned to Chalcedon in the autumn of 451 to complete and crown the victory of orthodoxy (now redefined) and the reunification of Christendom.

### The first session of Chalcedon

The first session of the council was held on 8 October 451, in the nave of the church of St Euphemia.<sup>13</sup> It was attended by 343 bishops (or their representatives) according to the Acts<sup>14</sup> and chaired by the emperor's representative, the *magister militum* Anatolius, flanked by no fewer than eighteen colleagues from among the governing elite.<sup>15</sup> Dramatically the supporters of

12 At Ephesus II, John of Hephæstus remarked aptly, 'The most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches was overcome neither by the threats of his most hostile judge nor by the deviousness of his accuser' (884.92).

13 There is an attractive description of the church and its location in Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE* II.3 (trans. Whitby, 62–5); see also Schneider 1951. It was situated on a hill just outside Chalcedon, only two stades (370 metres) from the Bosphorus, of which it commanded a fine view.

14 The list (at 3) is not, however, complete, and the total number of bishops (or their representatives) attending was probably around 370. See Appendix 2: Attendance and Ecumenicity, vol. 3, 193–203.

15 This is why the chairman's remarks are regularly attributed in the Acts to 'the most

Dioscorus sat on one side and his opponents on the other (4). Seniority was accorded to the representatives of Pope Leo, with Archbishop Anatolius of Constantinople in second place,<sup>16</sup> in accordance with the Third Canon of the Council of Constantinople of 381 but contrary to the procedure at the two preceding general councils, Ephesus I in 431 and Ephesus II in 449, where the bishop of Alexandria had played the leading role; this, evidently, could not be allowed at a council at which the current bishop of Alexandria was lined up for condemnation.

The session began with a protest from the Roman delegates at Dioscorus' being allowed to sit among the bishops, contrary to their instructions from the pope (5–12). Though the chairman was taken aback by so peremptory a demand, he conceded the point, and Dioscorus took his seat as a defendant in the centre of the church (13). Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum then presented himself, according to the will of the emperor, to present a plaint against his condemnation at Ephesus (14–16). Both he and Dioscorus demanded a reading of the Acts of Ephesus II relating to the cases of both Eusebius and Flavian of Constantinople (18–19). The reading started with several imperial instructions relating to the summoning of Ephesus II. This was interrupted by the admission to the council, according to instructions from the emperor, of Bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who had also been condemned at Ephesus (26). There followed furious exchanges between his supporters and opponents, which the chairman tried to quell by ruling that Theodoret was to sit not among the other bishops but in the centre of the church as a plaintiff, on the same footing as Eusebius of Dorylaeum (35–6, 196).

After the remaining imperial documents had been read, Dioscorus intervened to protest at the injustice of his being singled out, as if responsibility for Ephesus were his alone (53). At this a number of bishops intervened to insist that they had cooperated with Dioscorus only because he used physical force against them (54–62). On instructions from the chairman, the reading of the minutes of the first session of Ephesus II now went ahead (from 68), interrupted by various interjections by the council fathers, who protested at the unjust treatment of Flavian (71), the suppression of the letter from Pope Leo (87–91), and again at Dioscorus' use of force (134; cf. 851–61). They also took umbrage at a number of points in the Acts of Ephesus II where

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glorious [and magnificent] officials (ἀρχοῦντες) and the exalted senate'. It is to be presumed that it is always Anatolius who is speaking.

16 For this Anatolius, one of the major actors at the council, see *DHGE* 2, 1497–500.



acclamations that were now an embarrassment were attributed to ‘the holy council’ as a whole (121, 149, 496, 530).<sup>17</sup> We may note the sage observation of the notary Aetius at the hearing of 13 April 449:

It often happens at these most holy gatherings that one of the most God-beloved bishops present says something, and what one man says is recorded and counted as if everyone alike had said it. This is what has happened from time immemorial: for instance, one person speaks and we write, ‘The holy council said ....’ (767)

Acclamations, likewise, might express either the opinion of a whole assembly or simply the wishes of a noisy faction. They could be serious expressions of opinion, which is why they were customarily recorded;<sup>18</sup> but they could descend into ‘vulgar outbursts’, as the chairman remarked caustically at one point (44).

Dioscorus defended himself by pointing out that he had but obeyed imperial orders and that he was no more answerable for the proceedings of the council than the other bishops who had co-chaired it (18, 53). The bishops admitted that not everything could be laid at Dioscorus’ door and that they bore a share of responsibility (181–4); they effectively abandoned the claim that Dioscorus had got his way through intimidation alone.

Since the minutes of the first session of Ephesus had incorporated as proof of the unorthodoxy of Archbishop Flavian the Acts of the Home Synod of 448 which he had chaired, the minutes of the latter were now read out (223–552). During the reading, the chairman elicited from the bishops expressions of support for Flavian of Constantinople (272–80). At this point all of Dioscorus’ supporters except for the Egyptian bishops abandoned him, as one group after another crossed the floor of the church in a strikingly dramatic gesture (284–98).<sup>19</sup> Even four of the Egyptian bishops spoke out in favour of Flavian (293–96). Dioscorus continued boldly to interrupt the proceedings with insistence on a strictly miaphysite (one-nature) Christology (299, 332, 341), unaware that, in the context, he was simply damaging his own cause: silence would have been both more dignified and more

<sup>17</sup> Honigmann 1942–3, 40 computes that out of the 145 bishops at Ephesus 119 attended Chalcedon. The awkwardness of their situation needs no underlining.

<sup>18</sup> Note how Count Chaereas, reporting in April 449 to the court of Constantinople on the unrest in Edessa over Bishop Ibas, transmitted pages of acclamations uttered by the clergy and citizens of the city (*Syriac Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus*, trans. Perry, 66–73).

<sup>19</sup> The desertion of Dioscorus by his Palestinian and Illyrian allies was temporary and tactical. They criticized the Tome of Leo at the second session (II. 24–6) and were notable for their degree of non-participation in his condemnation at the third session.

prudent. The most sage comments were from Eustathius of Berytus, who reminded the council fathers that Flavian too had used miaphysite expressions (267; cf. 279) and pointed out the dangers in imposing a profession of two natures in Christ after the union – a truly prophetic warning (531).

The reading of the minutes of Ephesus continued with few recorded interruptions (only 851–63 and 965); we may suspect that, in the actual reading, this part of the text was substantially cut. Finally, at the end of the reading, the lay chairman declared that Dioscorus and five other bishops who had played a leading role at Ephesus II should be deposed from their sees by the council, ‘if it please our most divine and pious lord’ (1068).<sup>20</sup> The bishops were not formally consulted over this penalty, though they proceeded immediately to support it with their acclamations: ‘Christ has deposed Dioscorus. Christ has deposed the murderer. This is a just sentence ... The senate is just, the council is just’ (1071).

What formally had the chairman brought about by delivering his sentence at the end of this first session? The six bishops he condemned were excluded from the second session; this means that his sentence had immediate effect in suspending them. When delivering it, he referred to a need for obtaining the emperor’s approval; he did not refer to ratification by the council fathers. But, by the time of the third session of the council five days later, the chairman’s sentence had been transmogrified into a provisional sentence needing ratification by the bishops. At this point Dioscorus was subjected to a full trial, while the other five bishops suspended at the end of the first session, who in the meantime had made their peace with the government, were reinstated a few days later, at the fourth session (IV. 14–18).

Finally, the chairman asked the bishops to draw up professions of their faith on paper, clearly as a first stage of consultation on how the council should settle the great doctrinal issue for which the emperor had summoned it. We may note the acclamations that greeted the reading out from the minutes of Ephesus II of the Formula of Reunion, a Christological statement that had in its time united the churches (246–58). The first session of the council paved the way for both the condemnation of Dioscorus (in the third session) and the drawing up (in the fifth) of a definition that attempted to reassert the middle ground in the Christological controversy.

<sup>20</sup> Dioscorus and two of the five others (Juvenal of Jerusalem and Eustathius of Berytus) had already been excluded from commemoration in the liturgy by those who followed the lead of Pope Leo; see *ACO* 2.4 p. 40. 3–9.

## PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, eight days before the Ides of October,<sup>21</sup> at Chalcedon.

2. By order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia the most glorious officials,<sup>22</sup> that is: (1)<sup>23</sup> the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*,<sup>24</sup> former consul, and patrician,<sup>25</sup> (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians,<sup>26</sup> (3) the most magnificent and glorious Tatian, prefect of the City,<sup>27</sup> (4) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices,<sup>28</sup> (5) the most magnificent Martialis, *magister*,<sup>29</sup> (6) the most magnificent Sporacius, count of the hallowed *domestici*,<sup>30</sup> (7) the most magnificent Genethlius, count of the divine *privata*,<sup>31</sup> and also the glorious senate, that is: (8) the most magnificent and glorious Florentius, former prefect {for the sixth time},<sup>32</sup>

21 8 October 451.

22 That pride of place is given in the attendance lists to the imperial officials present points to the production of the Acts by the civil rather than the ecclesiastical secretariat.

23 The numbers in all the lists are modern editorial supplements, although there is evidence that the lists of bishops were originally numbered. See Schwartz 1937, 26 n. 1, and *ACO* 3.3 pp. 305–41, which record the numeration in two ancient lists – one of bishops who uttered verdicts condemning Dioscorus, and one of signatories of his condemnation.

24 Here, and throughout the minutes, *magister militum* is how the Latin correctly renders the vaguer στρατηλάτης of the Greek.

25 Flavius Anatolius was from 433 to c.446 *magister utriusque militiae* in the Orient, where he developed contacts with the Syrian bishops including Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who, in the difficult conditions of the late 440s, looked to him as an ally (see esp. *epp.* 45, 79, 111). In 450–51 he was based at Constantinople as *magister utriusque militiae praesentalis*; he had been consul in 440 and had patrician rank from at least 447. References to *PLRE* 2 for this and the following officials are given in our index of names.

26 Praetorian prefect of the east 450–55.

27 Prefect of the city of Constantinople 450–52 and a long-standing friend of Marcian.

28 Master of the offices 451–52. He received Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *ep.* 141, in early 451, thanking him for using his influence to help secure Theodoret's recall from exile. He later became a monk.

29 Flavius Areobindas Martialis had been master of the offices in 449 and chaired a synod in April of that year which gave a sympathetic hearing to an appeal from Eutyches (829–49).

30 *Comes domesticorum peditum* 450–51, he built a church of St Theodore at Constantinople and was a correspondent of Theodoret, who was later to dedicate to him his *EpiTome of Heretical Fables*.

31 Genethlius was *comes rei privatae* 450–51.

32 These words come in the Latin version and in parallel entries in the Greek at 555.2, 557.

former consul, and patrician,<sup>33</sup> (9) the most magnificent and glorious Senator, former consul, and patrician,<sup>34</sup> (10) the most magnificent and glorious Nomus, former *magister*, former consul, and patrician,<sup>35</sup> (11) the most magnificent and glorious Protogenes, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (12) the most magnificent and glorious Zoilus, former prefect, (13) the most magnificent and glorious Theodore, former prefect of the City, (14) the most magnificent and glorious Apollonius, former prefect, (15) the most magnificent and glorious Romanus, former *praepositus*, (16) the most magnificent and glorious Theodore, former prefect of Illyricum, (17) the most magnificent and glorious Constantine, former praetorian prefect, (18) the most magnificent and glorious Artaxes, former *praepositus*, (19) the most magnificent and glorious Eulogius, former prefect of Illyricum.

3. There also assembled the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by divine decree, that is: (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout<sup>36</sup> bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most sacred and God-beloved Archbishop Leo of Senior<sup>37</sup> Rome, (4) Anatolius the most sacred archbishop of the renowned city of Constantinople New Rome, (5) Dioscorus the most God-beloved archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, and the other most sacred and devout bishops, that is: (6) Maximus of Antioch in Syria, (7) Juvenal of Jerusalem, (8) Quintillus of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica,<sup>38</sup> (9) Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (10)

33 Florentius was several times praetorian prefect, and consul in 429. He took part in the Home Synod of 448, at which he took a strongly dyophysite position (484–549). Despite this, he was chosen by Theodosius II to represent him at the subsequent hearing in 13 April 449 (555–828), where he played down his dyophysite convictions (778).

34 Senator, consul in 436, who built a church to St Michael at Constantinople. Like seven of the other officials and senators listed here, he had received extant letters from Theodoret, but the receipt of such letters is proof of social standing rather than of close or genuinely friendly relations.

35 Nomus (master of the offices 443–46) had been an ally of Chrysaphius (see III. 57) and supporter of Eutyches. Theodoret wrote to him repeatedly, but found him unresponsive (*ep.* 96).

36 ‘Most devout’ (εὐλαβέστατος) is the standard honorific for all clergy and religious, from archbishops to simple monks. The equivalent expression in the Latin text is *reverentissimus*.

37 ‘Senior’ translates πρεσβυτέρα, meaning ‘older’, with the implication not just of greater antiquity but of higher dignity.

38 Anastasius of Thessalonica’s absence from both Ephesus II and Chalcedon may have been diplomatic. He was in a difficult position, having to mediate between the bishops in his vicariate of Illyricum, many or most of whom supported Dioscorus (see our commentary on the third session) and were critical of Leo’s Tome (II. 24–6), and his ecclesiastical superior, Pope Leo of Rome, who wrote to him personally after Ephesus II, fiercely criticizing the council (*ep.* 47).

Stephen of Ephesus, (11) Lucian of Bizye, representing Cyriacus bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (12) Eusebius of Ancyra in Galatia, (13) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (14) Peter of Corinth, (15) Florentius of Sardis, (16) Eunomius of Nicomedia, (17) Eusebius and Constantine, presbyters, representing Anastasius bishop of Nicaea, (18) Eleutherius of Chalcedon, (19) Julian of the city of Cos, himself also representing Leo of the apostolic see of Senior Rome,<sup>39</sup> (20)<sup>40</sup> Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, (21) Meletius of Larissa, representing Domnus bishop of Apamea in Syria, (22) Amphilocheus of Side, (23) Theodore of Tarsus, (24) Cyrus of Anazarbus, (25) Constantine of Bostra, (26) Photius of Tyre, (27) Theodore of Damascus, (28) Stephen of Hierapolis, (29) Nonnus of Edessa, (30) Symeon of Amida, (31) Epiphanius, bishop [of Soli], representing Olympius bishop of Constantia, (32) John of Sebasteia, (33) Seleucus of Amaseia, (34) Constantine of Melitene, (35) Patricius of Tyana, (36) Peter of Gangra, (37) Apragmonius [of Tieum], representing Calogerus bishop of Claudiopolis, (38) Atarbius of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus bishop of Neocaesarea, (39) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus bishop of Pessinus, (40) Romanus of Myra, (41) Critonianus of Aphrodisias in Caria, (42) Nunechius of Laodicea in Phrygia, (43) Marinianus of Synnada, (44) Onesiphorus of Iconium, (45) Pergamius

39 See Pope Leo, *epp.* 86 and 92 (*ACO* 2.4 pp. 42, 49), in which he asks Julian to act as one of his representatives. Because of his role as an additional Roman legate (for which he was well qualified by his upbringing in Rome and fluency in both Greek and Latin) Julian's name is placed among those of the metropolitans. Cos (in the Aegean) was in the province of the Islands. The list of bishops we include as VI. 9D locates his see in Bithynia, which would require emending the name to Cius, but this is probably an error, due to his name coming between two Bithynian bishops at VI. 17. The argument that his repeated activity as Leo's agent at Constantinople would be more comprehensible if his see were in Bithynia (Jalland 1941, 235–6) probably overestimates his devotion to his diocese.

40 From this point onwards the list follows a clear geographical sequence. First, metropolitans of the diocese of Oriens (20–21, 23–30), Pontica (32–9), Asiana (40–46), Macedonia (47–50), Thrace (51–3), and then the suffragan bishops, as follows. Oriens: Syria I (55–7, 59–60, 63–4), Palestine (66–9, 71–3, 75–83), Isauria (86–92, 94–5), Syria II (96–101), Cilicia I (102–6), Cilicia II (107–11), Arabia (112–15), Phoenice I (116–23), Phoenice Libanensis (124–8), Euphratensis (129–33), Osrhoene (135–7). Egypt (140–58). Pontica: Pontus Polemoniacus (161–2), Galatia I (163–7), Armenia I (168–70), Helenopontus (171–4), Armenia II (175–9), Cappadocia II (180–81), Paphlagonia (182–4), Honorias (185–7), Galatia II (188–92). Asiana: Asia (195–212), Hellespontus (214–23), Lydia (224–34), Lycia (235–43). Macedonia: Achaea (244–7), Epirus Vetus (248–52). Asiana: Caria (253–64, 276–8), Phrygia Pacatiana (265–74), Phrygia Salutaris (279–88), Lycaonia (289–95), Pisidia (296–309). Cyprus (311–13). Macedonia: Achaea (314–16), Crete (317–18, 320–21), Macedonia (322–8). Asiana: Pamphylia I (329–35), Pamphylia II (336–9).

of Antioch in Pisidia, (46) Epiphanius of Perge, (47) Atticus of Nicopolis in Epirus, (48) Martyrius of Gortyna, (49) Luke of Dyrrachium, (50) Constantine of Demetrias, representing Vigilantius bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (51) Francion of Philippopolis, (52) Sebastian of Beroe,<sup>41</sup> (53) Basil of Trajanopolis, (54) Trypho of Chios, representing John bishop of Rhodes,<sup>42</sup> (55) Theoctistus of Beroea in Syria, (56) Gerontius of Seleucia in Syria, (57) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (58) Eusebius of Dorylaeum, (59) Sabas of Paltus, (60) Peter of Gabbula, (61) Sophronius of Constantia, (62) Patricius of Neocaesarea, (63) Maras of Anasartha, (64) Romulus of Chalcis, (65) Eustathius of Berytus, (66) Leontius of Ascalon, (67) Anianus of Capitoliias, (68) Zebennus of Pella, (69) John of Tiberias, (70) Antiochus of Arca, (71) Beryllus of Aela, (72) Aretas of Elusa, (73) Musonius of Segor, (74) Rufinus of Byblus, (75) Pancratius of Livias, (76) Zosimus of Menois, (77) Polychronius of Antipatris, (78) John of Gadara, (79) Paul of Anthedon, (80) Photinus of Lydda, (81) Heraclius of Azotus, (82) Marcian of Gerara, (83) Stephen of Jamnia, (84) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis, (85) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis, (86) Theodore of Claudiopolis in Isauria, (87) Julius of Celenderis, (88) Tyrannus of Germanicopolis, (89) John of Diocaesarea, (90) Acacius of Antioch, (91) Epiphanius of Cestrus, (92) Aelianus of Selinus, (93) Gaius of Syedra, (94) Ammonius of Iotape, (95) Matalus of Philadelphia, (96) Mark of Arethusa, (97) Timothy of Balaneae, (98) Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum, (99) Eutychanus of Epiphaneia, (100) Paul of Mariamme, (101) Lampadius of Raphaneae, (102) Alexander of Sebaste, (103) Philip of Adana, (104) Hypatius of Zephyrium, (105) Theodore of Augusta, (106) Chrysippus of Mallus, (107) Julian of Rhosus, (108) Polychronius of Epiphaneia, (109) John of Flaviopolis, (110) Indimus of Irenopolis, (111) Sophronius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Bassianus bishop of Mopsuestia, (112) Proclus of Adraa, (113) Eulogius of Philadelphia, (114) Theodosius of Canatha, (115) Hormisdas of Philippopolis, (116) Damian of Sidon, (117) Theodore of Tripolis, (118) Olympius of Paneas, (119) Paul of Ptolemais, (120) Paul of Aradus, (121) Thomas of Porphyreon, (122) Porphyry of Botrys, (123) Phosphorus of Orthosia, (124) Porphyry, archdeacon, representing Uranius bishop of Emesa, (125) Joseph of Heliopolis, (126) Jordanes of Abila, (127) Valerius of Laodicea, (128) Thomas of Euaria, (129) Rufinus of Samosata, (130) John of Germanicia, (131) Timothy of Doliche, (132) Euolcius of Zeugma,

41 Beroe was a merely titular metropolitan see.

42 This ends the list of metropolitan bishops.

(133) Athanasius of Perrhe, (134) Zebennus of Martyropolis, (135) Caiumas of Marcopolis, (136) John of Carrhae, (137) Abramius of Circesium, (138) John of the Saracens, (139) Noah of Cephas, (140) Hieracis of Aphnaeum, (141) Sabinus of Aduli, (142) Apollonius of Tanis, (143) Hero of Thennesus, (144) Athanasius of Busiris, (145) Pasmius of Paralus, (146) Isidore of Sethroites, (147) Theophilus of Cleopatris, (148) Theodulus of {Tesila in}<sup>43</sup> Pentapolis, (149) Januarius of Leontopolis, (150) John of Psinchaus, (151) Auxonius of Sebennytyus, (152) Isaac of Taua, (153) Eulogius of Athribis, (154) Isaias of Hermopolis, (155) Stephen of Gerae, (156) Nestorius of Phlabonis, (157) Theophilus of Erythrum, (158) Macarius of Cabasa, (159) Callinicus of Apamea in Bithynia, (160) Leucadius of Mnizus, (161) John of Polemonium, (162) Gratidianus of Cerasus, (163) Julian of Tavium, (164) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis, (165) Hyperechius of Aspona, (166) Acacius of Cinna, (167) Euphrasius of Lagania, (168) Cecropius of Sebastopolis, (169) John of Nicopolis, (170) Dorotheus, presbyter, representing Anatolius bishop of Satala, (171) Atticus of Zela, (172) Antiochus of Sinope, (173) Eucharius, deacon, representing Paralius bishop of Andrappa, (174) Paul, presbyter, representing Uranius bishop of Ibora, (175) Acacius of Ariaratheia, (176) Heraclius of Comana, (177) Adelphius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Adolius bishop of Arabissus, (178) Euphronius, presbyter, representing Domnus bishop of Cucusus, (179) Otrius presbyter, representing John bishop of Arca, (180) Theodosius of Nazianzus, (181) Aristomachus of Colonia, (182) Rhenus of Ionopolis, (183) Epiphanius, presbyter, representing Aetherius bishop of Pompeiopolis, (184) Philotimus, presbyter, representing Themistius bishop of Amastris, (185) Theodore of Heraclea, (186) Eulogius presbyter, representing Genethlius bishop of Creteia, (187) Pelagius, presbyter, representing Theophilus bishop of Hadrianopolis, (188) Helpidius of Thermae,<sup>44</sup> (189) Aquila of Eudoxias, (190) Mysterius of Amorium, (191) Chrysippus, presbyter, representing Cyriacus bishop of Trocnades, (192) Longinus of Orcistus, (193) Docimasius of Maronea, (194) Serenus of Maximianopolis in Rhodope, (195) Aetherichus of Smyrna, (196) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (197) Cyriacus of Aegae, (198) Mamas of Aninetus, (199) Leontius of Magnesia on the Maeander, (200) Quintus of Phocaea, (201) Proclus of Algiza, (202) Thomas of Auliucome, (203) Olympius of Theodosiopolis, (204) Philip of Neaule, (205) Rufinus of Briulla, (206) Marcellinus of Metropolis, (207) Isaias of Elaea, (208) Paulinus of Theodosiopolis,

43 Supplied from the Latin version.

44 This city (or 'staging-post', III. 2.153) appears as Myrcia in Jones 1971, 533. 'Helpidius Myreacenon Thermis' comes in a Latin list of the signatories of the Definition (VI. 9D.164).

(209) Julian of Hypaepa, (210) Hesperus of Pitane, (211) Proterius of Myrina, (212) Basilicus of Palaeopolis, (213) Maeonius of Nysa, (214) Peter of Dardanus, (215) Thalassius of Parium, (216) David of Hadrianea, (217) Eulalius of Pionia, (218) Pionius of Troas, (219) Stephen of Poemanenum, (220) Theosebius of Ilium, (221) Hermias of Abydus, (222) Daniel of Lampsacus, (223) Patricius of Hadrianutherae, (224) Menecrates of Ceraseis, (225) Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, also representing Andrew of Satala, (226) Helias of Blaundus, (227) Polycarp of Tabala, (228) Patricius of Acrasus, (229) Paul of Tripolis, (230) Amachius of Saittae, (231) Leucius of Apollonshieron, (232) Gemellus of Stratonicea, (233) Alcimedes of Silandus, (234) Dionysius of Attaleia, (235) Nicholas of Acarassus, also representing Stephen of Limyra, (236) Zenodotus of Telmessus, (237) Fronto of Phaselis, (238) Philip of Balbura, (239) Theodore of Antiphellus, (240) Leontius of Araxa, (241) Antipater of Caunus, (242) Andrew of Tlos, (243) Romanus of Bubon, (244) Nicias of Megara, (245) Athanasius of Opus, (246) Domninus of Plataea, (247) Onesimus of Argos, (248) Mark of Euroea, (249) Peregrinus of Phoenice, (250) Euty chius of Hadrianopolis, (251) Claudius of Anchiasmus, (252) Soterichus of Corcyra, (253) Dionysius of Antioch, (254) John of Alinda, (255) Flacillus of Iasus, (256) Papias of Eriza, (257) Dionysius of Heraclea by Latmus, (258) Menander of Heraclea by Salbacus, (259) Eupithius of Stratonicea, (260) John of Amyzon, (261) Tynchanus of Apollonia, (262) Theodoret of Alabanda, (263) John of Cnidus, (264) Julian, presbyter, representing Calandion of Halicarnassus, (265) Daniel of Cadi, (266) Modestus of Sebaste, (267) Paul of Aristium, (268) Eulalius of Sibia, (269) Chares of Dionysopolis, (270) John of Trapezopolis, (271) Gennadius of Acmonieia, (272) Thomas of Theodosiana,<sup>45</sup> (273) Gennadius of Mossyna, (274) Evander of Diocleia, (275) Gerontius of Basilinopolis, (276) Alphius of Myndus, (277) Theoctistus, presbyter, representing Diogenes of Orthosia, (278) Philotheus, presbyter, representing Zoticus of Harpasa, (279) Mirus of Eulandra, (280) Lucian of Ipsus, (281) Philip of Lysias, (282) Epiphanius of Midaeum, (283) Abercius of Hieropolis, (284) Cyriacus of Eucarpia, (285) Eustochius of Docimium, (286) Aquila of Aurocra, (287) Basil of Nacoleia, (288) Strategius of Polybotus, (289) Neoptolemus of Corna, (290) Paul of Derbe, (291) Plutarch of Lystra, (292) Eugenius of Cana, (293) Rufus of Hyde, (294) Tyrannus of Homanada, (295) Acholius of Laranda, (296) Eutropius

<sup>45</sup> The name regularly appears in the Acts in the form 'Theodosiopolis', but we adopt the form used in Jones 1971.



of Adada, (297) Paul of Philomelium, (298) Paulinus of Apamea, (299) Theoctenus of Tyriaeum, (300) Heorticius of Metropolis, (301) Cyrus of Sinethandus, (302) Libanius of Parlais, (303) Alexander of Seleucia, (304) Olympius of Sozopolis, (305) Fontianus of Sagalassus, (306) Adelus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Messalinus bishop of Laodicea, (307) Bassonas of Neapolis, (308) Florentius of Hadrianopolis, (309) Movianus of Limenae, (310) Euelpistus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Florentius bishop of Tenedos, (311) Soterias of Theodosiane, also representing Heliodorus bishop of Amathus and Proechius bishop of Arsinoe, (312) Epaphroditus of Tamasus, also representing Didymus bishop of Lapethus, (313) Dionysius, deacon, representing Photinus bishop of Chytri, (314) John of Messene, (315) Ophelimus of Tegea, (316) Irenaeus of Naupactus, (317) Cyril of Subrita, (318) Gennadius of Cnossus, (319) Eusebius of Apollonia, (320) Demetrius of Lappa, (321) Euphratas of Eleutherna, also representing Paul bishop of Cantanus, (322) Sozon of Philippi, (323) Eusebius of Doberus, (324) Maximin of Serrhae, (325) Nicholas of Stobi, (326) Dardanius of Bargala, (327) John of Parthiopolis, (328) Honoratus of Thasos, (329) Theophilus of Ariassus, (330) Neon of Silyum, (331) Diodotus of Lysinia, (332) Maras of Codrula,<sup>46</sup> (333) Paul of Poglea, (334) Marcellinus of Isinda, (335) Macedon of Magydu, (336) Eudoxius of Etenna, (337) Eugenius of Cotenna, (338) Marcellinus of Carallia, (339) Obrimus of Coracesium, (340) Peter of Echinaeum, (341) Aurelius the African, (342) Eustathius of the nation of the Saracens, (343) Restitianus the African. All the bishops who assembled at Chalcedon.

4. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate<sup>47</sup> were seated in the centre in front of the rails of the most holy sanctuary. On their left were seated the most sacred representatives of the most God-beloved and holy Archbishop Leo of Senior Rome, Anatolius the most religious archbishop of imperial Constantinople, Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch, Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea, Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, and the other most devout bishops of the dioceses of the Orient, Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, except those of Palestine. On their right were seated likewise Dioscorus the most devout archbishop of Alexandria, Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, the most devout bishop Quintillus, representing Anastasius the most devout bishop of

<sup>46</sup> Maras was too ill to make the journey from Nicaea (IV. 9.37); he must have been represented throughout the council by another cleric, perhaps the presbyter Verus who spoke for him in the fourth session.

<sup>47</sup> Regularly in the Acts, with only a few exceptions, the senators present are referred to as 'the senate', which they represented.

Thessalonica, Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, and the other most devout bishops of the dioceses of Egypt and Illyricum, and also the most devout bishops of Palestine. In the centre was placed the most holy and immaculate gospel-book.

5. Paschasinus, the most devout bishop and guardian of the apostolic see, took his stand in the centre together with his companions and said: 'We have {at hand}<sup>48</sup> instructions from the most blessed and apostolic bishop of the city of Rome, the head of all the churches, in which he has thought it right to declare that Dioscorus should not take a seat at the assembly, and that if he has the effrontery to attempt to do so, he should be expelled.<sup>49</sup> This we are obliged to observe. Therefore, if it pleases your greatness, either he must leave, or we shall leave.'

6. When these words had been translated into Greek by Veronicianus, the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory,<sup>50</sup> the most glorious officials and the eminent senators<sup>51</sup> said: 'What particular charge do you bring against Dioscorus the most devout bishop?'

7. Paschasinus, the most devout bishop and guardian of the apostolic see, said: 'His entrance makes it necessary to oppose him.'

8. The most illustrious<sup>52</sup> officials and the most eminent senators said: 'As we have already proposed, let the charge against him be specified.'

9. Lucentius the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said:<sup>53</sup> 'He should render an account of his judgement. Although he did not possess the role of a judge, he usurped it. He presumed to hold a council without the leave of the apostolic see, which has never been allowed and has never been done.'<sup>54</sup>

48 Supplied from the Latin version.

49 The Latin is milder: 'Dioscorus should not sit in the council but should be admitted in order to be heard [i.e., as a defendant].'

50 This clause is placed here in the Latin version, but before 5 in the Greek text (for reasons analyzed by Schwartz 1933, 247). Regularly the papal representatives spoke in Latin, and their statements were then translated into Greek. The Latin version generally gives a Latin retroversion, but occasionally preserves, either in whole or in part, the original Latin wording (e.g., XVI. 10–16), as noted by Schwartz 1933.

51 This or a similar phrase is regularly used in the Acts to refer to the lay chairman, the *magister militum* Anatolius, accompanied as he was by other high-ranking officials.

52 The word is *λαμπρότατος* in the Greek and *clarissimus* in the Latin.

53 We translate the original Latin of Lucentius' speech, which is preserved in an annotation by Rusticus (for whom see pp. 84–5). The Greek is identical in meaning.

54 Ephesus II was in fact called by Theodosius II. He summoned Pope Leo to it, who responded, 'I have exerted myself to obey your clemency's commands in some measure by

10. Paschasinus the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: 'We cannot go against the instructions of the most blessed and apostolic bishop who occupies the apostolic see, nor against the ecclesiastical canons or the traditions of the fathers.'

11. The most illustrious officials and the most eminent senators said: 'You need to make clear his specific offence.'

12. Lucentius the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: 'We will not tolerate so great an outrage both to you and to us as to have this person taking his seat when he has been summoned to judgement.'

13. The most illustrious officials and the most eminent senators said: 'If you are taking the role of a judge, you cannot in that capacity plead your cause.'<sup>55</sup>

14. When at the bidding of the most glorious officials and of the holy<sup>56</sup> senate Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria had taken a seat in the centre, and the most devout Roman bishops had also sat down in their proper places and had ceased speaking, Eusebius the most devout bishop of the city of Dorylaeum came to the centre and said: 'By the preservation of the masters of the world, order my petition to be read,<sup>57</sup> in accordance with the wishes of our most pious emperor. I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the faith has been wronged; Bishop Flavian was murdered.<sup>58</sup> He together with me was unjustly deposed by Dioscorus. Order my petition to be read.'

15. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the petition be read.'

sending from here brethren of mine ... who can represent me' (*ep.* 37). Wholly similar was the way in which the Council of Chalcedon was convened contrary to Leo's wishes but with his acquiescence in the imperial will (Documents before the Council 5–7). Lucentius' charge was therefore unfounded.

55 This remark has generally been taken as a rebuke to Lucentius for acting as prosecutor when seated as a judge. But surely it is addressed to Dioscorus, and expresses agreement with the view Lucentius has just expressed, that Dioscorus as defendant cannot sit among the judges. Accordingly he now takes a place in the centre of the church.

56 The word is *ἱερός* not *ἅγιος*, the honorific used for church councils.

57 Rusticus *ad loc.* informs us that the Greek Acoemete MS he perused at Constantinople (see Schwartz 1933, 247) read in place of the preceding words, 'I adjure you by the holy Trinity, which is the protector of princes and which you worship and in which you were baptized and by invoking which you are saved: order my petition to be read, most clement officials.'

58 In the preceding sentence the Acoemete MS read according to Rusticus, 'I adjure you by the preservation of the emperors I adjure you: Flavian was wickedly killed. Merciful judges, have pity, and assist the faith which has been violated by Dioscorus.' In addition Rusticus' Latin text adds at this point, 'I am filled with tears'.

When at the bidding of all Eusebius the most devout bishop had taken a seat in the centre, Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory received his petition from him and read out:

16. *To our Christ-loving<sup>59</sup> and most pious emperors Flavius Valentinian and Flavius Marcian perpetual Augusti from Eusebius the most insignificant bishop of Dorylaeum, speaking on behalf of himself, of the orthodox faith, and of Flavian, [now] among the saints, late bishop of Constantinople.*

*It is the concern of your authority to provide for all your subjects, and to extend a hand to all who are wronged, especially those enrolled in the priesthood; in this you serve the Godhead from whom you have received rule and authority over what is under the sun. Since the Christian faith and we ourselves have suffered many outrages, contrary to all good order, at the hands of Dioscorus the most devout bishop of the great city of Alexandria, we come to your piety to ask for justice. The facts of the case are as follows.*

*At the recent council in the metropolis of Ephesus – would that it had never taken place and had not filled the world with trouble and confusion! – this admirable<sup>60</sup> Dioscorus set at naught both considerations of justice and the fear of God. Sharing the doctrines and views of the vain and heretical Eutyches, and deceiving the many, as he revealed himself later, he found his opportunity in the accusation which I had brought against the like-minded Eutyches and in the sentence which Bishop Flavian of sacred memory had delivered against him.<sup>61</sup> Gathering a huge and disorderly mob and using money to procure power, he did as much damage as he could to the pious religion of the orthodox and confirmed the heresy of the monk Eutyches, which had previously and from the first been condemned by the holy fathers. Since his offences against the Christian faith and against us are far from trivial, we beg and petition your authority to decree that the most devout Bishop Dioscorus must answer the charges we have brought against him, with, of course, the reading before the holy council of the minutes of his*

59 ‘Christ-loving’ (φιλοχριστός) is an epithet regularly reserved in the Acts to the emperors, or sometimes, by extension, to the city of Constantinople as the imperial capital.

60 ‘Admirable’ translates ὁ χρηστός, an ordinary item of vocabulary, not an honorific. Honorifics are never used ironically in the Acts, nor do speakers descend to omitting honorifics, where they are due, as a subtle insult. See, however, 644 (with our note) for a speaker referring to an honorific as requiring a particular level of conduct from its holder.

61 Eusebius directly accuses Dioscorus of heresy. When Dioscorus was formally tried and deposed at the third session of the council, the charge of heresy was much less prominent; see our commentary on the third session, vol. 2, 33–4.

*proceedings against us; these will enable us to prove that he is a stranger to the orthodox faith and has given his support to heresy steeped in impiety, and that he deposed us unjustly and did terrible things to us. May you send divine and venerable instructions to the holy and ecumenical council of most God-beloved bishops, that they are to hear the case between the aforesaid Dioscorus and us and bring all the proceedings to the knowledge of your piety, according to the will of your immortal head. If we obtain this, we shall offer up ceaseless prayers for your everlasting reign, O most divine emperors.*

17. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘May these charges be dealt with.’

18. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘The most pious emperor ordered a council to be convened, and it convened according to the divine will of our most pious emperor. Regarding the proceedings relating to Flavian, then bishop of the holy church of Constantinople, minutes were taken at the holy council, and I ask that they be read.’<sup>62</sup>

19. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘We too make the same request.’

20. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let everything relating to this affair be read in proper order.’

21. Before the reading, Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I ask your magnificence that the matters of faith be examined first.’

22. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘What is required immediately is for you to answer the accusations. Wait now while the acts are read, as you yourself have requested.’

23. Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory said: ‘I have to hand the various divine letters concerning the recent council, and I shall read them.’

And he read from a codex:

*Theodosius of divine memory to Dioscorus the most devout bishop  
of Alexandria*

24. *The emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, most great and ever-venerable Augusti, to Dioscorus.*

*It is clear to everyone that the condition of our state and all human affairs are secured and strengthened by piety towards the Godhead, and that*

<sup>62</sup> Hefele-Leclerq, II.2, 671 understands Dioscorus to be requesting the reading of the minutes of the Home Synod of Constantinople of 448, but he is surely referring to the condemnation of Flavian at Ephesus II.

*it is when the Almighty is favourably disposed that affairs tend to go well and to proceed according to plan. Therefore, since divine Providence appointed us to rule, we necessarily take as much care as we possibly can for the piety and welfare of our subjects, so that both true religion and our state may flourish, assisted by pure worship and piety towards the Almighty.*

*At the present time, as regards the defence of the catholic and apostolic teaching of our orthodox faith, a dispute has suddenly arisen which, seducing people with a variety of opinions, disturbs and confuses, as is natural, the perception and souls of men. Considering it intolerable to overlook such a gross impropriety, lest this might appear to involve outrage against the Almighty, we have decreed that sacred and most God-beloved men who have the highest reputation for piety and for orthodox and true faith are to assemble together, so that after thorough examination they may resolve all vain controversy and confirm the true faith dear to God, that is, the orthodox faith.*

*Therefore your sacredness, together with ten most devout metropolitan bishops in the same diocese and ten other most sacred bishops endowed with intellect and character and outstanding before all for their orthodoxy and for their knowledge and teaching of the unerring and true faith, is to make haste to go without delay to Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia, on the coming Kalends of August; the most holy council is not to be troubled by the attendance of any apart from those aforesaid. Our aim, when all the most sacred and God-beloved bishops whose convening we have decreed by our divine letters have gathered at the aforesaid city and carried out an exact investigation and examination, is that every false error be extirpated and that the doctrine of the true orthodox faith, most dear to Christ our Saviour, be confirmed and be resplendent as usual, the doctrine which everyone in future will keep inviolate and irrefragable through the favour of the Almighty.*

*But if anyone should choose to disregard this council, so necessary and dear to God, and not exert himself to reach the designated place by the appointed time, he will have no excuse either before the Almighty or before our piety; by absenting himself with no good conscience from this priestly assembly he will assuredly be punished in his soul. But as for Theodoret bishop of the city of Cyrrhus, whom we have already ordered to attend exclusively to the affairs of his own church, we decree that he is not to come to the holy council, unless the entire holy council, after it has assembled, should decide that he should attend and participate in the same holy council; if there should arise any dissension over him, we order the holy council to assemble without him and deal with the agenda we have laid down.*

*Issued three days before the Kalends of April at Constantinople in the consulship of the most illustrious Zeno and Postumianus.*<sup>63</sup>

25. Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory said: ‘The other most devout bishops received letters in the same tenor summoning them to the council.’

26. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the most devout Theodoret enter and take part in the council, since the most holy Archbishop Leo has restored his see to him, and since the most divine and pious emperor has decreed his attendance at the holy council.’<sup>64</sup>

27. When the most devout Bishop Theodoret entered, the most devout bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine exclaimed: ‘Have mercy, the faith is being destroyed. The canons exclude him. Drive him out. Drive out the teacher of Nestorius.’<sup>65</sup>

28. The most devout bishops of the Orient, Pontus, Asia, and Thrace exclaimed: ‘We signed blank sheets. We suffered blows and we signed.’<sup>66</sup> Drive out the Manichees. Drive out the enemies of Flavian. Drive out the enemies of the faith.’

29. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Why is Cyril being cast out, who was anathematized by this man?’

30. The most devout bishops of the Orient, Pontus, Asia, and Thrace exclaimed: ‘Drive out Dioscorus the murderer. Who doesn’t know of the actions of Dioscorus?’

31. The most devout bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine exclaimed: ‘Many years to the Augusta!’<sup>67</sup>

63 30 March 449.

64 Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus from 423 to c.466, was the leading theologian of the Antiochene school (whence the accusation that he was a ‘Jew’ at 37) and at the height of the Nestorian controversy had accused Cyril of Alexandria of heresy (whence Dioscorus’ outburst at 29); he was accordingly deposed at Ephesus II. He attended the first session of Chalcedon as a plaintiff (194, 196), sitting apart from the other bishops (36), and was not formally restored to his see until the eighth session. But he participated as a full member of the council in the second and fourth sessions (II. 26, IV. 9.41).

65 The Illyrian bishops were formally under the jurisdiction of Rome, and were to support Rome in its opposition to Canon 28 on the privileges of the see of Constantinople, which none of them signed (XVI. 9). This makes their refusal to be impressed by Pope Leo’s reinstatement of Theodoret all the more striking.

66 The Oriental bishops are explaining why they had subscribed at Ephesus II to Theodoret’s condemnation. Dioscorus’ supporters, in an acclamation omitted from the minutes, must have made the point that Theodoret’s present supporters had earlier condemned him.

67 The empress Pulcheria.

32. The most devout Oriental<sup>68</sup> bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'Drive out the murderers.'

33. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'The Augusta expelled Nestorius: many years to the orthodox one! The council does not admit Theodoret.'

34. Theodoret the most devout bishop came forward to the centre and said: 'I have delivered a petition to the most divine, pious and Christ-loving masters of the world. I have appealed against the attacks of which I have been the victim, and I demand that they be investigated.'

35. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'The most devout Bishop Theodoret, restored to his see by the most holy archbishop of the renowned city of Rome, has now appeared in the role of accuser. Lest the hearing be disrupted, let us conclude what we have initiated. The presence of the most devout Theodoret will be prejudicial to no one, since, obviously enough, full right of speech is assured after this both for you and for him, if you should wish to raise any matters in turn, even though we have a particular and oral witness to his orthodoxy in the most devout bishop of the great city of Antioch.'

36. When the most devout Bishop Theodoret was seated in the centre, the most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'He is worthy, he is worthy.'

37. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'Do not call him a bishop, he is not a bishop. He is not a bishop. Drive out the enemy of God. Drive out the Jew.'<sup>69</sup>

38. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: '[Admit] the orthodox one to the council. Drive out the troublemakers. Drive out the murderers.'

39. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'Drive out the enemy of God. Drive out the blasphemer against Christ. Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the emperor! Many years to the orthodox emperor! This man anathematized Cyril.'

40. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'Drive out Dioscorus the murderer.'

41. The Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'Many years to the senate! He does not have a voice. He was condemned in the presence of the whole council.'

<sup>68</sup> That is, of the diocese of the Orient, specifically that part of it that fell in the patriarchate of Antioch.

<sup>69</sup> 'Jew' in the sense of denying the divinity of Christ.



42. Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis in Rhodope rose and said: ‘We also condemned Theodoret.’

43. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Theodoret accused Cyril. We exclude Cyril if we admit Theodoret. The canons have expelled him. He is rejected by God.’

44. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘These vulgar outbursts are not becoming to bishops, nor useful to either party. Allow everything to be read.’<sup>70</sup>

45. The Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Expel that one man, and we shall all listen. Our interjections are for the sake of piety. We speak on behalf of the orthodox faith.’

46. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Allow, rather, the hearing to be conducted according to God, and permit everything to be read in order.’

When all were silent, Constantine, the hallowed *magistrrianus* and secretary of the divine consistory, read from the same codex:

*A divine letter written to Dioscorus the most devout bishop  
of Alexandria*

47. *It has come to the hearing of our serenity that many of the most devout archimandrites of the east together with the orthodox laity are indignant with certain bishops in some of the Oriental cities who are said to be infected with the impiety of Nestorius, and are fighting on behalf of the orthodox faith. For this reason it has seemed good to our divinity that the most religious presbyter and archimandrite Barsaumas,<sup>71</sup> who has a good reputation for purity of life and orthodox faith, should go to the city of Ephesus and as the representative of all the most religious archimandrites in the Orient should take his seat together with your holiness and all the most holy fathers assembled there, and that decisions pleasing to God should be taken on all matters accordingly. So may your religiousness, recognizing that our only concern is for the orthodox faith, give a favourable reception*

<sup>70</sup> That is, the complete Acts of the first session of Ephesus II.

<sup>71</sup> Barsaumas (see *DHGE* 6, 946–7) was a leading Syrian archimandrite who took part as a full member of Ephesus II (78.131), where he incited the monks against Flavian of Constantinople and his sympathizers (176, 851; IV. 77–8); having a monk as a full member of an ecumenical council was an innovation. See IV. 66–95 for his dramatic intervention at the Council of Chalcedon. After refusing to accept the decrees of the council, he returned to Syria where he campaigned against them until his death in 458. He is venerated as a saint in the Oriental Orthodox churches.

*to the aforesaid most devout archimandrite and make him take part in your holy council. Issued at Therallum on the Ides of May in the consulship of the most illustrious Protogenes and the one to be designated.<sup>72</sup>*

*In the same tenor to Juvenal the most devout bishop of the church of Jerusalem.*

He read from the same codex:

*A divine letter sent to the most devout archimandrite Barsaumas*

48. *It has not escaped our piety how the most religious and holy archimandrites in the eastern parts are arrayed in combat, battling on behalf of the orthodox faith and opposing some of the bishops in the cities of the Orient who are infected with the impiety of Nestorius, while the orthodox laity share the combat with these most religious archimandrites. Since the great labours that your holiness has endured on behalf of the orthodox faith have come to the notice of our piety, we deem it right that your sacredness, with your reputation for purity of life and orthodox faith, should go to the city of Ephesus and as the representative of all the reverent archimandrites in the east take your seat at the holy council that has been ordered to assemble there, and with the other holy fathers and bishops decree what is pleasing to God.*

*Issued on the day before the Ides of May at Alexandrianae.<sup>73</sup>*

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same codex:

*A divine mandate addressed to Helpidius, the admirable count  
of the divine consistory*

49. *The blasphemy against God of the impious Nestorius was the occasion of the holy council already held previously at Ephesus, and therefore received condign condemnation from the holy fathers assembled there. Since there has now arisen another dispute over the divine faith, we have decreed that there take place this second council at Ephesus, in our concern to excise the root of evil completely, so that by suppressing everywhere the unsettling of doctrine we may preserve in its purity proper prayer in men's minds and thereby secure the protection of the state and of human*

72 15 May 449.

73 14 May 449.

*blessings.*<sup>74</sup> *We have therefore chosen both your wondrousness and Eulogius the admirable tribune and praetorian notary to serve the faith, since you are of good repute in other respects and also pure worshippers of the Almighty, and are well able to execute our commands faithfully regarding the proceedings of the holy council of Ephesus and to prevent any disturbance of any kind. If you observe anyone causing a disturbance or disruption to the detriment of the most holy faith, you are to put him in custody and notify us; you are to ensure the good order of the proceedings, expedite the decisions, and make sure that the deliberations of the holy council be both speedy and considered, and be communicated to us. Those who previously judged the most devout archimandrite Eutyches are to attend without taking part; they are not to exercise the role of judges, but to await for the joint decision of all the other holy fathers, since it is their own sentence that is now under examination. You are not to allow any other matter of business to be brought up until the question of the orthodox faith has been settled. We have therefore, by writing to the admirable proconsul, assigned to you the assistance of both the civic and local military<sup>75</sup> authorities, so that, with your own zeal reinforced by this assistance, you may be able to fulfil all your instructions, a thing that surpasses all other blessings in that divine matters surpass human ones, and to inform us of the proceedings in this affair.*<sup>76</sup>

*In the same tenor to the admirable tribune and notary Eulogius.*

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same codex:

*A divine letter to Proclus the admirable proconsul of Asia*

50. *The blasphemy against God of the impious Nestorius was the occasion of the holy council already held previously at Ephesus, and therefore received condign condemnation from the holy fathers assembled there. Since there has now arisen another dispute over the divine faith, we have decreed that there take place this second council at Ephesus, in our concern*

<sup>74</sup> The reference is to liturgical prayer carried out by churches in communion with one another. Cf. the letter of the emperor Constantine to Aelafius vicar of Africa in 313–14 in relation to the Donatist schism: ‘I shall really and fully be able to feel secure and always hope for prosperity and every good gift from the instant goodwill of the most powerful God, only when I see everyone worshipping the most holy God in the proper cult of the Catholic religion in constant fraternal harmony’ (Appendix to Optatus III).

<sup>75</sup> ‘Military’ in a broad sense, meaning government servants in general.

<sup>76</sup> The *Collectio Novariensis* (the original Latin documentation of the condemnation of Eutyches) gives the date of this mandate as 15 May 449 (ACO 2.2. p. 46).

*to completely excise the root of evil, so that by suppressing everywhere the unsettling of doctrine we may preserve in its purity proper prayer in men's minds and thereby secure the protection of the state and of human blessings. We have therefore chosen for this task Helpidius the admirable count of our divine consistory and Eulogius the admirable tribune and notary, as well capable of serving religion and with sufficient testimonials to this effect. It is our wish that you give them assistance in their need, in carrying out the instructions from our serenity to prevent any disruption of the proceedings and to allow no disturbance of any kind. If we hear from them that you have not carried out this decree or satisfied their wishes, we shall give orders that you pay for your negligence.*

The same hallowed Veronicianus secretary of the divine consistory read from the same codex:

51. *To the most holy council at Ephesus*

*It was our wish to keep the holy churches of God free from disturbance, and that you should stay in your most holy churches to serve the cult of the Almighty as usual and not be burdened with such labour and trouble. But when the most God-beloved Bishop Flavian decided to raise some questions about the holy faith in opposition to the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, summoned a tribunal and initiated proceedings, we wrote to the same most God-beloved bishop repeatedly in an attempt to still the turmoil he had stirred up, in our conviction that the orthodox creed which the holy fathers at Nicaea handed down and the holy council at Ephesus confirmed satisfies our needs. We repeatedly pressed the same most religious bishop to drop the inquiry, lest it be a cause of disturbance to the whole world, but he refused. Since we did not consider it without danger for such an inquiry into the faith to be put in motion without reference to your holy council and all the presidents of the holy churches, we deemed it necessary for your holinesses to assemble, so that, by investigating the inquiry that has been put in motion and the attendant proceedings, you could excise every diabolical root, expel from the holy churches the promoters and supporters of the impious blasphemy of Nestorius, and decree the preservation of the orthodox faith, sure and sound, since all our hopes and the strength of our empire are founded on orthodox faith in God and your holy prayers.*

The same hallowed Veronicianus secretary of the divine consistory read from the same codex:

52. *To Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria*

*We recently decreed that Theodoret bishop of the city of Cyrrhus should not attend the most holy council, until the holy council makes a decision in his case; we debarred him because he had dared to compose attacks on the writings on the faith of Cyril of holy memory, then bishop of the great city of Alexandria. Since it appears that some of Nestorius' followers have attempted to exert themselves on his behalf to secure his attendance somehow or other at the holy council, we have thought it necessary to write this divine letter to your religiousness, to make clear to your religiousness and to the entire holy council that we, following the canons of the holy fathers, on account not only of Theodoret but of all the members of the holy council now convened, entrust the responsibility and presidency to your religiousness, since we know for certain that Juvenal the most religious archbishop of Jerusalem, the most religious archbishop Thalassius,<sup>77</sup> and every fervent lover and champion of orthodoxy will be of one mind with your holiness, outstanding as you are by the grace of God in both dignity of life and soundness of faith. Those who dare to make any addition to, or subtraction from, the exposition of the faith by the holy fathers at Nicaea and later at Ephesus we do not allow to have any right of speech at all at the holy council, and we place such persons under your judgement. It is indeed for this reason that we decreed that the holy council should now convene.<sup>78</sup>*

*A letter in the same tenor was sent to Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem.*

53. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'Your clemency has heard that our divine emperor did not entrust judgement to me alone but gave responsibility for the council to the most religious Bishop Juvenal and the most sacred Bishop Thalassius as well. We pronounced judgement accordingly, and the whole council gave its assent. Why are these people singling me out for attack? Responsibility was given to the three of us equally, and the whole council, as I have said, concurred with our judgement: it uttered its own sentence, it signed, and the matter was referred to the most pious emperor Theodosius of blessed memory, who confirmed all the judgements of the holy and ecumenical council by a general law.'

54. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'No one concurred, force was used, force with blows. We signed blank

<sup>77</sup> Of Caesarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia Prima.

<sup>78</sup> A Syriac version dates this letter to 6 August (*ACO* 2.1 *ad loc.*).

paper. We were threatened with deposition. We were threatened with exile. Soldiers with clubs and swords stood by, and we took fright at the clubs and swords. We were intimidated into signing. Where there are swords and clubs, what kind of council is it?<sup>79</sup> This is why he had soldiers with him. Drive out the murderer. The soldiers killed Flavian.’

55. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘They were the first to sign. Why are the clerics now shouting? This is a council of bishops not of clerics. Drive out the supernumeraries. May those who signed come to the centre; we signed after you.’

56. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘That it all took place by force and constraint, God is witness, and that we signed the deposition of the blessed Flavian unwillingly, God is witness.<sup>80</sup> As bishop, I received all his clergy who had come to Ephesus, held communion with them, and showed them every kindness.’

57. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Who used force on you?’

58. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘I received into communion the presbyter Helpidius and the other deacons and Bishop Eusebius – Bishop Eusebius himself knows that I received them. But then Helpidius<sup>81</sup> and Eulogius, with soldiers and Eutyches’ monks, about three hundred persons, came to me in the episcopal palace, and were about to kill me, saying, “You received the enemies of the emperor, you are an enemy of the emperor.” I said, “I am hospitable; I have nothing to do with the matter. I cannot excommunicate those who come in communion.” So it was that everything took place by force and constraint.’

59. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Did the most devout Dioscorus use force on you?’

79 The claim by bishops at Chalcedon that they had only agreed to Flavian’s deposition under the grossest physical intimidation damned Ephesus II in the eyes of posterity and seems to confirm Pope Leo’s claim that the council was a *latrocinium*, or ‘den of thieves’. But of course the bishops were not impartial witnesses: they needed to place all the blame on Dioscorus in order to exculpate themselves. It must still be asked whether Ephesus II was notably less free than many other church councils; the coercion of dissentients also occurred at Chalcedon.

80 But it is clear from the Acts of Ephesus that Stephen was an active henchman of Dioscorus at the council (156, 200, 879).

81 The Helpidius mentioned immediately above, who was one of Flavian’s presbyters and received hospitality from Stephen (and may well be identical to the Helpidius of III. 9–11), is to be distinguished from this Helpidius who was an ally of Eutyches and here protests at this hospitality, and who may well be identical to the monk Helpidius who appears at IV. 64–88 as a petitioner on behalf of Dioscorus.

60. Stephen the most devout bishop of the city of Ephesus said: ‘All his men, and the counts. I was not allowed to leave the chancery of the church until I had signed the sentence of Dioscorus, Juvenal, the lord Thalassius,<sup>82</sup> and the other bishops who had received letters.’

61. Thalassius the most devout bishop of the city of Caesarea said: ‘I was named in the *sacra*,<sup>83</sup> but I didn’t know why. Nevertheless when some incidents occurred, I tried to put a stop to it, wanted to secure a deferment, and did my best to do so. There are witnesses.’

62. Theodore the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria said: ‘Dioscorus and Juvenal and all those who signed first had, as orthodox, been entrusted by the master of the world with passing judgement in matters of faith. Plotting nefariously among themselves, they made us act as judges, who were sitting there in all innocence as men ignorant of the affair. The minutes<sup>84</sup> were read, Flavian of blessed memory was praised, and during this we remained silent, presuming that the proceedings had been in order. But afterwards, to frighten us, they invoked as similar the heresy of Nestorius, shouting at us, ‘Cut into two those who say two natures! Cleave, kill, and drive out those who say two!’ – so that, out of fear of the Nestorian heresy, we would not be judged orthodox but condemned as heretics.<sup>85</sup> Each of us was afraid that, if expelled as a heretic, he would ruin those he had baptized; the danger affected not so much him as those who had been baptized after professing their faith in Christ. We should not at this point have remained silent, but they then did something else. The council had been ordered by the master of the world to judge the case of Flavian first. But they held many sessions together; without signing or giving notice of their resolutions, or reading them out to anyone, with some of us not knowing [what was happening], they brought us blank sheets – Dioscorus and Juvenal – accompanied by a mob of disorderly people, with a mass of them shouting and making a tumult and disrupting the council. We were one hundred and thirty-five in all;<sup>86</sup> forty-two were ordered to keep silent; the rest were Dioscorus and Juvenal and the disorderly mob; that left only

82 ‘Lord’ (κύριος) was a title that could be applied, like ‘the most devout’, not only to bishops (as in this case) but to other ranks as well: at X. 22 it is used of a deacon.

83 The imperial letter given at 52 above, to which the preceding paragraph also refers.

84 The minutes of the Home Synod of 448, given below at 223–552.

85 This is the literal meaning of the Greek, but what Theodore intended to say was, surely, not that Dioscorus’ supporters wanted to condemn them as heretics but that they themselves were afraid of such an outcome.

86 See the list of 135 participants at 68–78 below.

fifteen of us. What could we do? They made sport of our lives. They, the heretics, all spoke with one voice. They terrified us. They said we were heretics, and we were excluded as heretics.'

63. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'We all agree. That is how it was.'

64. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'A Christian fears no one. An orthodox fears no one. Bring fire, and we shall learn. If they had feared men, there would never have been martyrs.'

65. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'Since they say that they didn't hear the sentences and decrees but simply signed a blank sheet passed to them, it was quite improper of them to sign without being assured about the pronouncements of the council, especially since matters of faith were at stake. Since they are making accusation that they were given a blank sheet to sign, who then composed their declarations? I ask your magnificence to make them answer.'

66. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the proceedings be read.'

Constantine, the consecrated *magistranus* and assistant to the divine secretariat, read from a document provided by Aetius, archdeacon of the most holy church of imperial Constantinople.<sup>87</sup>

67. *Divine letter to the most devout Bishop Dioscorus about his attendance at the council at Ephesus, which has been inserted above [introduced by the words] 'he read from a codex'.*<sup>88</sup>

He read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

68. In the consulship of the most illustrious Zeno and Postumianus, six days before the Ides of August, or 15 Messori in the Egyptian calendar, in the third indiction.<sup>89</sup> After a council had convened in the metropolis of Ephesus by decree of our most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors, there took their seats in the most holy church called after Mary the

87 After the council Anatolius of Constantinople removed Aetius from the important office of archdeacon by making him the presbyter of a church outside the city. Pope Leo, whose ally he had become, protested strongly in March 453 in letters to Marcian (*ep.* 111) and Pulcheria (*ep.* 112), and he was reinstated. See *DHGE* 1, 668–9.

88 The quotation is from 23 *fin.*, introducing the document given at 24.

89 8 August 449.



most God-beloved and most sacred bishops: (1) Dioscorus of Alexandria, (2) Bishop Julius, representing the most holy and sacred Leo bishop of the church of Rome.

(*Chalcedon*)

69. During the reading the most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘He was expelled; no one accepted the name of Leo.’

Constantine the hallowed secretary read what followed in the same document:

(*Ephesus II*)

70. (3) Juvenal of Jerusalem, (4) Domnus of Antioch (5) Flavian of Constantinople.

(*Chalcedon*)

71. During the reading the most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Flavian went in as if already condemned. There is a blatant case of corrupt prosecution. Why was Flavian not seated in his proper place? Why was the bishop of Constantinople put in fifth place?’<sup>90</sup>

72. Paschasinus the most devout bishop said: ‘Look, in accordance with the will of God we give first place to the lord Anatolius. But they put the blessed Flavian fifth.’<sup>91</sup>

73. Diogenes the most devout bishop of the church of Cyzicus said: ‘Because you know the canons.’

74. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We request, drive out the supernumeraries. The emperor summoned bishops. This is a council of bishops. Why are the supernumeraries shouting?’

75. Theodore bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria said: ‘It is the notaries of Dioscorus who are shouting.’

76. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I have only two notaries. How can the two of them cause a disturbance?’

90 It was only at the Council of Constantinople of 381 that the see of Constantinople was accorded primacy in the east. But the status of this council was not clarified until Chalcedon itself, where for the first time (at I. 1072 and in the later sessions) it was treated as an ecumenical council.

91 Rusticus comments *ad loc.*, ‘After the council this was specially and openly annulled by the holy Leo.’ In reaction to Canon 28 of the council, which proclaimed the primacy of Constantinople in the east, Leo insisted on the superior status of the ancient patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria. See our commentary on Session XVI, vol. 3, 71–2, and Documents after the Council 9, 10, 13.

77. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the sequel be read.'

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document what follows:

*(Ephesus II)*

78. (6) Stephen of Ephesus, (7) Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima, (8) Eusebius of Ancyra in Galatia Prima, (9) John of Sebasteia in Armenia Prima, (10) Cyrus of Aphrodisias in Caria, (11) Erasistratus of Corinth in Hellas, (12, 13) Quintillus of Heraclea, also representing Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica,<sup>92</sup> (14, 15) Meletius of Larissa, also representing Domnus bishop of Apamea, (16, 17) Cyriacus bishop of Trocnades, representing Theoctistus bishop of Pessinus in Galatia Secunda, (18) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (19) Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) John of Rhodes, (21) Theodore of Tarsus, (22) Romanus of Myra in Lycia, (23) Photius of Tyre, (24) Theodore of Damascus, (25) Julian of Tavium, (26) Florentius of Lydia,<sup>93</sup> (27) Marinianus of Synnada, (28) Musonius of Nyssa, (29) Constantine of Bostra, (30) John of Nicopolis in Armenia Prima, (31, 32) Acacius of Ariarathea in Armenia Secunda, representing Constantine of Melitene, (33) Stephen of Hierapolis, (34) Atticus of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus, (35) Eustathius of Berytus, (36) Nunechius of Laodicea Trimitaria, (37) Olympius of Constantia in Cyprus, (38) Candidianus of Antioch in Pisidia, (39) Stephen of Anazarbus, (40) Gerontius of Seleucia in Syria, (41) Rufinus of Samosata, (42) Indimus of Irenopolis, (43) Timothy of Balaneae, (44) Theodosius of Canatha, (45) Euty chius of Hadrianopolis in Epirus Vetus, (46) Claudius of Anchiasmus in Epirus Vetus, (47) Symeon of Amida in Mesopotamia, (48) Helias of Hadrianopolis, (49) Seleucus of Amaseia, (50) Peter of Gangra, (51) Luke of Dyrrachium, (52) Antony of Lychnidus, (53) Mark of Euroea, (54) Vigilantius of Larissa, (55) Basil of Trajanopolis in the province of Rhodope, (56) Docimasius of Maronea in the province of Rhodope, (57) Constantine of Demetrias, (58) Alexander of Sebaste near Tarsus, (59) Sozon of Philippi, (60) Eusebius of Doberus in Macedonia Prima, (61) Maximin of Serrhae in Macedonia Prima, (62) Hermogenes of Cassandrea in Macedonia Prima, (63) Luke of Beroea in

92 Pope Leo wrote to Anastasius after the council felicitating him on his fortunate absence and castigating the council for heresy (*ep.* 47).

93 Literally 'of Lydians', i.e., Sardis.

Macedonia Prima, (64) Diogenianus of Remesia in Dacia, (65) John of Messene in Achaëa, (66) Uranius of Hemerium in the province of Osrhoene, (67) Athanasius of Opus in Achaëa, (68) Theodore of Claudiopolis in Isauria, (69) Leontius of Ascalon, (70) Photinus of Lydda, (71) Anastasius of Areopolis, (72) Theodosius of Amathus, (73) Paul of Maiuma, (74) Zosimus of Menois, (75) Epiphanius of Perge, (76) Baruchius of Sozusa in Palestine, (77) Heraclius of Azotus, (78) John of Tiberias, (79) Musonius of Zoara, (80) Dionysius of Sycamazon, (81) Caiumas of Phaeno, (82) Aetherichus of Smyrna, (83) Constantius of Sebaste, (84) Zebennus of Pella, (85) Alypius of Bacatha, (86) Polychronius of Antipatris, (87) Pancratius of Livias, (88) Auxilaus of the Saracen *foederati*, (89) Domninus of Plataea in Hellas, (90) Theodosius of Mastaura, (91) Cyriacus of Aegae, (92) Flavian of Adramyttium, (93) Cyriacus of Lebedus, (94) Leontius of Magnesia on the Maeander, (95) Eutropius of Pergamum in Asia, (96) Gennadius of Teos, (97) Olympius of Augaza, (98) Maximus of Tralles, (99) Julian of Hypaëpa, (100) Chrysanthius of Bagis, (101) Polycarp of Tabala, (102) Paul of Tripolis in Lydia, (103) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis, (104) Onesiphorus of Iconium,<sup>94</sup> (105) Longinus of Chersonesus, (106) Eudoxius of Bosphorus, (107) Timothy of Primupolis in Pamphylia, (108) Theopemptus of Cabasa, (109) Calosirius of Arsinoites, (110) John of Hephaestus, (111) Heraclides of Heracleopolis, (112) Isaac of Helearchia, (113) Gemellinus of Erythrum, (114) Apollonius of Tanis, (115) Gennadius of Hermopolis Maior, (116) Cyrus of Babylon, (117) Athanasius of Busiris, (118) Theophilus of Cleopatris, (119) Pasmius of Paralus, (120) Photinus of Teucheira, (121) Sosias of Sozusa, (122) Theodulus of Tesila, (123) Theodore of Barca, (124) Rufus of Cyrene, (125) Zeno of Rhinocolura, (126) Lucius of Zygris, (127) Auxonius of Sebennytus, (128) Isaac of Taua, (129) Philocalus of Zagylis, (130) Isaïas of Hermopolis Minor, (131) Barsaumas, presbyter and archimandrite, (132) Longinus, presbyter, representing Dorotheus bishop of Neocaesarea, (133) Anthimus, presbyter, representing Patricius bishop of Tyana in Cappadocia Secunda, (134) Ariston, presbyter, representing Eunomius bishop of Nicomedia, (135) Olympius, presbyter, representing Calogerus bishop of Claudiopolis in Pontus; Hilary, deacon of Rome, and Dulcitus, notary of Rome. 79. John presbyter of Alexandria and protonotary said: 'It seemed good to our most pious and Christ-loving emperors on this occasion also to

94 After this name the MSS give Docimasius of Maronea, already listed (56).

decree that your holy and great council should convene here to investigate the new excrescences on our orthodox and unimpeachable faith and pull them out by the roots, lest they entice and inveigle at times some of the simple-minded and cast them into the pits of heresy and error. This shows how great is their concern for piety and for the need to preserve continuously from all harm and disturbance the decrees on our orthodox religion formerly issued by the most blessed fathers who met at Nicaea and more recently confirmed by those who convened in this city, who were in such agreement with each other in their confession that there was absolutely no difference in their opinions or definitions. We have in our hands this holy letter, and we submit it to the pleasure of your holiness.’

80. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Let the pious and God-beloved letter be read which the Christ-loving emperors sent to each of the metropolitans, and let it stand at the head of the minutes of the proceedings.’

81. John presbyter and protonotary read:

*The emperors and Caesars Theodosius and Valentinian, triumphant victors, most great and ever-venerable Augusti, to Dioscorus. It is clear to everyone that the condition of our state and all human affairs are secured and strengthened by piety towards the Godhead – and the rest as given above [24].*

82. Bishop Julius, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of the Church of Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: ‘Our most holy Pope Leo ruler of the church of Rome received a summons from the most pious and Christ-loving emperors in the same form.’

83. Hilary deacon of Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: ‘The most glorious and Christian emperor<sup>95</sup> out of his attachment and devotion to orthodoxy sent a venerable letter to summon our most blessed Bishop Leo of the apostolic see to attend this venerable and holy assembly. This could have pleased his piety, had there been some precedent for it. As your holinesses know well,<sup>96</sup> the pope of the

95 Rusticus *ad loc.* draws attention to the fact that the Greek has ‘emperor’ in the singular, while the Latin version has ‘emperors’ in the plural; the latter is likely to have been the original text, reflecting the constitutional fiction that Marcian and Valentinian III always acted as colleagues (even if at this date Valentinian had not yet recognized Marcian as Augustus).

96 We follow the Latin in the *Collectio Novariensis* (ACO 2.2 p. 44), which offers a superior sense to the Greek, ‘But, even if this were the better course, your holinesses know that ...’.

most holy see did not attend the holy councils at Nicaea or Ephesus or any such holy assembly. Therefore, following this habitual principle, he has sent us; this most holy man does not doubt that he is present here in us, who, he knows, will do everything that pertains to the purity of the catholic faith and to respect towards the most holy apostle Peter. Through us he has sent to your beatitude a letter appropriate for the assembly of the holy fathers: receive it and order it to be read.<sup>97</sup>

84. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Let the letter to this holy and ecumenical council from our most sacred brother and fellow Bishop Leo be received.’

85. When it had been received, John presbyter and protonotary said: ‘Another pious decree was sent to our most holy and God-beloved Archbishop Dioscorus, which we have in our hands for the pleasure of your holiness.’

86. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Let it be read and inserted in the guarantee of the minutes.’

*(Chalcedon)*

87. During the reading Aetius archdeacon of Constantinople said: ‘The letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo was neither received nor read.’

88. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘The letter was not read to us. If it had been read, it would assuredly be included [in the minutes].’

89. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘It was not read. He [Dioscorus] kept back the conciliar letter.’

90. Aetius archdeacon of Constantinople said: ‘The letter was neither received nor read. He swore seven times in the presence of all to have it read, but it was not read and he perjured himself.’

91. Theodore the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria said: ‘That he swore is known to us all; that it was not read is agreed by us all.’

92. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the most devout bishops who were then given by the imperial head responsibility for

<sup>97</sup> Leo’s letter to the council (*ep.* 33: Latin version *ACO* 2.4 pp. 15–16; Greek *ACO* 2.1. pp. 43–4) stressed the authority of the Roman see and condemned Eutyches, referring to his letter to Flavian (the Tome, read out at Chalcedon at II. 22) as a fuller treatment of the issues. It was clearly Leo’s intention that both this letter and the Tome itself (both dated to 13 June 449) should be read to the council. These letters were received courteously (84) but not read out; with their unconditional condemnation of Eutyches they were merely an embarrassment to a council summoned to acquit him.

the proceedings say why the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo was not read, especially since there had been a previous declaration ordering that it be read.'

93. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'The acts prove that I called a second time for the letter of the most devout bishop of Rome to be read.'

94. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'So why is it that after your declaration the reading of the letter did not take place?'

95. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'The other bishops to whom the matter had been entrusted should also be asked why it was not read.'

96. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Who in particular do you want to be asked? Give a clear answer.'

97. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'The most religious Bishop Juvenal and the most religious Bishop Thalassius.'

98. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'In first place answer yourself why the reading did not take place; they will be asked in their turn.'

99. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'I have said once already that I proposed its reading a second time.'

100. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'He is lying.'

101. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the most God-beloved Bishop Juvenal explain why, after the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus had proposed the reading of the letter of the most holy archbishop of Rome, the reading did not happen.'

102. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: 'John the presbyter and *primicerius* of the notaries suddenly announced that he had in his hands a pious letter from the most God-beloved and pious emperors, and I replied that the imperial letter should be read.'

103. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'So after the reading of the divine letter was the letter of the most devout Archbishop Leo also read?'

104. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Neither the *primicerius* of the notaries nor anyone else said that he still had in his hands the letter of the most devout bishop of Rome.'

105. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the most devout Bishop Thalassius now also explain why the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo was not read.'

106. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said:

‘I only know that I did not prevent it, and that I did not have the authority to order the reading on my own.’

107. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the sequel of the proceedings be read.’

Constantine the hallowed secretary {of the divine consistory}<sup>98</sup> read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

John presbyter and protonotary read:

108. *A divine letter to the most devout Dioscorus about the attendance of Barsaumas, which was inserted above [47], when read from the codex.*

109. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘I received a similar letter from the most pious emperors about the most devout priest and archimandrite Barsaumas. So let him rightfully attend the holy council.’

110. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Let the *spectabiles* Count Helpidius and Eulogius the tribune and notary say if they have any instructions concerning the matter in hand.’

111. Helpidius the admirable count said: ‘The demon who is the originator of evil can never relax in his war against the holy churches. The most pious emperor always opposes his unrighteous warfare, rightly realizing that he will have a defender for his empire if he himself takes up arms in the battles for religion. He has not impugned this conviction of his, for his many affairs have prospered more through help from above than by recourse to arms. This is why he joined you in condemning the madness of Nestorius, because, although appointed to serve the Almighty, he became the father and teacher of impious doctrines, as if he had received the priesthood on behalf of demons and not of piety. He was, however, condemned in the meantime to the appropriate place, to await inexorable punishment in the life to come, because he both fell himself into so great impiety and persuaded many others to follow him. The dispute that has now arisen the most divine emperor entrusts to you as fathers and judges; he expects from you a resolution of the controversy, such as will win common protection both for himself and his subjects. The instructions the most divine emperor has given to us and written to you I shall

<sup>98</sup> Supplied from the Latin version.

now explain to you, keeping in mind that I am one of those correctly initiated by you into religion. Today the Master of the universe, God, Word and Saviour, entrusts himself to your sentence, is content to have you as his judges, and honours you with the power of giving sentence, in order, if he finds you doing justice in his case, that he may then honour you and acknowledge you in turn before the Father,<sup>99</sup> while, if he finds any of you expelling genuine religion from your minds and using sophistry to bring matters of faith into dispute, contrary to the teaching of the holy fathers, alas for sentence that will be delivered against them by God and the emperor jointly! It would be better for them if they had not been born,<sup>100</sup> since, after the brigand, the tax-collector, the harlot and the Canaanite woman,<sup>101</sup> they do not acknowledge sincerely in the presence of the glory [of God] the one in whom we believe because he humbled himself for our sakes.<sup>102</sup> I shall read to you the instructions I received from our most divine autocrat the emperor.’

112. Helpidius the admirable count read the divine mandate given both to him and Eulogius the admirable tribune and notary, which was inserted above [49], when read from the document.

113. Helpidius the admirable count said: ‘Now order the letter to you from the divine head be received and read.’

114. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Let the sacred letter to the holy council from the Christ-loving emperors be received and read.’

115. John presbyter and protonotary read:

*A divine letter to the council at Ephesus about Bishop Flavian’s stirring up a debate about the faith in opposition to Eutyches, which was inserted above [51], when read from the codex.*

116. Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘The most pious and Christ-loving emperor, in his desire to preserve unshaken the faith that has lasted till now, has ordered that nothing be discussed or decided at the holy council until the question of the faith is settled. So let everything else wait while the faith takes priority.’

117. Bishop Julius, representing the most holy Leo bishop of the church of Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: This accords with our instructions.’

118. Helpidius the admirable count said: ‘Since then this creed because



of which you have assembled is the very foundation of the faith,<sup>103</sup> deign, with the approval of God, to determine the question of the faith, in such a way there may follow in order in second place a reading of the proceedings in the imperial city regarding the most devout archimandrite Eutyches.’

119. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘The pious letters of the most God-beloved emperors have been made known to us, and that they have given orders for the council to meet because of certain matters that were raised at Constantinople. What was raised should therefore first be clarified, and then the decrees of the previous holy councils should be produced. The canonical rules are clear, and the conciliar decrees are clear; we must not depart from them. In response to certain novelties our most pious and Christ-loving emperor gave orders for this holy council to convene, not in order to duplicate the definition of the faith already issued by our fathers but to examine whether the novelties in question agree with the decrees of our holy fathers. We must therefore first investigate these novelties and test whether they agree with the decrees of the holy fathers. Or do you wish to invalidate the creed of the holy fathers?’

120. The holy council said: If anyone invalidates it, let him be anathema. If anyone elaborates on it, let him be anathema. Let us preserve the creed of the fathers.’

*(Chalcedon)*

121. During the reading the most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We didn’t say this. Who said this?’

122. Theodore the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis said: ‘Let him bring in his notaries, for he expelled everyone else’s notaries and got his own to do the writing. Let the notaries come and say if this was written or read in our presence, and if anyone acknowledged and signed it.’

123. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘In whose hand are the minutes written?’

124. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Each one wrote through his own notaries. Mine recorded my statements, those of the

<sup>103</sup> Literally, ‘Since this faith ... is the very foundation of the faith.’ The word πίστις is used equally for ‘faith’ generally and for the expression of that faith in a formulary, specifically the Nicene Creed; it can, as here, shift between the broader and specific meanings in a single utterance. We vary our translation accordingly.

most religious Bishop Juvenal recorded his, those of the most religious Bishop Thalassius recorded his, while the other most devout bishops had many notaries who kept a record. So the text is not the work of my notaries; each has his own.'

125. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: 'I had one notary of my own who kept a record alongside the other notaries.'

126. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'And I had one who kept a record.'

127. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'Look, the notary of Bishop Juvenal kept a record, as did the notary of Bishop Thalassius and that of the bishop of Corinth. Was it only my notaries?'

128. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'I request that the most God-beloved Bishop Stephen of Ephesus be asked if his notaries recorded the minutes of the holy council, and what they suffered at the hands of the notaries of the most God-beloved Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria.'

129. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'What does the most devout Bishop Stephen say in reply to this?'

130. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: 'My own notaries, Julian who is now the most devout bishop of Lebedos and the deacon Crispinus, were keeping a record, but the notaries of the most devout Bishop Dioscorus came and erased their tablets, and almost broke their fingers in the attempt to snatch their pens. I didn't get copies of the minutes, and I don't know what happened next, but on the very day the investigation took place we signed the sheet, and the bishops who hadn't signed it did so under my guarantee on the following day.'

131. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'I request the most God-beloved Stephen bishop of Ephesus to say what sort of sheet they signed.'

132. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: 'A blank paper, since the signing took place immediately, at the very same time as the deposition.'<sup>104</sup>

133. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'Let the testimony of the most devout Bishop Stephen be read. Did I force him to make it?'

134. Acacius the most devout bishop of Ariaratheia said: 'We signed a blank sheet, under compulsion and duress and after countless outrages. We subscribed not voluntarily but as the victims of despotism. They kept us shut

104 The condemnation of Bishop Flavian of Constantinople.

up in the church till evening, and when we felt indisposed they would not let us recuperate or withdraw or come to ourselves, but set on us soldiers with clubs and swords, as well as monks, and in this way made us subscribe.’

135. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the rest be read.’

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

136. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘In order to convince everyone, to confirm the faith and refute the novelties, I am examining the fathers, those at Nicaea and at Ephesus.’

137. The holy council said: ‘This saves the world. This strengthens the faith.’

*(Chalcedon)*

138. During the reading Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘Look, he says, “I am examining”; but this is what I did myself.’

139. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I said “I am examining”, not “I am innovating”. For the Saviour gave us this order: “Examine the scriptures.”<sup>105</sup> He who examines scripture is not innovating.’

140. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘The Saviour said, “Seek and you will find.”’<sup>106</sup>

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

141. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Even though one speaks of two councils,<sup>107</sup> they relate to one faith.’

142. The holy council said: ‘The fathers issued a comprehensive definition. If anyone goes against it, let him be anathema. No one shall add to it, no one shall take away from it.’

143. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘God approves your affirmations and you yourselves agree that they are valid and pleasing to God. If anyone questions or scrutinizes or revises the proceedings or the decrees

<sup>105</sup> Jn 5:39.

<sup>106</sup> Mt. 7:7.

<sup>107</sup> Nicaea and Ephesus I. Treating the Council of Constantinople of 381 as equal in authority was an innovation at Chalcedon (see the Definition, V. 31–3).

of the fathers who met at Nicaea or convened here, let him be anathema.’

144. The holy council said: ‘To Archbishop Dioscorus, the great guardian of the faith!’

145. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I have this to add, which is fearful and awesome: “If”, it says, “a man sinning sins against a man, they will pray for him to the Lord; but if he sins against the Lord, who will pray for him?”’<sup>108</sup> If then the Holy Spirit sat together with the fathers, as indeed he did, and decreed what they decreed, whoever revises those decrees rejects the grace of the Spirit.’

146. The holy council said: ‘We all say the same: “Let whoever revises them be anathema. Let whoever invalidates them be expelled.”’

147. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘No one decrees what has already been decreed.’

148. The holy council said: ‘These are the sayings of the Holy Spirit. To the guardian of the canons! The fathers live through you. To the guardian of the faith!’

*(Chalcedon)*

149. During the reading Theodore the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis said: ‘No one said this.’

150. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘They want to deny everything that is agreed. Let them also say, “We were not there.”’

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

151. Helpidius the admirable count said: ‘Since your decisions on the matter of the holy faith are evident, and since the common voice of all has agreed and approved the sentence of those of you who preside, order the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, who is the subject of the judgements that have been made, the occasion of all your proceedings, and the main subject of the divine letter, to appear and inform your religiousness of his opinions.’<sup>109</sup>

152. The holy council said: ‘It is fitting.’

153. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘It is right that the most religious

<sup>108</sup> 1 Sam. 2:25.

<sup>109</sup> As Rusticus notes *ad loc.*, Dioscorus had restored Eutyches to communion even before the council quashed the verdict of the Home Synod which had condemned him. This enabled Eutyches to appear in person at Ephesus.

archimandrite Eutyches should appear and have the opportunity to defend himself.'

154. When he had entered, Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'Let the most devout archimandrite Eutyches set out his due defence before this holy and great council.'

155. Eutyches the archimandrite said: 'I have commended myself to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and to the truthfulness of your justice, and I have you as witnesses to my faith, for which I fought alongside you together with the holy council that convened here before you, as your sacredness bears witness. I have to hand the petition regarding my faith. Order it to be read with the profession of faith contained in it.'

156. Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: 'It is right that the profession and plaint of the most devout archimandrite Eutyches should be received and inserted in the text of the minutes.'

When they had been presented, John priest and protonotary read:

157. *To the most holy and God-beloved ecumenical council assembled at the metropolis of Ephesus from the archimandrite Eutyches.*

*Giving thanks to the all-holy God for this day on which piety has through you recovered its right of speech, I inform your holy council of what happened in my regard, or rather in opposition to the true faith. Right from my youth it was my wish to live a quiet and carefree life till old age and stay away from all turmoil. I was not allowed, however, to fulfil my intention, but as a result of intrigue I was subjected to extreme danger because, in accordance with the decree of your earlier holy council here, I refused to hold an opinion contrary to the faith defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea. Before I can instruct you about what happened, I need, in order to convince your sacredness, to recite again my own profession of the holy doctrine, with God as my witness, and with your holinesses as my witness, with whom I have always striven, to the best of my power, on behalf of the orthodox faith and against the heretics.*

*I believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, and through whom all things came into being, both those on heaven and those on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed, became man, suffered, and*

*rose on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not', and 'Before being begotten he was not', and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or essence or is changeable or alterable, the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.*<sup>110</sup>

*This is what I received from my forefathers from the beginning; this is what I have believed and still believe. This is the creed in which I was born and immediately dedicated to God and accepted by his mercy. With this creed I received the seal of baptism and have lived till today, praying also to die in it. This is the creed that was also confirmed by the aforesaid holy and ecumenical council held here earlier at which our father Bishop Cyril of blessed and sacred memory presided, and at which he issued a decree that whoever added to it in thought or teaching is subject to the penalties then laid down.*<sup>111</sup> *Our father the aforesaid Bishop Cyril, [now] among the saints, sent me a written copy of this decree, which I have to hand. I accordingly submitted to the holy council and have observed its decree till this day.*

*(Chalcedon)*

158. During the reading Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'He lied! There is no such decree; there is no canon that states this.'

159. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'There are four documents containing this decree. If the bishops decreed it, is it not a decree? Does he think it a canon? It is not a canon. But a canon is one thing, a decree another.'<sup>112</sup> Impugn the five conciliar documents. I have a copy, and so does such a one and such a one; let them all bring their documents.'

160. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: 'He adduced the council of the holy fathers at Nicaea deceptively, since additions were made to it by the holy fathers on account of the evil opinions of Apollinarius, Valentinus, Macedonius and those like them, and there were added to the

<sup>110</sup> This is the original text of the Nicene Creed (as at II. 11). 'Catholic' as a note of the church indicates both universality and orthodoxy.

<sup>111</sup> The reference is to Canon 7 of Ephesus, given below at 943, which forbids the composition or use of any creed apart from the Nicene. Eutyches artfully adduces this canon as justifying his appeal to be acquitted on the basis of his profession of the creed without any further investigation into his orthodoxy.

<sup>112</sup> Dioscorus is insisting that the decree in question, the so-called Canon 7 of Ephesus, is not a mere canon (often issued by local synods) but a conciliar decree with full conciliar status.

creed of the holy fathers the words “He came down and was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin”. This Eutyches omitted, as an Apollinarian. For Apollinarius also accepted the holy council at Nicaea, but interpreted what it said according to his own heresy, and avoided saying “from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin” in order not to profess at all the union of the flesh. The holy fathers who came after clarified the words “was enfleshed” of the holy fathers at Nicaea by adding “from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin”.<sup>113</sup>

161. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘No one admits any addition or subtraction.<sup>114</sup> Confirm the work of Nicaea; the orthodox emperor has commanded this.’

162. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Eutyches said that.’<sup>115</sup>

163. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them said: ‘No one admits any addition. Confirm the work of the fathers. Confirm the work of Nicaea. Confirm the work of the Holy Spirit. The orthodox emperor has commanded this.’

Constantine, the hallowed *magistrrianus* and secretary of the divine consistory, read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

*[Eutyches’ plaint, continued]*

164. *Like your religiousness I have held all the holy fathers to be orthodox and faithful, and have adopted them as my teachers. I anathematize Mani, Valentinus, Apollinarius and Nestorius, and all the heretics since Simon Magus, including those who say that the flesh of our Lord and God Jesus Christ came down from heaven.*<sup>116</sup>

113 The addition was made in the creed attributed to the Council of Constantinople of 381, which condemned Apollinarius for denying that Christ had a rational human soul and condemned Macedonius for denying the full divinity of the Holy Spirit. This creed enjoyed none of the status of the Creed of Nicaea, and only achieved general circulation when recited at Chalcedon (II. 14) and incorporated in the Definition (V. 33); Eutyches could scarcely be blamed for not having cited it.

114 The first of many appeals at the council to Canon 7 of Ephesus I, forbidding supplementation of the Nicene Creed.

115 The Syrian bishops are trying to undermine the appeal to Canon 7 by stressing how Eutyches had exploited it in his appeal at 157 above.

116 Eutyches’ denial that Christ’s body is consubstantial with ours (516) was understood by his opponents to imply that he held it to be of heavenly origin.

(*Chalcedon*)

165. During the reading Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘He avoided the expression “from heaven” but did not add from where.’

166. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘Where then did he say it came from? By your authority we pressed him, “Lord Eutyches, where then did it come from? Tell us.” But he didn’t comply.’<sup>117</sup>

167. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia said: ‘We pressed him then, as the lord Eusebius and Sozon of Philippi will remember, to specify the mode of the taking flesh and becoming man, if he recognized that God the Word become man by assuming flesh. But they<sup>118</sup> ruled that this should be left unexamined and didn’t accept our demand.’

168. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘The most religious Bishop Basil attacked his own statement in the minutes when he said, “I didn’t say that; it’s a forgery.”<sup>119</sup> If Eutyches holds opinions contrary to the doctrines of the church, he deserves not only punishment but hell fire. For my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith and not for any human being. My mind is fixed on the Godhead, and I do not look to any person nor care about anything except my soul and the true and pure faith.’<sup>120</sup>

169. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘When the minutes of the proceedings relating to Eutyches were read, there was read publicly the statement I made expressing agreement with the fathers who earlier met at Ephesus and approval of the letter of the most blessed Cyril who presided at that blessed council, in which he refuted the insane Nestorius who misinterpreted the creed of the 318 fathers. I asserted in my statement, as I still do now, that I worship our one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, God the Word, acknowledged in two natures after taking flesh and becoming man.’<sup>121</sup>

170. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Let no one separate the indivisible. No one says that the one Son is two.’

117 This can only have been at Ephesus II, since Diogenes did not attend the Home Synod of 448. But it is improbable that any of the bishops at Ephesus II had the opportunity, or the courage, to challenge Eutyches publicly.

118 Dioscorus and the other bishops who presided at Ephesus II.

119 See 546–8.

120 Dioscorus’ readiness to abandon the cause of Eutyches shows that he did not insist on all the decrees of Ephesus II, which had included a formal judgement in Eutyches’ favour (884).

121 See 301. The letter of Cyril referred to is his Second Letter to Nestorius (given below at 240) which argued convincingly that the Nicene Creed supported his own view of the nature of Christ. For the meaning of ‘acknowledged in two natures’ see vol. 2, 189, n. 15.



171. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Anathema to those who divide! Anathema to those who separate!’

172. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘Anathema to those who divide, anathema to those who separate, the two natures after the union! Anathema also to those who do not recognize the distinctive properties of the natures!’

173. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘As he was begotten, so he suffered. [Report] our words to the emperor. One Lord, one faith! No one says that the one Lord is two. This was what Nestorius held. That is what Nestorius proclaimed.’

174. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Anathema to Nestorius and Eutyches!’

175. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Do not divide the Lord of glory. Do not divide the indivisible.’

176. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘What I said was “acknowledged in two natures after the union”, perfect Godhead and perfect manhood. The former he had from the Father eternally, while he took the latter from his mother according to the flesh and united it to himself hypostatically, and so the Son of God was called the son of man. When this statement was read, someone – I don’t know who, for the confusion of the events distracted both the eye of my mind and that of my body – thrust himself to the centre and began saying, “It is this statement that has thrown the church into turmoil.” Then all the Egyptians and the monks accompanying Barsaumas and the whole crowd rose up and began saying, “He who says two natures should be cut in two. He who says two natures is a Nestorian.” Afterwards my statement was read again, after the impious and absurd statement of Eutyches. When asked by the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius if he said two natures in Christ, he said that he recognized Christ to be from two natures before the union but one nature after the union. As reading the minutes has reminded me, I then said: “If you do not say two natures undivided and unmixed after the union, you imply mixture and confusion.” When this statement was read, there was such an uproar from them that we were all shaken in our souls, especially those of us who were being judged and had been ordered to await the sentence of the council. In the confusion of the moment I said, “I don’t remember if I said it in precisely those words, but I know that I said, ‘If you say “one nature” after the union without qualification, you imply confusion and mixture; if, however, you add [to the phrase] “enfleshed and made man”, and understand taking flesh and becoming man just as the most blessed Cyril did, then you say the same

as we do.’ For it is clear that his Godhead from the Father is one thing and the manhood from his mother another.” And those who condemned me at first later approved of my having said this.<sup>122</sup>

177. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘If your teaching was so orthodox, why did you sign the deposition of Flavian of sacred memory?’

178. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘Because I was delivered for judgement to one hundred and twenty or thirty bishops, and forced to submit to their decisions.’

179. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘This fulfils the words of scripture, “From your own mouth you will be justified, and from your own mouth you will be condemned.”<sup>123</sup> Have you, out of respect for human beings, transgressed what is correct and rejected the faith? Have you not heard the words, “Do not be put to shame to your downfall”?’<sup>124</sup>

180. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘If I had been up before secular officials, I would have borne witness; after all, I displayed boldness of speech at Constantinople. But if one is judged by one’s father, one cannot defend oneself. Death to a child who defends himself against his father!’<sup>125</sup>

181. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We all sinned, we all beg forgiveness.’

182. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Yet you declared earlier that you were forced by violence and compulsion to sign the deposition of Flavian of sacred memory on a blank sheet.’

183. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We all sinned, we all beg forgiveness.’

184. Thalassius, Eustathius and Eusebius the most devout bishops<sup>126</sup> said: ‘We all sinned, we all beg forgiveness.’

Veronicianus, the hallowed *magistranus* and secretary of the divine consistory, read from the same document:

122 See 545, 791.

123 Mt. 12:37.

124 Sir. 4:22.

125 Cf. Lev. 20:9. Rusticus comments aptly, ‘He misunderstood the passage: the commandment does not relate to the faith.’

126 Of Caesarea (Cappadocia), Berytus and Ancyra respectively.

*(Ephesus II)*

*[Eutyches' plaint, continued]*

185. *But while I was living in this faith and persevering in prayer, I was subjected as a result of intrigue to an accusation by Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum, who submitted a plea against me to the most devout Bishop Flavian and to those from various places who were then staying in the imperial city on personal business; in it he insolently called me a heretic without specifying in his plea any particular heresy, in the hope that under the testing conditions of a trial I would make some slip of the tongue as a result of the uproar, as was to be expected, and fall of a sudden into the error of uttering some novelty. In response to this bill of accusation the aforesaid most devout bishop ordered me to come and answer my accuser, because he was continually in his company and virtually inseparable from him, and because he thought that I, accustomed as I always have been to stay put in my monastery, would not appear and so could be condemned on this ground, that of not answering the summons. Subsequently, when I left my monastery for the imperial city, he heard of it from the most wondrous silentiary Magnus (whom our most pious and faithful emperor had assigned to protect me from the danger that threatened my safety), and replied that my presence was now dispensable since I had been condemned even before the trial, as is proved by the subsequent testimony of the same most wondrous silentiary.<sup>127</sup>*

*When nevertheless I went to defend myself at the tribunal,<sup>128</sup> he neither accepted nor allowed to be read the statement of profession that I had composed and signed in conformity with the creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea and with that confirmed at Ephesus by the previous holy council. The tribunal became disorderly and tumultuous, as a crowd of people pressed forward in no order at all and deafened me from all sides with their shouting, as is proved by the statements about the disorder that were subsequently issued by the judges in writing. When in response to an order to make a personal profession of faith I declared that my beliefs accorded with the decree issued by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and confirmed at the holy council of Ephesus, he required me to make certain statements that went beyond the definitions at Nicaea and at the previous council at Ephesus. Out of fear of transgressing the*

<sup>127</sup> For confirmation of this claim see 838, 842.

<sup>128</sup> See 498–551.

*decree of the holy council formerly convened here by the will of God and the definition of faith of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, I demanded that my case be referred to your holy council, since I am ready to abide by your judgement; but while I was speaking, they suddenly read out the condemnation against me which had been composed long before in accordance with his wishes.<sup>129</sup> Subsequently and separately, some of their statements and mine and other declarations (especially where I professed belief according to the holy fathers at Nicaea and those who assembled later at Ephesus) were altered in the minutes, as is proved by the recorded proceedings that took place subsequently at my request and on the orders of our most pious and Christ-loving emperor.<sup>130</sup> But the most devout Bishop Flavian took no notice of my appeal to your sacredness, nor did he respect the grey hairs of one who has grown old in battle with the heretics and in the profession of religion;<sup>131</sup> but as if possessing the authority to settle all matters of faith by himself alone and entrust no jurisdiction in so important a case to your holinesses, he condemned me and cut me off from the church (as he thought), stripped me of the priesthood (as he supposed) and excluded me from the communion of the divine mysteries,<sup>132</sup> deposed me uncanonically from being superior of my monastery, and finally handed me over to a crowd gathered for this purpose in the episcopal palace and the public square to be done to death as a heretic, blasphemer and Manichee – if divine providence had not rescued me that day and preserved me for your holinesses.*

*After my appeal he ordered the sentence in my case to be read out in various oratories and the memorial chapels of the saints, and anathematized me. Without waiting for the judgement of your holinesses, he excluded from divine communion those who visited me to discuss the matter, and he forced the monasteries to subscribe to my condemnation,<sup>133</sup> even though, as your godliness knows, this practice has not prevailed even in the case of heretics. He also sent the papers to the Orient and to many other regions to be signed by other most religious bishops and monks who had taken no part in the trial, even though he*

129 See 838, 842.

130 See 555–828.

131 The meaning is not ‘in the religious life’ but ‘in defence of orthodoxy’.

132 See 551.

133 See 552.31–53.

*ought rather to have sent them first of all to the bishops to whom I had made my appeal.*<sup>134</sup>

*After my narrow escape, I then set out what had happened in a plaint addressed to your religiousness, and requested the most pious and faithful emperor to appoint you as judges of the sentence delivered, since you are sacred and God-beloved and abominate all injustice and intrigue. I now beg your holinesses to consider the false accusation and plot contrived against me, the turmoil this has brought about in the most holy churches everywhere, and the scandal it has caused to many; I request you in your Christ-loving wisdom to subject those who are responsible for it to the laws of the church, and to excise every root of blasphemy and impiety. From the very beginning I appealed to the judgement of your beatitude, and I yet again bear witness, in the presence of 'Jesus Christ who before Pontius Pilate witnessed the good confession',<sup>135</sup> that my beliefs, convictions and opinions correspond to the creed handed down to us by the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea and confirmed by the holy fathers at the second council, that of Ephesus.<sup>136</sup> If anyone holds views contrary to this creed, I anathematize him in accordance with their definition.*

*I, Eutyches, archimandrite, believe as is written above, have signed in my own hand, and have presented this plaint.*

186. Flavian bishop of Constantinople said: 'Eusebius was his accuser. Order him to appear.'

*(Chalcedon)*

187. During the reading Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'When Eutyches, whom I had accused, presented his plaint to the holy<sup>137</sup> council, he mentioned that I was his accuser. I demand an inquiry of how, when the judge Flavian of sacred memory demanded that I as the accuser

134 Whether Eutyches registered an appeal at the Home Synod itself was disputed; see 818–24. He certainly appealed subsequently to the emperor and the pope as well as to various eastern bishops; see Kidd 1922, III, 298–300.

135 1 Tim. 6:13.

136 For Nicaea and Ephesus I as the 'two councils', cf. Dioscorus speaking at Ephesus II (141 above).

137 Rusticus *ad loc.* expresses surprise at Eusebius calling Ephesus II 'holy', but the honorific is automatic and Chalcedon had not yet declared the proceedings of the council null and void (for which see X. 145–59).

should appear, as proper procedure and the canons required, I was prevented from doing so.’

188. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘When Flavian of sacred memory requested the appearance of Eusebius as Eutyches’ accuser, why did you, to whom authority to act as judge had been committed, not give orders for this in accordance with the canons?’

189. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I ask that the testimony of Helpidius be read. I would not have had the power to prevent it, had not Helpidius brought an instruction in which he certified that the emperor had ordered him [Eusebius] not to appear.’

190. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘It was the admirable count Helpidius who didn’t allow him to appear.’

191. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea said: ‘I was not responsible.’

192. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘When the faith is being decided, this is no excuse.’<sup>138</sup>

193. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Since you now accuse me of having broken the canons by obeying Helpidius, answer me this: how is observance of the canons compatible with the admittance of Theodoret?’

194. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Bishop Theodoret has been admitted as an accuser, as you have heard from his own mouth.’

195. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Why is he seated among the bishops?’

196. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Bishop Eusebius and Bishop Theodoret are seated as accusers, just as you are seated among the accused.’<sup>139</sup> Let the rest be read.’

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

197. The admirable count Helpidius said: ‘The most divine emperor, being himself the first to implement the discipline of the laws of which he is the source and guardian, has given orders that those who previously

138 As Festugière notes *ad loc.*, the point being made is that bishops cannot pass the responsibility to laymen such as Count Helpidius in matters that concern the faith.

139 See 36: Theodoret was seated in the centre, not with the other bishops.

sat as judges should now appear as those being judged and no longer enjoy the opportunity to make statements, unless you grant them freedom to do so.<sup>140</sup> In response to the remark just made by the most God-beloved Archbishop Flavian I have the following to say: the accuser presented his case fully and carried the day, as he supposes. But the judgement of the former accuser has now been transferred by the judge to himself, in accordance with the procedure that is also followed in civil cases. So you have now assembled in order to subject to judgement those who previously sat in judgement, not to play the part of accuser over again and thereby be a fresh cause of turmoil. So give instructions, if it seem fit, that all the remaining proceedings of the case be read in order, as you see fit.’

198. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘The admirable count Helpidius has spoken fittingly. Since the plaint<sup>141</sup> has been presented and read, let the proceedings in the imperial city concerning the case at issue also be read. Let the most religious bishops present say if this seems fit to them.’

199. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘The statement of your holiness is fitting: it is right that the proceedings be read.’

200. Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: ‘Since the proposal of our most holy and God-beloved father and Archbishop Dioscorus is a fair one, let it be put into effect.’

201. Cyrus bishop of Aphrodisias said: ‘The proposal of the most God-beloved and holy Archbishop Dioscorus for the reading of the proceedings in the case in the imperial city is both fair and fitting.’

202. Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘It is fitting that effect be given to the proposal of your godliness. So let the pages that need to be read at this holy council be presented.’

203. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra said: ‘The same seems good to me, that in accordance with the proposal of the sacred fathers there be a reading of the proceedings.’

204. Diogenes bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘I also agree that in accordance with the proposal of the holy and great council the proceedings in the imperial city be read.’

205. Florentius bishop of Lydia said: ‘I concur with the proposal that the minutes be properly examined.’

140 According to the imperial mandate to Helpidius, Eutyches’ accusers were ‘to attend without taking part’ (49).

141 Of Eutyches (157, 164, 185).

206. Theodore bishop of Tarsus said: 'In accordance with the recommendation of the most holy archbishops it is right that the proceedings in the imperial city be read.'

207. John bishop of Sebasteia said: 'In accordance with the decision of the most holy and God-beloved bishops it is necessary that the minutes of the proceedings in the imperial city be read.'

208. Romanus bishop of Myra said: 'I consider it right that the minutes of the proceedings in the imperial city be read, as the most holy fathers have proposed.'

209. Nunechius bishop of Laodicea Trimitaria said: 'In accordance with the proposal of the most God-beloved fathers it seems fitting to me too that the proceedings be read.'

210. Marinianus bishop of Synnada said: 'As the most sacred fathers have proposed, let the text of the minutes concerning Eutyches in the all-fortunate city be read.'

211. Eustathius bishop of Berytus said: 'The reading of the minutes is necessary for the information of those who were not present at the hearing.'

212. Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, also representing Anastasius the most religious bishop of the city of Thessalonica, said: 'It is fitting that the proceedings in renowned Constantinople be read to the holy council to give fuller information about the hearing.'

213. Atticus bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus said: 'Since the proposal of our most holy Archbishop Dioscorus is fitting, let it be put into effect and the minutes be read to all the most holy council to give more accurate information about the points under examination.'

214. Sozon bishop of Philippi in Macedonia said: 'The reading of the proceedings at Constantinople about this case is necessary, for this will give accurate knowledge of the matters raised there.'

215. Uranius bishop of Hemerium in the province of Osrhoene, with Eulogius presbyter of Edessa acting as interpreter, said: 'The most holy and religious Archbishop Dioscorus has made a fitting proposal that the proceedings at all-fortunate Constantinople about the case in question should first be read.'

216. The holy council said: 'We all want the proceedings to be read. Let the proceedings be read.'

217. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Let the most religious Bishop Julius, as the representative of the most holy Leo bishop of the church of Rome, say if he is in accord with this holy council and himself wants a



reading of the proceedings at Constantinople relating to this case.’

218. Bishop Julius, representing the most holy Leo bishop of the church of Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: ‘We want the Acts to be read on this condition, that the letter from the pope be read first.’

219. Hilary, deacon of the church of Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: ‘Since the most holy bishop of Rome, after these minutes which you now ask to be read had been read to him, sent ...’<sup>142</sup>

220. Eutyches the archimandrite said: ‘I have come to suspect the most religious representatives sent by the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop Leo of Rome to your holy council. For they have been staying with the most God-beloved Bishop Flavian and have eaten with him; they have received maintenance, and every attention, from him. I therefore ask your holiness, if they act unjustly towards me, not to let this prejudice my case.’

221. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘It is fitting and right that the proceedings relating to the case be read first, and then the letter of the most God-beloved bishop of Rome. So in accordance with the decision of this holy council let the proceedings be read.’

222. John presbyter and protonotary said: ‘Your holy and great council has ordered the reading of the proceedings in imperial Constantinople relating to the case in hand. So since they have been brought by the most religious Flavian bishop of the church of Constantinople, and the most religious archimandrite Eutyches has also produced copies, I shall read them, as you have ordered.’

*The Acts of Constantinople under Flavian, which were read at Ephesus under Dioscorus, are read at Chalcedon*

*(Constantinople, First Session, 8 November 448)*

223. In the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Zeno and Flavius Postumianus six days before the Ides of November, in Christ-loving and imperial Constantinople Rome.<sup>143</sup> The holy and great

<sup>142</sup> This statement was interrupted in mid-sentence by Eutyches, and is supplemented variously in the Greek and Latin MSS.

<sup>143</sup> The title ‘Constantinople New Rome’, adopted in Canon 28 of the council, which defined the ecclesiastical status of the see, occurs in the acts of the first session only once, at 3.4; elsewhere the title ‘Constantinople Rome’ is preferred. The sense is identical – to express the dignity of the city as the new imperial capital.

Home Synod convened in the aforesaid city in the episcopal consistory, with the most holy and sacred Archbishop Flavian presiding. After a report from Florentius the most religious bishop of Sardis, the metropolis of the province of Lydia, and from his most religious suffragan bishops John and Cossinius had been read in the presence also of the clerics who had brought the report and a definite judgement had been reached relating to what had been read,<sup>144</sup> Eusebius the most God-beloved bishop of Dorylaeum, one of those who were sitting in council, stood up and presented an indictment to the holy synod, adjuring that it be read and inserted in the text of the minutes.

224. When he insisted, the most holy Archbishop Flavian said: 'Let the indictment be received and read so that we may know the accusation it contains.'

Asterius, presbyter and notary, took it and read:

*Copy of the indictment of Eusebius the most devout bishop  
of Dorylaeum*

225. *To the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop Flavian and the holy and great home synod of most God-beloved bishops from Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum.*

*It was my prayer that Eutyches, presbyter and archimandrite, would not be so smitten by madness, aberration of thought and distraction of mind as to forget the fear of God and despise the dread tribunal and just judgement and retribution of Christ the Saviour of us all, who will come to judge the world in justice and to render to each man according to his works, to the extent of having the effrontery of uttering blasphemy even against Christ the Saviour of us all and of applying the name of heretics to the fathers numbered among the saints and to us who have imitated their faith. He does not cease with unbridled mouth and uncurbed tongue to deny the pious doctrines of orthodoxy and to defame both the holy fathers and myself, although I have never been suspected of heresy, have always made war on the heretics,<sup>145</sup> have championed the orthodox faith to the best of my*

144 The occasion of the synod was a dispute between the bishop of Sardis and two of his suffragans. That the matter was referred to the see of Constantinople illustrates its expanding jurisdiction, which was to be given canonical approval in Canons 9, 17 and 28 of Chalcedon. See Jones, *LRE*, 890–92.

145 As a layman in Constantinople around 430, Eusebius of Dorylaeum had strenuously attacked Nestorius.

*power, and have abided by the creed of the 318 holy fathers who convened at Nicaea, all the proceedings of the great and holy council in the metropolis of Ephesus, and the beliefs and definitions of the blessed Cyril then bishop of the great city of Alexandria, ...*

*(Ephesus II)*

226. The holy council exclaimed: 'The remembrance of Cyril for ever! Dioscorus and Cyril have one faith. This is what the entire council believes. The memory of Cyril is everlasting. Anathema to whoever invalidates! Anathema to whoever elaborates! Accursed is whoever adds, accursed who takes away, accursed who innovates. [Report] our acclamations to the emperor.'

227. Bishop Julius, representing the most holy Leo bishop of the church of Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: 'The apostolic see believes likewise.'

228. The holy council said: 'And the ecumenical council believes likewise.'

229. After these acclamations the rest of the acts were read in order as follows:

*(Constantinople)*

230. ... Athanasius, Gregory the Great, Gregory and Gregory, and Atticus and Proclus the holy bishops.<sup>146</sup> I therefore beg and beseech your sacredness not to ignore my petition, but to order Eutyches, presbyter and archimandrite, to appear before your holy synod and answer the charges I bring against him. I am ready to prove that his being called orthodox is a sham and that he has no part in the orthodox faith. I adjure you by the holy and consubstantial Trinity that preserves our Christ-loving emperors and by the prosperity and long reign of our most pious emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, perpetual Augusti, to order the aforesaid Eutyches to appear before your holy synod and answer the charges I bring against him, so that, when I have proved him guilty, those he has corrupted may be set right and the orthodox faith may be seen to be victorious now as well, the faith which embraces all the ends of the world. If I obtain this, I shall give thanks to your holy synod for ever.

146 Gregory the Illuminator, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Bishops Atticus and Proclus of Constantinople.

*I, Eusebius bishop of the holy church of God at Dorylaeum, have presented this indictment and signed it with my own hand.*

231. After the reading the most holy archbishop<sup>147</sup> said: 'We are amazed at a reading that brings such an indictment against the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches. Nevertheless I would ask your devoutness to pay him a visit and to discuss the orthodox faith with him; and if he be really found in error, he will then be summoned by the holy synod and will have to defend himself.'

232. Bishop Eusebius said: 'I was formerly his friend, and have been to see him for this reason not once or twice but on frequent occasions since he was corrupted. Discussing the matter with him and finding him in error, I urged and instructed him, but he persisted in asserting doctrines that are alien to our orthodox faith. This I can prove by means of many witnesses who were present and heard it. So I adjure you again by our Lord Jesus Christ to summon him to defend himself and then, after being proved guilty by me, refrain from his perverse teaching, since there are many who have been corrupted by him.'

233. The most holy archbishop said: 'I would ask your devoutness to have patience with me and pay a further visit to the monastery, and say to him what is appropriate and aimed at bringing peace, lest any turmoil or commotion should again affect the holy churches of God.'

234. Bishop Eusebius said: 'It is impossible for me, who have already visited him often without persuading him, to go back to him again and hear his blasphemies. I would ask your holiness to summon him to appear, for I cannot consent to a matter of this kind being left uninvestigated.'

235. The holy synod said: 'Your devoutness ought to heed the advice of our most holy and sacred archbishop, but since we note your insistence, it shall be as you have asked. So let the indictment you have presented be inserted in the minutes, to assist an exact examination of the matter; and let the most devout presbyter and advocate John with the most devout deacon Andrew go to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and read to him the indictment brought against him, and bid him appear before this holy synod and defend himself, since the accusation is not a trivial one.'

147 Flavian of Constantinople.

(*Chalcedon*)

236. During the reading the most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘You see that when the most devout Bishop Eusebius accused Eutyches at Constantinople he demanded that Eutyches be present for examination. Why then was this example not followed at Ephesus, and the most devout Bishop Eusebius not admitted there?’

237. When all remained silent, the most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Proceed through the rest.’

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

(*Constantinople, Second Session, 12 November 448*)

238. In the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Zeno and Flavius Postumianus on the day before the Ides of November, in Christ-loving and imperial Constantinople Rome. The holy and great Home Synod convened in the aforesaid city in the episcopal consistory, with the most holy and sacred Archbishop Flavian presiding.

Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘I recently came to your holiness and presented an indictment accusing Eutyches, presbyter and archimandrite of this city, of corrupting the orthodox doctrines of the church, both in private discussions and in the course of instructing those who come to him; it will be possible by means of my indictment, whenever he presents himself, for me to provide proofs for the contest, taken from the plentiful evidence that has surfaced against him. Since therefore I am ready to prove that he is as I say, I asked your sacredness to summon him canonically to your holy synod, and you entrusted this to certain most devout clerics. For the perfect information of your holiness I inform you that, when Nestorius was introducing perverse doctrines and preaching them in the church, Cyril of sacred and blessed memory, bishop of the holy church in the great city of Alexandria, being God-beloved and zealous for the faith, when he heard about him, wrote him a letter of exhortation containing the teaching of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and explaining how this inspired teaching is to be conceived and understood.<sup>148</sup> On receipt of the letter Nestorius sent a reply to it, addressed to Cyril of blessed memory, that revealed the perversity and profanity of his doctrines.<sup>149</sup>

148 For this and the following sequence of events see General Introduction, 18–23.

149 This is Nestorius’ Second Letter to Cyril (replying to Cyril’s second letter to him), translated in Norris 1980, 135–40.

Thereupon by decree of our Christ-loving emperors a council convened in the metropolis of Ephesus; in its first session Cyril of blessed memory asked that his letter to Nestorius be read to the holy and great council, so that the council could judge whether or not it was in accord with the teaching of the holy fathers. In accordance with a resolution of that holy and great ecumenical council the letter was read, and all the members of that great and ecumenical council declared that it was in harmony with the teaching of the holy fathers and with the divine scriptures and differed from them in no respect, and that they agreed with the teaching of this letter. I now request your sacredness to have this letter read in order to make clear to all that we think and believe in accordance with the teaching contained in this letter. There is also a second letter of Cyril of sacred memory, addressed to the holy synod in the Orient, when they came to an agreement on what they held about the incarnation of Christ our Saviour and as to what the holy churches of God everywhere should think and preach. I ask that these letters be read and inserted in the guarantee of the minutes, so that the doctrines of the church may be clear to all.'

239. The most holy Archbishop Flavian said: 'Although they are known to all the faithful and to all who are raised and read in the books of the holy fathers, because of the benefit and confirmation the faith within us receives at each reading of them, there is no reason why they should not now be read as you request, while all the proceedings are to be inserted in the guarantee of the minutes.'

*(Ephesus I, 22 June 431, as read at Constantinople)*<sup>150</sup>

*A copy of the letter from the most God-beloved Cyril bishop of Alexandria to Nestorius, written in the month of Michir in the 13th indiction.*<sup>151</sup>

240. *Certain persons, as I am informed, are gossiping to the detriment of my character in the presence of your religiousness, and this constantly, looking out in particular for gatherings of officials; and thinking perhaps to tickle your ears they make ill-*

<sup>150</sup> There follows (240–45) an extract from the minutes of the first session of Ephesus I (ACO 1.1.2 pp. 13–14), consisting of a reading of Cyril of Alexandria's Second Letter to Nestorius and the statements that immediately followed it.

<sup>151</sup> February 430.

*considered statements, for they have in no way been wronged but were convicted, and quite rightly too – one for having wronged the blind and the poor, another for having drawn a sword against his mother, and the third for having been associated with a maid-servant in a theft of money, quite apart from having a permanent reputation of a kind that one would not pray to see attached even to one’s worst enemies.<sup>152</sup> But what such people say is not a matter of much moment to me, lest I stretch the measure of my littleness above my Master and Teacher, or indeed the Fathers. For it is not possible to escape the perversity of the wicked, however one chooses to live. But those men, ‘whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness’,<sup>153</sup> will be answerable to the Judge of all. I, however, will return to what more especially becomes my position, and will urge you even now, as a brother in Christ, to make the character of your teaching and your opinions about the faith free from all danger to the congregations, and to bear in mind that to lead into sin even one of the little ones who believe in Christ<sup>154</sup> incurs the unendurable wrath [of God]. But if the number of those aggrieved is very great, we surely stand in need of all possible skill, in view of the need to remove with prudence the cause of sin and to extend the wholesome doctrine of the faith to those who seek the truth. This will be done, and most rightly, if when encountering the words of the holy fathers we are zealous to hold them in high esteem and if, testing ourselves if we are in the faith, as it is written,<sup>155</sup> we make our own conceptions properly harmonize with their correct and unassailable opinions.*

*Now the holy and great council [of Nicaea] said that the Son by nature born only-begotten from God the Father, true God from true God, light from light, through whom the Father made all*

152 In 429 four Alexandrians disciplined by Cyril went to Constantinople and appealed to the emperor, who entrusted the case to Bishop Nestorius, who rejected Cyril’s demand that he dismiss the case. It was this that prompted Cyril to go to war with Nestorius on the doctrinal front. The purpose of this letter was to provoke Nestorius into a counter-statement that could provide the grounds for an accusation of heresy. The letter was formally approved at the first session of the Council of Ephesus of 431 and from then on ranked as the classic exposition of Cyril’s doctrine.

153 Rom. 3:14.

154 Mt. 18:6.

155 2 Cor. 13:5.

*things, came down, was enfleshed, became man, suffered, rose on the third day, and ascended into heaven. These words and doctrines we are obliged to follow, recognizing what is meant by the Word from God being enfleshed and becoming man; for we do not say that the nature of the Word became flesh as a result of change, nor that he was transformed into a complete human being, one made up of soul and body, but this rather, that the Word, having united to himself hypostatically in an ineffable and inconceivable manner flesh animated by a rational soul, became man and was called son of man, not according to mere will or good pleasure, and neither by the assumption of a mere person,<sup>156</sup> but that, while the natures which were brought together in true union are different, yet from them both is the one Christ and Son – not as though the difference of the natures was destroyed by the union, but rather the Godhead and the manhood by their ineffable and indescribable coming together into unity perfected for us the one Lord and Christ and Son.*

*Accordingly, although he had his existence and was begotten from the Father before the ages, he is spoken of as begotten also according to the flesh from a woman, not as though his divine nature received the beginning of its existence in the holy Virgin, yet neither as though a second generation were of necessity required for its own sake after that from the Father (for it is altogether purposeless and ignorant to say that he who existed before every aeon and is co-eternal with the Father needed a second beginning of existence); but since for us and for our salvation he united manhood to himself hypostatically and came forth from a woman, he is for this reason said to have been born in the flesh. For he was not born first from the holy Virgin as an ordinary man upon whom afterwards the Word descended but, united from the womb itself, he is said to have undergone fleshly birth, as making his own the birth of his own flesh. So too we say that he both suffered and rose again, not as though God the Word suffered in his own nature either blows or the piercing of the nails or the other wounds (for the divine is impassible because it is also incorporeal); but since it was the body that had become his own*

156 In the sense of adopting the manhood as a representative of the Godhead but with no true union of natures. See 'Person' in the glossary, vol. 3, 210.



*that suffered, he himself again is said to have suffered these things for us, for the impassible one was in the suffering body. It is in the same way that we also conceive his dying. The Word of God is by nature immortal and incorruptible and is life and life-giving; but since again his own body 'by the grace of God tasted death on behalf of everyone', as Paul says,<sup>157</sup> he himself is said to have suffered death on our behalf – not as though he entered into the experience of death in regard to his own nature (for to say or think that would be lunacy), but because, as I have just said, his own flesh tasted death. So again, when his flesh was raised, the resurrection is spoken of as his, not as though he fell into corruption (God forbid!), but because again his own body was raised.*

*So we shall acknowledge one Christ and Lord, not worshipping a man together with the Word, lest a semblance of division might secretly creep in through the use of the word 'with', but worshipping him as one and the same, because his body with which he is seated with the Father is not alien to the Word; it is again not the case that two sons are seated with the Father, but one is, in virtue of his union with the flesh. But if we reject the hypostatic union as incomprehensible or unseemly, we fall into saying two sons, for it becomes inevitable to draw a distinction and to speak of the one as individually a man, honoured with the title of 'son', and again of the other as individually the Word from God, possessing by nature both the name and reality of sonship. We must therefore not divide into two sons the one Lord Jesus Christ, for doing so will in no way assist the right expression of the faith, even though some allege a union of persons; for scripture did not say that the Word united to himself the person of a man, but that he became flesh.<sup>158</sup> The Word becoming flesh means nothing other than that he partook of blood and flesh like us,<sup>159</sup> and made our body his own, and came forth a human being from a woman, not laying aside his being God and his generation from God the Father, but even in his assumption of flesh remaining what he was. This is what the account of the true faith everywhere proclaims; this we shall find to be the belief of the holy fathers. Accordingly they confidently called the holy Virgin Theotokos, not as though the nature of the Word or his*

157 Heb. 2:9.

158 Jn 1:14.

159 Heb. 2:14.

*Godhead received its beginning of existence from the holy Virgin, but because born from her was the holy body, rationally animated, to which being hypostatically united the Word is said to have been born according to the flesh.*

*This I write to you even now out of love in Christ, as I beseech you as a brother and ‘charge you before Christ and the elect angels’<sup>160</sup> to believe and teach these things together with us, so that the peace of the churches may be preserved and the bond of unanimity and love may remain unbroken among the priests of God.*

241. Cyril bishop of Alexandria said: ‘The holy and great council has now heard what I wrote to the most devout Nestorius in defence of the orthodox faith. I am confident that I can in no way be found guilty of departing from the true account of the faith or of offending against the creed issued by the holy and great council that met at that time at Nicaea. I ask your sacredness to say whether or not my letter is orthodox, irreproachable and in conformity with that holy council.’

242. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Now that the holy creed issued at Nicaea and the letter of the most holy and sacred Bishop Cyril have been read, the teaching of the holy council has been found to be in complete accord, and I agree and concur with these pious doctrines.’

243. Firmus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘By providing a subtle and exact exposition of what the most holy council at Nicaea expressed briefly and in summary, your religiousness has so explained and clarified for us the revelation in the issued creed that no ambiguity remains in the wording, everything coheres together, and the faith is confirmed. Since therefore the points made are firm and precise and introduce no innovation, I too am in agreement, since I received the same belief from the holy bishops who were my fathers.’

244. Memnon bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus said: ‘The content of the letter of the most holy and God-beloved father and bishop Cyril that has been read conforms to the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea. We too confirm and approve it, since we find nothing missing or discordant.’

245. The entire holy and great council made the same declaration.

*(Read at Constantinople)*

*The Letter written to the most God-beloved John bishop of Antioch from the most sacred Cyril bishop of Alexandria, concerning reconciliation.*<sup>161</sup>

246. *'Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad',<sup>162</sup> for 'the middle wall of division'<sup>163</sup> has been broken down, an end has been put to grieving and the mode of all dissension removed, as Christ the Saviour of us all bestows peace on his churches; we have also been called to this by the most pious and God-beloved emperors, who, having become most excellent imitators of ancestral piety, preserve the orthodox faith sure and unshaken in their own souls and take special care of the holy churches, that they themselves may enjoy resounding glory for ever and make their empire most illustrious. To them the Lord of Hosts assigns blessings with a liberal hand, grants them to prevail over their adversaries, and graces them with victory. For he might not speak falsely who said, I live, says the Lord, and 'I shall glorify those that glorify me.'<sup>164</sup>*

*When, then, my lord Paul, my most God-beloved brother and fellow minister, arrived at Alexandria,<sup>165</sup> we were filled with joy, and very naturally, seeing that such a man was acting as mediator and had voluntarily undertaken tremendous labours in order to overcome the envy of the devil, heal divisions and, by removing the stumbling-blocks cast between us, crown both our churches and yours with unanimity and peace. It is needless to recount the ground of their division; what I consider necessary is to think and speak of the things that befit a time of peace. We were delighted by our dealings with the aforesaid most religious man, who may well have supposed that he*

161 The date of the letter is April 433. After laborious government diplomacy the Alexandrians and the Antiochenes, who had condemned each other at the Council of Ephesus of 431, agreed to make peace, the terms being that the Antiochenes had to abandon their support for Nestorius while Cyril had to agree to the Christological statement contained in this letter, which had been drawn up by his Antiochene opponents. For a caustic account see Ibas of Edessa's Letter to Mari the Persian read out at the tenth session (X. 138).

162 Ps. 95:11.

163 Eph. 2:14.

164 1 Sam. 2:30.

165 Bishop Paul of Emesa, the emissary of John of Antioch, visited Alexandria at the end of 432 to conclude peace between the two factions; see Kidd 1922, III, 258–61.

would have considerable difficulty in persuading us that it was a duty to unite the churches in peace, put an end to the mockery of the heretics, and in addition blunt the sting of the devil's malice. Instead he found us so readily disposed to this that he had absolutely no trouble at all; for we remembered the saying of the Saviour, 'My peace I give to you, my peace I leave with you',<sup>166</sup> and we had been taught to say in our prayers, 'O Lord our God, grant us peace, for you have granted us everything.'<sup>167</sup> Consequently, if one comes to partake of the peace that is abundantly supplied by God, one will not lack any good thing.

That the dissension which arose between the churches was quite needless and inexcusable we have now been fully convinced, since my lord the most God-beloved Bishop Paul has brought a paper containing an unimpeachable confession of faith, which he affirmed had been drawn up by your holiness and the most God-beloved bishops in that place. The document is as follows, and is inserted in this our letter word for word:

'On the matter of how we think and speak concerning the Virgin the Theotokos and the manner in which the only-begotten Son of God became man, we must state briefly (not by way of addition but in the form of giving an assurance) what we have held from the first, having received it both from the divine scriptures and from the tradition of the holy fathers, making no addition at all to the creed issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea. For, as we have just said, it is sufficient both for a complete knowledge of orthodoxy and for the exclusion of all heretical error. We shall state it, not hazarding impossibilities but in the acknowledgment of our own frailty, to exclude those who wish to attack us for looking into things beyond the power of man. We therefore acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man made up of a rational soul and body, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead and the same on the last day for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary in respect of his manhood, the same consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood. For there has occurred a union of two natures, and therefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one

166 Jn 14:27.

167 Is. 26:12.

*Lord. By virtue of this understanding of the union which involves no merging, we acknowledge the holy Virgin to be Theotokos, because God the Word was enfleshed and became man and from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her. As regards the sayings concerning the Lord in the gospels and the apostolic writings we know that theologians treat some as common, as relating to one person, and distinguish others, as relating to two natures, attributing the ones worthy of God to the Godhead of Christ and the lowly ones to his manhood.*<sup>168</sup>

*On reading these your holy words and finding that we ourselves hold the same beliefs – for there is ‘one Lord, one faith, one baptism’<sup>169</sup> – we gave glory to God the Saviour of the universe, and congratulated each other that both our churches and yours hold a faith that agrees with the divinely inspired scriptures and with the tradition of our holy fathers. But when I learnt that certain of those who are wont to be censorious were buzzing around like angry wasps, and were spitting out wicked words against me as though I said that the holy body of Christ was brought down from heaven and was not from the holy Virgin, I thought it necessary to say a few words on this topic in answer to them.*

*O witless ones, only understanding false accusation, how were you brought to such a state of mind and infected with such monstrous folly? For you ought, you really ought, to understand clearly that virtually the whole of our battle for the faith has been waged round our affirmation that the holy Virgin is Theotokos. But if we say that the holy body of Christ the Saviour of us all was born from heaven and not from her, how could she still be thought of as Theotokos? Whom has she brought forth at all, if it is not true that she gave fleshly birth to Emmanuel? Let then those who have spouted this nonsense about me be heaped with ridicule. For the blessed prophet Isaiah did not lie when he said, ‘Behold, the Virgin shall have in the womb, and give birth to, a son, and they will call his name Emmanuel, which,*

168 This Christological statement (known as the Formula, or Formulary, of Reunion) was drawn up by the Antiochene bishops in a preliminary form in 431 (ACO 1.1.7 p. 70). It was essentially the work of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, yet because it was contained in this letter of Cyril’s it was consistently treated at Chalcedon as representative of Cyril’s thought and as part of the work of the Council of Ephesus of 431, of which, indeed, it can reasonably be treated as the final fruit. See Gould 1988.

169 Eph. 4:5.

*being interpreted, is God with us.<sup>170</sup> And altogether truly did the holy Gabriel say to the blessed Virgin, 'Fear not, Mary, for you have found favour with God, and behold, you will conceive in your womb and give birth to a son, and you will call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.'<sup>171</sup> But when we speak of our Lord Jesus Christ being from heaven and from above, we do not use these expressions as meaning that his holy flesh was brought from above and from heaven, but we follow rather the inspired Paul, who cried out plainly, 'The first man is from earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven.'<sup>172</sup> We remember also the saying of the Saviour, 'No one has ascended into heaven except he that came down from heaven, the son of man',<sup>173</sup> although he was born according to the flesh, as I have just said, from the holy Virgin. But since God the Word who came down from above and from heaven 'emptied himself, taking the form of a servant',<sup>174</sup> and was called son of man, while remaining what he was, that is, God (for he is unchangeable and unalterable by nature), he is therefore now thought of as one with his own flesh, and is said to have come down from heaven, and has been given the name 'man from heaven',<sup>175</sup> being perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, and thought of as [existing] in one person, since 'there is one Lord Jesus Christ',<sup>176</sup> even though we do not ignore the difference of the natures out of which we say that the ineffable union was brought about.*

As for those who say there was a mixture or confusion or blending of God the Word with the flesh, let your sacredness think it right to stop their mouths; for it is likely that some are repeating this also about me, as having either thought or said it. But I am so far from thinking such a thing that I count them insane who can for a moment suppose it possible for a 'shadow of turning'<sup>177</sup> to take place in respect of the nature of God the Word; for he remains for ever what he is and has not been altered, neither, indeed, could he ever be altered

170 Mt. 1:23, quoting Is. 7:14.

171 A conflation of Lk. 1:30–31 and Mt. 1:21.

172 1 Cor. 15:4. The words 'the Lord' are Cyril's addition to the text.

173 Jn 3:13.

174 Phil. 2:7.

175 1 Cor. 15:47.

176 1 Cor. 8:6.

177 Jam. 1:17.

*or be capable of change. Besides, we all confess the Word of God to be impassible, even if in his all-wise administration of the mystery he be seen to attribute to himself the sufferings which befell his own flesh. Accordingly the all-wise Peter says, 'Christ suffered for us in the flesh'<sup>178</sup> and not in the nature of the ineffable Godhead. For in order that he may be believed to be the Saviour of the universe he takes upon himself, as I have said, the sufferings of his own flesh by means of an appropriation inherent in the dispensation; this was foretold by the statement of the prophet (as if uttered by him), 'I gave my back to the scourges, my cheeks to blows, and my face I turned not away from the shame of spitting.'<sup>179</sup>*

*That we follow in all respects the opinions of the holy fathers, especially those of our blessed and all-renowned father Athanasius, refusing to go beyond them in the slightest respect, let your sacredness be convinced and let no one else entertain any doubts. I would also have set down many passages of theirs, guaranteeing my own words from them, had not I feared the length of the letter, lest it should thereby become tedious. In no way do we allow anyone to disturb the faith or the symbol of the faith defined by our holy fathers who assembled in their time at Nicaea; nor do we permit either ourselves or others either to alter a word of what is written there or to offend against a single syllable, remembering him who said, 'Do not remove the eternal bounds which your fathers set.'<sup>180</sup> For they themselves were not the speakers, but the Spirit of God the Father, who proceeds indeed from him yet is not alien from the Son in respect of substance. In addition, the words of the holy teachers guarantee this to us; for in the Acts of the Apostles it is written, 'When they came opposite Mysia they tried to cross over into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus did not let them.'<sup>181</sup> And the inspired Paul writes, 'Those that are in the flesh cannot please God, but you are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you. If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not his.'<sup>182</sup> Now when any of those who are wont to pervert correct doctrine twist my words to what they please, let not your sacredness marvel at this, knowing that people of every heresy*

178 1 Pet. 4:1.

179 Is. 50:6.

180 Prov. 22:28.

181 Acts 16:7.

182 Rom. 8:8-9.

*collect the starting-points for their own error from the inspired scriptures, corrupting by their own evil notions what has been rightly uttered by the Holy Spirit, and pouring over their own heads the unquenchable flame.*

*Since we have learnt that certain persons have corrupted the letter of our all-renowned father Athanasius to the blessed Epictetus, which is orthodox, and have published it in such a way that harm has been caused to many, we have therefore, intending hereby something useful and necessary for the brethren, sent duplicates to your sacredness made from ancient copies which are with us and which are free from error.<sup>183</sup>*

(Chalcedon)

247. During the reading the most devout Illyrian bishops exclaimed: ‘We believe as Cyril did. The memory of Cyril is everlasting.’

248. Theodoret the most devout bishop said: ‘Anathema to whoever says two Sons; for we worship one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten.’

249. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We believe as Cyril did. So we believed, and so we believe. Anathema to whoever believes otherwise.’

250. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Flavian believed this; Flavian defended this; for this Flavian was deposed. Eusebius condemned Nestorius. Dioscorus has corrupted the faith.’

251. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘God condemned Nestorius.’

252. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Leo holds this. Leo believes this. Anatolius holds this.’

253. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘{We all believe this.}<sup>184</sup> We all hold this. Give no place to Satan. Give no room to Satan.’

254. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘The emperor and the senate and everyone holds this.’

255. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate and the entire holy synod of the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘The emperor holds this. The Augusta holds this. We all hold this.’

183 For Cyril’s providing Paul of Emesa with an Alexandrian version of Athanasius’ letter, see his Letter to Acacius of Melitene, 21 (*Select Letters*, 58–9). It is not certain whether Cyril’s version was indeed authentic or contained Apollinarian interpolations; see Moutsoulas 1974, 317–19.

184 Supplied from the Latin version.



256. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘The whole world holds this. The faith of the fathers holds good.’

257. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Drive out the murderer of Flavian. Drive out the parricide.’

258. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We all believe this. Many years to the senate! Many years to the emperors! Many years to the orthodox! We all believe this. May you bring peace. We all affirm correctly.’

259. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Why did you receive Eutyches into communion, who contradicted these doctrines, while deposing Flavian of holy memory and the most devout Bishop Eusebius, who upheld them?’

260. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘The minutes will reveal the truth.’

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

261. Eustathius bishop of Berytus said: ‘Now that these previously written letters have been read, it is necessary to make clear to your holiness that God ordained for our father Cyril archbishop of Alexandria, most blessed and sacred in memory, that some of the things that he wrote were disputed in his lifetime by those who did not understand correctly what he had put so well. In consequence, with his all-wise and instructive utterance he explained his well-composed writings to those who wanted to distort them, and persuaded everyone to follow his pious doctrine. But when certain other people used the letters that have just been read to dispute the doctrine of this most blessed and sacred man, he felt the necessity, or rather the desire (for he devoted all his time to this work of piety), to explain himself and show and present his meaning clearly to all by means of the letters which he wrote to the then bishops of blessed and sacred memory Acacius of Melitene, Valerian of Iconium and Succensus of Diocaesarea in the province of Isauria;<sup>185</sup> these explain how one should understand the letters which have just been read and the mystery of the coming of our Saviour. The letters to those blessed men

<sup>185</sup> Cyril, *ep.* 40, 50, 45–6 respectively. Some of Cyril’s supporters were disconcerted by his acceptance of the Formula of Reunion, and he wrote a series of letters to reassure them, giving the formula a heavily Alexandrian gloss.

state among other things, “One should not conceive of two natures but of one incarnate nature of the Word”, and he confirmed this statement of his by the testimony of the most blessed Athanasius.<sup>186</sup>

(*Chalcedon*)

262. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Eutyches says this. Dioscorus says this.’

263. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘We speak of neither confusion nor division nor change. Anathema to whoever speaks of confusion or change or mixture.’

264. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the holy council say whether the declaration of Eustathius the most devout bishop is in harmony with the canonical letters of Cyril of sacred memory which were published at the council and have just now been read.’<sup>187</sup>

265. Before the holy council answered, Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus came forward to the centre, threw down a book and said: ‘If I have spoken wrongly, here is the book of Cyril. Let it be anathematized and let me be anathematized.’

266. The most devout Egyptian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Bishop Eustathius has spoken well. The orthodox one has spoken well. To the revered and devout one! The memory of Cyril is everlasting.’

267. Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘The letter of Cyril of sacred memory goes as follows.’ – And he recited by heart the letter containing among other statements the following: ‘One should therefore not conceive of two natures but of one incarnate nature of the Word.’

After reciting the aforesaid letter the same Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘Anathema to whoever says one nature in such a way as to abolish Christ’s flesh that is consubstantial with us, and anathema to whoever says two natures in such a way as to divide the Son of God. I want to speak on behalf of the blessed Flavian: the blessed Flavian took precisely

186 The quotation from Cyril does not appear to be exact, but cf. in the Letter to Acacius (*Select Letters*, 48), ‘We say that two natures have been united, but after the union, now that the division into two has been removed, we believe that the nature of the Son is one.’ The Athanasian citation (*ACO* 1.1.5 p. 67. 25–7) is from an Apollinarian forgery.

187 Consistently in the Acts of Chalcedon by Cyril’s ‘canonical’ or ‘conciliar’ letters are meant the two letters just read, the Second Letter to Nestorius and the Letter to John of Antioch. The phrase does not include the more controversial Third Letter to Nestorius, containing the Twelve Chapters, which were mentioned by a bishop in the second session (II. 29) but were generally ignored at Chalcedon and received no official recognition. See pp. 67–8 above.

these words and sent them to the most pious emperor.<sup>188</sup> Have his autograph letter read, so that the whole council may say that it was accepted deservedly.’

268. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Why then did you depose Flavian of devout memory?’

269. Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘I erred.’

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Constantinople)*

270. After the reading<sup>189</sup> Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘Since I am convinced that these are my beliefs and since I present myself as the adversary of those who try to exploit them to corrupt the doctrine of orthodoxy, I have come to your holy synod and ask your holiness also to assent to what has been read, so that all may know that whoever rejects these statements of faith is the enemy of the orthodox church and has no part in the priestly assembly.’

271. The most holy Archbishop Flavian said: ‘It is both most pious and necessary for us to agree with what has been correctly defined, for who can oppose the words of the Holy Spirit? The letters that have been read of our father Cyril of blessed memory and [now] among the saints, then bishop of the most holy church of Alexandria, give an accurate interpretation of the thought of the holy fathers who assembled in their time at Nicaea, and they teach us what we hold and have always held, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, is perfect God and perfect man made up of a rational soul and body, begotten from the Father without beginning before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same at the end and in the last times for us and for our salvation born from Mary the Virgin in respect of the manhood, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with his mother in respect of the manhood. For we confess that Christ is from two natures after the incarnation, as we confess in one hypostasis and one person one Christ, one Son,

<sup>188</sup> The reference is to the Letter of Flavian to Theodosius II of December 448 (*ACO* 2.1 p. 35), in which the Christological formula he had used at the Home Synod of 448 (271 below) was supplemented by the statement, ‘We do not refuse to affirm one nature of God the Word, enfleshed and incarnate, since from both is one and the same our Lord Jesus Christ’ (lines 20–22). At the Home Synod Flavian had insisted on a ‘two nature’ formula (see p. 116 above), but by December he was trying to mend fences with the miaphysites.

<sup>189</sup> Of the two canonical letters of Cyril (at 240, 246).

one Lord. Those who choose a different belief we exclude from the holy assembly of priests and the whole body of the church. Each of the most God-beloved bishops here present should record his beliefs and his faith in the text of the minutes.’<sup>190</sup>

(*Chalcedon*)

272. During the reading the most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘What say the most devout bishops of the present holy council? In so expounding the faith did Flavian of sacred memory preserve the orthodox and catholic religion, or did he make some mistake in its regard?’

273. Paschasinus the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: ‘Flavian of blessed memory gave a pure and comprehensive exposition of the faith. His faith and exposition accords with the letter of that most blessed and apostolic man the bishop of Rome.’

274. After this statement had been translated into Greek by Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory,<sup>191</sup> Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said: ‘The blessed Flavian gave a fine and orthodox exposition of the faith of our holy fathers.’

275. Lucentius the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: ‘Since the faith of Flavian of blessed memory is in harmony with the apostolic see and the patristic traditions, it is just that the most holy council should transfer to the heretics the condemnation which they decreed against him.’

276. After this statement had been translated into Greek by Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory,<sup>192</sup> Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria said: ‘Archbishop Flavian of sacred memory gave an exposition of the faith that was orthodox and in harmony with the most God-beloved and sacred Archbishop Leo, and we all accept it eagerly.’

277. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘Flavian of blessed memory spoke in accord with Cyril of blessed memory.’

278. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘We

190 Flavian’s profession of faith is based on the Formula of Reunion, contained in the letter of Cyril of Alexandria read at 246. The distinction that Flavian makes between ‘two natures’ and ‘one hypostasis’ was novel (since hitherto the two terms had not been distinguished in this way) and was adopted in the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 34).

191 We follow the Latin version. This clause is omitted by some Greek MSS and inserted by others at the beginning of 273.

192 Here again, as at 274, we follow the Latin version. This clause is placed by those Greek MSS that include it at the beginning of 275.

approve and accept the statement on religion of the most sacred Flavian.’

279. Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘The then archbishop of the imperial city, Flavian, most God-beloved in memory, followed the teachings of our most blessed and holy father Cyril, then bishop of Alexandria.’

280. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘The martyr Flavian gave a fine exposition of the faith. Archbishop Flavian gave a fine exposition of the faith.’

281. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Let the rest of his words be read, and then I will answer. He will be found in what follows to contradict himself and speak of two natures after the union.’

282. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘The most holy Bishop Flavian spoke in harmony with the statements of Cyril blessed in memory, but we ask for the reading of what follows, in order to make his thought more clear.’

283. The most devout bishops from Palestine said: ‘We say the same as the most sacred Archbishop Juvenal.’

284. Standing up, the most devout Juvenal with these bishops crossed over to the other side.<sup>193</sup>

285. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘God has led you well, orthodox one. You are welcome.’

286. Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth said: ‘I was not present then at the council of Ephesus – for I had not yet {by the grace of God}<sup>194</sup> been appointed a bishop –, but from what has been read I find that the words of Flavian of blessed memory emulate the teaching of Cyril of holy memory, and so I hesitate to criticize them. The reading of the rest will instruct me more fully.’

287. Standing up, he too crossed over to the other side.

288. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Peter thinks like Peter. Orthodox one, you are welcome.’

289. Irenaeus the most devout bishop of Naupactus in Hellas said: ‘I too was not present at the recent holy council at Ephesus, and after the reading to us just now of the teaching of Flavian of sacred memory I hesitate to criticize him, and ask that the rest be read.’

193 See 4 for the seating order at the beginning of the session, with Dioscorus’ supporters arrayed on one side of the nave. His Palestinian supporters now desert him, to be followed by his supporters from Illyricum and even by four Egyptian bishops (293–6).

194 These words are present in the Latin version and one important Greek MS.

290. The other most devout bishops of Hellas<sup>195</sup> said: ‘We teach the same about what has been read.’

And they all crossed over to the other side.

291. Quintillus, Sozon and the other most devout bishops of Macedonia and Crete said: ‘We do not find anything anomalous in the statement of Flavian of sacred memory that has been read, and we ask that the rest be read.’

292. Nicholas the most devout bishop of Stobi in Macedonia said: ‘I was not present at the aforesaid council, but from what has been read I do not find that Flavian of blessed memory said anything contrary to the definitions of the most blessed fathers and the most blessed Cyril.’

293. Athanasius the most devout bishop of Busiris of Tripolis in Egypt said: ‘The most holy Bishop Flavian followed the letters of the most sacred Cyril, and expounded the faith well.’<sup>196</sup>

294. Auxonius the most devout bishop of Sebennytus said: ‘The most holy and devout Bishop Flavian thought and spoke in harmony with the teaching of Cyril as contained in the letters of the most sacred Cyril that have been read.’

295. Nestorius the most devout bishop of Phlagonis said: ‘Flavian of blessed memory taught consistently with what has been read from the faithful minutes and from the teaching of Cyril of blessed memory.’<sup>197</sup>

296. Macarius the most devout bishop of Cabasa said: ‘I too say the same, for the most sacred Bishop Flavian gave a fine exposition that is consistent with the faith of the holy Cyril.’

297. Constantine the most devout bishop of Demetrias in Thessaly said: ‘My metropolitan is sick and therefore still at Helenopolis.’<sup>198</sup> As for me, I

195 Hellas is an alternative name for the province of Achaia in southern Greece.

196 Athanasius and the three bishops who spoke after him were the four Egyptian bishops who came over to the side of the government, supporting Pope Leo against Dioscorus, and who returned to Alexandria after the council to elect Proterius as Dioscorus’ successor; see Liberatus, *Breviarium* 14, *ACO* 2.5 p. 123.

197 Bishop Nestorius’ desertion of Dioscorus may be accounted for by the fact that, according to the deacon Ischyron (III. 50), he had suffered at the hands of Dioscorus. After Proterius’ murder he was the first signatory of a letter of protest to the emperor Leo from pro-Chalcedonian clergy in Egypt (*ACO* 2.5 pp. 11–17); he fled to Constantinople, where in 458 he and other Egyptian clerics received Leo, *ep.* 160 (*ACO* 2.4 pp. 107–8, *ep.* 100).

198 Vigilantius must have fallen ill on the journey from Nicaea. But his appearance in the attendance lists from 20 October (Session on Photius and Eustathius 2.50) may be accepted as evidence (despite the unreliability of these lists) that he recovered and arrived at Chalcedon in the middle of the council.

share the faith of the 318 and agree with the statements of the blessed Cyril that have just been read, and may I be anathema if I believe or ever believed otherwise. I agree with them, just as Flavian of blessed memory agreed with the statements of the blessed Cyril.’

298. Euty chius the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis in Epirus Vetus, Claudius the most devout bishop of Anchiasmus, Mark the most devout bishop of Euroea, Peregrinus the most devout bishop of Phoenice, and Soterichus the most devout bishop of Corcyra said: ‘Our most holy father Atticus bishop of the metropolis of Nicopolis left a short time ago when he felt extremely unwell.<sup>199</sup> As for ourselves, we testify that the blessed Flavian spoke in harmony with the letters that have been read of our father the blessed Cyril, [now] among the saints, and we ask that all the rest of the proceedings be read.’

And they all crossed over to the other side.

299. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Clearly Flavian was deposed for this reason, that he spoke of two natures after the union. But I have quotations from the holy fathers Athanasius, Gregory and Cyril saying in numerous passages that one should not speak of two natures after the union but of one incarnate nature of the Word. I am being cast out together with the fathers. I stand by the doctrines of the fathers, and do not transgress in any respect. And I have these quotations not indiscriminately or in a haphazard form but in books. As all have asked, I too request that the rest be read.’

300. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the sequel be read.’

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Constantinople)*

301. The most God-beloved Bishop Basil of the metropolis of Seleucia said: ‘Who can criticize the statements of our blessed father Cyril? Through his own wisdom he checked the impiety of Nestorius when it was about to engulf the world; and when the latter was dividing into two persons and two sons the one Christ, our Lord, God and Saviour, he proved that one must acknowledge perfect Godhead

<sup>199</sup> Atticus had been a keen supporter of Dioscorus and Euty ches (884.26) and made a significant pro-Alexandrian intervention at the second session (II. 29). His sudden and temporary illness at this point (he had been present at the beginning of the session, 3.47) was doubtless diplomatic.

and perfect manhood in a single person, Son, Lord, and Master of the creation. We therefore accept all his writings and letters as true and full of piety, and we worship the one Jesus Christ our Lord, acknowledged in two natures. As “the reflection of the Father’s glory”,<sup>200</sup> he possessed one of these in himself eternally, while, as born from a mother for our sake, he took the other nature from her and united it to himself hypostatically, and so is called the perfect God and Son of God and also perfect man and son of man, wishing to save us all through becoming similar to us in all things except sin.<sup>201</sup> We affirm that those who are opposed to these doctrines are enemies of the church.’

302. The most God-beloved Bishop Seleucus of the metropolis of Amaseia said: ‘Our hearts are filled with joy by the doctrines of the holy father, and at that time bishop, Cyril that have just been read, by the wisdom of the most holy Archbishop Flavian, and now by the assent of the most holy Bishop Basil. Since these doctrines are apostolic, orthodox and pious, I too agree and concur with them; whoever holds contrary opinions I anathematize and deem to have no part in the ecclesiastical and orthodox unity. For we too believe in the one Jesus Christ our Lord, the Word from God, light from light, life from life, to be defined in two natures after the incarnation and the assumption of the flesh from holy Mary. We proclaim that whoever holds contrary opinion has no part in the church.’

*(Ephesus II)*

303. The holy synod said: ‘No one says the Lord is two after the union. He was not bishop of Amaseia. Do not divide the indivisible. This is what Nestorius held. He was not bishop of Amaseia. He was not from Amaseia, but is from Sinope.’<sup>202</sup>

304. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Briefly be silent, and let us hear other blasphemies. Why do we blame Nestorius alone? There are many Nestorians.’

200 Heb. 1:3.

201 An echo of Heb. 4:15, ‘tempted in all things in likeness [to us] without sin’. It is notable that both this citation and ‘acknowledged in two natures’ were included in the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 34).

202 i.e., a Cynic, a follower of Diogenes of Sinope. For other interpretations see Hefele-Leclercq, II.1, 595.



305. John presbyter and protonotary said: ‘Let us note from what has been read that those who speak in this way expound a different creed from that issued at Nicaea and confirmed at the earlier council here.’

306. Olympius bishop of Augaza said: ‘If the creed takes its origin from the minutes, let those who provided that origin be anathema.’

*(Constantinople)*

307. The most God-beloved Bishop Saturninus of the metropolis of Marcianopolis said: ‘If anyone holds a belief contrary to what has just been read at this holy synod, let him, according to the decrees of these holy fathers, have no part in our communion, as one who does not abide by the excellent decrees of the holy fathers.’

308. The most God-beloved Bishop Aetherichus of the city of Smyrna said: I too agree and concur as do the fathers here present, both previously, now, in the future, and in the age to come.’

*(Ephesus II)*

309. Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: ‘I didn’t say that.’

310. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘What is he saying?’

311. John presbyter and protonotary said: ‘He alleges falsification.’

312. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Let the most devout Bishop Aetherichus explain what he means.’

313. Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: ‘I arrived post-haste at Constantinople, and joined the hearers,<sup>203</sup> and then [heard] this very same monk together with them. He<sup>204</sup> said: “Sir, sign here.” I said: “Let us for the time being simply look on, for we have heard certain statements of his.” He then said: “Expound the faith.” I said: “I am not able to do so. I certainly know it, but I cannot express it, except to say: If anyone holds different beliefs from the 318 and those at Ephesus, let him be anathema both now and in the age to come.”’<sup>205</sup>

314. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Has what has been read been falsified?’

203 The word ‘hearer’ (ἀκροατής) could be used to mean the member of a council (*PGL* 65 cites only this passage, but cf. 1028 below). But Aetherichus is using the word tendentiously, to suggest that he and other bishops present were mere spectators and could not be held responsible for what happened.

204 Flavian is meant. Aetherichus’ inarticulateness doubtless reflects his perturbation.

205 As at 323 below, Aetherichus is referring to the statement he appended to his signature to Eutyches’ condemnation; see 552.8 for the exact wording.

315. Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: 'I don't know.'
316. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Have you nothing more to say?'
317. Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: 'No.'
318. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Have you heard what you are supposed to have said?'
319. Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: 'I have.'
320. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'And you didn't say it?'
321. Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: 'No.'
322. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'This man's testimony is plain. Let the sequel be read.'

*(Chalcedon)*

323. During the reading Aetherichus the most devout bishop of Smyrna stood up and said: 'Originally I simply agreed and signed. I went off [to Ephesus]. Dioscorus the most devout bishop suddenly collared me and said, "Why did you sign Eutyches' condemnation?" I replied, "I signed along with all our fathers. If there is anything else, tell me." He said, "Why did you sign?" I said, "I signed what they brought to me: 'Anathema to whoever does not believe with the 318 and as did those at Ephesus; let him be anathema.' What they wrote after that I don't know." I said this in front of everyone.'

324. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'Let him produce two witnesses.'

325. Aetherichus the most devout bishop of Smyrna said: 'I share the beliefs of Cyril.'

326. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'In whose presence did Dioscorus the most devout bishop make these remarks to you?'

327. Aetherichus the most devout bishop of Smyrna said: 'In front of everyone.'

328. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea said: 'What was written down, you spoke without compulsion. Why do you now want to cancel it?'

329. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: 'Is he not going to be punished for his calumny? If I was condemned, would I not be punished?'

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Constantinople)*

330.<sup>206</sup> The most devout Bishop Valerian<sup>207</sup> said: ‘I confess two births, from the divine [nature] and from the flesh, the divine being from the Father and the flesh from the mother, but one and the same Son of God, as all the fathers have defined; there are two births in one person. My confession accords with the decrees of the 318 fathers who convened at Nicaea and of the holy council at Ephesus and with the definitions of Cyril of blessed memory, bishop of the metropolis of Alexandria; this is my confession and belief.’

331. The most God-beloved Bishop Longinus of the city of Chersonesus said: ‘Also following the holy and great council of the 318 that convened at Nicaea, our father Bishop Cyril, [now] among the saints, expounded the doctrine in his letter<sup>208</sup> with complete accuracy. So I too repeat the assent of the most God-beloved Archbishop Flavian and the most God-beloved bishops, acknowledging that after the incarnation we worship the Godhead from two natures of the only-begotten Son of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Those who oppose this creed we deem to have no part in the most pious faith of the holy church.’

*(Chalcedon)*

332. During the reading Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I accept “from two [natures]”; I do not accept “two”. I am compelled to speak brashly: my soul is at stake.’<sup>209</sup>

333. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘You have already been my death.’<sup>210</sup>

334. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I shall

206 The Greek version begins, ‘Of this speech in Latin the Greek translation is as follows’ – reflecting a stage in the transmission of the text when the original Latin of Valerian’s intervention and a Greek translation were both included.

207 Probably the Bishop Valerian of Bassianae (Pannonia) who attended Chalcedon (III. 2.11) and was presumably a refugee resident in Constantinople.

208 In view of the reference to ‘two natures’ in the following sentence the reference (if at all precise) must be to Cyril’s Letter to John of Antioch, read out above (246).

209 This intervention turned out to be fatal, since Dioscorus’ espousal of ‘from two natures’ was used by the chairman in the fifth session as a ground for insisting on the removal of the expression from the draft definition of the faith and its replacement by a stronger dyophysite formula (V. 26).

210 Eusebius was deposed at Ephesus II and imprisoned, though he managed to escape to Rome.

defend myself before God both here and there.’<sup>211</sup>

335. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘And before the laws, do you mean? Why did I come here? Entirely to demand justice from you. Surely you didn’t come here just to greet us?’

336.<sup>212</sup> Paschasinus the most devout bishop said: ‘Was Bishop Flavian, when this man was conducting the hearing, allowed to say as much as *he* is now doing?’<sup>213</sup>

337. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘But now the council is proceeding in accordance with justice.’

338. Lucentius the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: ‘The council is just. Let both parties enjoy the right to speak.’

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Constantinople)*

339. The most God-beloved Bishop Meliphthongus of Juliopolis said: ‘According to the divine apostle,<sup>214</sup> even if an angel from heaven were to proclaim to us something different from what has just been read from the holy fathers of the councils at Nicaea and at Ephesus, let him be anathema. And may they be anathema who do not acknowledge two natures brought together in true unity into one and the same Son of God, true God from true God, Jesus Christ. Those who introduce any innovation contrary to the teaching of the holy apostles and fathers and who unsettle the church of God will undergo judgement, whoever they may be.’<sup>215</sup>

340. The most God-beloved Bishop Julian of Cos said: ‘No one of sound convictions can oppose the faith defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and again by the holy and great council that convened in the metropolis of Ephesus. We accordingly acknowledge two natures in one person, and therefore one Son, one Lord Jesus Christ. And if anyone carried away by satanic madness and following his own reasoning, as he supposes, holds an opinion that differs from that which we have received from the holy fathers who preceded us, let him have no part in the church.’

211 That is, both at this council and at the Last Judgement.

212 The Greek version begins, ‘Of the Latin the Greek translation is as follows’. Cf. n. 206.

213 Flavian had no adequate opportunity to defend himself at Ephesus (868–71).

214 Cf. Gal. 1:6.

215 Cf. Gal. 5:10.

(*Chalcedon*)

341. During the reading Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Mark, this is what I object to: there are not two natures after the union.’

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

(*Constantinople*)

342. The most God-beloved Bishop Sabas of the city of Paltus said: ‘We have learnt to follow the fathers. For our fathers at Nicaea did not speak what they spoke on their own account, but according to the prompting of the Holy Spirit. Likewise the most God-beloved and sacred blessed Cyril uttered and expressed the faith of the fathers through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He was followed by the primate of the Orient, the most God-beloved John bishop of Antioch;<sup>216</sup> he was also followed by the one who was the first to speak, the most God-beloved bishop Basil. This I too hold and profess; and if anyone in the whole world does not hold this faith, he has no part not only with me but with all orthodox believers. I entreat your sacredness to send this document to the Orient and so protect us from calumny; if anyone does not subscribe to the document, he should have no part with us.’

343. The most God-beloved Bishop Thomas of Valentinianopolis said: ‘Since the doctrines of piety defined by the holy councils that met at Nicaea and in the metropolis of Ephesus are with profit to the soul, we have believed and teach the same to the congregations in our care, and decree that those who do not hold them have no part in the orthodox church.’

344. The most God-beloved Bishop Trypho of the city of Chios in the Islands said: ‘We have believed and believe in accordance with the teaching of the holy fathers at Nicaea and the blessed Archbishop Cyril, [now] among the saints. Those who do not believe the doctrines of the fathers we anathematize and judge to have no part in the holy church.’

216 The Formula of Reunion, an Antiochene formulation accepted by Cyril (see 246 with our notes *ad loc.*), is here treated as if it were a Cyrillian formula that the Antiochenes had approved. Though strictly inaccurate, this view was widely held and greatly assisted the acceptance at Chalcedon of a definition heavily indebted to the Formula.

345. The most God-beloved Bishop Timothy of the city of Primupolis said: ‘Our father Cyril of blessed memory, then bishop of Alexandria, followed the pious and orthodox definitions of the holy fathers at Nicaea and transmitted God-beloved doctrines to us. To them we give our agreement and assent. Whoever does not follow them should have no part in the holy church of God.’

346. The most God-beloved Bishop Eudoxius of Bosporus said: ‘Our father the thrice-blessed Cyril, following the great and holy council at Nicaea make clear to us, concerning the coming of Christ our Saviour, that God before the ages, the Son of the Father, became man in the last days, in order to cancel the bond that stood against us,<sup>217</sup> and assumed a perfect man for our salvation. Whoever does not agree with the teaching of the holy fathers deprives himself of any part in the priestly communion and the coming of Christ.’

*(Chalcedon)*

347. During the reading Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘He did not assume a man but became man; flesh is what he assumed.’<sup>218</sup>

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Constantinople)*

348. The most God-beloved Bishop Eustochius of the city of Docimium said: ‘We have found that the teaching of the holy fathers of the holy council at Nicaea, the letters of the most sacred and God-beloved Bishop Cyril that have been read to us, and the canons and creed issued by the holy and great council at Ephesus, are in total harmony with each other. I therefore believe and profess the same, and judge whoever holds different opinions to have no part in the holy catholic church and the orthodox faith.’

349. The most God-beloved Bishop Julian of the city of Mostene said: ‘Since the canonical texts issued by the blessed Cyril, [now] among the saints, and by the most holy councils at Nicaea and at Ephesus that have been read to us are clear and edifying, I hold and believe the same. Whoever holds contrary opinions should have no part in the holy church and the orthodox faith.’

<sup>217</sup> Col. 2:14.

<sup>218</sup> Eudoxius’ language of Christ assuming a perfect man is Antiochene in flavour and would not satisfy a strict Cyrillian such as Eustathius.

350. The most God-beloved Bishop Cossinius of the city of Hierocaesarea said: 'Having heard the letters of our sacred fathers that have been read and the proceedings in the metropolis of Ephesus, which accord with the holy canons issued in the city of Nicaea, we hold and believe and teach the same to the congregation in our charge. Whoever holds a different opinion should have no part in the holy catholic church.'

351. The most God-beloved Bishop John of the city of Hyrcanis said: 'I give my agreement and approval to what has just been read, which was formerly issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea and preached in an orthodox fashion by the sacred bishops. Strengthened, like all the holy fathers, by the grace of Christ, I reject as insane those who hold a different opinion and judge them to have no part in the orthodox faith.'

352. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: 'Since some of the most God-beloved bishops staying in this imperial city have not come together, whether through illness or unawareness of the summons from the holy council, I request that the absentees be asked by the most devout presbyter and notary Asterius and the most devout deacons and notaries to read the proceedings and make clear their own opinion.'

353. The most holy archbishop said: 'The most devout notaries shall speak to the absentees from among the most God-beloved bishops and read them the proceedings so that each can register his own opinion.'

*(Constantinople 448, Third Session)*

354. Under the chairmanship of our most holy and sacred Archbishop Flavian the holy synod sat again with him in the episcopal consistory, on Monday 15 November in the consulship recorded above.

355. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: 'Today is now the fourth day since I appeared before your holiness to demand the appearance at your holy synod of Eutyches, presbyter and archimandrite, who is due to be proved guilty by me of having corrupted the doctrines of orthodoxy and holding views that differ from the beliefs of the catholic church. I request that those who were sent at that time by your holiness should be asked to say what reply they got from him.'

356. The most holy archbishop said: 'Let the notaries say who it is that have already been sent.'

357. The notaries said: 'A short while ago your holiness ordered the most religious presbyter and advocate John, and the most devout deacon Andrew, to visit the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches. They are both present.'

358. The most holy archbishop said: 'Let them present themselves at the holy synod, and let the most devout presbyter and advocate John say first if he went to deliver a summons to the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, whether he met him, and what reply he got.'

359. The most devout presbyter and advocate John said: 'A short time ago the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius appeared at the assembly before your holiness and brought an accusation against the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches; he presented a written document declaring that he is riddled with heresy, and demanded that he be summoned before your holiness to defend himself against the charges he brought against him. Taking thought, your unerring wisdom gave orders that the most devout deacon Andrew and I should go to see him in his monastery<sup>219</sup> and summon him to make his defence. This we did: we visited him in his monastery, read him the indictment, gave him copies, disclosed the accuser, and communicated to him the summons to come and defend himself before your holiness. He, however, utterly refused to appear and defend himself, asserting that a rule had been previously laid down by him, and had bound him with a regulation from the very beginning, that he was never to leave his community to go anywhere at all, but was in a way to live in the monastery as if in a tomb. He asked us to tell your holiness that the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius has long been his enemy and has brought this accusation against him simply in order to slander and insult him. He said that he is ready to assent to the expositions of the holy fathers who held a council at Nicaea and at Ephesus, and promised to subscribe to their interpretations, while if there happened to be some mistake or error on their part in certain expressions, this he would neither criticize nor embrace, but examine only the scriptures as being more reliable than the exposition of the fathers. He said that after the incarnation of God the Word, that is, after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, he worships one nature, that of God enfleshed and made man; he produced and read a tract to this

219 Probably the monastery of St Job at Hebdomon, a western suburb of Constantinople; see Honigmann 1950, 230.



effect, adding in regard to a calumny (as he said) uttered against him, to the effect that he had said that God the Word had brought his flesh down from heaven, that of such a calumny he is wholly innocent. As for the assertion that our Lord Jesus Christ had come into being from two natures united hypostatically, he said that he had neither learnt it in the expositions of the holy fathers nor, if such a statement were read to him by someone, would he accept it, since the divine scriptures, as he claimed, are better than the teaching of the fathers. While asserting this, he acknowledged as perfect God and perfect man the one who was born from the Virgin Mary but does not have flesh consubstantial with us. This is what he said in conversation with me.<sup>220</sup>

360. The most holy archbishop said: 'Were you the only person to hear this, or did the deacon Andrew who was sent with you also hear it?'

361. The most devout presbyter and advocate John said: 'When I was being told to convey these statements to your sacredness, the most devout deacon Andrew was also present.'

362. The most holy archbishop said: 'Let the most devout deacon Andrew say if he heard these things being said by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.'

363. The most devout deacon Andrew said: 'In accordance with the order of your holiness we went to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, and while conversing with him we heard him make the statements that the most devout presbyter and advocate John has already borne witness to.'

364. The most devout presbyter and advocate John said: 'At the time of our discussion with the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, when he was telling us to convey these statements to your holiness, the most devout deacon of the most God-beloved Bishop Basil was also present there and heard what was said. I therefore request that he be summoned and asked what of this he heard.'

365. The most holy archbishop said: 'Let the most devout notaries say if the deacon assisting the most God-beloved Bishop Basil who

220 This text should be carefully compared to John's original aide-memoire (648) on which it is based and which was read at a public hearing in the following year. The published version is basically accurate, but makes Eutyches' reservations about the authority of the fathers more sharply expressed than they originally were. His alleged statement that the flesh of Christ is not consubstantial with us is not to be found in the original (a point made by Eutyches' representative at 652), but for his reservations over this tenet see 516.

has been mentioned by the most devout presbyter and advocate John is here present.’

366. The notaries said: ‘The assistant of the most God-beloved Bishop Basil, who is seated with your holiness, is present here.’

367. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let him stand in the centre.’

368. After he had done so, the most holy archbishop said: ‘What is your name?’

369. He said: ‘Athanasius.’

370. The most holy archbishop said: ‘What is your ecclesiastical rank?’

371. Athanasius said: ‘I am a deacon.’

372. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Of what city?’

373. Deacon Athanasius said: ‘The Seleucia that is under the most holy Bishop Basil.’

374. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Tell us what you heard the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches say about the faith in the presence of the most devout presbyter and advocate John and the deacon Andrew.’

375. Deacon Athanasius said: ‘What I heard is what the most God-beloved presbyter and advocate John and the most devout deacon Andrew have testified.’

376. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘The declarations of the most devout presbyter and advocate John and the most devout deacon Andrew and the testimony of Athanasius the most devout deacon of the holy church of Seleucia are sufficient to prove that he holds impious opinions that are contrary to the teaching of the holy fathers. Nevertheless I ask your holiness to send him a second summons, since I have many witnesses to prove the error of the views that he has held, holds, and teaches.’

377. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let him appear, acknowledge his errors, and come to repentance, since our Lord Jesus Christ rejoices over the salvation of the lost, and is the first to go about in search of the sheep that has gone astray.<sup>221</sup> This is why the most devout presbyters Mamas and Theophilus have again been sent to give him a warning and present him with the summons sent him by us to appear before the holy synod which has been scandalized not only by the indictment brought against him by Eusebius the most God-beloved bishop but also by the testimony as to his heresy and obduracy

221 Cf. Mt. 18:12.

presented by John the most religious presbyter and advocate and by Andrew and Athanasius the most devout deacons. Perhaps he will come and purge his former impiety, recognize the orthodox faith and the teaching of our holy fathers, and so receive the pardon we are bound to bestow on those who intend repentance.’

378. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘May your holiness deign to give orders that there first be read the summons composed by the holy synod, so that it too may be included in the minutes.’

379. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let it be read and inserted in the guarantee of the minutes.’

380. *The holy and great home synod meeting by the grace of God in Christ-loving and imperial Constantinople Rome to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.*

*By this second summons we now summon you through the most devout presbyters Mamas and Theophilus to come immediately and defend yourself before the holy synod against the charges brought by the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius that you have held, hold, and communicate to others tenets contrary to the faith. Come therefore without delay to the meeting, lest refusing to be examined in person you incur the penalties laid down by the divine canons. Your excuse that you have resolved not to leave the monastery is not convincing when you are faced with such serious charges.*

381. While the holy synod was still in session and awaiting Mamas and Theophilus, the most devout presbyters, who had been sent to summon Eutyches the most devout presbyter and archimandrite, and the exposition of the faith by the holy fathers was being read, the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius took his stand in the centre and said: ‘A man who has blasphemed against God and held opinions contrary to the orthodox faith will have the impudence to rush into anything. I have learnt that Eutyches the presbyter and archimandrite has sent a tract to the monasteries and is inciting the monks to revolt. Since the security of the church and of the holy synod requires an investigation into this and a discovery of what he is now plotting and contriving as he stirs up sedition, I request that the presbyter of the martyrion at Hebdomon, who is here, be asked if he sent a tract and collected signatures.’

382. The most holy archbishop said: 'Is the person about whom you have testified here present?'
383. The notaries said: 'He is present.'
384. The most holy archbishop said: 'Let him stand in the centre.'
385. When he had done so, the most holy archbishop said: 'What is your name?'
386. He said: 'Abramius.'
387. The most holy archbishop said: 'With what rank are you honoured?'
388. Abramius said: 'I am a presbyter in Hebdomon, under your sacredness.'
389. The most holy archbishop said: 'Have you heard the testimony of the most religious Bishop Eusebius?'
390. Abramius said: 'Yes, by your feet.'<sup>222</sup>
391. The most holy archbishop said: 'What do you have to say?'
392. Abramius the presbyter said: 'Manuel the presbyter and archimandrite sent me to the presbyter Asterius to tell him that Eutyches, presbyter and archimandrite, had sent him a tract about the faith and pressed him to sign it. And this he revealed so that the presbyter Asterius would report the matter to your sacredness.'
393. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: 'Since he would not have restricted his impudence to the monastery of Manuel the presbyter, I request that we send to the other monasteries and find out whether or not he sent his tract for signing there as well in order to destroy the faith.'
394. The most holy archbishop said: 'In accordance with the request of the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius, there will go to the monasteries – to those in the city the most devout presbyter Peter and the most devout deacon Patricius, to those on the other side in Sycae<sup>223</sup> the presbyter Rhetorius and the deacon Eutropius, to those in Chalcedon the presbyters Paul and John, to discover from them if a tract was sent to them by the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches pressing or prompting them to sign.'
395. While this was being said by the most holy archbishop, Aetius, deacon and notary, said: 'The most devout presbyters Mamas and Theophilus, who were sent today by your holiness to the most devout

222 The full version of this formula would be 'by your feet to which I make obeisance'.

223 Across the Golden Horn in Sycae (Galata).

presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, have arrived.’

396. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the most devout presbyters who have carried out the instructions of the holy synod say what they heard from the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and if he is ready to appear at the session of this holy synod.’

397. The most devout presbyter Mamas said: ‘We went to the monastery of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and found some monks standing by the gate, and we went with them inside the monastery. We said to them, “Announce us: we have been sent by the most holy archbishop and the present holy synod and have to see the archimandrite.” They said to us, “The lord archimandrite is unwell and unable to see you. So tell us what is it you want or why you have been sent.” We didn’t accept this, but said to them, “We have been sent to see him in person. We are fulfilling a written commission, and we have in our hands a letter written to him by the holy synod.” They went in and returned with a monk, Eleusinius, and said, “Since our archimandrite is unwell, he has sent him in his place for you to give your message to him.” Even so we didn’t choose to speak with him, but said, “We have been sent by the most holy and sacred archbishop and the holy and great synod; tell us if he will receive us.” When we saw that they were worried, were muttering among themselves, and were saying something, while we were getting no reply since they were worried by our having a written commission, we said to them, “What are you worried about? There is nothing burdensome. The letter is not secret, but we can tell you the purport of the letter: the holy synod orders him now for the second time to appear and to take his stand and defend himself against the charges brought by the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius.” Then they went inside and announced us, and the aforesaid most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches received us. We went in and gave him the document that had been sent; he had it read in our presence. After the reading he said, “I have set myself a rule not to leave this monastery until forced by death. The holy synod and the most devout archbishop are aware that I am old and infirm.” We said, “Agree to come and answer the charges against you before the holy synod.” He said, “I will not leave my monastery, because I am held back by my resolution. If the most God-beloved archbishop and the synod wish to do something, they will do what they like. I only ask one thing, that no one takes the trouble to come for me again: I have resolved not to go out. Lest they

intend to send again, let them do what they like before summoning me a third time: it is to me as if they had summoned me already.” This is what he asked us to say to my lord’s holiness.<sup>224</sup> He pressed us to take a document he had written, but we refused to accept it, saying, “If you want something, make an appearance and say what it is.” While we were saying this, the document was produced and he wanted to have it read to us; even so we refused to hear it. Nevertheless he took and signed it. As we took our leave and went out, he said, “I will send this document to the holy synod together with my signature.”

398. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the most devout presbyter Theophilus tell us what he heard when he went to see the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches together with the most devout presbyter Mamas.’

399. The most devout presbyter Theophilus said: ‘When I accompanied the most devout presbyter Mamas to where is the monastery of Eutyches the presbyter and archimandrite, I heard him say, “Other than death, nothing will get me outside the monastery, since that is my resolve and I cannot leave.” Everything else that was said by the most devout presbyter Eutyches has been reported by the most devout presbyter Mamas just as I too heard it.’

400. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘Guilty people always have pretexts and excuses for causing delays. In cases of prosecution it is not proper to refuse to appear or restrict oneself to a place. What I demand is this: let the authority of the holy canons be now invoked against the accused, and order him to come here even against his will.’

401. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Now that the holy synod has heard the declarations of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches from the most devout presbyters who were sent, let it declare what it sees fit.’

402. The holy synod said: ‘It is right that the most devout presbyter and monk Eutyches be told a third time by this holy and great synod to appear before this holy synod. If he does not do so, he has himself to blame.’

224 In urging the synod to condemn him without sending the canonical third summons, Eutyches was setting an obvious trap, into which the synod did not fall. But Flavian did expose himself to criticism by proceeding immediately to draw up a sentence of condemnation and showing the document to an imperial official (see 838 below).

403. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the most devout presbyters Memnon the sacristan and Epiphanius and also Germanus the deacon go to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and present him with the third summons from the holy synod to appear and answer the charges.’

The missive sent with them ran as follows:

404. *The holy and great home synod meeting by the grace of God in Christ-loving and imperial Constantinople Rome to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.*

*You are doubtless not unacquainted with what the divine canons stipulate about the obdurate who refuse to appear to defend themselves when they receive a third summons.<sup>225</sup> To avoid incurring their most pious stipulations, now that you have received our third summons from the most devout presbyters Memnon the sacristan and Epiphanius and the most devout deacon Germanus, please present yourself tomorrow morning, that is, on Wednesday 17 November.<sup>226</sup>*

*(Constantinople 448, Fourth Session)*

405. On the following day, Tuesday 16 November, while the most holy archbishop was presiding over the holy synod and the same most holy archbishop was discoursing on the divine doctrines, Asclepiades, deacon and notary, made an announcement: ‘Some monks from among those of the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and also Abramius, the most devout presbyter and archimandrite, are outside and ask to come in.’

406. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let them enter.’

407. When Abramius the most devout presbyter and archimandrite entered, together with Eleusinius, Constantine and Constantius, deacons of the monastery of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, the most holy archbishop said: ‘Why has your devoutness taken the trouble to come to us?’

408. Abramius the most devout presbyter and archimandrite said: ‘We were sent.’

225 Such a refusal was taken as an admission of guilt; see vol. 2, 31–2.

226 The summons, approved at the session of 15 November, is dated to the following day, 16 November, when it would be delivered, requiring Eutyches to appear on the third day, 17 November, when the fifth session of the synod was held (420–44).

409. The most holy archbishop said: 'Who sent you?'
410. The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Abramius said: 'The archimandrite.'
411. The most holy archbishop said: 'Which archimandrite?'
412. Abramius the most devout presbyter and archimandrite said: 'Eutyches.'
413. The most holy archbishop said: 'Why in particular?'
414. Abramius the most devout presbyter and archimandrite said: 'He sent me because he is unwell. By your prayers, he was awake the whole night moaning, and his moans kept me awake. For this reason he sent for me at nightfall, and gave me a message for my lord.'
415. The most holy archbishop said: 'We yield and do not press the matter. For it is for God to give him health, and for us to await his recovery. We do not look to amputation but to growth, for "God does not delight in the death of the living."<sup>227</sup> We are not children of misanthropy but of the philanthropy of God. If the one who was rich became poor for our sakes,<sup>228</sup> we too must imitate his sublime poverty; for we were made by God for works of philanthropy.'
416. The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Abramius said: 'He gave me, by your feet, some other instructions, which, if questioned, I shall relate.'
417. The most holy archbishop said: 'How is it possible, I ask you, when one person is accused for another to speak on his behalf? But we prefer to yield and not press the matter. Let him come here: he will come to fathers and brothers, to people who are not ignorant of him and who even now persevere in friendship. Many have heard him and been led into error; his accuser is pressing his case, and he must defend himself. If when Nestorius was opposing the truth he put in an appearance to defend the truth,<sup>229</sup> how much more should he now put in an appearance to defend both the truth and himself! We are human beings, and many of the great have been led into error and deceived through imprudence and inexperience even though they thought their opinions to be correct. It is not repentance that brings shame: what brings disgrace is persisting in the wrong. For just as the worm

<sup>227</sup> Wisd. 1:13.

<sup>228</sup> 2 Cor. 8:9.

<sup>229</sup> Eutyches had been a member of a monastic delegation that lobbied Theodosius II during the Nestorian controversy (Kidd 1922, III, 285).



consumes the wood it comes from, so does wrongdoing when it abides in the malefactor. But let him come here, and when he confesses and anathematizes his error, we will pardon him for the past.<sup>230</sup> As for the future, let him assure us and the holy synod that he agrees with the definitions of our holy fathers and that in future he will neither teach nor expound in the presence of others what is contrary to them. This, I urge you, is what is needed. For before you knew him I knew him, and before he knew you he knew me.’

418. Abramius the presbyter and archimandrite said: ‘That is so, by your feet.’

419. When the holy synod rose, the most holy archbishop said: ‘You know the zeal of the accuser; even fire seems cold to him because of his zeal for religion. God knows how I urged and begged him not to: “I beg you, drop the matter.” But when he insisted, what could I do? Is my present desire to cause divisions among you? God forbid! Is it not rather to reconcile you? It is enemies who divide, and fathers who unite.’

*(Constantinople 448, Fifth Session)*

420. On the following day, 17 November, the holy synod met again in the episcopal consistory.

Aetius, deacon and notary, said: ‘The most devout priests Memnon the sacristan and Epiphanius and the deacon Germanus, who were sent yesterday, which was 16 November, to deliver the third summons to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, are now present and wish to report what they heard from the person mentioned when they delivered your letter.’

421. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let Memnon the most devout presbyter speak first, and say what response he received from the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches to the missive that was sent by the holy synod.’

422. The most devout presbyter and sacristan Memnon said: ‘By order of your holiness and your holy synod we went to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and gave him the letter sent to him by your holy synod. He took and read it, and said to us, “I sent the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Abramius to our

<sup>230</sup> Yet at the next session (at 426) Flavian assures Eusebius of Dorylaeum that repentance will not absolve Eutyches from his heresy in the past.

most holy and sacred archbishop and the holy synod, so that he could assent on my behalf to all the pronouncements of the holy fathers at Nicaea and at Ephesus and all those of the blessed Cyril.”

423. While he was still speaking, the most devout Bishop Eusebius said: ‘Has he now come to give his assent? My accusation relates not to the future but to the past. Have I already lost my case because some people have given him a definition and said to him, “Give in to necessity: assent or sign”?’

424. The most holy archbishop said: ‘No one is letting you drop your charges or letting him off defending his past.’

425. The most devout Bishop Eusebius said: ‘I demand that his statement not prejudice my case. I have reliable witnesses in whose presence he taught, and inculcates, perverse doctrines and embarked on disputation. When I urged him not just once or twice but many times to hold orthodox views, he still refused. Say to people in prison, “From today stop stealing”, and they will all promise to.’

426. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Nothing will cause prejudice to your religiousness relating to the accusation you have brought, even if he were to promise innumerable times to subscribe to the definitions of the holy fathers. For as we have already said time and again, it is necessary that he should first be examined in regard to the charges brought against him and present his defence.’

427. While this discussion was proceeding, the most devout presbyter and sacristan Memnon added: ‘He said, “It was because I am being tested by illness<sup>231</sup> that I sent the most devout presbyter Abramius.” When I pressed him repeatedly, “You must come and appear before the holy synod and answer the charges brought against you”, he replied, “I am waiting for Father Abramius. Perhaps he will persuade my lord and the holy synod.” I asked, “So what? Are we going to wait here until he returns?” He said, “I ask you to entreat the lord archbishop and the holy synod to give me less than a week’s grace, and on Monday, if it be God’s will, I will come and defend myself before my lord and the holy synod.”’

428. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the most devout presbyter Epiphanius say what he heard from the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.’

231 Eutyches is urging that, since he is being ‘tested’ (the Greek word ἐξετάζεσθαι means ‘be examined’) by illness, he should not be ‘tested’ by the bishops.

429. The most devout presbyter Epiphanius said: ‘By the order of your holiness, the most religious presbyter and sacristan Memnon and I, together with the most devout deacon Germanus, went and gave the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches the missive written to him by your holy synod. When he had read it, he said what the most religious presbyter Memnon has testified.’

430. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the most devout deacon Germanus say what he heard.’

431. The most devout deacon Germanus said: ‘By order of your holiness and the holy synod, we went to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, and he said what the most devout presbyters have testified.’

432. The most devout Bishop Eusebius said: ‘I recently requested your holiness, because of the rebellion he is plotting, spreading dissension in the monasteries, to send to the convents to confirm that he has been stirring them all up, telling them that they have to sign some tract which was either composed by himself or came into his hands I know not how. In regard to this your holiness ordered some of the most devout clerics to go to the convents.<sup>232</sup> Tell them also to appear and give evidence, to be inserted in the guarantee of the minutes, of what they heard from the monks.’

433. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let some of the notaries say who it was that were sent to the monasteries in the city.’

434. The notaries said: ‘The most devout men Peter the presbyter and Patricius the deacon, and they are present here.’

435. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let them tell us what they heard from each of the most devout archimandrites.’

436. The most devout presbyter Peter said: ‘By order of your holiness and the holy synod we went to the monastery of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Martin, and asked him if he had received any document from the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches. He replied that one had been sent to him on the previous Friday, which is the twelfth of November, through a certain deacon Constantine – “asking me to sign, but I refused, saying that it was not for me to sign but only for bishops. He said as he left, ‘If you don’t support me now, the bishop will humiliate me, and then eventually he will attack you.’” On our departure we went to the most devout

232 See 392–4 above.

presbyter and archimandrite Faustus.’

437. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Did the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Martin say what was contained in the document he refused to sign?’

438. The most devout presbyter Peter said: ‘He said that it was the proceedings at Ephesus.’<sup>233</sup>

439. The most holy archbishop said: ‘When he made this reply to him, had he actually read the document and apprized its contents, or was he speaking merely from hearsay?’

440. The most devout presbyter Peter said: ‘He hadn’t read it but said they were the proceedings of the blessed Cyril and the bishops at Ephesus; the document had been signed, but he<sup>234</sup> kept the signatures hidden. Likewise the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Faustus said that a document had been sent to him through Constantine and Eleusinius, saying that he ought to sign. When he asked about the purport of the document, the answer was that it was the definitions of the 318 and of the bishops who convened at Ephesus: “I said to them (he said), ‘we have copies of them. Give them to me to examine, in case they contain any additions.’ They refused and went on their way. We are the children of the church, and as our one father after God we have the archbishop.” The lord Job said, “He didn’t send us a tract, but he did say, ‘In these days the archbishop has a document to send for you to sign, but don’t obey him.’” We went off to Manuel, and he said that nothing had been sent to him; similarly to Abramius, and he also said that he had received neither message nor document.’

441. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let Patricius the deacon also say what he heard from the most devout presbyters and archimandrites.’

442. The most devout deacon Patricius said: ‘I was sent by your holiness and your holy synod along with the most devout presbyter Peter, and what I heard is what the aforementioned most devout presbyter has testified.’

443. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘Your holiness sees the misdeeds committed by Eutyches the archimandrite, and that he holds opinions contrary to the faith. This has been testified by the most devout presbyter and advocate John, by the most devout deacon

233 The Acts of the First Council of Ephesus (*ACO* 1.1.2 pp. 3–64), in which Nestorius was deposed and Cyril of Alexandria’s Second Letter to Nestorius formally approved.

234 Constantine the deacon, as reported by the archimandrite Martin to Peter.

Andrew who was sent along with him, and by the most devout Athanasius, Bishop Basil's deacon, and is now made known to your holiness by the most devout archimandrites through the most devout clerics who were sent to them. What ground for defence still remains to him? I therefore demand that the stipulations in the holy canons be now applied even to him. For how can one who incites tumult and holds opinions contrary to the faith have the right to be numbered among the priests of God and the archimandrites? Note too that he stands convicted of perjury. For he said, "I have resolved not to go out, and the monastery is my tomb"; but he now promises to come, hoping for a postponement and concocting other ploys, in order to escape cross-examination and avoid punishment.'

444. The most holy archbishop said: 'All the testimonies relating to Eutyches the presbyter and archimandrite suffice to prove to us that he holds opinions contrary to the orthodox faith and has tried to cause turmoil in the church, in such a way that he is in consequence already liable to the canonical penalties of deprivation of both the priestly rank he enjoys and the headship of a monastery. But for the sake of greater exactitude we grant him the respite he has asked for. For after he has appeared accordingly, he will be examined in person. But if the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches does not appear according to his promise on the coming Monday, that is, on the twenty-second of the current month of November, he will be totally stripped of presbyteral rank and deprived of the headship of a monastery.'

*(Constantinople 448, Sixth Session)*

445. On Saturday 20 November the holy and great synod met in the episcopal consistory.

The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: 'With regard to my written indictment of Eutyches the presbyter and archimandrite, I ask your holiness to order certain persons whom I need for the case I have brought against him to appear before your holy synod on the coming Monday, when he himself has promised to attend. Those whom I require are his assistant Narses the presbyter, his friend Maximus the archimandrite, Constantine deacon and steward of the same Eutyches, and Eleusinius deacon of the same monastery. From their presence at the hearing the truth will become clear.'

446. The most holy archbishop said: 'Let those required by the most devout Bishop Eusebius be summoned to appear on the appointed day.'

447. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘I have been informed by certain people that during the second summons by your holy synod the most devout presbyters you sent, Mamas and Theophilus, heard some remarks from Eutyches the presbyter and archimandrite that were not recorded in the text of the minutes, and that, if these came to light, there would be clear proof of his opinions. I therefore request that the presbyters Mamas and Theophilus be summoned to relate over the holy gospels what they heard from Eutyches the presbyter and archimandrite.’

448. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the notaries say if the most devout presbyters who have been mentioned are present.’

449. The notaries said: ‘The most devout presbyter Theophilus is present, but the most devout presbyter Mamas is not here.’

450. The most holy archbishop said: ‘You have heard what was said by the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius. Therefore, having before your eyes the fear of God, testify truthfully everything you heard the presbyter Eutyches say when you were sent to summon him by ourselves and the holy synod.’

451. The most devout presbyter Theophilus said: ‘By order of your holiness the most religious presbyter Mamas and I went to the monastery of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and gave him the letter of summons sent to him by the holy synod. He began by wanting to dispute with us, and when the most devout presbyter Mamas said to him, “We haven’t come to dispute with your devoutness but to summon you to appear before the holy synod”, the same most devout presbyter and archimandrite began by saying, in the presence of the presbyter Narses, the archimandrite Maximus and some other monks, “Where in scripture does ‘two natures’ occur?” and then, “Who among the holy fathers taught that God the Word has two natures?” When we said to him in reply, “Then you must tell us where the *homoousion*<sup>235</sup> occurs, or where scripture mentions it”, the same most devout Eutyches replied, “It doesn’t occur in scripture but in the teaching of the fathers.” To this the most devout presbyter Mamas retorted, “Just as the *homoousion* doesn’t occur in scripture but was taught by the fathers, so in the same way the same holy fathers taught about two natures.” I myself added, “Is God the Word

235 The statement in the Nicene Creed that the Son is ‘consubstantial (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father’.

perfect or not?" The same presbyter [Eutyches] replied, "Perfect." I said, "Is the enfleshed one perfect man or not?" The presbyter replied, "Perfect." I said, "If then [he is] perfect God and perfect man, what stops us saying that the one Son is from two natures? Two perfect elements make up one Son." To this the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches replied, "May I never say that Christ is from two natures or attempt to define the nature of my God. If they wish to depose me or want to act against me in some way, let them do it, if God so permit; for in the faith which I received, in it I stand firm and wish to die." This is what I heard from him.'

452. The most holy archbishop said: 'Tell us why, if you heard these remarks about the faith from the most devout Eutyches, you kept quiet about them when you were here on the previous occasion?'

453. The most devout presbyter Theophilus said: 'Your godliness knows that we were sent not for this purpose but simply to summon the presbyter Eutyches. So, since we were not asked, we thought it unnecessary to mention matters that lay outside our commission.'

454. The notaries said: 'The presbyter Mamas, whom the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius mentioned, has arrived.'

455. The most holy archbishop said: 'Let the testimony of the most devout presbyter Theophilus be read to the most devout presbyter Mamas.'

456. After the reading the most devout presbyter Mamas said: 'If I was being questioned about a human being, as a cleric I could not lie. When the faith is under discussion, I will neither deny nor lie – God forbid! Since when we were sent we had no other instructions from the holy synod than simply to pass on a letter and get a reply whether he would come or not, I thought it unnecessary in my first testimony to testify what he had chosen to say. But since the most religious Bishop Eusebius has asked for testimony on what was said as well, I give the same testimony as the most devout presbyter Theophilus. When we maintained silence and refused to discuss anything with him, he obtruded his opinions on matters of dogma. We reproved him gently. He said, "God the Word enfleshed came to raise up fallen human nature." I immediately interjected, "Which [nature]?" He again said, "Human nature." I said, "Take note of this 'human nature'; now tell me by which nature it was raised." He said, "I was not taught by scripture about two natures." I said, "We were not taught about the *homoousion* by scripture either, but by the holy fathers who

understood scripture devoutly and expounded it faithfully. It was in this way that we learnt both about the *homoousion* and about Christ the Son of God being from two natures.” He responded, “I do not attempt to define the nature of the Godhead, nor do I say two natures – God forbid! Here I am; if I am deposed, let the monastery be my tomb, and if it is God’s will that I suffer, I shall suffer most willingly, for I do not acknowledge two natures.” It is for the reason I gave – that we went not to dispute but simply to give and receive messages – that we didn’t testify to this on the previous occasion.’

457. The most holy archbishop said: ‘The testimony of both the most devout presbyters is clear. Therefore let it be included in the guarantee of the minutes.’

*(Constantinople 448, Seventh Session)*

458. The holy and great synod met again, in the presence of the holy and dread gospels, and under the chairmanship of our most holy Archbishop Flavian, in the episcopal consistory on the day appointed, Monday, 22 November.

Asterius, presbyter and notary said: ‘The appointed day has come, and the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius is standing at the door seeking to enter.’

459. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let him enter.’

460. After his entry the most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the deacons Philippus and Beryllus go and look for the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches in the episcopal palace, if he has come as he promised, and summon him to the session.’

461. After a while the aforesaid returned and said that they had looked for him throughout the church but had not found either him or any of his men.

462. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the deacons Crispinus and Jovian go and look around the church for him again, and wherever they discover him to be, summon him.’

463. They went off, and after returning said that they had not found him but had heard that he was about to present himself along with a large following of soldiers,<sup>236</sup> monks and members of the prefect’s staff.

464. When this was said and the holy synod was waiting, the most

236 ‘Soldiers’ refers to members of the imperial service, military or civil.



devout presbyter and advocate John said: ‘The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has arrived with a large company of soldiers, monks, and officers of the most magnificent and glorious praetorian prefect, and they will not let him enter your holy synod unless we promise in return to release his person. Magnus the most wondrous silentiary is also with him in front of the doors, and wishes to enter as the envoy of our most pious and Christ-loving emperor.’

465. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let them enter.’

466. After their entry the most wondrous silentiary Magnus said: ‘By the presence of your holiness receive, if you so bid, the missive of the master. He has sent you clear directions in writing, and if it please you, let it be read.’

467. The holy synod said: ‘Read, my child, the instructions of our most pious emperor.’

The most wondrous silentiary Magnus read as follows:

*468. We concern ourselves with the peace of the holy churches and of the orthodox faith, and we wish to see preserved the creed that was proclaimed correctly and under divine inspiration by our fathers the 318 who convened at Nicaea and by those who convened at Ephesus for the deposition of Nestorius. This is our wish, lest harm come to the aforesaid orthodoxy. Since we know that the most magnificent patrician Florentius is a man of faith and proven orthodoxy, we wish him to attend the hearing at the synod, since the discussion is about the faith.*

*(Ephesus II)*

469. While this was being read the holy council said: ‘Many years to the emperor! Great is the faith of the emperors. Many years to the guardians of the faith! Many years to the orthodox emperors! To the pious and orthodox one! To the pious emperor! To the emperor, high priest! Listen, holy fathers. We thank the orthodox emperors.’

*(Constantinople)*

470. The most holy archbishop said: ‘we all know that the lord Florentius is a man of faith and proven orthodoxy, and we wish him to attend; but let us inquire from Eutyches the presbyter whether he wishes him to attend.’

471. Eutyches presbyter and archimandrite said: ‘Do whatever God and your holiness wills. I entrust myself to you.’

472. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the most magnificent patrician Florentius enter. Ask him, my child the silentiary, to be so good.’

473. The most wondrous silentiary Magnus said: ‘Give orders for a cleric to be sent with me, to leave him in no doubt that your holiness sent me.’

474. The most holy archbishop said: ‘If our most pious emperor had ordered us to send someone, we would have done so. But since he hasn’t given the order, go to his magnificence on your own.’

475. When the most magnificent and glorious former consul and former prefect Florentius had entered, the holy synod said: ‘Let the accuser and the accused stand in the centre and let the acts be read from the beginning that relate to the case of the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius and the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, so that, guided by our previous sessions, we may give to what is already in process a conclusion that accords both with justice and the holy canons.’

476. Aetius, deacon and notary, came forward to the centre and read the minutes of the acts. In the course of the reading he reached that passage in the second letter of Cyril of divine memory, the one addressed to the most God-beloved bishops of the Orient, which contains these words:<sup>237</sup>

*We therefore acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man made up of a rational soul and body, begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead and the same on the last day for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary in respect of his manhood, the same consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood. For there has occurred a union of two natures, and therefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord. By virtue of this understanding of the union which involves no merging, we acknowledge the holy Virgin to be Theotokos, because God the Word was enfleshed and became man and from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her.*

477. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘This man, by your feet, doesn’t acknowledge this and has never accepted these things,

237 The Formula of Reunion contained in Cyril’s Letter to John of Antioch (246 above).

but holds opinions contrary to them which he has expressed to everyone he meets and which he also teaches.’

478. The most magnificent and glorious former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius said: ‘If it please your sacredness, let father Eutyches be asked if he accepts them.’

479. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘Please let the whole text of the minutes be read. The minutes are sufficient to convict him; indeed he is for me convicted already. I ought not to suffer prejudice to my case through his assenting to a definition he had found somewhere. I have proved him guilty, and I can use the testimonies of those who were sent to him by the holy synod and the evidence of most sacred bishops to prove the same again, if he were to deny it. There are the lord Meliphthongus, the lord Jovian and the lord Julian<sup>238</sup> who have precise knowledge of the facts.’

480. The most holy archbishop said: ‘No one will deny, Bishop Eusebius, that you have convicted him, and no one will accept the presbyter Eutyches’ present assent except on the basis of his conviction for what he held in the past.’

481. The most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius said: ‘I fear his machinations. I am poor and without resources. He has threatened me with exile, and is a man of means. He already pictures me in the Oasis.’<sup>239</sup>

482. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Even if you keep on saying this again and again, we will put nothing before the truth.’

483. Bishop Eusebius said: ‘If I am convicted of false accusation, may I be stripped of my rank.’

484. The most magnificent and glorious former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius said: ‘Let the presbyter Eutyches be subjected to interrogation as to what he believes and asserts, and then let him be asked again why, if he asserts these things now, he held different opinions in the past.’

485. Bishop Eusebius said: ‘As I have already said, on condition that his present assent does not prejudice my position let him indeed be questioned. For I have already convicted him of unorthodoxy from the minutes of the previous proceedings.’

238 Bishops Meliphthongus of Juliopolis, Jovian of Deultum, and Julian of Cos.

239 The place of exile in Upper Egypt to which Nestorius has been sent in 435. If, through his present confession, Eutyches were to be acquitted of heresy, Eusebius would risk being convicted in his turn for bringing a vexatious prosecution; see Gaudemet 1958, 262–3.

486. The most holy archbishop said: 'His present assent will not prejudice your position. For the proceedings that have already taken place have their own validity.'

487. Bishop Eusebius said: 'Does he assent to what has just been read of the blessed Cyril and acknowledge that there has occurred a union of two natures in one person and one hypostasis,<sup>240</sup> or does he not?'

488. The most holy archbishop said: 'You have heard, presbyter Eutyches, what your accuser says. Say then whether you acknowledge a union from two natures.'

489. Eutyches the presbyter said: 'Yes, from two natures.'<sup>241</sup>

490. Bishop Eusebius said: 'Do you acknowledge, lord archimandrite, two natures after the incarnation, and do you say that Christ is consubstantial with us in respect of the flesh or not?'

*(Ephesus II)*

491. The holy council said: 'Destroy and burn Eusebius. Let him be burnt alive. Let him be cut in two. As he has divided, let him be divided.'

492. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Do you allow this language – speaking of two natures after the incarnation?'

493. The holy council said: 'Anathema to whoever says this!'

494. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Since I need both your voices and a show of hands, let anyone who is unable to cry out raise his hand.'

495. The holy council said: 'Anathema to whoever says two!'

*(Chalcedon)*

496. During the reading the most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: 'No one said this. Dioscorus said it. The Egyptians said it.'

497. The most devout Egyptian bishops said: 'We said it then and we say it now.'

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

240 The formula of two natures, one person, and one hypostasis derives from Flavian's confession of faith, uttered in the second session of the synod (271), and was to be adopted in the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 34).

241 Flavian allows Eutyches to amend 'union of two natures' to 'union from [ἐκ] two natures', in accordance with Flavian's own profession at 271. The preposition 'from' blurs the affirmation of a continuing duality after the union (cf. Dioscorus at 332). But though Eutyches accepts 'from two natures' at this point, he had rejected it previously (359, 451, 456), through a dislike of any expression of duality in Christ, and at 527 he accepts the formula only in the form 'from two natures before the union'.

*(Constantinople)*

498. Eutyches the presbyter said: 'I did not come here to discuss, but I came to inform your sacredness of what I hold. What I hold has been recorded in this document. Give orders for it be read.'

499. The most holy archbishop said: 'Read it yourself.'

500. Eutyches the presbyter said: 'I am not able to.'

501. The most holy archbishop said: 'Why? Is it really your exposition, or someone else's? If it is yours, read it yourself.'

502. Eutyches the presbyter said: 'The declaration is mine, but the declaration of the holy fathers is the same.'

503. The most holy archbishop said: 'Which fathers? Speak for yourself. Why do you need a document?'

*(Ephesus II)*

504. During the reading John bishop of Hephaestus said: 'As long as he was absent and not expected to attend the assembly, they made a show of promising him every courtesy;<sup>242</sup> but when he presented himself, he was subjected to every inhumanity.'

*(Constantinople)*

505. Eutyches the presbyter said: 'This is what I believe: I worship the Father with the Son, the Son with the Father, and the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son; I acknowledge that his coming in the flesh was from the flesh of the Holy Virgin, and that he became man perfectly for our salvation. This I confess before the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and before your holiness.'

*(Ephesus II)*

506. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'We accept this declaration.'

507. The holy synod said: 'This is the faith of the fathers.'

508. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'When your religiousness says that this is the faith of the fathers, whose faith do you mean? Who expounded it?'

509. The holy synod said: 'Eutyches. For Eusebius is impious.'

510. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'You have heard the faith of Eutyches the archimandrite. Note how his meaning has become clear to you all.'

242 See 417 above.

*(Constantinople)*

511. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Do you acknowledge that the same one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is consubstantial with his Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with his mother in respect of the manhood?’

512. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘When I presented myself to your holiness, I said what I hold about the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Do not examine me on anything else.’

513. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Do you now acknowledge “from two natures”?’

514. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘Since I acknowledge my God and my Lord as Lord of heaven and earth, I have not till today allowed myself to inquire into his nature. But although up till now I have not described him as consubstantial with us, I now acknowledge it.’

515. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Do you not say that he is consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood?’

516. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘Till today I have not said that the body of our Lord and God is consubstantial with us, but I acknowledge that the Holy Virgin is consubstantial with us, and that our God was enfleshed from her.’

517. The most holy archbishop said: ‘So the Virgin from whom Christ the Lord was enfleshed is consubstantial with us?’

518. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I have said that the Virgin is consubstantial with us.’

519. The most God-beloved Bishop Basil said: ‘If his mother is consubstantial with us, so is he; for he was called son of man. If then his mother is consubstantial with us, then he too is consubstantial with us in respect of the flesh.’

520. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘Since you now say so, I agree with it all.’

521. The most magnificent and glorious former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius said: ‘Since the mother is consubstantial with us, then most certainly the son too is consubstantial with us.’

522. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘Till today I did not say this. Because I acknowledge it to be the body of God – are you attending? –, I did not say that the body of God is the body of a man, but that the body is human and that the Lord was enfleshed from the Virgin. If one must say that he is from the Virgin and so consubstantial with us,

then I say this also, my lord, with the reservation that he is the only-begotten Son of God, Lord of heaven and earth, ruling and reigning with the Father, with whom he is also enthroned and glorified; for I do not say “consubstantial” in such a way as to deny that he is the Son of God. Before I did not say this of him; I am saying to you what, I think, I did not say originally. But now, since your sacredness has said it, I say it.’

523. The most holy archbishop said: ‘So you confess the true faith out of compulsion rather than conviction?’

524. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘For the time being, my lord, be satisfied with this. Up till this hour I was afraid to say this, since I acknowledge the Lord our God, and I did not allow myself to inquire into his nature. But since your sacredness enjoins it and teaches it, I say it.’

525. The most holy archbishop said: ‘We are not making an innovation, but the fathers defined this. And since our faith accords with the faith they defined, we wish everyone to be abide by it and no one to innovate.’

526. The most magnificent and glorious patrician Florentius said: ‘Do you say, or not, that our Lord who is from the Virgin is consubstantial [with us] and from two natures after the incarnation?’

527. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I acknowledge that our Lord came into being from two natures before the union; but after the union I acknowledge one nature.’

*(Ephesus II)*

528. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘We all agree with this.’

529. The holy synod said: ‘We agree.’

*(Chalcedon)*

530. During the reading the most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘No one said this. Anathema to whoever said it. The murderer said this. The Egyptians said this. This is of Pharaoh. Anathema to those who said this. This is of Dioscorus. This is of the murderer. What further inquiry is needed? [Report] our acclamations to the emperor. Many years to the emperor! Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the senate!’

531. Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘The aim of the most pious emperor, the aim of the most pious Augusta, and your aim, is to unite the churches. Take care lest after our departure some people begin to

say that it was defined that one must speak of two separated natures after the union.’

532. While he was speaking, Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘We acknowledge the two natures but we do not divide them. We do not speak of them as either divided or blended.’

533. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Proceed through the rest.’

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Constantinople)*

534. The holy synod said: ‘You must make a clear confession of faith and anathematize everything contrary to the doctrines that have been read.’

535. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I have said to your sacredness that I did not say this before; but now, since your sacredness teaches it, I say it and follow the fathers. But I have not found it clearly stated in the scriptures, nor did all the fathers say it. If I anathematize, woe is me, because I anathematize my fathers.’<sup>243</sup>

536. The holy synod rose and exclaimed: ‘Anathema to him!’

537. After this the most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the holy synod say what is deserved by a defendant who neither confesses the orthodox faith clearly nor is prepared to accede to the doctrine of the present holy synod, but persists in his twisted and wicked perversity.’

538. Seleucus the most God-beloved bishop of Amaseia said: ‘He deserves to be deposed, but it depends solely on the mercy of your holiness.’

539. The most holy archbishop said: ‘If he were to acknowledge his fault and consent to anathematize his doctrine and to agree with us who follow the definitions of the holy fathers, then he would reasonably deserve forgiveness. But since he persists in his lawlessness, he will incur the penalties of the canons.’

540. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I say these things, since you have now ordered it, but I am not ready to anathematize. What I am saying, I am saying in accordance with the truth.’

243 According to testimony given at the examination of the minutes at the meeting in April 449 (at 788), Eutyches made this last remark in response to a demand by Archbishop Flavian that he accept two natures after the union.



541. The most magnificent and glorious former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius said: ‘Do you affirm “two natures” and “consubstantial with us”? Speak!’

542. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I have read in the blessed Cyril, in the holy fathers and in Saint Athanasius that they said “from two natures” before the union, but after the union and the incarnation they no longer affirmed two natures but one.’<sup>244</sup>

543. The most magnificent and glorious former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius said: ‘Do you acknowledge two natures after the union? Speak! If you do not, you will be deposed.’

544. Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘Have the writings of Saint Athanasius read. Then you will discover that he says nothing of the kind.’

545. The most God-beloved Bishop Basil said: ‘If you do not affirm two natures after the incarnation, you imply mixture and confusion.’

*(Ephesus II)*

546. The same Basil bishop of Seleucia in Isauria rose and said: ‘This statement that they say I made I did not make in these words. I am not aware of having said this; but when the monk said, “I say that the Lord Jesus Christ is from two natures, but after the union I affirm one nature” – without the addition of “enfleshed and made man” – I remember that I said, “If you say ‘from two natures’ but after the union say ‘one nature’, without adding ‘enfleshed and made man’, you incur the suspicion of implying confusion and mixture; but if you add ‘enfleshed and made man’, you say the same as our fathers, for it is clear that according to the teaching of the fathers his Godhead, that is, of the one Lord Jesus Christ, is one thing and the flesh from his mother another.”’<sup>245</sup>

547. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Was your statement altered?’

548. Basil bishop of Seleucia said: ‘I have no memory or knowledge of having made it.’

244 Cf. Cyril in his First Letter to Succensus, ‘We do not wrong the concurrence into unity when we say that he came into being from two natures; but after the union we do not separate the natures from each other nor do we sever the one and indivisible into two sons, but we say one Son and, as the fathers have said, one incarnate nature of the Word’ (*Select Letters*, 74–6). The similar statements in Athanasius are Apollinarian forgeries.

245 Cf. 791, where at a hearing at Constantinople in April 449 Basil gives the same account. The authenticity of the account is established by testimony that Eusebius of Dorylaeum reacted angrily to Basil’s intervention (754, 798).

(Constantinople)

549. The most magnificent and glorious Florentius said: ‘He who does not say “from two natures” and “two natures” is not orthodox in his beliefs.’<sup>246</sup>

550. All<sup>247</sup> the holy synod rose and exclaimed: ‘Faith under compulsion is not faith. Many years to the emperors! To the orthodox emperors many years! Your faith is always victorious. He does not assent; why try to persuade him?’

551. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Eutyches, formerly presbyter and archimandrite, is revealed in every way, by both his past actions and his present testimony, to be riddled with the heresies of Valentinus and Apollinarius<sup>248</sup> and to be incorrigible in following their blasphemies. Scorning our exhortation and teaching, he has refused to assent to the orthodox doctrines. For this reason, as we moan and weep for his total perdition, we have decreed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he has blasphemed, that he is deprived of all sacerdotal rank, of communion with us, and of the headship of a monastery. All persons who in future speak with him or visit him are informed that they too will incur the penalty of excommunication for failing to avoid his company.’

552. (1) Flavian bishop of Constantinople Rome, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (2) Saturninus bishop of Marcianopolis, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (3) Basil bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (4) Seleucus by the grace of Christ bishop of Amaseia in Helenopontus, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (5) Eulalius bishop of Chalcedon, I have given my sentence and signed.

<sup>246</sup> At the meeting to examine the minutes in April 449 Florentius denied having said this (778), while admitting (776) having uttered the equally partisan statement at 543.

<sup>247</sup> Rusticus, commenting on the quotation of this paragraph in the minutes of the hearing of 13 April 449 (at 783), writes, ‘Here the Greek codices have in error “all the holy synod”, for in the preceding acts, where this session is first included, “all” does not occur.’ Schwartz accordingly queries the word; but it does in fact occur in all our MSS apart from those of Rusticus’ edition.

<sup>248</sup> Valentinus (or at least some Valentinians) denied Christ a physical body, while Apollinarius denied him a human mind. Flavian uses their names loosely to categorize Eutyches as a heretic whose doctrine of the manhood of Christ was radically defective.

- (6) Timothy bishop [of Arca], I have given my sentence and signed.
- (7) Dorotheus by the mercy of God bishop of Neocaesarea, I read, agreed and signed.
- (8) Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna, I have given my sentence. If anyone holds views on the faith that differ from the definitions of the entire holy council at Nicaea, let him be anathema.
- (9) Callinicus bishop of Apamea in Bithynia, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (10) Cecropius by the mercy of God bishop of Sebastopolis, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (11) Meliphthongus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of God at Juliopolis, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (12) Longinus by the mercy of God bishop of Chersonesus, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (13) Trypho bishop of the church of God of the city of Chios of the Islands, I have given my sentence and signed in my own hand.
- (14) Paul bishop of the holy church of the city of Apollonia, I have given my sentence and signed. He who inflicts blows on himself is spared by no one.
- (15) Sabas bishop of Paltus, I have given my sentence and signed with my own hand.
- (16) Jovian bishop of Deultum, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (17) Julian the most insignificant bishop of Cos, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (18) Sabinianus bishop of the holy church of God at Termessus, Eudocias and Jovia, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (19) Eustochius by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of Docimium, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (20) Pionius the most insignificant bishop of the holy church of God at Troas, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (21) Cossinius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Hierocaesarea, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (22) John the most insignificant bishop of the city of Hyrcanis, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (23) Diapherontius bishop of the city of Olba, I have given my sentence and signed.

- (24) Julian bishop of the city of Mostene, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (25) Romanus bishop of Eudoxiopolis, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (26) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Bosporus, I have signed, giving my sentence through the presbyter Basiliscus.
- (27) Thomas the most insignificant bishop of Valentinianopolis, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (28) Aurelius bishop of Puppit,<sup>249</sup> I have signed.
- (29) Timothy bishop of Primupolis, I have given my sentence and signed.
- (30) Genethlius bishop of Argos, I have signed.
- (31)<sup>250</sup> Andrew, presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed through the presbyter Timothy the deposition of Eutyches.
- (32) Faustus presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches the former presbyter and archimandrite.
- (33) Martin presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of the blessed Dios,<sup>251</sup> I have signed through brother Philip the deposition of Eutyches the former presbyter and archimandrite.
- (34) Manuel presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (35) Peter presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of the blessed Thalassius,<sup>252</sup> I have signed through Theodore the monk the deposition of Eutyches the former presbyter and archimandrite.
- (36) Job presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed through my deacon Andrew the deposition of Eutyches.
- (37) Antiochus presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of the blessed Theotecnus, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.

249 A see in Africa Proconsularis. Aurelius was in all probability a refugee from the Vandal occupation.

250 There follow the signatures of the archimandrites of Constantinople, who were made, after the synod, to add their signatures to Eutyches' condemnation, as Eutyches complained in his plaint to the Council of Ephesus (185).

251 The monastery of Dios was one of the oldest monasteries of Constantinople, founded late in the fourth century and located between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls (Janin 1969, 97–9). The epithet 'blessed' in this and following entries designates a founding monk who had died.

252 See Janin 1969, 140 for the history of this monastery of unknown location.

- (38) Abramius presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (39) Theodore monk and archimandrite, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (40) Theodore presbyter and archimandrite of the Egyptians,<sup>253</sup> I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (41) Pientius presbyter and archimandrite of the martyrrium of the Infants,<sup>254</sup> I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (42) Flavian archimandrite of the monastery of the holy Hermaus, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (43) Eusebius presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Helias,<sup>255</sup> I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (44) Eusebius presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of the holy Eulogius, I have signed through my deacon Theodulus the deposition of Eutyches.
- (45) Trypho archimandrite, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (46) James deacon and archimandrite of the Syrians,<sup>256</sup> I have signed through my monk Zoticus the deposition of Eutyches.
- (47) Helpidius presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (48) Paul presbyter and archimandrite of Aethrium, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (49) Carosus presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (50) Asterius presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of the blessed Laurence, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (51) Callinicus monk and archimandrite of the monastery of Theodotus, I have signed the deposition of Eutyches.
- (52) Germanus presbyter and archimandrite, I have signed through the deacon Glycerius the deposition of Eutyches.

253 This monastery was located in the Blachernae quarter, in the extreme north of the city (Janin 1969, 12). Egyptian monks can only have signed Eutyches' condemnation under episcopal pressure.

254 Located just beyond Hebdomon, south-west from the city (Janin 1969, 366).

255 A monastery of Syrian monks, of unknown location (Janin 1969, 136–7).

256 This, like the monasteries of Aethrium and Theodotus named below (§§48, 51), is a monastery of unknown location that reappears in sixth-century sources (Janin 1969, 479–80, 338, 146 respectively).

- (53) Marcellus the most insignificant presbyter and archimandrite,<sup>257</sup>  
I have signed the deposition of Eutyches with my own hand.  
All fifty-three signed.

*(Ephesus II)*

553. The archimandrite Eutyches said: ‘Some parts of the minutes that have been read have been falsified. There are proceedings relating to this, and I request that they be read.’

554. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Let them be received and read, and be included in the minutes of the proceedings.’

John presbyter and protonotary read:

*(Constantinople, 13 April 449)*

555. Copy of the minutes drawn up by divine order at Constantinople on the Ides of April in the consulship of Flavius Protogenes and the one to be designated.

There were seated in the Great Portico of the most holy church: (1) Flavian the most devout bishop of this glorious city, (2) the most magnificent Florentius, former prefect of the city, former praetorian prefect for the sixth time,<sup>258</sup> former consul and patrician, (3) Thalassius the most devout bishop of the city of Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia, (4) Eusebius the most devout bishop of the city of Ancyra, (5) Seleucus the most devout bishop of the city of Amaseia, (6) Basil the most devout bishop of the city of Seleucia in the province of Isauria, (7) Alexander the most devout bishop of the city of Tomi in the province of Scythia, (8) Marinianus the most devout bishop of the city of Synnada, (9) Meliphthongus the most devout bishop of the city of Juliopolis, (10) Acacius the most devout bishop of the city of Ariaratheia, (11) Proclus the most devout bishop of the city of Adraa, (12) Daniel the most devout bishop of the city of Cadi, (13) Sabas the most devout bishop of the city of Paltus, (14) Longinus the most devout bishop of the city of Chersonesus, (15) John the most devout bishop of the city of Bargylia in the province of Caria, (16) Paulinus the most devout bishop of the city of Theodosiopolis in the

<sup>257</sup> Marcellus was the archimandrite of the famous monastery of the Acoemetae near the north-east tip of the city (Janin 1969, 16–17). He was an ally of Theodoret of Cyrillus, who sent him *epp.* 142–3 in the wake of Ephesus II.

<sup>258</sup> Florentius’ six tenures of the post of praetorian prefect are also referred to at 557 and in the Latin Acts at 2.8. Only two are known from other sources; see *PLRE* 2, 479.

province of Asia, (17) Thomas the most devout bishop of the city of Theodosiana in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, (18) Timothy the most devout bishop of the city of Arca in the province of Palestine, (19) Eusebius the most devout bishop of the city of Dorylaeum in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, (20) Paul the most devout bishop of Apollonia in the province of Bithynia, (21) Eudoxius the most devout bishop of the city of Bosporus, (22) Eustochius the most devout bishop of the city of Docimium, (23) Timothy the most devout bishop of the city of Primupolis, (24) Peter the most devout bishop of the city of Theodosiopolis in the province of Armenia, (25) Secundinus the most devout bishop of the city of Novae, (26) Candidianus the most devout bishop of the city of Antioch in the province of Pisidia, (27) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, (28) Longinus the most devout bishop of the city of Tymandus in the province of Pisidia, (29) Geron-tius the most devout bishop of the city of Basilinopolis, (30) Perga-mius the most devout bishop of the city of Antioch in the province of Pisidia,<sup>259</sup> (31) Paul the most devout bishop of the city of Anthedon, (32) Natiras the most devout bishop of the city of Gaza, (33) Euphratas the most devout bishop of the city of Eleutherna in the province of Crete, (34) Trypho the most devout bishop of the city of Chios, (35) Aurelius the most devout bishop of the city of Hadrumetum.<sup>260</sup> Also present was Mamas, the admirable count and first secretary of the divine office of complaints and divine investigations.<sup>261</sup>

556. Macedonius the admirable tribune and referendary said: ‘On the sixth day before the Ides of April<sup>262</sup> I received orders by divine mandate that the most devout bishops were to be examined as to the reliability of the minutes previously drawn up relating to the case between the most devout Bishop Flavian and the archimandrite Eutyches.’<sup>263</sup> The

259 This cannot be right since, as given a few lines above, Candidianus was bishop of Pisidian Antioch. Because there is MS support for the reading ‘Antioch Trinitaria’, Schwartz suggests that he was bishop of Laodicea Trinitaria, the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana, although Nunechius was already its bishop at Ephesus II, only a few months later. The correct name of the see is irrecoverable.

260 Of the 35 persons listed, 15 had attended the Home Synod of 448.

261 The Latin title (as in the Latin version of the Acts) was *sacrum scrinium libellorum et sacrarum cognitionum*. It was one of the departments under the master of the offices.

262 8 April.

263 The emperor was responding to a plaint from Eutyches, who complained that the minutes of the Home Synod of November 448 (given at 223–552) had been falsified.

imperial authority has likewise ordered this inquiry to take place at the present time.’

557. Flavius Florentius, the most magnificent former praefect of the city, former praetorian praefect for the sixth time, former consul and patrician, said: ‘Let the acts relating to the testimony of the admirable referendary be read in the presence of the holy synod.’

When the records from the divine office of complaints and divine investigations had been produced, by John the hallowed *exceptor* of the same divine office there was read:

558. *At Constantinople six days before the Ides of April in the consulship of Flavius Protogenes and the one to be appointed,*<sup>264</sup> *by divine order, the following most devout bishops were seated in the holy baptistery of the catholic church:*<sup>265</sup> (1) *Thalassius the most devout bishop of the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (2) Eusebius the most devout bishop of the city of Ancyra, (3) Constantine the most devout bishop of the city of Melitene, (4) Basil the most devout bishop of the city of Seleucia in the province of Isauria, (5) Saturninus the most devout bishop of Marcianopolis, (6) Marinianus the most devout bishop of the city of Synnada, (7) Patricius the most devout bishop of the city of Tyana, (8) Trypho the most devout bishop of the city of Chios, (9) Seleucus the most devout bishop of the city of Amaseia, (10) Candidianus the most devout bishop of the city of Antioch in the province of Pisidia, (11) Timothy the most devout bishop of the city of Arca, (12) Natiras the most devout bishop of the city of Gaza, (13) Eustathius the most devout bishop of the city of Parnassus, (14) Paul the most devout bishop of the city of Anthedon, (15) Thomas the most devout bishop of the city of Theodosiana, (16) Eustochius the most devout bishop of the city of Docimium, (17) Gerontius the most devout bishop of the city of Basilinopolis, (18) Aquila the most devout bishop of the city of Aurocra, (19) Secundinus the most devout bishop of the city of Novae, (20) Acacius the most devout bishop of the city of Ariaratheia, (21) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, (22) Proclus the most devout bishop of the city of Adraa, (23) Eudoxius the most devout bishop of the city of Bosporus, (24) Sabas the most devout bishop of the city of Paltus, (25) Timothy*

264 8 April 449.

265 The cathedral of Hagia Sophia.



*the most devout bishop of the city of Primupolis, (26) Paulinus the most devout bishop of the city of Theodosiopolis in the province of Asia, (27) Paul the most devout bishop of the city of Apollonia, (28) Longinus the most devout bishop of the city of Tymandus.*

559. *Macedonius the admirable tribune and referendary said: 'Eutyches the most devout archimandrite, having petitioned the imperial divinity, has recently declared that he found ...' And the rest, which is recorded in the divine office.*

560. The most magnificent patrician [Florentius] said: 'Let the petition of the most devout monk Eutyches be produced and read, and let the most illustrious tribune, notary and referendary inform us if there are any people seated with us who are acting in the name of the same most devout monk.'

561. Before the reading, Macedonius the most illustrious notary and referendary said: 'There are people seated with us who can speak in the name of the monk.'

562. The most magnificent patrician said: 'What is the wish of the most devout bishops on this matter?'

563. Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'If he is going to speak through an attorney, give me leave to withdraw.'

564. The most magnificent patrician said: 'We must observe in every way the orders of the imperial authority. Therefore let the most devout bishops say if they agree to the admittance of those ready to act in the name of the most devout monk.'

565. Meliphthongus the most devout bishop said: 'In the case of an accusation such as this it is appropriate for the accused to be present, the more so because these accusations may involve penalties. The matter under investigation is neither ordinary nor trivial. Since the most pious emperor, in accordance with the tradition inherited from his grandfather,<sup>266</sup> is accustomed to protect the orthodox faith and the canons from being violated, we request that the matter be referred to him: if he orders that in a criminal case an attorney may be used, we will accept this, especially in view of the fact that orders have been given for an ecumenical council to take place, the most crucial matters have been reserved to this council, many people have been

<sup>266</sup> Theodosius the Great, who reimposed Nicene orthodoxy after the period of Homoean ascendancy.

summoned to it, and since it is right that the decree of the most pious emperor be put into effect.’

566. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let the most illustrious tribune, notary and referendary testify what he knows his orders on the matter to be.’

567. Macedonius the most illustrious tribune, notary and referendary said: ‘Our most pious master, learning that the aforesaid person has been deposed, has given orders on his account that in every way his representatives should be admitted and, through the reading of the documents, should verify what was said by the most holy archbishop to him and what he said to the most holy archbishop.’<sup>267</sup>

568. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘This request is straightforward. So let them be admitted, and let the petition be read in their presence.’

569. When the most devout monks Constantine, Eleusinius and Constantius had entered and taken their stand in the centre, Macedonius the most illustrious tribune and notary produced the holy gospel-book and said: ‘I must relate all the orders of their piety.’<sup>268</sup> He has ordered that the most holy bishops who were then present declare under oath, when the minutes are read, whether the testimonies of each of the two parties are authentic.’

570. Basil the most devout bishop of the church of Seleucia said: ‘Never till now have we heard of oaths being required of bishops, since we are commanded by Christ the Saviour “to swear neither by heaven, since it is the throne of God, nor by the earth, since it is his footstool”, nor by one’s head, since no one can make a single one of the hairs created by God.’<sup>269</sup> But each of us, standing at the altar with the fear of God before his eyes, and keeping his conscience pure for God, will be unable to omit anything that is in his memory.’<sup>270</sup>

571. The most magnificent patrician Florentius said: ‘As I said once already, the reading of the petition will now proceed.’

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

<sup>267</sup> Eutyches was unable to attend in person in virtue of his condemnation and excommunication at the Home Synod (551–2).

<sup>268</sup> The orders of Theodosius II in the name of himself and his western co-emperor Valentinian III.

<sup>269</sup> Mt. 5:34–6.

<sup>270</sup> The implication of Bishop Thalassius’ remark at 640 is that despite Bishop Basil’s protest all the bishops took the oath.

572. *To our most pious and faithful Christ-loving emperors Theodosius and Valentinian perpetual Augusti from Eutyches, archimandrite.*

*It is after God your piety that has been to me in all things the manifestation of salvation and truth, since you have shown negligence in no respect in carrying out an investigation of the questions of faith and of the false accusations brought against me. I read yesterday the minutes concocted by the most devout Bishop Flavian against me, and I found contained in the document things contrary to the proceedings; for neither does it contain what he said to me, nor have they recorded in these minutes what I said. I therefore beg your serenity, who has habitually protected both the orthodox faith and the reputation of my littleness, to deign to decree that the most God-beloved bishops who were then assembled, the notaries of the same most devout Bishop Flavian, and the most devout clerics he sent to summon me to the assembly, and Athanasius the most devout deacon of the most devout Bishop Basil meet together in the presence of the most holy Bishop Thalassius, so that after questioning they may provide a true account in writing of what they know. If I am granted this, I shall habitually sing hymns of thanksgiving to Christ the Master and God of the universe and to your piety.*

573. The same hallowed *exceptor* said: ‘On the petition that has been read there is also a divine annotation from our most divine and pious emperor.’

574. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let it be read with reverence.’

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

*575. Let depositions be made in the presence of the most devout bishops who recently convened, and also of the most devout Bishop Thalassius, to ensure that in their presence and with the attendance of all there be an investigation of the truth of the matters raised in the petition.*

576. The most devout Bishop Flavian said: ‘Let the most devout deacons and notaries Asterius and Aetius, Nonnus, Asclepiades and Procopius present themselves.’

577. When Asterius, Aetius, Nonnus, Asclepiades and Procopius, the notaries of the most devout Bishop Flavian, had taken their stand in the centre, the most magnificent patrician said: ‘Now that all are

present, let the minutes be read in order.’

578. But before they were produced Aetius the most devout deacon and notary said: ‘By your feet, we don’t know why we have been summoned.’

579. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let the most devout deacons and notaries of the most devout Bishop Flavian produce for reading the minutes drawn up in this case.’

580. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘We don’t know the reason for our presence nor why we are being required to produce the text of the minutes. This is why we are causing a delay by requesting to be informed why we are standing here and what we have to answer for.’

581. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘We are demanding the publication<sup>271</sup> of the proceedings in sequence of the trial of Eutyches the monk.’

582. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘Has an accusation against us ever come into the open?’

583. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘An inquiry into the matter has been ordered, and it is therefore necessary that the minutes be produced. Why are you employing delaying tactics?’

584. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘Let him who caused and initiated the investigation of this matter give us an opportunity to justify a decision whether to produce the minutes or not.’

585. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘It was you who took the minutes, and it is therefore for you to produce them.’

586. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘Who is the accuser?’

587. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘A petition from the archimandrite Eutyches has been read to us in which he says that he has read the minutes and noted that they do not contain the proceedings at the holy synod. It therefore seems right to us that the minutes which he claims to have read be produced, and that the matter be examined on this basis.’

588. The most magnificent patrician said to Aetius: ‘We need the original minutes containing the signatures of the bishops. As I have said several times, these must be produced by the notaries.’

589. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘The holy and great synod and your magnificence will doubtless deign to give us an opportunity to speak about our wishes, for we could incur penalties.’

271 ‘Publication’ in the sense of a public reading.

590. The most magnificent patrician said: 'What is first called for is the publication of the minutes. If afterwards you want to make some declaration, you will be completely free to do so.'

591. Aetius deacon and notary said: 'There is nothing strange or contrary to justice in our request, as your magnificence knows better than anyone; as I have said, we could incur grave penalties. We have heard that someone has brought an accusation against us before the most pious and Christ-loving emperor, protected by the Lord our God. We therefore ask to be informed of the charges and for them to be made known to us, and that the accuser appear in person and make a specific accusation against specific persons. We shall then answer and defend ourselves, confident in your justice.'

592. The most magnificent patrician said: 'At this point no one has testified against you, but the minutes are required, which, as has been said again and again, it is for you to produce.'

593. Aetius deacon and notary said: 'It is the text of the minutes that has brought us into your presence, for it was not the work of anyone else.'

594. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Is it because you suspect something that you are afraid to produce them?'

595. Aetius deacon and notary said: 'I have voiced no such suspicion, nor is there any.'

596. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let the minutes be produced.'

597. But before they were produced the most devout bishop of this glorious city said: 'You know that when the holy synod met it was you who recorded the statements on both sides and you know exactly what you wrote down. If they are authentic, say so with meticulous accuracy and with the fear of God. If there has been some falsification, then, as before the judgement-seat of Christ, do not lie and do not hide the name of the forger.'

598. After the intervention of the most devout bishop the most magnificent patrician said: 'I commend the most devout bishop's proposal, in which, with a good conscience, he has urged the most devout notaries to produce the minutes and tell the truth about everything. Therefore, as has been said again and again, let the minutes be produced.'

599. Aetius deacon and notary said: 'The admonition of our most sacred and holy archbishop has entrusted to our judgement responsibility to tell the truth about the text of the minutes. If therefore when

we speak we are going to be believed, we consent: we shall bring the minutes and tell the truth.'

600. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let the reading of the minutes proceed.'

601. Aetius deacon and notary said: 'I ask the holy synod which was then assembled to allow us to produce the text of the minutes.'

602. The most devout Bishop Seleucus said: 'Since our most sacred archbishop has already ordered the text of the minutes to be produced, there is no ground for delay in their production.'

603. When all the most devout bishops had declared, 'We all say this,' the most magnificent patrician said: 'As each of the sections are read, the party of the most devout monk is to testify what in them they judge open to objection. The copies which the party of the same most devout monk have in their possession are to be produced and compared while the original minutes are read.'

604. When each party had produced the minutes, Aetius deacon and notary said: 'With the permission of your magnificence, we have something to say. We have heard that in his petition the most devout Eutyches declared that he had read the text of the minutes and found in them the grounds for his defence. We ask that this text ...'

605. While he was speaking, the most magnificent patrician said: 'It is for this reason that we said that the copies are to be compared with the original minutes.'

606. Aetius deacon and notary said: 'We ask to be informed if they are originals or copies, or what kind of text was given to him by someone.'

607. The most magnificent patrician said: 'The most devout Constantine will inform us whether the copies he has produced are replicas or originals.'

608. Constantine, deacon and monk, said: 'They are replicas.'

609. The most magnificent patrician said: 'The reading will now proceed.'

610. Before the reading Aetius deacon and notary said: 'We request to read the text of the minutes they have brought, to discover whose hand they are in and who provided them, if they were provided by a notary. Grant our request, which is not unreasonable.'

611. The most magnificent patrician said: 'If the copies differ from the original minutes, it would then be proper to investigate the matter.'

612. Aetius deacon and notary said: 'There is no objection. You are an experienced and outstanding judge.'

613. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let us dispense with irrelevancies and proceed with the reading.’

614. The original document produced by the notaries was read by the hallowed *exceptor* Asterius, while someone else compared to it the copies produced by the party of Eutyches the most devout archimandrite. First from the beginning were read the first and second sessions, which are recorded in the minutes, as follows:

615. *In the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Zeno and Flavius Postumianus six days before the Ides of November, in Christ-loving and imperial Constantinople Rome – and the rest [223–353].*

616. After the reading of the first and second sessions, with all the statements of the most devout bishops, Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘Now that the holy and great council has heard its own statements and the text of the minutes, I request that it be asked if anything has been altered or falsified.’

617. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Their silence can be taken for assent. Let the rest be read.’

618. The third session was read by the same hallowed *exceptor*, and is also included in the minutes.<sup>272</sup>

619. When the testimony of the most devout presbyter and advocate John was read, Constantine deacon and monk said: ‘By your feet, the text does not contain what was actually said.’

The same hallowed *exceptor* repeated the reading and read:

620. *... while if there happened to be some mistake or error on their part in certain expressions, this he would neither criticize nor embrace, but examine only the scriptures as being more reliable than the exposition of the fathers.*<sup>273</sup>

621. When this had been read, Constantine the most devout deacon and monk said: ‘[Eutyches said], “The holy fathers spoke variously and I accept it all, but I do not accept it as a rule of faith.”’

622. When this gave rise to murmurs and uproar, Constantine the most devout deacon and monk said: ‘I urge that those who went and

272 354–404 above. But the reading only got as far as 359 before being interrupted.

273 From a statement that Eutyches made to John, as reported at 359.

heard the archimandrite should testify truthfully what they heard, following their consciences as in the presence of the Lord, without any prejudice against the archimandrite arising from my statement. I request that the most devout clerics who visited him testify what they heard from him, and also the most devout deacon Athanasius.’

623. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘Before Brother Constantine spoke, those who were sent in the name of the person who submitted the petition promised that their archimandrite approved everything they might say.<sup>274</sup> We therefore ask that the statement about prejudice should not prejudice the text of the minutes.’

624. Constantine, deacon and monk, said: ‘I ask that my words about a rule of faith be erased. I uttered them in the midst of the uproar without being conscious of what I was saying.’

625. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘It was in a quiet moment, before the uproar, that Brother Constantine made that statement, as the most holy bishops and your<sup>275</sup> authority can bear witness.’

626. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘With respect to the accusations now being brought by both parties, could the most devout bishops Thalassius and Eusebius kindly say what they think needs to be investigated?’

627. The most devout Bishop Thalassius said: ‘The most devout monk’s envoy cannot accept some of the statements he makes with his own mouth and not accept others.’

628. The most devout Bishop Eusebius of the city of Ancyra said: ‘I also think it consistent that the representative of the most devout archimandrite Eutyches must regard as authentic everything uttered by his voice, and not require part of what he said to stand and part to be nullified.’

629. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let the most devout men John the presbyter and Andrew, bearing in mind their own reputation, testify what they remember hearing from Eutyches the most devout monk.’

630. When John the most devout presbyter and advocate of the holy church of this glorious city and Andrew the most devout deacon had

274 It is likely that Eutyches’ representatives took an oath at the same time that the bishops were required to (569).

275 As Festugière notes *ad loc.*, the ἀυτῶν of the Greek must stand for ἡμῶν ἀυτῶν, as also at 749 and 780. ἀυτῶν likewise stands for ὑμῶν ἀυτῶν at X. 113 and once in Documents after the Council 8.



taken their stand in the centre, the deacon Constantine said: ‘We did not say that the archimandrite approves everything I say.’

631. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Your statements are contained in the minutes.’

632. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘The most magnificent referendary who has come on behalf of our most pious and Christ-loving emperor has already testified that Constantine and his companions were sent in the name of the archimandrite Eutyches and that they are obliged to accept what is ascribed to him.’<sup>276</sup>

633. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Your words likewise are contained in the minutes.’ – And he added: ‘May the most devout presbyter John testify what he heard from the monk Eutyches.’

634. Before he could testify, Meliphthongus the most devout bishop said: ‘By some power of forethought at the beginning as soon as the accusation was being made I made a point of observing, “The accusation is not about a trivial matter. Such a serious case is not examined and should not be conducted by means of an attorney, but we need the presence of the accused, as the laws themselves require. But if it is pleasing to the most pious emperor that a criminal case be examined by recourse to an attorney and that the accusation be not liable to penalties and if this should happen, let him be informed of this, and we are obliged to yield to the Christ-loving emperor in whatever he commands.”’<sup>277</sup>

635. The most devout Bishop Seleucus said: ‘Since today’s proceedings are confirmed by the statement of the most magnificent referendary and the agreement of the most holy bishops and of the most magnificent and glorious former consul and patrician Florentius, let the most devout men the presbyter John and the deacon Andrew testify what they know.’

636. John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: ‘The testimony I gave has been read to this holy and most God-beloved synod in the presence of the most magnificent and all-glorious former consul and patrician Florentius. That it was entirely within the bounds of the truth, this the most devout deacon also ...’

637. While he was speaking, the deacon Constantine said: ‘Not everything was read.’

<sup>276</sup> See 567.

<sup>277</sup> Meliphthongus is paraphrasing what he said at 565.

638. The same John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: ‘Yes, look, I am asserting it.’

639. Constantine the most devout deacon and monk said: ‘I said one word during an uproar, and it was recorded.’

640. While he was speaking, the most devout Bishop Thalassius said: ‘The reputation of John the presbyter was sufficient, but since the gospel-book was placed before all of us, it is proper for him as well to guarantee what he says upon the gospel-book.’

641. The same John the most devout presbyter and advocate added: ‘That the statements he chose to cast doubt on are entirely within the bounds of the truth he has established by a still stronger bond of truth. This the God-beloved and holy synod is well aware of, from the fact that he finally wanted to retract his own words. But since there has to be a complete reading, and because I need to be persuaded by what follows to recognize the testimony of the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, if indeed his statements agree with the testimony I then gave, or alternatively to deny it, if it turn out that I do not recognize it –, I ask your godliness that it be read and that the reading be complete, so that, out of respect for the holy gospels which your godliness has placed before me, I can check every detail and adhere to the word of truth.’

642. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let the statements of John the presbyter, where he testified that he heard some remarks from Eutyches, be read again from the minutes.’

By the same hallowed *exceptor* the statements of the same most devout presbyter John were read again:

643 [= 359–61]. *The most devout presbyter and advocate John said: ‘A short time ago the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius appeared at the assembly before your holiness and brought an accusation against the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches; he presented a written document declaring that he is riddled with heresy, and demanded that he be summoned before your holiness to defend himself against the charges he brought against him. Taking thought, your unerring wisdom gave orders that the most devout deacon Andrew and I should go to see him in his monastery and summon him to make his defence. This we did: we visited him in his monastery, read him the indictment, gave him copies, disclosed the accuser, and communicated to him the summons to come and defend himself*

*before your holiness. He, however, utterly refused to appear and defend himself, asserting that a rule had been previously laid down by him, and had bound him with a regulation from the very beginning, that he was never to leave his community to go anywhere at all, but was in a way to live in the monastery as if in a tomb. He asked us to tell your holiness that the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius has long been his enemy and has brought this accusation against him simply in order to slander and insult him. He said that he is ready to assent to the expositions of the holy fathers who held a council at Nicaea and at Ephesus, and promised to subscribe to their interpretations, while if there happened to be some mistake or error on their part in certain expressions, this he would neither criticize nor embrace, but examine only the scriptures as being more reliable than the exposition of the fathers. He said that after the incarnation of God the Word, that is, after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, he worships one nature, that of God enfleshed and made man; he produced and read a tract to this effect, adding in regard to a calumny (as he said) uttered against him, to the effect that he had said that God the Word had brought his flesh down from heaven, that of such a calumny he is wholly innocent. As for the assertion that our Lord Jesus Christ had come into being from two natures united hypostatically, he said that he had neither learnt it in the expositions of the holy fathers nor, if such a statement were read to him by someone, would he accept it, since the divine scriptures, as he claimed, are better than the teaching of the fathers. While asserting this, he acknowledged as perfect God and perfect man the one who was born from the Virgin Mary but does not have flesh consubstantial with us. This is what he said in conversation with me.'*

*The most holy archbishop said: 'Were you the only person to hear this, or did the deacon Andrew who was sent with you also hear it?'*

*The most devout presbyter and advocate John said: 'When I was being told to convey these statements to your sacredness, the most devout deacon Andrew was also present.'*

644. After the reading John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: 'Your magnificence and the most God-beloved and holy synod know that, when someone is sent to go and convey a message to others, it is impossible to report back the exact words; not even any of the most reputed orators could do this, to convey and transmit to

people the exact words of another person. But when I heard these remarks from the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, the most devout deacon Andrew was also present, as well as the most devout deacon Athanasius. Moreover, I at the time took private notes, as I saw fit, of what he said; these notes I have kept and have with me. The most devout archimandrite Eutyches ought to be present at today's proceedings in view of my testimony; I think that it is the judgement of your unerring wisdom that the very person who spoke to me should have attended in order to hear what I say and either contradict what I say or agree with it. I do not think that he, in his devoutness,<sup>278</sup> would in the presence of the gospels reject my account of what he said then. [I make this point] all the more because the most devout deacon Constantine, who is present, partly agrees with what I say and partly, when his suspicions are aroused, goes against my account. I ask not to be required to repeat the exact words he used, since no one can do this, to transmit someone's words verbatim; but order the reading of what is written in my aide-memoire.'

645. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let your aide-memoire, as you ask, be read, and compared to the testimony contained in the minutes, to reveal any discrepancy in the sense or the words.'

646. Before it was read, John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: 'I would first ask the most devout Andrew and the most devout deacon Athanasius, being present, to say if they agree with my previous testimony that has already been read.'

647. The most magnificent patrician said: 'The reading will meanwhile continue.'

When John presbyter and advocate had produced his aide-memoire, by the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

648. *A short time ago the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius appeared at the assembly before your holiness and brought an accusation against the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches; he presented a document against him proving that he is riddled with heresy, and demanded that the said most devout archimandrite be summoned to defend himself against the charges he brought against him. Taking thought for the orthodox faith, your unerring wisdom*

278 John is pressing what can be expected of Eutyches in view of his clerical title of 'most devout'.

*gave orders that the most devout deacon Andrew and I should go to see him and summon him to make his defence. This we did: we visited him in his monastery, read him the indictment, gave him copies, and indicated to him the accuser, the summons and defence before your godliness and the holy synod. The said Eutyches, however, utterly deferred appearing and defending himself against the charges brought against him, asserting that a rule had been previously laid down by him and had bound him with a regulation from the very beginning never to leave his community to go anywhere at all, because of living in the monastery as if in a tomb. He asked us to tell your sacredness that the most religious Bishop Eusebius has long been his enemy and has pressed this accusation against him in order to insult and slander him. He declared himself ready to follow the expositions of the holy and blessed fathers who held a council at Nicaea and at Ephesus, and to subscribe to them, while if it happened, as he said, that our fathers have made mistakes or errors in certain expressions, this he for his part would neither criticize nor embrace, but examine only the scriptures on such questions as being more reliable. He said that calumny had been uttered by some that God the Word had brought his flesh down from heaven; may he have nothing to do with such a calumny. He said that after God the Word had become man, that is, after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, he worships one nature, that of God enfleshed and made man; he produced and read a tract about this. As for the assertion that one must explain the being of our Lord Jesus as from two natures after the union, he said that he had neither learnt it in the expositions of the holy fathers nor, if such a statement were read to him, would he accept it, since the divine scriptures, as he claimed, make no mention of natures and are superior to the expositions given in teaching. While asserting this, he added that he was born from the Virgin as perfect God and perfect man.<sup>279</sup>*

649. The most magnificent patrician said to Constantine the monk: 'Is it according to the text of the aide-memoire or according to the text of the minutes, that, as you assert, the most devout monk Eutyches spoke to the clerics?'

650. Constantine the most devout deacon and monk said: 'The archimandrite accepts as true whatever those who heard him testify.'

279 On the differences between this and the official minute just read out (643) see 359n.

651. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let Andrew say what he heard from the monk, after his statements have been read from the minutes.’

652. Before the reading, Eleusinius the most devout deacon and monk said: ‘The words “... not having flesh consubstantial with us. This is what he said in conversation with me” are not in the aide-memoire he has produced.’<sup>280</sup>

653. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘What does the most devout John say to this?’

654. John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: ‘Your godliness and your magnificence placed the holy scriptures before us in our humility. The content of the minutes is the same as the testimony given in the aide-memoire. If there is some discrepancy in the wording, I am not ...’

655. While he was speaking, the most magnificent patrician said: ‘But the alteration that is alleged is not a small one.’

656. John presbyter and advocate said: ‘But who can report to someone the exact words of another person? As for the meaning of what he said ...’

657. While he was speaking, the most magnificent patrician said: ‘What do you affirm that he said at this point?’

658. John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: ‘What is in doubt? Regarding the expression “consubstantial”, he said that Christ is consubstantial with his mother, but did not say “with us men”. And since you insist, I swear that he said, “He is consubstantial with his mother, but his flesh is not consubstantial with us.”’

659. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let this passage be read again both from the aide-memoire and from the minutes, so that the most devout John can testify personally what he heard from him at this point.’

660. After this was done, John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: ‘It was when speaking to me alone that he said, “His flesh is not consubstantial with us but with his mother.”’

661. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Had you forgotten what you heard? Is this why it is not in the aide-memoire where you made entries?’

280 There can be no doubt, however, of Eutyches’ reluctance to accept the consubstantiality of Christ with us men; see 516–24.

662. John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: 'I didn't include it in the aide-memoire because the most devout deacons who were with me didn't hear what was said to me in private.'

663. Constantine deacon and monk said: 'We request that the most devout deacons come and testify truthfully what they heard from the archimandrite and whether he spoke to him in private.'

664. The most magnificent patrician said: 'As I said before, since Andrew is present, let his statements be published.'

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read from the minutes:

665 [= 362–3]. *The most holy archbishop said: 'Let the most devout deacon Andrew say if he heard these things being said by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.'*

*The most devout deacon Andrew said: 'In accordance with the order of your holiness we went to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, and while conversing with him we heard him make the statements that the most devout presbyter and advocate John has already borne witness to.'*

666. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let the most devout deacon Andrew testify what he heard from Eutyches.'

667. Andrew the most devout deacon said: 'Since God is seated among you and fear and trembling seize my soul, I cannot depart from the truth. A short time ago I was sent by my master the all-holy Archbishop Flavian and his holy synod to the most devout archimandrite Eutyches. As for the summons I confirm and acknowledge the testimony of the most devout presbyter and advocate John. As for the expression "consubstantial", when the most devout presbyter and advocate John put a question to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches as to whether he says that God the Word is consubstantial with the Father as regards the Godhead and consubstantial with us as regards the manhood, the archimandrite Eutyches said, "What does the creed say?" The lord John replied that the creed has only "consubstantial with the Father", at which the archimandrite Eutyches countered, "So hold this yourself, since I too hold it." This is all I know of the matter.'

668. The most magnificent patrician said: 'But did John at any stage speak in private with Eutyches the monk in your absence?'

669. Andrew the most devout deacon said: 'He made certain remarks,

by your feet, which I didn't hear.'

670. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Now let the most devout Athanasius come forward.'

671. When Athanasius the deacon had taken his stand in the centre, the most magnificent patrician said to him: 'Bear in mind your profession and tell us truthfully what you remember the monk Eutyches saying to the most devout John or to Andrew.'

672. Athanasius the most devout deacon said: 'Since my soul is at stake and since those who do not tell the truth are liable to penalties, I shall say what I heard. I was not sent because of this matter along with the most God-beloved John or the most devout deacon Andrew, but I was summoned by the most God-beloved presbyter and advocate John since I was there and heard what the other man said. On being questioned by the most sacred bishops, I testified that, being present there, I also heard everything he testified. Now when there was a reading of the aide-memoire in the possession of the aforementioned most God-beloved man, I recognized the other statements but not the one about "consubstantial". But when the presbyter asked the archimandrite Eutyches, "Do you acknowledge that the Lord is consubstantial with the Father as regards the Godhead and the same consubstantial with us as regards the manhood?" the same archimandrite said, "What does the creed say?" Then the presbyter replied, "Consubstantial with the Father", at which he said, "Hold this, because I too hold it.'"

673. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Did the most devout Eutyches the monk or John the most devout presbyter hold any private conversation between themselves?'

674. Athanasius the most devout deacon said: 'I didn't pay attention, by your feet.'

675. Eleusinius the most devout monk said: 'We request that the most devout deacon Athanasius be questioned and testify about the criticisms he made of the most devout presbyter John during the second inquiry.<sup>281</sup> He showed that after the earlier testimony a different one was read, and he made the insistent<sup>282</sup> objection that his [John's]

281 Rather than being the meeting of 8 April (558–9), as suggested by Schwartz and Festugière, this appears to be one of a series of separate meetings (cf. 679) at which the testimonies of the witnesses were discussed.

282 We follow Schwartz's suggested emendation of οὐτως to ἐνιστάμενος on the basis of the Latin version ('stans').



earlier testimony when he returned from the monastery had not been recorded in this or that detail. When afterwards a meeting was held and the most holy archbishop ordered the text of the minutes containing the testimony of the most God-beloved presbyter John to be produced, the deacon Athanasius, while they were being read, made the objection, "I didn't hear this."

676. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let John's statements be read from the minutes, and let Athanasius testify what further information he is ready to provide on the subject.'

677. When they had been read again, the same John the most devout presbyter said: 'The most devout deacon Andrew and also the most devout deacon Athanasius have already agreed with everything I said in the aide-memoire apart, as they claimed, from the expression "consubstantial", and they testify how even this was uttered by the most devout archimandrite. The most devout and holy synod and your magnificence will understand that my saying, "Do you recognize that he is consubstantial with the Father as regards the Godhead and consubstantial with us as regards the manhood?" and his question in reply were evidence of ambiguity. I ask that the most devout deacons' statement confirming this testimony in the aide-memoire be not rejected.'

678. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let Athanasius say what the issue was.'

679. Athanasius the most devout deacon said: 'At the third inquiry the testimony given by the presbyter was read in the consistory, and I was perturbed by the expression at the end, where it says, "not having flesh consubstantial with us", and I objected. For the presbyter himself said, "This was said only to me."

680. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Did he hold any private conversation with him in your absence?'

681. Athanasius the most devout deacon said: 'I didn't see.'

682. John the most devout presbyter and advocate said: 'That the most devout deacons when questioned a second and third time have confirmed by their own statements everything that I said, your godliness [Flavian] and the holy synod and your magnificence have heard and know. As for the expression "consubstantial", since the most devout deacon Athanasius has said that he was perturbed by it on that occasion and caused an uproar, that too I acknowledge. I have affirmed that he [Eutyches] said to me in private that which indeed he said. That in particular they heard me say to him, "Do you recognize

that he is consubstantial with the Father as regards the Godhead and consubstantial with us as regards the manhood?" they have testified in their own statements, and when the first minutes were completed, Marinus, lector and notary of the church of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima, read it out.<sup>283</sup>

683. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let the remaining part of the minutes be read.'

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

684. *John, the most devout presbyter and advocate, said: 'At the time of our meeting' – and the rest of the third session [364–404].*

685. When this had been read,<sup>284</sup> Constantine, deacon and monk, said: 'I did not say, "If you don't support me, the bishop will humiliate me, and then eventually he will attack you." This I did not say, by your feet.'

686. Constantius<sup>285</sup> the most devout deacon said: 'Because those who were sent are not here, and the presbyter and archimandrite Martin is not here either, let this pass, if you so bid.'

687. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Patricius, who went to the monk with Peter, is said to be here. What then is your wish? That he be questioned, or the most devout Martin?'

688. Eleusinius the most devout monk and deacon said: 'Keep to what is essential, by your feet.'

689. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Do the minutes differ from the truth in this passage? Is it not this that you are saying?'

690. Constantine deacon and monk said: 'Not, by your feet, as regards this passage.'

691. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let the sequel be read.'  
By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read from the same document:

692. *The most holy archbishop said: 'Did the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Martin say what was contained in the document ... ?' – and the rest [437–44].*

283 Presumably at the session of 8 April 449, chaired by Thalassius of Caesarea (see 558–9).

284 The reading clearly continued into the fourth and fifth sessions, since the following observation refers to 436.

285 This is Schwartz's suggestion for the MSS 'Constantine'; cf. 569 above.

693. After the reading Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘We beg the present holy synod and your magnificence to deign to order an interrogation of the most devout clerics of whom mention has been made in the present reading of the minutes, for them to testify if they have any doubts about what has been read and their previous testimonies – I mean Mamas the most devout presbyter, Theophilus, Memnon, and John, and the deacons Andrew and Athanasius.’

694. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Do they have any doubts about the present inquiry? But this is a question for that most devout man the monk whose men are standing here now.’ – And he added: ‘Let the rest be read.’

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

695. *On Saturday 20 November – and the rest.*<sup>286</sup>

696. When this had been read, Constantine the deacon said: ‘We ask that they be questioned as to whether they heard this.’

697. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Could Theophilus, now that his testimony has been made public, say whether he remembers hearing or saying these things.’

698. When Theophilus the most devout presbyter had taken his stand in the centre, he said: ‘Sent by the most holy archbishop and the holy synod, the presbyter Mamas and I went to the monastery of the archimandrite Eutyches. He began first by saying what has just been read, and then, when we refused to dispute with him – I speak as in the presence of Christ –, he forced us to, and said with his own voice, “It is impossible for me to say that Christ is from two natures, for I do not attempt to define the nature of my Lord.” What has just been read is what we heard from the mouth of the most devout man and put in our testimonies; we neither added nor omitted anything.’

699. Constantine the monk said: ‘Did he hear nothing else?’

700. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Beyond what you testified, did you hear nothing else?’

701. Theophilus the most devout presbyter said: ‘He said, “I follow the teaching of the fathers.” This he said.’

<sup>286</sup> The minutes of the sixth session, beginning at 445. The reading was interrupted at 451, which is the subject of the following discussion.

702. The most magnificent patrician said to the monks: 'Have you any more demands?'

703. Constantine deacon and monk said: 'We ask the lord Mamas to speak.'

704. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let the most devout Mamas likewise testify what he remembers.'

705. Before he could testify, Eleusinius deacon and monk said: 'He [Theophilus] has acknowledged that he [Eutyches] claimed to follow the teaching of the fathers, but this is not in the minutes.'

706. The most magnificent patrician said to Theophilus: 'Why in the minutes is there a complete absence of the additions in your subsequent testimony as to what was spoken by Eutyches?'

707. Theophilus the most devout presbyter said: 'He said other things too, by your feet, which I don't remember. But what I remember, I have testified.'

708. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Why did you not include it in the minutes at the time?'

709. Eleusinius the monk said: 'He said above, "We neither added nor omitted anything from what he said."'

710. Theophilus the presbyter said: 'What I heard from the very mouth of the archimandrite I have related. If they want me to add things I did not hear ...'

711. While he was speaking, the most magnificent patrician said: 'Let Mamas the presbyter testify as to what was said.'

712. Mamas the most devout presbyter said: 'May the testimony I then made be read, by your feet, since I have forgotten it.'

713. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let his statements be read from the minutes, so that, having been reminded of them, he may tell us what he remembers hearing.'

By the same hallowed *exceptor* his statements were read from the minutes:

714. *The most holy archbishop said: 'Tell us why...' – and the rest [452–7].*

715. After the reading Mamas the most devout presbyter said: 'It is so, by your feet. My testimony was what he has read and nothing more.'

716. Constantine deacon and monk said: 'I consider that there are contradictions between the statements of the lord presbyter and what

has been read from the testimonies of Theophilus and Mamas.’

717. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Do the minutes contain errors?’

718. Eleusinius the monk said: ‘No, by your feet.’

719. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘If there is anything else, let it be read.’

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

720. *The holy and great synod met again, in the presence of the holy and dread gospels and under the chairmanship of our most holy Archbishop Flavian, in the episcopal consistory on the day appointed, Monday, 22 November – and the rest.*<sup>287</sup>

721. After the reading the most magnificent patrician said: ‘A statement by myself has been indited, requiring the presbyter Eutyches to be questioned as to his faith and assertions. Up till this point this is what I said, but they have added something that was not said and which is unintelligible, “And then let him be asked again why, if he asserts these things now, he held different opinions in the past.”’ – And he added: ‘How could I have said this when the most devout archimandrite Eutyches hadn’t yet said anything?’

722. The most holy archbishop of this glorious city said to the notaries: ‘How is it that what was not said by this most magnificent man is contained in the minutes?’

723. Aetius the most devout deacon and notary said: ‘We are able to say something about this.’

724. The most holy archbishop said: ‘Who dictated this to you? Did I tell you to add anything, or did you do it on your own authority or on instructions from others?’

725. Aetius the deacon said: ‘Does your question imply that your holiness is certain that there has been an addition?’

726. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let the sequel be read.’ Likewise by the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

727. *Bishop Eusebius said: ‘As I have already said, on condition that his present assent does not prejudice my position’ – and the rest [485–90].*

<sup>287</sup> The first part of the seventh session, from 458; most MSS have the erroneous heading ‘fourth session’. The reading was interrupted at 484, to which the following discussion relates.

728. After the reading Eleusinius the deacon said: ‘This is not in the proper order. He first presented a document containing the creed of the 318, as confirmed by the holy council at Ephesus, but when he produced this document the most God-beloved bishop would not accept it. Even when your magnificence said that it should be accepted, not even then was it accepted.’<sup>288</sup>

729. The most devout bishop of this glorious city said: ‘What proof do you have that the paper contained the creed of the 318?’

730. Eleusinius the most devout deacon said: ‘It should then have been accepted.’

731. Eusebius the most devout bishop of the city of Dorylaeum said: ‘I adjure you by the holy and consubstantial Trinity to leave this matter to the ecumenical council which is about to take place by decree of our Christ-loving emperors, so that it may there be proved with meticulous accuracy that Eutyches, who has already been deposed as a heretic, has held, and has not ceased to hold, heretical beliefs.’

732. Aetius the most devout deacon and notary said: ‘We beg your magnificence and the present holy synod ...’

733. While he was speaking, the most magnificent patrician said: ‘The most God-beloved and holy Archbishop Flavian cannot dispute the fact that, when the archimandrite Eutyches produced a document, he refused to accept it and told him to give his own answer.’

734. The most devout Bishop Seleucus said: ‘The most devout deacon Eleusinius has just said that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches brought to the holy synod a document which he said contained the dogma of the faith. But only a few days ago a letter of the most holy and sacred Leo archbishop of Rome was shown to us which contained the fact that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches had in the course of the inquiry criticized and objected to our hearing by sending the document: how can he now insist that the document was a profession of faith, when before the most holy bishop of Rome he called it an appeal? Learn from this how inconsistent the most devout archimandrite is. I ask that the letter which was presented be read.’<sup>289</sup>

288 The episode to which Eleusinius is referring is to be found in the following section of the minutes at 498–503. Florentius’ intervention is indeed omitted.

289 The reference is to Leo, *ep.* 23, with its statement, ‘We have received a plaint from the presbyter Eutyches, who complains that on the accusation of bishop Eusebius he has been undeservedly deprived of communion, although he testifies that he attended your summons and did not refuse his presence; moreover he asserts that at the hearing itself he presented a

735. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘After the close of the synod of the most devout bishops the most devout Eutyches sent me a copy of the document which he said he had presented to the holy synod.’

In the reading the hallowed *exceptor* added:

736 [= 498–505]. *Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I have not come here to discuss, but I came to inform your sacredness of what I hold. What I hold has been recorded in this document. Give orders for it be read.’*

*The most holy archbishop said: ‘Read it yourself.’*

*Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I am not able to.’*

*The most holy archbishop said: ‘Why? Is it really your exposition, or someone else’s? If it is yours, read it yourself.’*

*Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘The declaration is mine, but the declaration of the holy fathers is the same.’*

*The most holy archbishop said: ‘Which fathers? Speak for yourself. Why do you need a document?’*

*Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘This is what I believe: I worship the Father with the Son, the Son with the Father, and the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son; I acknowledge that his coming in the flesh was from the flesh of the Holy Virgin, and that he became man perfectly for our salvation. This I confess before the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and before your holiness.’*

737. After the reading Eleusinius the deacon said: ‘When he was asked to make his own profession of faith, he said, “As I stand in the presence of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, whom I have worshipped, worship now, and shall worship in future, I believe as the 318 fathers at Nicaea decreed and the holy council at Ephesus confirmed.” But these words are not in the minutes.’

738. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘I ask your holiness and your magnificence<sup>290</sup> that the most holy bishops who were then present,

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document of appeal, which however was not accepted’ (*ACO* 2.4 pp. 4.23–5.2). But Eutyches’ document (in the *Letters* of Leo, *ACO* 2.4 p. 145. 6–25; trans. in *NPNF*, II. 12, p. 34) was indeed a straight profession of faith, and what he had written to Leo was, ‘I immediately presented a document (*libelli*), with my signature appended to it, declaring my profession of the holy faith’ (Leo, *ep.* 21; *ACO* 2.4 p. 144. 6–8). Leo appears to have confused two meanings of *libellus*, which can mean either a plaint or a declaration (often of faith).

290 Archbishop Flavian and the patrician Florentius.

who spoke as their tongue led them and confirmed it by their signatures, be asked if the statement alleged now by these men was made at that time by the most devout Eutyches, and if anything in the contents of the minutes has been falsified.'

739. Bishop Basil said: 'As in the presence of the truth, I don't remember exactly.'

740. Bishop Seleucus said: 'Let the statement cited by the most devout deacon Eleusinius be read to me.'

741. After Eleusinius' statement had been read to him from the tablets, Seleucus the most devout bishop said: 'I too have no memory of the most devout archimandrite Eutyches saying this.'

742. Bishop Trypho said: 'As in the presence of the truth of God, he spoke exactly as is recorded in the minutes.'

743. Bishop Longinus said: 'It is my memory too that the words of Eutyches the archimandrite accord with what is contained in the minutes and has just been read out. As for the claim made just now by the most devout Eleusinius that he said, "I hold what the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea did and those at Ephesus confirmed", the latest evidence proves that he refused to acknowledge that Christ our Lord was born consubstantial with us in respect of the flesh. This I affirm as in the presence of God.'

744. Meliphthongus the most devout bishop said: 'I say as in the presence of God that I have found no discrepancy between the previous proceedings and what has now been read. As for the deacon Eleusinius' statement that he [Eutyches] uttered this statement, the searcher of hearts knows; but I didn't hear it and I don't remember it.'

745. Julian the most devout bishop said: 'Even before I speak, the text of the minutes provides proof of Eutyches' unbelief. We have no knowledge of what Eleusinius the deacon now testifies; Eutyches said nothing of the sort.'

746. Paul the most devout bishop said: 'In the presence of the truth, I am shocked by what I now hear from Eleusinius. I know that everything contained in the minutes is true; not a syllable has been added or taken away.'

747. Eudoxius the most devout bishop said: 'I say as in the presence of God that I am shocked by the statement just made by the most devout deacon Eleusinius. What was said by the most devout archimandrite Eutyches was not that, but what is contained in the minutes.'



748. Eustochius the most devout bishop said: ‘As in the presence of God, I repeat what those before me have said, {because I only recognize}<sup>291</sup> what is contained in the minutes.’

749. Timothy the most devout bishop<sup>292</sup> said: ‘I heard him say, “I believe as did our fathers.” Your magnificence knows that, whether above or below,<sup>293</sup> I heard him say, “I believe as did our fathers.”’

750. Valerian the most devout bishop said: ‘I did not hear from Eutyches any of the things that the deacon Eleusinius has related. God is my witness.’

751. Sabas the most devout bishop said: ‘God is my witness, to whom we must answer on the Day of Judgement, that the archimandrite said what is contained in the minutes. I wore myself out urging him to declare “consubstantial with us”, but failed to persuade him.’

752. Secundinus the most devout bishop said: ‘Apart from what is written in the minutes I heard nothing and nothing was said.’

753. Aurelius the most devout bishop said: ‘What has just been read to us is what I remember the archimandrite saying at the time.’

754. Constantine the deacon said: ‘I request your holy synod that the lord Bishop Basil be asked what it was he said when the lord Bishop Eusebius opposed and reproved him. As in the presence of the Lord, what is it that he said? He stood up and said, “I can bring a plaint against him”, and reproved him.’

755. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Allow the reading to continue for the time being, and if these words do not occur further on, then make your plea.’

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

756. *The most holy archbishop said: ‘Do you acknowledge that the same one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is consubstantial with his Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with his mother in respect of the manhood?’ – and the rest [511–27, 534–6].*

757. After the reading Constantine the deacon said: ‘When the archimandrite said “one nature” [527], the lord bishop spoke as follows ...’

758. While he was speaking, Eleusinius the deacon said: ‘As in the presence of God, was he not then anathematized by your religious-

291 Supplied from the Latin version.

292 Either Timothy of Arca (552.18) or Timothy of Primupolis (552.23).

293 In other words, at some point in the proceedings.

ness, since it says that the holy synod rose up and anathematized him [536]?’

759. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Nothing of the sort was said then.’

760. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘I certainly did not hear it.’

761. Timothy the most devout bishop said: ‘I did not hear it.’

762. Julian the most devout bishop said: ‘Nor, in truth, did I hear it.’

763. Basil the most devout bishop said: ‘Indeed, my friend, nothing of the sort came from my mouth.’

764. Meliphthongus the most devout bishop said: ‘I was insulted at the time by certain people as unworthy of the synod because I called for a postponement, and I don’t know [about this].’

765. Sabas the most devout bishop said: ‘When a witness appears before judges to bear testimony, if he cannot speak, he makes a sign with his head and receives a witness’ reward. We all signed with our own hands and made a written declaration; how can we deny it?’

766. Trypho the most devout bishop said: ‘All the clergy then present anathematized him for having previously uttered impieties contrary to the teaching of the 318 holy fathers and of the holy council at Ephesus.’

767. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘It often happens at these most holy gatherings that one of the most God-beloved bishops present says something, and what one man says is recorded and counted as if everyone alike had said it. This is what has happened from time immemorial: for instance, one person speaks and we write, “The holy council said ...” So if it now turns out that one or two spoke, as the most God-beloved bishops have testified and expressed agreement, and the most holy clergy then added their acclamations, we ask that this statement be not erased or deleted from the minutes, since all the most holy bishops manifestly signed it, and ...’

768. While he was speaking the most magnificent patrician said: ‘What each has testified can be relied upon. That which truth comprises cannot be contested.’<sup>294</sup>

769. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘We request that the testimony on this matter of the most God-beloved Bishop Sabas and the most God-beloved Bishop Trypho be now disclosed in the presence of

294 As Schwartz 1929, 29 pointed out, the meaning is that, while the accuracy of statements attributed to a particular individual can be relied on, those with a general rubric, such as ‘the holy council’, cannot.

your holinesses and also that of the most God-beloved Paul.’

770. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘It is known, and is contained in the minutes. Therefore let the rest be read.’

Likewise the rest was read by the same hallowed *exceptor*:

771 [= 537–41]. *After this the most holy archbishop said: ‘Let the holy synod say what is deserved by a defendant who neither confesses the orthodox faith clearly nor is prepared to accede to the doctrine of the present holy synod, but persists in his twisted and wicked perversity.’*

*The most God-beloved Bishop Seleucus said: ‘He deserves to be deposed, but it depends solely on the mercy of your holiness.’*

*The most holy archbishop said: ‘If he were to acknowledge his fault and consent to anathematize his doctrine and to agree with us who follow the definitions of the holy fathers, then he would rightly deserve forgiveness. But since he persists in his lawlessness, he will incur the penalties of the canons.’*

*Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I say these things, since you have now ordered it, but I am not ready to anathematize. What I am saying, I am saying truthfully.’*

*The most magnificent former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius said: ‘Do you affirm “two natures” and “consubstantial with us”. Speak!’*

772. After the reading the most magnificent patrician said: ‘I did not say “Speak!” as a pronouncement but as an exhortation to him to agree with what the synod had said.’<sup>295</sup>

773. Constantine the deacon said: ‘On what grounds was the archimandrite deposed? Was he was not deposed because our archbishop asked him, “Do you say two natures after the union, and do you anathematize those who do not say this?” and he refused to anathematize? But these words are not in the minutes.’

774. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let the rest be read, so that we may see if anything can be found in them corresponding to Constantine’s affirmation.’

295 Compare 776 and 778: in all three cases, as Schwartz (1929, 30) observes, Florentius is saying that the remarks attributed to him were not formal pronouncements (*διαλάλαιαι*) he made as chairman but informal exhortations that should not have been minuted.

Likewise by the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

775 [= 542–3]. *Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘I have read in the blessed Cyril, in the holy fathers and in Saint Athanasius that they said “from two natures” before the union, but after the union and the incarnation they no longer affirmed two natures but one.’*

*The most magnificent former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius said: ‘Do you acknowledge two natures after the union? Speak! If you do not, you will be deposed.’*

776. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘I did not say “Speak! If you do not, you will be deposed” as a pronouncement; but because I saw everyone exerting pressure on him, I was urging him to give his assent.’

Likewise by the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

777 [= 544–5, 549]. *Eutyches the presbyter said: ‘Have the writings of Saint Athanasius read. Then you will discover that he says nothing of the kind.’*

*The most God-beloved Bishop Basil said: ‘If you do not affirm two natures after the incarnation, you imply mixture and confusion.’*

*The most magnificent and glorious patrician Florentius said: ‘He who does not say “from two natures” and “two natures” is not orthodox in his beliefs.’*

778. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘I did not make this pronouncement, for I was not able to lay down dogma.’

779. The most religious bishop of this glorious city said: ‘Take note, you notaries, that what he affirms he did not say is nevertheless present in the minutes. In this matter it is you who are under accusation, and the matters will be meticulously investigated in good time.’

780. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘Now is the time to be found guilty or not guilty. The most holy bishops present who also heard this statement are here. Your greatness has often heard the minutes, as have the high dignitaries, in the presence of many most holy bishops, and your magnificence never found fault nor ...’

781. While he was speaking the most magnificent patrician said: ‘When were the minutes read to me, so that I could find fault? They were not given to me even when I asked for them to be read.’

782. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘No one told us.’

Likewise by the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

783 [= 550]. *All the holy synod rose and exclaimed: ‘Faith under compulsion is not faith. Many years to the emperors! To the orthodox emperors many years! Your faith is always victorious. He does not assent; why try to persuade him?’*

784. After the reading Constantine the most devout deacon said: ‘Did the synod say this?’

785. Aetius the most devout deacon said: ‘Let the holy synod be questioned.’

786. Sabas the most devout bishop said: ‘He was anathematized before all the ecclesiastics. Did the anathema not reach one corner?’

787. Trypho the most devout bishop said: ‘I say the same.’

788. Constantine the most devout deacon said: ‘The statement of the grounds for the archimandrite’s deposition is missing. The lord our archbishop made this demand to him, “Say two natures after the union, and anathematize those who do not say it.” It was when he refused to anathematize, saying “Woe is me if I anathematize the holy fathers!” that he carried out his deposition. This statement is missing, but was then read.<sup>296</sup> The lord Bishop Basil, when the archimandrite was asked, “Do you say two natures?” and replied, “I acknowledge one nature”,<sup>297</sup> – the lord Bishop Basil at once interjected, “The formula ‘one nature of the Word incarnate’ is attributed to Saint Athanasius also.” This also is missing. Another thing: the lord Bishop Seleucus said, “Let our declarations be read, to see if the archimandrite agrees with them.” Our lord archbishop ordered them to be read, but the most religious presbyter Asterius rose immediately and read the sentence of deposition; this also is missing.’

789. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Sitting near me, the most God-beloved Seleucus said, “Let your holiness order that the declarations of us all concerning the faith be read, and that the most devout Eutyches say if he agrees with them.” After this remark I told the most holy Archbishop Flavian to order the reading, and he indeed proposed that the declarations be read. None of this was done, but

<sup>296</sup> Eutyches’ statement is in the minutes (535), but not the preceding words of Flavian.  
<sup>297</sup> Cf. 542 and 546.

immediately the sentence was read. The most God-beloved bishops Seleucus and Basil know this.’

790. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘I remember having proposed it.’

791. Basil the most devout bishop said: ‘I say as in the presence of the Truth that I cannot remember what I said word for word, because it was a long time ago. But when my lord and the synod said, “Do you say that two natures are to be acknowledged in the Lord, Godhead and manhood?” and the archimandrite replied, “I say that the Lord Jesus Christ is from two natures before the union but after the union I say one nature”, I remember that I interjected some reflection like this, “If you say from two natures before the union but say one nature after the union without qualification, you incur the suspicion of implying confusion and mixture.” I remember being distracted after this and expressing my thoughts Christ knows how. Wishing to calm the lord archbishop and gently induce the archimandrite to agree with us, I said, “If you ascribe to God the Word one nature incarnate and made man, you say the same as we and the fathers, for it is clear that the Godhead from the Father is one thing, and the flesh from his mother with which he enfleshed himself another.’<sup>298</sup>

792. Aetius deacon and notary said: ‘Many things are often said in synod by the most holy bishops present in the way of ordinary conversation or suggestions that we are not told to write down.’

793. Longinus the most devout bishop said: ‘This was said, is in the minutes, and was read and re-read.’

794. Constantine the most devout deacon said: ‘The sentence of deposition that was read was not composed at the time, but was composed before the archimandrite even arrived at the bishop’s palace.’

795. Aetius the deacon said: ‘We demand that he testify where he heard this and that he prove if it is true.’

796. Bishop Seleucus said: ‘If there is now to be an investigation of matters canonical, the most devout deacon Constantine would have to bring a charge against the sentence, ourselves and the notaries, and we would have to meet formally for the investigation. But since at this moment our most pious emperor has ordered us to investigate the falsification of the minutes, I consider that now is not the time to discuss the matter.’

298 To Basil’s account at this point cf. 543–6.

797. Constantine the deacon said: ‘This is not contained in the minutes.’<sup>299</sup>

798. Basil the most devout bishop said: ‘Because the most devout Constantine has reminded me of my statement, lest I endanger my soul by denying it, I indeed said it, but I said it then in discussion and not as uttering a judgement. The most devout Bishop Eusebius of course, suspecting that I was prompting the archimandrite, appeared to get angry with me.’

799. Aetius the most devout deacon and notary said: ‘We request that the most holy Bishop Seleucus say if the statement he says he made about the need for the definitions to be read was intended for inclusion in the minutes.’

800. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Did the most God-beloved Bishop Seleucus or anyone else say what needed to be recorded and what did not?’

801. Aetius the most devout deacon and notary said: ‘Since we have heard that he said it, be so good as ...’

802. While he was speaking, Constantine the most devout deacon said: ‘The archimandrite heard it, but *you* didn’t hear it?’

803. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘I remember speaking to that effect, but as it happened, the uproar got worse and not all my statement was written down.’

804. Constantine the most devout deacon said: ‘I have already said that the lord our archbishop asked the archimandrite, “Do you say two natures after the union, and do you anathematize those who do not say two natures?” These words are not in the minutes. This is why he was deposed, for not anathematizing.’

805. The most devout Bishop Thalassius said: ‘The holy synod has heard the statement of Constantine the most devout deacon. The holy synod will declare if it is aware of the most God-beloved and holy Flavian having said this.’

806. Basil the most devout bishop said: ‘We remember that Eusebius the most devout bishop accused him more than once of not affirming two natures after the union. We also remember him [Flavian] saying, “Do you hear what he is saying to you and what he is proposing to you? What do you say to it?”’

807. Constantine the deacon said: ‘Did you not hear these very words from our master the archbishop?’

299 The discussion reverts to Basil’s statement at 791.

808. Basil the most devout bishop said: ‘At the opening of the fourth session the most devout Bishop Eusebius said to the monk, “Do you say two natures after the union, and that our Lord Jesus Christ is consubstantial with us as regards the flesh?” [490]. He added: “Do you anathematize those who do not hold this?” The lord archbishop questioned him as to whether he was ready to affirm what the accuser was proposing to him. But there was such an uproar at the end that I truly don’t remember if the most God-beloved archbishop made such a proposal.’

809. Constantine the most devout deacon said: ‘I ask your holy synod: did you hear my master the archbishop say, “Do you say two natures...”’

810. While he was speaking, Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘[I remember] that this was said during the examination, either by the most God-beloved Eusebius or by our holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Flavian, but at what moment the question about the natures was posed, I don’t remember.’

811. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘I also remember the most holy archbishop then saying, “Do you acknowledge two natures even after the union?” And the other replied, “Since there is a book of writings by Saint Athanasius and other bishops that does not contain this, I hesitate to say it.”’<sup>300</sup>

812. Aetius the most devout deacon and notary said: ‘The question was posed by the most God-beloved Eusebius during the session.’

813. Timothy the most devout bishop said: ‘I heard it as the most God-beloved Bishop Basil has related.’

814. Julian the most devout bishop said: ‘Because there was an uproar I don’t remember who said it.’

815. Eudoxius the most devout bishop said: ‘I remember that the most devout Bishop Eusebius said it, and that the most holy archbishop expressed his approval and pressed the archimandrite to assent to what Eusebius had said.’

816. Longinus the most devout bishop said: ‘I affirm as in the presence of God that I cannot remember, because there was confusion and those of us who were at the back didn’t know what was going on at the front.’

817. Sabas the most devout bishop said: ‘I remember that I said to the archimandrite, “If you do not acknowledge that the one Only-

300 This clearly relates to 541–4, where, however, the role assigned here to Flavian is attributed to Florentius.



begotten is from two natures, you deny either the dispensation or the Godhead.””

818. Constantine the most devout deacon said: ‘When the sentence of deposition was read, Eutyches appealed to the holy council of the most holy bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica. This too is not in the minutes.’

819. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘During the uproar that followed the closing of the synod, he said to me softly that he would appeal to the synods of Rome, Egypt and Jerusalem. I judged it improper that this should be unknown to the most holy and God-beloved Flavian, so I went and told him.’

820. Basil the most devout bishop said: ‘I affirm as in the presence of the truth that, when the session convened and the synod proposed that he should affirm that in the case of the one Lord the two natures are undivided and unconfused even after the union, I know that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches said, “If the fathers of Rome and Alexandria order me to, I will make this very statement.” He didn’t say this as if intending an appeal but as meaning, “I do not dare to say this because of the fathers.”’

821. The most holy bishop of this glorious city said: ‘I didn’t hear this from him but from the most magnificent and glorious former consul and patrician, after I had gone to the upper lodging after the dissolution of the synod.’

822. The most magnificent patrician said: ‘Let the other most holy bishops say if they knew that the most devout man the monk was making an appeal.’

823. Julian the most devout bishop said: ‘As in the presence of God, I did not hear such a statement by Eutyches the monk at the session.’

824. Seleucus the most devout bishop said: ‘For as long as the session and the inquiry lasted, we were unaware that the archimandrite Eutyches had said anything about an appeal. It was said by the most devout bishops, and we testify the same.’

Likewise by the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

825 [= 551–2]. *The most holy archbishop said: ‘Eutyches, formerly presbyter and archimandrite, is revealed in every way, by both his past actions and his present testimony, to be riddled with the heresies of Valentinus and Apollinarius and to be incorrigible in following their blasphemies. Scorning our exhortation and teaching, he has*

*refused to assent to the orthodox doctrines. For this reason, as we moan and weep for his total perdition, we have decreed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he has blasphemed, that he is deprived of all sacerdotal rank, of communion with us, and of the headship of a monastery. All persons who in future speak with him or visit him are informed that they too will incur the penalty of excommunication for failing to avoid his company.'*

*The Signatures*

*Flavian bishop of Constantinople Rome, I have given my sentence and signed. – And the other bishops and archimandrites signed.*

826. The most magnificent patrician said: 'Let everything be brought to the knowledge of the imperial clemency.'

827. Aetius the most devout deacon and notary said: 'Up till this moment we have defended ourselves to the best of our ability, and after repeated readings no one has found fault with us. A while back, when the documents were still with us, our colleague the presbyter and notary Asterius, who works with us and in our company, came and removed all our papers, both the memoranda and the originals; there has now been a period of two or three months when we have had none of them in our possession. If in future anything is mooted or initiated or discussed about this present business, that we be discharged ...'

828. Flavius Florentius the most magnificent and glorious former prefect of the city, former praetorian prefect for the sixth time, former consul and patrician said: 'Let this too be included in the present minutes, so that it comes to the knowledge of the imperial authority.'

*(Constantinople, 27 April 449, Eutyches' appeal)<sup>301</sup>*

829. In the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Protogenes and the one to be designated, five days before the Kalends of May, at Constantinople, by imperial decree, under the cognizance of Martialis the most magnificent count and master of the divine offices, assisted by Carterius the admirable count and first secretary of the divine office of complaints and judicial investigations, and with the participation of Macedonius the admirable tribune, notary and referendary and of

301 It is clear from 865 that these minutes (829–49) have been misplaced and were read out, at least at Ephesus II, at that stage of the proceedings.

Magnus the hallowed silentiary, with Constantine the most devout monk and deacon.

830. The most devout Constantine said: ‘The most devout archimandrite Eutyches has sent a petition to our most pious master containing various matters. This has been signed by their piety<sup>302</sup> and been received by the admirable tribune and referendary. I request that he present it and read the petition, and that he make known the will of their piety.’

831. Flavius Areobindas Martialis the most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: ‘Let the decision of the imperial clemency be made known to our understanding by the admirable tribune and notary.’

832. Macedonius tribune, notary and referendary said: ‘The most devout archimandrite Eutyches in a petition he presented has informed the imperial divinity of certain matters, and their serenity has deigned to give orders that at the tribunal of your magnificence, after a reading of the petition, the hallowed silentiary Magnus will testify what he knows pertaining to this case.’

833. The most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: ‘Let the petition presented to the invincible emperors by Eutyches the most devout presbyter be received and read.’

By Euethius the hallowed *exceptor* of the divine office of complaints and divine investigations there was read:

834. *To our pious, most faithful and Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Valentinian perpetual Augusti from Eutyches the archimandrite.*

*From the beginning and from of old your piety has not been ignorant of my faith, pure and irreproachable in orthodoxy. When a false accusation of unorthodoxy was forged against me by Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum and a plot devised, you deigned to decree that at my appearance at the session your most wondrous silentiary Magnus would assist me, for reasons of security. When he went to the bishop’s palace and announced my arrival, he heard various things from the most religious Bishop Flavian about my condemnation, and witnessed them.<sup>303</sup> I therefore beg your serenity to deign to decree, if it please your piety, that the same most wondrous silentiary Magnus*

302 ‘Their piety’, since Theodosius II acted in the name of both himself and his western colleague Valentinian III.

303 For Magnus’ arrival at the Home Synod see 463–6.

*compose a written and truthful testimony of what, as I have already said, he heard and witnessed. If I obtain this, I shall constantly offer up to God the customary prayers for your prosperity, O most pious and Christ-loving emperors.*

835. The most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: ‘Let the divine annotation be read.’

By the same hallowed *exceptor* there was read:

836. *Let the hallowed Magnus the silentiary testify before the most magnificent master of the divine offices everything he knows pertaining to this case.*

837. The most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: ‘It is imperative to fulfil all the commands of the imperial clemency. Let therefore the hallowed silentiary Magnus testify what he knows, in accordance with the divine order.’

838. Magnus the hallowed silentiary said: ‘I was sent many times by our most divine and pious master to Archbishop Flavian concerning the presence of the most magnificent and glorious former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius at the synod which was about to take place<sup>304</sup> in the episcopal palace of this imperial city. The archbishop postponed it, saying: “There is no need for the same most magnificent former prefect, former consul and patrician Florentius to take the trouble to come here, for a sentence has already been delivered on the case, and the monk Eutyches has been deposed, because he did not heed a second summons.” They finally brought me a document containing his deposition.’<sup>305</sup>

839. The most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: ‘Let the testimony of Magnus the hallowed silentiary be included in the public minutes.’

840. Constantine monk and deacon said: ‘I request in addition that the lord silentiary Magnus testify that the deposition took place prior to the synod.’

304 The reference, as at 842 below, is to the seventh session of 22 November.

305 Eutyches, on failing to respond to the second summons of 15 November (380), was first told to present himself in response to the third summons on 17 November (404), but was then granted a respite until 22 November (444), when he appeared together with Florentius (465, 475). Flavian clearly drew up Eutyches’ condemnation during this pause in the proceedings.

841. The most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: 'Let him testify what he knows.'

842. Magnus the hallowed silentiary said: 'I have already said that it was prior to the synod that he showed me Eutyches' sentence of deposition.'

843. The most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: 'Let this testimony as well be inserted in the minutes.'

844. Constantine monk and deacon said: 'I request in addition that the admirable tribune and referendary testify what he heard from the most devout presbyter and notary Asterius.'

845. The most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: 'Even though this part of your request is in no way contained in your petition, nevertheless may the admirable tribune and referendary, if he so wish, according to his own choice, testify what he knows.'

846. Macedonius the admirable tribune, notary and referendary said: 'A short time ago our most divine and pious emperor ordered that the bishops convene with Florentius, in all respects the most magnificent and glorious former prefect, former consul and patrician, since the most devout archimandrite Eutyches had presented a petition in which he criticized both the existing acts, as having been maliciously altered by the notaries, and various things that ensued at the synod that took place. As I was leaving, I met Asterius the presbyter and notary, who adjured me to hear what he had to say. He accused the most devout Abramius and the notaries of having altered certain paragraphs of the minutes, and said that, suspecting such malice, he felt compelled, albeit reluctantly, to denounce their crime.'<sup>306</sup>

847. Flavius Areobindas Martialis the most magnificent count and master of the divine offices said: 'Let this testimony likewise be inserted in the minutes and published.'

848.<sup>307</sup> Flavius Carterius the *clarus* count and first secretary of the divine office of complaints and divine investigations: I ordered the publication of the minutes.

849. Flavius Euethius, the hallowed *exceptor* of the divine office of complaints and divine investigations: I have published the minutes.

306 Hefele-Leclercq, II.1, 554, expresses scepticism as to this act of treachery by Asterius towards his colleagues, but see 827.

307 This and the following paragraph are not remarks made at the hearing but annotations written in the minutes.

*(Ephesus II)*

850. After the reading of the minutes Basil bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘I adhere to the faith of the holy fathers at Nicaea and those of Ephesus who again confirmed it, and I repudiate those whose beliefs contradict in any way the decrees of Nicaea or Ephesus. I anathematize those who divide our one Lord Jesus Christ into two natures or hypostases or persons after the union. I criticize and impugn the declaration I made about the two natures in the minutes of the proceedings in the imperial city, and I worship the one nature of the Godhead of the Only-begotten made man and enfleshed.’<sup>308</sup>

*(Chalcedon)*

851. While this was being read, Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘I do not need other witnesses. Through the blessed Bishop John I asked my declaration to be corrected, because I feared you, most devout Dioscorus; for you then applied great pressure on us, partly external and partly in what you said.’<sup>309</sup> Armed soldiers burst into the church, and there were arrayed Barsaumas and his monks, *parabalani*,<sup>310</sup> and a great miscellaneous mob. Let everyone testify on oath, let the Egyptian bishop Auxonius testify on oath, let Athanasius testify on oath, if I did not say, “No, lord, do not destroy the good repute of the whole world.”

852. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Did I coerce you?’

853. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘Yes, you drove us to such a murderous crime<sup>311</sup> by means of the threats of the mob after the deposition of the blessed Flavian. From the way he is now disrupting the whole council you can guess what force he applied then, when he

308 Basil had already (at 546) tried to excuse himself for his dyophysite statement in the minutes of the synod of 448 (at 545).

309 Basil had in fact already changed sides earlier in the year: in a letter written before the council (*ep.* 102) Theodoret rebuked him for yielding to pressure and declining to defend him against the supporters of Eutyches.

310 The *parabalani* were members of a voluntary society dedicated in the first place to the care of the sick and existing in Alexandria and many other cities. ‘Apart from their work of charity they were used to overawe sessions of the law courts or of the council. They attended the games presumably to lead demonstrations’ (Liebeschutz 2001, 146–7). See also *ODB* 3, 1582, ‘Parabalani’.

311 This and similar statements in the Acts suggested to Byzantine historians that Flavian was lynched at Ephesus and died as a result, but see Chadwick 1955, esp. 19–20.

had control of everything, including the sentence. Six of them<sup>312</sup> are left, and yet he can throw us all into disarray.’

854. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘My notary Demetrianus is ready to prove that you asked him secretly to alter your statement.’

855. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘I ask your magnificence that each of the metropolitan bishops, those of Lycaonia, Phrygia, Perge and the others, come here and affirm on the gospels if, after the deposition of the blessed Flavian, when we were all downcast, some of us not daring to raise our voices and others slipping away, he did not rise up and stand on high, while he declared, “Look! If anyone refuses to sign, he has me to reckon with.” Let the lord Eusebius [of Ancyra] testify on oath if he did not run the risk of being deposed because he delayed his sentence for a short time.’

856. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Before we had even examined the case of Flavian he impugned his own sentence and asked for it to be nullified.’<sup>313</sup>

857. Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: ‘If any accusation has been lodged against me, give orders that I be informed of it, so that I can make my response to him.’

858. Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium said: ‘After the reading of all those documents that have now been read again, a canon was read which laid down that no one was to inquire into the faith, neither bishop nor cleric, for he would be deposed, while if he was a layman he would be excommunicated.’<sup>314</sup> I said to the bishops sitting near me, “This canon has been read for no other reason than to depose Bishop Flavian.” There were with me the most devout Marinianus bishop of Synnada and the lord Epiphanius of Perge. He of Perge said to me, “God forbid! If there is room for resentment, it ought to be directed against Eusebius, for there are no grounds for anger or precipitate action against Flavian.” After the reading of this canon he immediately said, “Send the notaries here”, and the decree deposing the blessed Flavian was produced and read. Taking some other bishops with me, I went up and clasped his knees, while I said, “No, by the presence of your religiousness; he has done nothing to deserve deposition. If he deserves reprimand, let him be reprimanded.” But, rising from his seat

312 The reference appears to be to six attendants in Dioscorus’ suite.

313 He is referring to Basil’s switch to a miaphysite stance at 850.

314 Canon 7 of the First Council of Ephesus, given below at 943.

and standing on his footstool, he said, “Are you stirring up faction against me? Call the counts.”<sup>315</sup> At this we took fright and signed.’

859. Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria said: ‘He is lying. Let him pay the penalty. {I did not say, “Call the counts.”}<sup>316</sup> Call your witnesses!’

860. Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada stood up, and Dioscorus the most devout bishop said to him: ‘Did I threaten you with the words “Bring the counts here”?’

861. Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada said: ‘When he was about to pronounce sentence, I myself, the lord Onesiphorus, the lord Nunechius of Laodicea and others went up and clasped his feet, while we said, “You too have presbyters; the lord bishop ought not to be deposed because of a presbyter.”<sup>317</sup> Then he said, “Even if they cut out my tongue, I will not pronounce a different sentence.” Then a crowd burst in, while we continued to clasp his knees and entreat him. He uttered these words, “Where are the counts?” – as I love the truth. The counts entered, and they led in the proconsul<sup>318</sup> with fetters and with a great crowd, and then each of us signed.’

862. Dioscorus the most devout bishop said: ‘There were not merely ten, twenty, thirty, or a hundred people present; I can produce witnesses from among them that nothing he has said is true. But since your magnificence is tired, if it seems good to you, let us have an adjournment, and we can return later to whatever investigation is necessary.’

863. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the rest be read.’

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read from the same document:

*(Ephesus II)*

864. Bishop Seleucus said: ‘I give my assent and accord to that which was defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus, and

315 The counts Heliadius and Eulogius, sent by Theodosius II to keep order at the council (see 49).

316 Supplied from the Latin version.

317 For the inferior rights of mere presbyters consider the different fates of Dioscorus and Eutyches: Dioscorus was deposed only after a full conciliar trial, but Eutyches was deposed and imprisoned by imperial fiat as soon as Marcian came to the throne, despite the decree of Ephesus II in his favour.

318 Proclus, for whose responsibility for maintaining order at the council see the imperial mandate at 50.



I criticize the statement I made at illustrious Constantinople, to the effect that our Lord must be declared in two natures after the union.<sup>319</sup> I anathematize those who divide our Lord Jesus Christ into two natures or two hypostases or two persons after the union, and I consider them excluded from ecclesiastical communion.'

865. Eutyches the archimandrite said: 'Your religiousness must have seen that the text read out has shown that the previous minutes were falsified. We also have now the testimony of the most wondrous silentiary Magnus in the presence of the most magnificent master [Martialis], and we ask that it be read.'<sup>320</sup>

866. Flavian bishop of Constantinople said: 'It is false.'<sup>321</sup>

867. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'If the most God-beloved Bishop Flavian knows anything that supports his supposition, let it be stated in writing.'

868. Flavian bishop of Constantinople said: 'You have barred me from making any plea in defence.'

869. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'The present holy synod knows if I have barred you from anything. If you know anything that supports your case, say it.'

870. Flavian bishop of Constantinople said: 'I am not permitted to speak.'

871. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'No one has prevented you, as the holy synod knows.'

872. Flavian bishop of Constantinople said: 'The second act contains no forgery, as my lord Thalassius knows and my lord Eusebius knows.'<sup>322</sup>

873. Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'No one has prevented your sacredness from speaking. If you have anything to say in support, say it.'

874. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Lord Eusebius, tell me: have I prevented him from speaking?'

319 See 545. But at the same time Basil had expressed toleration of moderate miaphysite formulae, to the fury of Eusebius of Dorylaeum; see 546, 754, 791, 798.

320 It is at this point that the minutes of the hearing of 27 April, given above at 829–49, must have been read out at Ephesus.

321 Flavian could be objecting to the evidence given by the silentiary Magnus at the hearing of 27 April that he (Flavian) had drawn up Eutyches' condemnation before granting him a hearing (838–42), but the context (864–77) implies that he is referring to the charge (846) that the minutes of the Home Synod of 448 had been falsified.

322 Flavian, who makes the same point more fully at 877 below, is referring to the synod of 13 April 449 (555–828 above) which, despite the claims of Eutyches, failed to prove that the minutes of the Home Synod of 448 had misrepresented him.

875. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘As God knows, we wish you to speak.’

876. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Speak even now, if you want to.’

877. Flavian bishop of Constantinople said: ‘The session was held before the lord Thalassius and the lord Eusebius and in the presence of Magnus the silentiary, an investigation was made, and no such thing was proved. Each of the bishops then present has affirmed as before God what he heard, and they spoke the truth.’

878. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Lord Bishop Stephen, say if I have prevented him.’

879. Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: ‘Well, where is he? If you have prevented him, let him say so.’

880. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I ask you all to say if I have prevented him.’

881. The holy synod said: ‘We have not prevented him.’

882. Flavian bishop of Constantinople said: ‘I declare by God that nothing in the proceedings affects me, for I have never held a different view or opinion, nor shall I in future.’<sup>323</sup>

883. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Now that the proceedings are known, let each of the holy bishops present say what he thinks about the faith of the archimandrite Eutyches, and what is his sentence on him.’

884. (1) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘In his constant declarations that he follows the definition of faith of the council at Nicaea and the acts of the previous great and holy council at Ephesus,<sup>324</sup> I have found him most orthodox in his statements. It is my sentence<sup>325</sup> and my wish that he serve in his monastery and in his rank.’

The holy council said: ‘This judgement is just.’<sup>326</sup>

(2) Domnus bishop of Antioch said: ‘Some time ago on the basis of missives from the holy synod that was convened in the imperial city

323 Flavian is defiantly refusing to moderate his view of Eutyches, despite the evidence presented in his favour.

324 Juvenal and the bishops who follow all refer to Eutyches’ plaint and profession of orthodoxy given above at 157, 164, 185.

325 The Greek word is ψηφίζομαι, standardly translated ‘vote’. But this is misleading, since it suggests deceptively that councils had a system of majority voting. In fact, what each bishop pronounced in turn was not a vote but a sentence (indeed the Latin version translates ψηφισ as *sententia*); the system depended on unanimity.

326 The procedure is that Juvenal speaks first as the senior bishop present (after the chairman), and his sentence is promptly confirmed by acclamation. It is then confirmed by the individual sentences delivered by each bishop in turn.

concerning the most devout archimandrite Eutyches I signed his sentence of deposition, but in the document which he has submitted more recently to the holy council convened in this metropolis of Ephesus he has declared his adherence to the creed of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and to the previous council that was likewise convened in this metropolis of Ephesus. Therefore I too agree with your sacredness that he should regain both presbyteral rank and the government of the most devout brethren in his charge.’

(3) Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: ‘The document from the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches that has been submitted and read has proved his correct opinions and orthodox faith. Therefore, following the sentence of the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop Juvenal, I too agree and consent to his being presbyter and archimandrite.’

(4) Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima said: ‘I praise and approve the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches for holding no tenets contrary to the council at Nicaea and for never violating the teaching of the holy council [at Ephesus]. Welcoming him back, I wish him to hold presbyteral rank.’

(5) Eusebius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘Since the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, like everyone else, believes in accord with the most holy council of Ephesus, which confirmed the decrees of Nicaea, I hold him to be orthodox and not excluded from the catholic church. I consider it right that one who is unimpeachable in his beliefs, I mean the aforesaid most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, should not be deprived of priestly dignity and the government of monks.’

(6) Cyrus bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria said: ‘The document that has been submitted and read out from the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has proved his adherence to the faith of the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and here. Therefore I too confirm the sentence of the holy fathers that he should hold presbyteral dignity and the government of his monastery.’

(7)<sup>327</sup> Erasistratus bishop of Corinth in Hellas said: ‘The most devout archimandrite Eutyches has shown in his document that he has always

327 From here on the extant Greek text abbreviates, giving (save at §11) only the names of the rest of the bishops; but the Latin preserves the full original text, which we translate here, following the numeration in Schwartz’s Latin text where it differs from that in the Greek.

believed the tenets of the orthodox faith and followed the definitions of the most holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, which were confirmed by the most holy council that met formerly in this metropolis. Therefore I too confirm that he should both enjoy presbyteral dignity and preside over the monastery where he has always served.'

(8) Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, also representing Anastasius the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, said: 'From the document submitted to this holy and great council by the most devout man the archimandrite Eutyches I have found him rightly holding the faith defined by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea and also the acts of the holy council that convened here to condemn the impious Nestorius. Therefore, necessarily accepting this his statement of faith, I judge him worthy of both the presbyterate and the headship of his monastery.'

(9) Meletius bishop of the city of Larissa, also representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea, said: 'I too agree with the sentences of the most holy fathers, for I have seen from what has been read that his faith is orthodox. I therefore judge him worthy of his former priesthood and the governorship of his monastery.'

(10) Cyriacus bishop of Trocnades, also representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus in Galatia Secunda, said: 'The most holy presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has appealed by a document to the holy council and given information that he shares the faith of the 318 holy fathers and follows the holy council at Ephesus. We have found him orthodox, and wish him to have both presbyteral rank and headship over monks. I have declared this on behalf both of myself and of the aforesaid metropolitan, because he is gravely ill.'

(11) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: 'From the declarations of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches we have learnt that he too assents to the faith defined by the fathers at Nicaea and by the holy fathers who assembled in this renowned city of Ephesus, and I judge that, since he holds these beliefs, he should enjoy priestly dignity and look after his monastery according to his previous custom.'

(12) John bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia Prima said: 'This is right belief, to follow the holy fathers. Therefore the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, since he follows the faith defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and the concordant teaching of the holy fathers at Ephesus, is orthodox, and is worthy of presiding over his monastery and enjoying the priesthood according to his previous custom.'

(13) Basil bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: 'From the document submitted by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches to the holy council now assembled according to the operation of the Holy Spirit I acknowledge him to hold the same beliefs as the fathers who met at Nicaea and at the previous council at Ephesus, and restore to him, as do the preceding fathers, both presbyteral rank and the headship of his monastery.'

(14) Theodore bishop of the city of Tarsus said: 'We recognize, both from the document he has submitted and from his profession of faith contained in the acts, that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches follows the faith of the holy fathers which was defined at Nicaea and confirmed by those who lately met at Ephesus. It is right that he should enjoy the priesthood and preside over his monastery, since this is the decision of all this holy council.'

(15) Romanus bishop of the city of Myra in the province of Lycia said: 'The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, since he follows the faith of the holy fathers, should both enjoy presbyteral dignity and preside over his most devout monastery.'

(16) Photius bishop of Tyre said: 'It is fitting and entirely appropriate that one who follows the orthodox faith which was defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and confirmed by the holy council which formerly assembled at Ephesus should enjoy his priestly dignity, and we decree that he should exercise his habitual care of his monastery. For it is right that he who is illustrious for orthodox faith and distinction of life should enjoy as before every dignity that was bestowed on him by divine grace.'

(17) Theodore bishop of the city of Damascus said: 'From the document recently presented by the most devout man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches we have seen that he assents to the creed of the holy fathers at Nicaea and to the council which met subsequently in this glorious city of Ephesus. Therefore I too decree as do the holy fathers, and judge that he should hold presbyteral priesthood and the headship of his monastery.'

(18) Julian bishop of Tavium said: 'The concord, inspired by the grace of God, of the 318 fathers who assembled in the city of Nicaea and accurately defined the dogmas, is acknowledged by all who do not reject the laws of piety to have clearly been the voice of the Holy Spirit. And as for the dogmas confirmed by the council that convened not long ago in this illustrious metropolis – just as those previous fathers at the beginning wrote at the dictation of the Spirit, so those after them, venerating

their work, ratified it in a meticulous decree. It is therefore right and in accordance with piety that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, since he affirms with a clear voice the definitions of the fathers at Nicaea, confirmed by those at Ephesus, should enjoy priestly dignity and hold the sacred headship over those professing a better life.'

(19) Florentius bishop of Lydia said: 'The most devout man the archimandrite Eutyches has presented a document in which he pledges that he adheres to the faith of the holy council at Nicaea and of that which lately met in the metropolis of Ephesus, adding to this that he anathematizes every heresy listed in the document and affirms from the heart the profession of faith contained in his document, as in the presence of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I too, in agreement with the preceding speakers, decree that he should be honoured with the presbyteral title and preside over his community according to his previous custom.'

(20) Marinianus bishop of Synnada said: 'The most devout archimandrite Eutyches promises in his document to follow both the holy council at Nicaea and that which was subsequently defined at Ephesus concerning these matters by the most blessed and holy Cyril and the holy council with him. He should therefore enjoy presbyteral office and our communion and preside over his monastery which lives in accordance with God.'

(21) Musonius bishop of the city of Nyssa said: 'The document presented by that religious man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and the declarations inserted in the acts prove that he is a guardian of the faith of the 318 and of the decree of the holy fathers at Ephesus. Therefore, because of his orthodox faith, I judge it right that he should enjoy the priesthood and preside over those most devout men his monks.'

(22) Constantine bishop of the city of Bostra said: 'From the reading of the acts and from the document submitted by the most devout man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches it has been made clear that his beliefs follow the orthodox faith defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea, that is, the 318, and by those holy fathers who assembled at Ephesus. Therefore I too consider it right that he should hold presbyteral priesthood and the headship of his monastery.'

(23) John bishop of the city of Nicopolis in Armenia Prima said: 'From the document presented to the most holy council by the most devout man the presbyter Eutyches we recognize that his opinions are orthodox according to the teaching of the holy fathers who convened at

Nicaea and formerly at Ephesus. We too give the same sentence as the most holy council, judging him to be worthy to exercise priesthood and preside over his monastery.'

(24) Acacius bishop of Ariaratheia in Armenia Secunda, also representing Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, said: 'The most religious and holy presbyter Eutyches, through both the document he presented and his present declarations, has proved that his beliefs are orthodox in accord with our 318 fathers at Nicaea and those who subsequently met at Ephesus. He is therefore worthy of being received into the priesthood and holding the headship of his monastery.'

(25) Stephen bishop of the city of Hierapolis said: 'I agree with the excellent decrees of our holy fathers concerning the most religious man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, because I am convinced by what has been read that he is orthodox. I therefore judge that he is worthy to hold priestly rank and the headship of his monastery.'

(26) Atticus bishop of the city of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus said: 'We should be content with the declarations of our most holy and excellent fathers, in which they are even now found to concur, since no change is now permitted in the former decrees of the holy fathers, both those who met in their time in the city of Nicaea and those in this God-beloved metropolis of Ephesus, whose leader and teacher was our then father Cyril, worthy of all praise and thrice blessed among the angels, who made the holy mystery of our faith illustrious through the world. It is truly fitting for pious and faithful men to live according to the faith of the holy fathers. Therefore I too declare that, especially from the acts lately read to us and from the document delivered by hand to this holy and ecumenical council, we have found the most devout man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches to concur with the definitions of the holy fathers. It is right, according to the sentence of the holy fathers, which is a true one, that he should be presbyter and hold the God-given headship of his monastery.'

(27) Eustathius bishop of Berytus said: 'So piously has that scrupulous man the most devout archimandrite Eutyches expounded the doctrine of the faith that he compels all the present holy council to make sacred and concordant statements and to rejoice together that this is the faith of the fathers. Who then is so far from piety as to refuse to such a man the enjoyment both of priestly rank and the headship of his monastery?'

(28) Nunechius bishop of Laodicea Trimitaria said: 'According to the document he has presented, the most devout man Eutyches, presbyter

and archimandrite, follows the exposition of faith of the holy fathers at Nicaea and of those most holy men who formerly assembled in this illustrious city. It is therefore right and appropriate, and fitting to this most clement council, that he should enjoy priestly rank and rule his monastery, as the holy fathers have decreed.'

(29) Olympius bishop of Constantia on the island of Cyprus said: 'I too agree with the decree of your holiness for the reinstatement of the most devout man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.'

(30) Candidianus bishop of Antioch in Pisidia said: 'I agree with the pious and canonical decrees of the most holy and religious fathers concerning the most devout man Eutyches, presbyter and archimandrite.'

(31) Stephen bishop of Anazarbus said: 'It has been clearly proved from what has just been read that the pious man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches believes nothing contrary to the holy fathers but has repeatedly declared that his beliefs accord with the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and the most holy bishops who subsequently assembled in this city. I therefore pronounce the same sentence as the holy fathers, that he should recover his presbyteral dignity and priesthood and the care of his monastery.'

(32) Gerontius bishop of Seleucia in Syria said: 'From the document presented by the most religious man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches we have found him to assent to the holy councils at Nicaea and Ephesus, and we wish him to hold presbyteral dignity and also to preside as usual over the most religious monks in his charge.'

(33) Rufinus bishop of the city of Samosata said: 'From the document presented by the most religious man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, which has been read in the presence of the holy council, I have found his beliefs to concur with the holy councils at Nicaea and Ephesus. I am in agreement with the holy fathers, and wish him to hold presbyteral dignity and to preside as usual over the monks in his charge.'

(34) Indimus bishop of Irenopolis said: 'From everything that has now been read, we are all satisfied with the declarations of the most religious man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, because his beliefs follow the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and those who met in this metropolis, and in no way transgress the divine canons. Therefore I too pronounce the same sentence as the holy fathers, and decree that he should have both presbyteral dignity and the headship of his monastery.'

(35) Timothy bishop of Balaneae said: 'Since a document has been



presented by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches in which he declares that he assents, and is loyal, to the faith defined by the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea in their time and lately in the city of Ephesus, I too declare, as the holy fathers have resolved, that he should have the dignity both of presbyter and of archimandrite.’

(36) Theodosius bishop of the city of Canatha said: ‘I follow and embrace the command of the holy fathers for the reinstatement of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, for this sentence has been pronounced by God through the holy council. At the same time I decree that he should recover his position as presbyter and archimandrite.’

(37) Eutychius bishop of Hadrianopolis in Epirus Vetus said: ‘As the holy fathers have decided, I find from the proceedings in the imperial city of Constantinople and from the document submitted by the most God-beloved presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches that his beliefs do not transgress what was defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and confirmed in most God-beloved Ephesus; and so my lowliness concurs with the sentence that he should enjoy the presbyterate and preside over his monastery as before. For my most holy father and metropolitan bishop Atticus<sup>328</sup> has made the same declaration as the holy fathers about the aforesaid most devout presbyter and archimandrite.’

(38) Claudius bishop of Anchiasmus in Epirus Vetus said: ‘Since our most God-beloved and holy metropolitan bishop Atticus has made a declaration in agreement with this holy and great council, I too make a declaration which follows that of his holiness on behalf of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.’

(39) Symeon bishop of the city of Amida in the province of Mesopotamia said: ‘On the basis of those documents that were lately read and carefully approved in this holy council, which has ratified all the proceedings in the case of the most religious Eutyches presbyter and archimandrite,<sup>329</sup> I too follow what has been decreed by their holinesses, that the same most religious presbyter Eutyches should recover his old presbyteral rank and hold the headship of his monastery.’

(40) Seleucus bishop of Amaseia said: ‘Since the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches assents to what was defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and to what was confirmed at Ephesus, I judge it

328 See §26 above for the declaration of Bishop Atticus of Nicopolis.

329 All that Symeon means is that the bishops have ratified the initial sentence pronounced by Juvenal of Jerusalem at §1.

right that the same most devout man should hold priestly ministry and headship over monks.'

(41) Peter bishop of the city of Gangra said: 'I too concur with the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers in the case of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.'

(42) Luke bishop of Dyrrachium said: 'The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has informed the holy and great council by means of the document and acts he submitted that he is sober in Christ and duly professes the faith defined by the holy fathers and doctors and by the holy council at Nicaea and confirmed by the great ecumenical council that met in the city of Ephesus, as also by the most holy and blessed bishops who are now assembled in the same metropolis, and who by their decision have restored to the aforesaid most devout presbyter and archimandrite the holy communion of the presbyterate and the headship of his monastery.'

(43) Antony bishop of Lychnidus said: 'I too, being of the like opinion, make the same decision as the most holy and blessed metropolitan bishop Luke did before me.'

(44) Mark bishop of Euroea said: 'I too assent to the declaration of my holy metropolitan bishop Atticus concerning the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.'

(45) Vigilantius bishop of the city of Larissa said: 'From the minutes that have been read to us and the document presented by the most devout Eutyches, we consider that his beliefs, like ours, accord with the faith defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea, which was ratified by the holy council held at Ephesus. Therefore we too concur with the sentence now delivered by the holy fathers and fellow priests who have assembled by order of the most pious emperors for restoring the aforesaid Eutyches to the presbyterate and the headship over his monks.'

(46) Basil bishop of Trajanopolis in the province of Rhodope said: 'My littleness decrees the same as the holy fathers concerning the person of the religious man the presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.'

(47) Constantine bishop of Demetrias said: 'I assent to everything that has been decreed by the holy fathers at this holy council at Ephesus, to the effect that the most devout presbyter Eutyches should enjoy the priesthood and the headship over his monastery, since he has declared that he assents to the Nicene faith and to everything in the orthodox faith that the holy fathers defined.'

(48) Alexander bishop of the city of Sebaste placed under Tarsus said:

‘Since the most devout and religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches assents to the faith of the 318 who were at Nicaea and the faith of the most holy religious Cyril of blessed memory that was ratified at Ephesus, I judge it right that the same most devout presbyter and archimandrite should enjoy presbyterate and hold the headship of his monastery.’

(49) Sozon bishop of Philippi said: ‘The document that has now been presented by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches agrees with the definitions of the holy fathers at Nicaea and with those who ratified in this city the decrees of these holy fathers. Therefore I decree in accordance with the judgement of all that, since he holds this faith, he should have presbyteral rank and the headship of his monks.’

(50) Eusebius bishop of Doberus in Macedonia Prima said: ‘I too make the same decision concerning the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.’

(51) Maximin bishop of Serrhae in Macedonia Prima said: ‘I too make the same decision concerning the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.’

(52) Hermogenes bishop of Cassandrea in Macedonia Prima said: ‘I too have the same opinion concerning the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches.’

(53) Luke bishop of Beroea in Macedonia Prima said: ‘Finding nothing reprehensible in the most devout and God-beloved Eutyches, monastic superior and leader of a multitude of pious men, and that he is an adherent of the orthodox faith of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and in this city, I wish him to hold his former dignities of the presbyterate and headship over monks.’

(54) John bishop of the city of Messene in the province of Achaea said: ‘Since the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has transgressed none of the pious decrees of the holy fathers at Nicaea and of those who met at Ephesus, may he enjoy priestly dignity and preside according to his former custom over the honourable house of brethren.’

(55) Uranius bishop of Hemerium in Osrhoene, with the presbyter Eulogius of Edessa acting as interpreter, said: ‘From what has been read, the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches is recognized to be orthodox and to adhere to the faith of the 318 who assembled at Nicaea, which the holy council at Ephesus confirmed. It is right that he should recover presbyteral dignity, be presbyter, and hold the headship of his monastery.’

(56) Athanasius of the city of Opus in the province of Achaea said: 'The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, as he has shown by his document and his declarations in the text of the acts, correctly and blamelessly follows the path of the holy fathers who in their time were assembled by the Holy Spirit at Nicaea and at Ephesus. I therefore judge it right that he should enjoy priestly rank and preside over his monks according to his previous custom.'

(57) Theodore bishop of Claudiopolis in the province of Isauria said: 'From the statement that has been read of the most God-beloved presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and also from his declaration made orally and not in writing, it is clear that he is orthodox. Therefore I too, concurring with the sentence of the holy council, decree that he should have presbyteral dignity and the headship over his holy monastery.'

(58) Leontius bishop of Ascalon said: 'I laud the sentence given by God through our most holy and religious bishops. Therefore I too, in accord with their excellent sentence, request that the most devout Eutyches be received into the presbyterate he formerly held and hold his monastic headship.'

(59) Photinus bishop of Lydda said: 'It has become clear from all the evidence and from his own statements provided in writing that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches is orthodox and that his beliefs accord with the holy fathers of the council at Nicaea and of those who met here after them. Therefore, in accord with the holy fathers, I have assented and decreed that he should have presbyteral rank and priestly dignity and, according to his custom, attend to his monastery.'

(60) Paul bishop of Maiuma said: 'Since the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches followed the canons of our holy fathers who met at Nicaea and at Ephesus, I too judge it right that he should recover his rank of presbyter and archimandrite.'

(61) Zosimus bishop of the city of Menois said: 'Because the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has been shown by all the evidence to hold the orthodox faith which was defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and here, I too decree that he should enjoy priestly dignity and preside over his holy community.'

(62) Epiphanius bishop of Perge said: 'In accordance with the excellent decrees of the holy council, I too assent to everything that the holy fathers have declared.'

(63) Baruchius bishop of Sozusa in the province of Palestine said: 'In accordance with the true statement of the most religious and holy

Archbishop Juvenal, which accords with the words of Christ our Lord and Saviour and the holy apostles and of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and Ephesus, I too likewise decree that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches should recover his own presbyteral rank and preside as usual over his holy monastery, since it is clear and proved by all the evidence that he is orthodox.'

(64) Heraclius bishop of Azotus said: 'It is right for all to agree with those who hold orthodox views on the faith. Therefore I too judge that it is right that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, since he has followed the canons of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and at Ephesus, should recover presbyteral dignity and preside over the community in his charge.'

(65) John bishop of Tiberias said: 'I have heard the declarations of the most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches in the proceedings in the most fortunate city of Constantinople and here, and I find that he is wholly blameless and has followed the exposition of the holy faith of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of those who met here. I wish him, as the holy fathers have resolved, to have presbyteral dignity and hold the headship of his holy monastery.'

(66) Musonius bishop of Zoara said: 'That the most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches is the guardian of the faith of the 318 and of the decree of the holy fathers who assembled at Ephesus has been proved by the document he presented and by the statements made by him in the minutes. I therefore think it right because of his orthodox faith that he should enjoy the priesthood and preside over his most devout monks.'

(67) Dionysius bishop of Sycamazon said: 'The most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches here present has been proved from all the acts to hold in their entirety the tenets approved by the orthodox; for he has neither omitted nor infringed anything in the decrees on the orthodox faith which were made by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea or in those confirmed at Ephesus. Therefore I too give the same sentence as the holy fathers, and wish him to preside as usual over his monastery and enjoy presbyteral dignity.'

(68) Caiumas bishop of Phaeno said: 'Since I find no error in the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, I too accept the excellent sentence of our most holy archbishop, and agree that his former presbyteral rank should be restored to him and that he should preside according to his custom over his monastery.'

(69) Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: 'Since I find that the most

God-beloved presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches assents to the holy council which met at Nicaea and the holy council which formerly convened here and is now confirmed by your holy council, I too assent to this [decree], and declare that the aforesaid religious man is orthodox and that he should have presbyteral dignity and preside over his monastery.’

(70) Zebennus bishop of Pella said: ‘From the document presented in which the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has clearly expounded the orthodox faith, following the canons, and also from the acts, the correctness of his faith is manifest. Therefore I too judge it right, since all the evidence proves him orthodox, that he should recover his priestly rank and headship as an archimandrite.’

(71) Pancratius bishop of Livias said: ‘The most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches followed the canons of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and at Ephesus, and because of this has received from our most holy archbishop Juvenal the rank of presbyter and archimandrite since his faith is fully orthodox. It is therefore right that my littleness should also decree the same in his case.’

(72) Auxilaus bishop of the Saracen *foederati* said: ‘I agree and assent to all the excellent sentences on the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, and judge it right that his presbyteral rank should be restored to him and that he should preside over his monastery.’

(73) Alypius bishop of Bacatha said: ‘From the acts that have been read to us and also from the document presented by the most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches I recognize that he is in meticulous accord with the holy faith which was defined by the 318 holy bishops who met both at Nicaea and at Ephesus. Therefore, in accordance with the just decree of our most holy Archbishop Juvenal and the rest of the holy council, I too agree to his being presbyter and archimandrite.’

(74) Polychronius bishop of Antipatris said: ‘I agree and assent to the excellent sentences of the most holy and blessed Archbishop Juvenal and this sacred council. I judge that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches should be reinstated in his ministry and preside as usual over his monastery.’

(75) Dominus bishop of the city of Plataea in the province of Hellas said: ‘The most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has been proved by all the evidence to be an excellent preacher of piety, and is therefore worthy to adorn the presbyteral rank and preside as usual over his brethren.’

(76) Theodosius bishop of Mastaura said: 'It is appropriate that students follow their teachers and those of the preceding speakers who have approved the piety of the most devout presbyter Eutyches in respect of all the canons of the holy fathers and his fidelity to those who met at Nicaea and in this most illustrious metropolis. I therefore pronounce that it is right that he should enjoy both his presbyteral dignity and headship of his monastery.'

(77) Cyriacus bishop of Aegae said: 'The holy fathers have made an appropriate decision as regards the person of the most religious and devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, finding that he is orthodox in adhering to what was decreed by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and in the metropolis of Ephesus. My littleness also decrees that he should hold presbyteral rank and the dignity of archimandrite.'

(78) Flavius bishop of Adramyttium said: 'The most devout presbyter and archimandrite has shown his wish to agree and assent to the holy council of holy fathers at Nicaea and their confirmation in the metropolis of Ephesus. Therefore, as the holy fathers which have met in this same metropolis have decreed, the most devout archimandrite Eutyches is worthy to be numbered in the priestly order of the presbyterate and to preside over the monastery of most devout monks in his charge.'

(79) Leontius bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander said: 'Both in dogmatic doctrine and in the spiritual teaching of those exercising priesthood it is fitting that we sons should follow our fathers. So because this most honourable and divine college has decreed that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches should recover both his presbyteral rank and the monastic headship that were recently taken away from him, my littleness also concurs in his enjoying presbyteral dignity and the headship of his monastery.'

(80) Eutropius bishop of Pergamum in the province of Asia said: 'Since the most devout presbyter and monk Eutyches has been proved by the document he presented to the holy council to be orthodox in accord with the teaching of the holy fathers of the councils at Nicaea and at Ephesus, I too assent to the sentence of the holy fathers of the holy and great council which by divine command has assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus, that he should be deemed worthy to exercise priesthood and preside over his monks.'

(81) Maximus bishop of Tralles said: 'Following the declarations of our holy and God-beloved fathers, and because the most God-beloved presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has been proved to keep the

orthodox faith, I too decree that he should keep the priesthood and monastery he obtained before.'

(82) Onesiphorus bishop of Iconium said: 'I too judge that it is right that the most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches should be in priestly orders and preside over his monastery.'

(83) John bishop of Rhodes said: 'From the document presented by the most devout archimandrite Eutyches it has been proved that he is orthodox and worthy to hold presbyteral dignity and the headship of his monastery. Therefore I too assent to the decrees of your holy and great council in his regard.'

(84) Diogenianus bishop of the city of Remesiana said: 'Let the presbyter Eutyches, in accordance with the consensus of the fathers, enjoy communion and priesthood and living in his own monastery.'

(85) Theodosius bishop of the city of Amathus said: 'When I heard the reading of the minutes of the proceedings relating to the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, I discovered that he is orthodox and cleaves to both the holy council at Nicaea and the one that both formerly and now is assembled here by the grace of God. I therefore agree to the decision of the holy fathers that he should hold priestly rank and the headship of his monastery.'

(86) Cyriacus bishop of Lebedus said: 'I too concur with the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers regarding the person of the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, and therefore judge it right that he should hold presbyteral rank and the headship of his monastery.'

(87) Gennadius bishop of Teos said: 'From the reading of the minutes and the document that was delivered I recognize that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches is orthodox. Therefore I too assent to the sentence of the holy fathers and judge it right that he should hold presbyteral rank and the headship of his monastery.'

(88) Olympius bishop of Augaza said: 'From the reading of the minutes written in his own hand, the document that was presented, and the statements he has made in the presence of the ecumenical council, whose chairman and leader is our most holy father Dioscorus, ecumenical<sup>330</sup> archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, I recognize that the most

330 The Latin word is *universalis*. Rusticus comments *ad loc.* that this implies recognition of Dioscorus as 'archbishop of the whole world'. Dioscorus certainly claimed, and Rome agreed, that Alexandria was the primatial see in the east. Cf. the later adoption by the archbishop of Constantinople of the title 'ecumenical patriarch'.



devout archimandrite Eutyches is orthodox and is of the same mind and opinion as the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea as regards the true and orthodox faith which was expounded by them and which was confirmed not long ago at the council of Ephesus. Therefore I too, in accord with the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers, judge it right that the most devout Eutyches should keep his old priesthood and preside over the most devout brethren who have been under his authority for a long time.'

(89) Julian bishop of the city of Hypaepa said: 'I too issue the same decree as the holy and ecumenical council which according to the grace of God and the order of our most pious and God-beloved emperors has assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus, that the most devout archimandrite Eutyches should hold presbyteral rank, enjoy the holy mystery of Christ our Lord and God, and preside over the care of the most devout brethren in the monastery which is in his charge.'

(90) Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: 'As it appears, those who investigate Christ the universal Saviour are Judaizers even now. In ignorance of the mystery of his coming in the flesh they have continued to deceive and be deceived, as the blessed Paul said.<sup>331</sup> Having known right from the beginning the most devout and God-beloved presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches to be not only orthodox but also a strenuous opponent of the wicked doctrines of Nestorius, we recognize now from the reading of the minutes that he has been condemned unjustly and contrary to the laws. And because through submitting his document he has revealed his orthodox and unimpeachable faith to this holy and great council, we too hold him, according to the sentences of the holy fathers, to be in communion, to be fit to be numbered among the presbyters, and to be the superior of his monastery.'

(91) Colosirius bishop of the city of Arsinoites, with his deacon Julius acting as interpreter, said: 'I discovered from the reading of the documents today that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches holds correct beliefs on the orthodox faith. Just as I have always considered him to be in communion, I also think him worthy, according to the decrees of this holy council, to recover presbyteral rank and the presidency of his monastery.'

(92) John bishop of the city of Hephaestus said: 'The most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches was overcome neither by the threats of his most hostile judge nor by the deviousness of his accuser

331 Cf. 2 Tim. 3:13.

but in the midst of such a storm of plotting kept his soul unshaken and resisted the tumultuous surge of those who sought to attack and overturn him, as has been proved by the recent reading of the illegal proceedings against his person. Let him therefore enjoy presbyteral dignity and presidency over the most devout monks in his charge, since he displays his pious and inflexible guardianship of the orthodox and unimpeachable faith, which has been his shield in a time of fierce combat, as he has been assailed from all sides by the darts of enmity and impiety.'

(93) Heraclides bishop of Heracleopolis said: 'From the acts and the document of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches that have been read today we recognize that he has always been orthodox, and we restore holy communion to him, so that he may recover, according to the decrees of the holy council, both presbyteral rank and the headship over his own monastery.'

(94) Isaac bishop of Helearchia said: 'From the presented document and the minutes that have today been read, the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has been found to follow the faith of the holy fathers which was defined at Nicaea and confirmed before now in this city of Ephesus. I agree with the holy fathers that he should have presbyteral rank and the dignity of archimandrite.'

(95) Gemellinus bishop of Erythrum said: 'From the reading of the minutes of the acts in the great and Christ-loving city of Constantinople, relating to the accusation of the most devout and God-beloved Eutyches, we recognize from these minutes that he is and always has been orthodox, while those who deposed him (as they thought) have been found to hold opinions contrary to the councils at Nicaea and Ephesus. This holy and great council has judged it right that he should be presbyter and archimandrite according to his previous custom; therefore I too assent to this.'

(96) Apollonius bishop of Tanis said: 'The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has been found orthodox in his beliefs and opinions. I therefore assent to what the holy fathers have decreed as to his recovering presbyteral dignity and that he should hold the governorship of his monastery as he did previously.'

(97) Gennadius bishop of the city of Hermopolis Maior said: 'From the document submitted to this holy council and today's reading of the minutes we recognize that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches was, and is, orthodox. I therefore agree that he should recover presbyteral rank and the dignity of archimandrite.'

(98) Cyrus bishop of Babylon said: 'Finding from the submission of the document and the reading of the minutes that the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches is orthodox and holds an unshakeable faith, I too agree with the preceding holy fathers to his holding presbyteral dignity and exercising care over his monks.'

(99) Athanasius bishop of Busiris said: 'Since the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has been shown to hold and believe the tenets of the holy council which met in its time at Nicaea and was confirmed by the council held formerly in this city, I too agree and assent to the decree of this holy council that he should recover presbyteral dignity and have also the headship of his monastery.'

(100) Photinus bishop of Teucheira said: 'From the document submitted by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and the reading of the minutes, it is reasonable and just to reinstate him in the priesthood and also in his habitual care of his monastery.'

(101) Theophilus bishop of Cleopatris said: 'The biography, character, and mode of life from the beginning provide evidence of the faith of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, who a long time ago laboured hard against the madness of Nestorius, thereby winning the praise of all, and who still follows now the definitions of the holy fathers at Nicaea, confirmed in the city of Ephesus under the presidency of our then archbishop the thrice blessed Cyril. Therefore I too agree to his remaining in his previous dignities, those of presbyter and archimandrite.'

(102) Pasmius bishop of Paralus said: 'From the document presented by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, we know him to hold blamelessly our orthodox and unimpeachable faith. Therefore I too agree and assent to the decrees of the holy fathers on the matter.'

(103) Sosias bishop of Sozusa said: 'Good and just and full of piety is the sentence that the holy fathers, after examining with the greatest care what was read today, have pronounced for the reinstatement of the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches. I too agree with them, and judge it right that there should be restored to him both presbyteral office and the headship of his most honourable monastery.'

(104) Theodulus bishop of the city of Tesila said: 'From the document presented by the religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches to this holy council and from the reading of the minutes I too recognize him from all the evidence to be, and to have been, orthodox, and I consider it right to restore to him both presbyteral office and the dignity of archimandrite.'

(105) Theodore bishop of Barca said: 'The documents read today relating to the case against the most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches have proved that he is, and was, orthodox, and I concur with the restoring to him of both presbyteral rank and the headship of his monastery.'

(106) Rufus bishop of Cyrene said: 'Rightly and justly has this holy and great council restored priesthood and monastic headship to the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, for the text of the minutes and the document he presented have shown him to be pious and faithful. I agree with this sentence.'

(107) Zeno bishop of Rhinocolura said: 'It has been clearly proved both from the present reading of the acts and from the unimpeachable document presented by the most holy presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches that he is precise in pious religion and that he has followed the orthodox faith which was defined before now by our thrice blessed bishops who met at Nicaea and which was decreed a short time ago by Cyril bishop of the city of Alexandria, of holy memory and [now] among the saints, and confirmed by the holy and ecumenical council. Therefore my lowliness assents to the decree of this holy and great council that the aforesaid most holy presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches should not be excluded from priestly dignity but should hold presbyteral rank and the headship over his most religious monks.'

(108) Lucius bishop of Zygris said: 'From the document presented by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches we recognize that he holds correct opinions as regards the orthodox faith, and therefore I too agree to the sentence of all that there should be restored to him both the dignity of presbyterate and the rank of archimandrite.'

(109) Auxonius bishop of the city of Sebennytus said: 'From the reading of the minutes of the proceedings and from the presented document the most devout archimandrite Eutyches has been proved to think, speak and believe the tenets of the creed that was issued by the holy fathers who once met at Nicaea, and which was confirmed by the council held formerly in this city under the presidency of the thrice blessed and altogether praiseworthy Cyril our bishop. It is right that the aforesaid most devout man, as the holy synod has decreed, should recover presbyteral dignity and remain where he lived before, holding the post of superior in his monastery.'

(110) Isaac bishop of Taua said: 'The fathers worthy of God who are now assembled in this holy and ecumenical council have spoken in

accordance with the minutes read today and the document presented by the most devout Eutyches. Therefore I too assent to the proceedings and ask that he should hold the presbyterate and preside over his monastery.’

(111) Philocalus bishop of Zagyliis said: ‘From the document on the subject of the orthodox faith presented to the holy council by the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches we recognize that he blamelessly holds what was defined by the holy council at Nicaea and also confirmed by the council at Ephesus. Therefore we too acknowledge him to hold these beliefs, and decree that there should be restored to him the dignity of the presbyterate and the rank of archimandrite.’

(112) Isaias bishop of Hermopolis Minor said: ‘Since this holy and great council has by the judgement and decree of the acts acknowledged that the religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches, worthy of God, holds beliefs that accord with the earlier and great councils at Nicaea and Ephesus, I too necessarily assent, and decree that he should hold both presbyteral dignity and the headship of his monastery.’

(113)<sup>332</sup> Barsaumas, presbyter and archimandrite, with the monk Eusebius acting as interpreter, said: ‘I too, following our own fathers as a child and bearing witness to the orthodox faith of the most holy and God-beloved archimandrite Eutyches, agree and concur, and am delighted that you have restored to him his priestly rank and the government of his most holy monastery.’

(114) Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Confirming all the sentences of this holy and ecumenical council regarding the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, I add my judgement that he should hold presbyteral rank and govern his monastery as before.’

885. John, presbyter and protonotary said: ‘The clerics and monks of the monastery under the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches have sent a plaint to this holy council which we shall read if your holinesses command.’

886. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘Let the plaint be received and read.’

John presbyter and protonotary read:

887. *To the holy and God-beloved ecumenical council meeting in the metropolis of Ephesus from Narses the presbyter, Timothy, Eusebius, Constantine and other deacons and subdeacons, and all the monks*

332 At this point the Greek text becomes complete again, and we return to it.

*serving under the most religious presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches. Learning from the divine sayings about the gifts promised by God in his mercy to those who believe in him, and disdaining family and riches, the honours and various offices with which each person is adorned, and everything, in a word, that is accounted a human good, both those we enjoyed and those we still looked forward to, we all adopted the uniform life and endurance of monks. By the grace of Christ the Lord we make up the number of three hundred, and most of us have completed almost thirty years in this endurance, following the teachings of piety and justice under the leadership of the most devout archimandrite Eutyches. But Flavian the most devout bishop of imperial Constantinople, when he should have praised our present way of life, have spurred us on to yet greater heights, and given every support to those who have fled from human things to God, acted in the opposite way to how he should: he brought false and slanderous accusations against our shepherd, and feigned piety as a false pretext for deposing him, because he would not join in his blasphemy against the definition of the faith issued by the holy council at Nicaea and confirmed by the previous council at Ephesus. Sending the presbyter Theodosius, accompanied by other clerics, he ordered us to forsake our shepherd, not even to speak to him any more, and to keep from him the goods of the monastery, using the poor as a pretext – for this was another of his machinations. He said that, if we did not do this, we would be excluded together with our teacher from the communion of the divine mysteries.<sup>333</sup> The holy altar, which he himself set up six months before this plot was hatched, has been deprived of the holy sacrifice, while we ourselves have remained until your holy council bound by his unjust sentence, and some of our brethren have died while still under the cloud of this unjust punishment; although we have practised as usual the other elements of asceticism according to the monastic rule, we have undergone the deprivations meted out to those condemned for impiety. It was in tears at this misfortune that we saw the saving day of the Nativity of our Master and Saviour, the God and Lord Jesus Christ; what to all Christians is a joyful celebration was spent by us in mourning, as with our tongues we poured forth dirges in place of the prayers of the liturgy. It was in the same condition that we reached the day of the Epiphany; just as those who love life lament their end as they approach death, so we spent the time lamenting our exclusion from*

333 i.e., the celebration of the eucharist.

*the undefiled mysteries. Then came the day of the saving Passion, the holy night, and the feast of the Resurrection, when most sinners are released from the penances imposed by our holy fathers, and when the guilty are released by the emperors from the bonds arising from their crimes, a time when every house and square is bursting, as is meet, with joy. We, however, enchained by the bonds of an unjust sentence, experienced no mercy from our judge; he has remained inflexible up to the present – about nine months have elapsed. He has at any rate decreed such a sentence from you on himself as will bring him, as the worthy fruit of his unjust judgement on us, a just sentence on himself from you, with the result that, in the words of scripture,<sup>334</sup> he will be judged as he judged and reap as he plotted. We therefore entreat your holy council to have compassion on us who have endured from our priest so great and unjust a punishment for our piety, to restore to us the mysteries of which we have been unjustly deprived, and to requite the perpetrator for his unjust sentence.*

888. (1) *Narses, priest, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (2)<sup>335</sup> *Timothy, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (3) *Eusebius, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (4) *Constantine, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (5) *Eustathius, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (6) *Zenobius, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (7) *Auxentius, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (8) *Zenobius, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (9) *Smaragdus, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (10) *Eleusinius, deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (11) *Constantius,<sup>336</sup> deacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (12) *Theodorus,<sup>337</sup> subdeacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (13) *Gerontius, subdeacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (14) *Porphyry, subdeacon, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (15) *Martyrius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (16) *Pancharius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*

334 Cf. Mt. 7:1.

335 In the rest of this list the Greek abbreviates, and we follow the full Latin text. At 29–31 the Greek has the names in a different order.

336 All but one Latin MS give the name as ‘Constantine’ (identical to §4 above), but cf. 407 and 569.

337 Theodulus in the Greek version.

- (17) *Paulonas, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (18) *Philumenus, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (19) *Abramius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (20) *Julian, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (21) *Antony, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (22) *Macedonius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (23) *Timothy, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (24) *John, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (25) *Euprepus, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (26) *Dorotheus, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (27) *Heortasius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (28) *Timothy, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (29) *Eugenius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (30) *Theotimus, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (31) *Julian, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (32) *Malchus, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (33) *Eubulus, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (34) *Gymnasius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*  
 (35) *Hypatius, monk, I have signed with my own hand.*<sup>338</sup>

889. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Since you say that you have been excommunicated but do not know the cause – we too can infer why –, make a clear statement of the faith you hold. For this is your release – the profession of faith.’

890. Eleusinius deacon and monk said: ‘As our religious archimandrite informed your holiness in his plaint, our beliefs accord with the decrees of the holy fathers at Nicaea, which the holy council here confirmed, and we have never conceived or held anything contrary to this creed.’

891. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘Regarding the coming of the Saviour in the flesh, do you believe the same as the blessed Athanasius, the blessed Cyril, the blessed Gregory [the Theologian], and all the orthodox bishops?’

892. Eleusinius deacon and monk said: ‘We believe the same as the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and those who assembled here.’

893. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘The most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches has sent a document. Do you agree with what he has written? Do you follow his faith?’

338 It is striking that only 35 members of a community of 300 dared to sign this protest.



894. Eleusinius deacon and monk said: 'Yes.'
895. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Do you offend against it?'
896. Eleusinius deacon and monk said: 'No.'
897. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Do you believe the same? Do you assent to the same? Do you anathematize those who believe otherwise?'
898. Eleusinius deacon and monk said: 'Yes, by your feet.'
899. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: 'Since they profess the orthodox faith defined at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus, it is fitting that they be restored to the holy communion and their own ranks.'
900. The holy council said: 'We all approve these words. We all say the same.'
901. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'So does it seem good to your religiousness to insert into the decree that together with the archimandrite Eutyches we have also released the clerics and monks with him?'
902. The holy council said: 'We have released them.'
903. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Are we in communion with them as regards both rank and the mysteries?'
904. The holy council said: 'Yes, this is a just judgement.'
905. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Because our proceedings are plain, and the whole holy council has approved the restoration of communion and also the presbyteral dignity to the most devout archimandrite Eutyches, and also the release of all the clerics and monks who live with him, it is right and fitting to read the proceedings at the most blessed council held formerly in this city that relate to our orthodox faith. The most devout priest and protonotary John has brought them: let him read them, if all the holy council approve.'
906. Domnus bishop of Antioch said: 'If the decision is to read them, let them be read.'
907. Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'We need the creed of the 318 holy fathers and those of Ephesus to be read, so that, hearkening to it all the more, we may be solidly instructed.'
908. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra said: 'The reading and confirmation of the holy councils are beneficial, for this is how we maintain our orthodoxy.'
909. Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: 'Let the definition that was issued by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus be read, for the maintenance of the orthodox faith.'
910. The holy council said: 'This is the wish of us all.'

John presbyter and protonotary read:

(*Ephesus I, Session of 22 July 431*)<sup>339</sup>

911. After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, eleven days before the Kalends of August, which is 28 Epiphi according to the Egyptians, the council assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus by decree of our most God-beloved and Christ-loving emperors, and there were seated in the episcopal residence of the most religious Bishop Memnon the most God-beloved and religious bishops:<sup>340</sup> (1) Cyril of Alexandria, also representing the most holy and sacred Celestine, archbishop of the church of Rome, (2) Juvenal of Jerusalem, (3) Memnon of Ephesus, (4) Flavian of Philippi, also representing Rufus the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, (5) Firmus of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima, (6) Theodotus of Ancyra in Galatia, (7) Acacius of Melitene, (8) Erennianus of Myra in Lycia, (9) Iconius of Gortyna in Crete, (10) Perigenes of Corinth in Hellas, (11) Cyrus of Aphrodisias in Caria, (12) Valerian of Iconium, (12a) {Palladius of Amaseia in Helenopontus}, (13) Hesychius of Parium, (14) Hellanicus of Rhodes, (15) Dynatus of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus, (16) Eucharius of Dyrrachium in Epirus Nova, (17) Perrebius of Pharmalus, (18) Eudoxius of Choma in Lycia, (19) Silvanus of Ceretapa in Phrygia, (20) Verinianus of Perge in Pamphylia, (21) Amphilocheius of Side, (22) Epiphanius of Creteia in Honorias, (23) Gregory of Cerasus in Pontus Polemoniicus, (24) Senecio of Scodra, (25) Dalmatius of Cyzicus, (26) Docimasius of Maronea in Thrace, (27) John of Proconnesus, (28) Daniel of Colonia in

339 The following section (911–45) gives the full text of the minutes of the session of the Council of Ephesus of 22 July 431 (traditionally called the sixth session). It is reduced in the Greek version to a few lines: ‘After the consulship of our masters Flavius Theodosius for the thirteenth time and Flavius Valentinian for the third time, perpetual Augusti, eleven days before the Kalends of August, which is 28 Epiphi in the Egyptian calendar, when Nestorius had been deposed, the contents of the following acts.’ It survives, however, both in the Latin version and, independently, in a single Greek MS (*ACO* 1.1.7 pp. 84–117). It is this latter text that we translate, while keeping the numbering of sections in Schwartz’s edition of the Latin text. This text, especially 922–42, is discussed by Millar 2004b.

340 Much of the following list displays a clear geographical sequence: (29–41) Palestine, (42–6) Achaea, (47–8) Epirus, (49, 51–2) Crete, (53–4) Rhodope, (55–7) Thessaly, (58–9) Lycaonia, (61–8) Caria, (69–90) Asia, (91–4) Cyprus, (96–104) Pamphylia Secunda, (105–6) Galatia, (107–8) Honorias and Helenopontus, (109–50) Egypt, (151–3) Bithynia. The names in curling brackets { } are supplied from the Latin version.

Cappadocia Secunda, (29) Romanus of Raphia, (30) Paulianus of Maiuma, (31) Paul of Anthedon, (32) Fidus of Joppa, (33) Aeanes of Sycamazon, (34) Theodore of Gadara, (35) Letoeus of Livias, (36) Theodulus<sup>341</sup> of Elusa, (37) Theodore of Arindela, (38) Peter of Parembole, (39) John of Augustopolis, (40) Saidas of Phaeno, (41) Rufinus of Gabae, (42) Anysius of Thebes, (43) Callicrates of Naupactus, (44) Dominus of Opus, (45) Nicias of Megara, (46) Agathocles of Coronaea, (47) Felix of Apollonia and Byllis, (48) Theodore of Dodona, (49) Anderius of Chersonesus in Crete, (49a) {Prothymius of Comana},<sup>342</sup> (50) Cyril of Coela in the Chersonese, (51) Paul of Lappa, (52) Zenobius of Cnossus, (53) Lucian of Topirus in Thrace, (54) Ennepius of Maximianopolis, (55) Secundianus of Lamia, (56) Dio of Thebes in Thessaly, (57) Theodore of Echineum, (58) Martyrius of Ilistra, (59) Thomas of Derbe, (60) Athanasius of the island of Paros, (61) Themistius of Iasus, (62) Aphthonetus of Heraclea, (63) Philetus of Amyzon, (64) Apelles of Cibyra, (65) Spudadius of Ceramus, (66) Arche-laus of Myndus, (67) Phanius of Harpasa, (68) Promachus of Alinda, (69) Philip of Pergamum in Asia, (70) Maximus of Cyme, (71) Dorotheus of Myrina, (72) Maximus of Assus, (73) Euporus of Hypaepa, (74) Alexander of Arcadiopolis, (75) Euty chius of Theodosiopolis, (76) Rhodo of Palaeopolis, (77) Eutropius of Augaza, (78) Aphobius of Coloe, (79) Nestorius of Sion, (80) Heracleon of Tralles, (81) Theodotus of Nysa, (82) Theodore of Aninetus, (83) Timothy of Briulla, (84) Theodosius of Mastaura, (85) Tychicus of Erythrae,<sup>343</sup> (86) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (87) Euthalius of Colophon, (88) Modestus of Anaea, (89) Theosebius of Priene, (90) Eusebius of Magnesia by Sipylus, (91) Sapricius of Paphos in Cyprus, (92) Zeno of Curium in Cyprus, (93) Reginus of Constantia, (94) Evagrius of Soli, (95) Caesarius *chorepiscopus*,<sup>344</sup> (96) Tribunianus of Aspendus in Pamphylia, (97) Nunechius of Selge, (98) Solon of Carallia, (99) Acacius of Cotenna, (99a)

341 This name appears as Apelles in the MSS (Greek and Latin) at this point and occasionally as Abdelas, but Theodulus (945.194) is the dominant form (*ACO* 1.1.8 p. 19).

342 Location uncertain, but there were cities of this name in Pontus Polemoniacus and Armenia.

343 Tychicus' see is variously given as Erythrae or Chytri in the Acts of Ephesus I. The position of the name in this list (among the sees of Asia) shows that Erythrae is correct.

344 Of Arca (Armenia II). See *ACO* 1.1.8 pp. 20, 26.

{Paviscus of Apollo},<sup>345</sup> (100) Nesius of Colybrassus, (101) Matidianus of Coracesium, (102) Nectarius of Sennea, (103) Eutropius of Etenna, (104) Tarianus of Lyrbe, (105) Eusebius of Aspona in Galatia, (106) Philumenus of Cinna, (107) Eusebius of Heraclea in Honorias, (108) Paralius of Andrapa in Helenopontus, (109) Hermogenes of Rhinocolura, (110) Euoptius of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, (111) Eusebius of Pelusium, (112) Adelphius of Onuphris, (113) Paul of Phlabonis, (114) Phoebammon of Coptos, (115) Macarius of Metelis, (116) Adelphius of Sais, (117) Macedonius of Xoïs, (118) Marinus of Heliopolis, (118a) {Eulogius of Terenuthis}, (119) Metrodorus of Leontopolis, (120) Macarius of Antaeopolis, (121) Peter of Oxyrhynchus, (122) Strategius of Athribis, (123) Athanasius of Paralus, (124) Silvanus of Coprithis, (125) John of Hephaestus, (126) Aristobulus of Thmuis, (127) Theon of Sethroites, (128) Lampetius of Casium, (129) Cyrus of Achaea, (130) Publius of Olbia, (131) Samuel of Dysthis, (132) Zenobius of Barca, (133) Zeno of Teucheira, (134) Sopater of Septimiace, (134a) {Daniel of Darnis}, (135) Eusebius of Nilopolis, (136) Heraclides of Heracleopolis, (137) Chrysaorius of Aphroditopolis, (138) Andrew of Hermopolis Maior, (139) Sabinus of Panopolis, (140) Abraham of Ostracine, (141) Hieracis of Aphnaeum, (142) Alypius of Sele, (143) Alexander of Cleopatri, (143a) {Theopemptus of Cabasa}, (144) Isaac of Taua, (145) Ammon of Buto, (146) Heraclius of Thinis, (147) Isaac of Helearchia, (148) Heraclius of Tamiathis, (149) Theonas of Psinchaus, (150) Ammonius of Panephrisis, (151) Eugenius of Apollonia,<sup>346</sup> (152) Callinicus of Apamea, (153) Peter of Prusa in Bithynia, (154) Bessulas deacon of Carthage, (155–6) Arcadius and Projectus the most religious bishops and legates, (157) the most religious Philip, presbyter and legate of the apostolic see of Rome.

912. Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: ‘Your holy and great council, exercising every forethought for the correct and apostolic faith and the doctrines of the truth, and also taking forethought for the state and discipline of the churches, has promulgated a decree which we have at hand and, if

345 ‘Apollo’ cannot be identified, but from its position in the list must be in Pamphylia II.

346 From its position in the list this is likely to be the city of this name in Bithynia.

it please your holinesses, will read out.<sup>347</sup>

913. The holy council said: 'Let the decree promulgated by this holy and ecumenical council be read out and inserted in the proceedings.'

914. *The council at Nicaea issued this creed:*

*We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father; God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those on heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not', and 'Before being begotten he was not', and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.*<sup>348</sup>

915.<sup>349</sup> It is right that all should assent to this holy creed, for it is pious and also sufficient to benefit the world under heaven. But because certain people, while pretending to profess and accept it, misinterpret the force of the ideas according to their own pleasure,

347 The reference is to the first session of the council on 22 June 431, of which the minutes are in *ACO* 1.1.2 pp. 3–64, a useful summary in Kidd 1922, III, 242–3, and a full analysis in de Halleux 1993b. The most important work of the session was the formal approval of Cyril of Alexandria's Second Letter to Nestorius and the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius as a heretic. What, however, is now read out in the session of 22 July as the 'decree' (ῥόγος) of the first session are two documents read at that session – the Nicene Creed and an orthodox florilegium.

348 The Nicene Creed was seen to have condemned Nestorius' teaching in advance, as Cyril argued in his Second Letter to Nestorius.

349 This is a declaration by the presbyter and notary Peter, to serve as a bridge between two texts that had already been read out and acclaimed at the first session of the council on 22 June 431 – the Nicene Creed (*ACO* 1.1.2 pp. 12–13) and the florilegium of excerpts from the Fathers (*ibid.*, 39–45). The latter is now read out together with the introduction to it in the minutes of the first session (916–17 *init.*).

and distort the truth, being sons of error and children of perdition, it has become absolutely necessary to set out statements by the holy and orthodox fathers that can show convincingly in what way they understood the creed and had the confidence to proclaim it, so that, evidently, all who hold the correct and irreproachable faith may also understand, interpret and proclaim it accordingly.

*(From Ephesus I, First Session, 22 June 431)*

916. Peter presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Because we have to hand the books of the most holy and sacred fathers, bishops and various martyrs, and have chosen from them a few chapters, we shall, if it please you, read them out.'

917. Flavian bishop of Philippi: 'And let them, after being read out, be inserted [in the minutes].'

There was read the following.<sup>350</sup>

*Peter the most holy bishop and martyr,<sup>351</sup> from the book  
Concerning the Godhead*

*(1) Because grace and truth came truly through Jesus Christ<sup>352</sup>  
(whence we have also been saved by grace, according to the apostolic saying, 'And this is not from us but the gift of God, not from works lest anyone should boast'<sup>353</sup>), the Word became flesh by the will of God, and 'being found in form as a man'<sup>354</sup> was not deprived of Godhead. For it was not in order to depart completely from his power or glory that he become poor, though he was rich,<sup>355</sup> but so that he might accept death on behalf of us sinners, 'the righteous for the unrighteous, so that he might offer us to God, being mortified in the flesh but made alive in the spirit.'<sup>356</sup>*

350 The following texts were selected as proving the traditional and authoritative character of the teaching of Cyril of Alexandria, in his insistence that it was the very Word of God, and not merely some human person 'conjoined' to the Word (as Nestorius supposed), who was born of the Virgin and suffered on the cross. At the same time the texts distance Cyril from the heresy attributed to him by his opponents of implying that the humanity of Christ was not earthly and taken from Mary but of heavenly origin.

351 Bishop Peter of Alexandria (300–c.311), who died in the Great Persecution.

352 Jn 1:17.

353 Eph. 2:8.

354 Phil. 2:8.

355 2 Cor. 8:9.

356 1 Pet. 3:18.

(2) *And further on – Whence it is that the evangelist says truly, ‘The Word became flesh and dwelt among us’,<sup>357</sup> from the moment, that is, when the angel greeted the Virgin, saying, ‘Hail, O favoured one, the Lord is with thee.’<sup>358</sup> For Gabriel’s statement ‘The Lord is with thee’ is now to be understood as meaning ‘God the Word is with you.’ It means that he is being generated in the womb and becoming flesh, as it is written, ‘The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you, and therefore the holy thing that will be born will be called the Son of God.’<sup>359</sup>*

(3) *And again further on – God the Word became flesh in the womb of the Virgin in the absence of a man and according to the will of God who is able to work all things, and did not need the work or presence of a man. For the power of God worked more effectively than man when it overshadowed the Virgin through the coming of the Holy Spirit.*

*Athanasius, then the most holy bishop of Alexandria, from the book Against the Arians<sup>360</sup>*

(4) *Many indeed have been made holy and pure of all sin: Jeremiah indeed was sanctified even from the womb,<sup>361</sup> and John, while still in the womb, leapt for joy at the voice of Mary the Theotokos.<sup>362</sup> Nevertheless ‘death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam’s transgression’,<sup>363</sup> and thus men remained no less mortal and corruptible, liable to their own natural passions. But now that the Word has become man and has appropriated the things of the flesh, no longer do they affect the body, because of the Word who has come to be in it, but they have been destroyed by him; henceforth men no longer remain sinners and dead according to their own passions but, being raised by the power of the Word, they remain forever immortal and incorruptible. In consequence also, since the flesh is generated from Mary the Theotokos, he himself is*

357 Jn 1:14.

358 Lk. 1:18.

359 Lk. 1:35.

360 *Contra Arianos*, III. 33.

361 Jer. 1:5.

362 Lk. 1:44.

363 Rom. 5:14.

*said to have been generated, who bestows on others their generation into existence, in order that he may transfer our generation to himself, and so that we may no longer, as mere earth, depart to the earth, but being conjoined to the Word from heaven may be led up to heaven by him. Therefore he has not inappropriately transferred to himself the other passions of the body also, so that we, no longer as men but as belonging to the Word, may come to share in eternal life. For no longer according to our former origin do we all die in Adam, but now that our origin and every fleshly weakness has been transferred to the Word, we are raised from the earth, now the curse because of sin has been abolished because of the one who in us 'became a curse for our sake'.<sup>364</sup>*

*The same, from the Letter to Epictetus*

*(5)<sup>365</sup> How did those who are called Christians venture even to doubt whether the Lord who proceeded from Mary is both the Son of God in essence and nature and also (as regards the flesh) of the seed of David and of the flesh of holy Mary? And who have been so presumptuous as to say that the Christ who suffered and was crucified in the flesh is not Lord, Saviour, God, and Son of the Father? Or how do they wish to be called Christians who say that the Word has descended upon a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and has not himself become man, taking his body from Mary, but that Christ is a different person from the Word of God who before Mary and before the ages was the Son of the Father? Or how can they be Christians who say that the Son is different from the Word of God?*

*(6)<sup>366</sup> And further on again – This did not come to pass putatively (God forbid!), as some again have supposed; but through the Saviour becoming man in reality and truth the salvation of the whole man took place. For if the Word was in the body putatively, according to them, and by putative is meant imaginary, then also the salvation and resurrection of mankind turns out to be in mere appearance, following the most impious Mani. But truly our*

364 Gal. 3:13.

365 Athanasius, *Letter to Epictetus* (written in c.370), 2. This letter anticipated many of the issues in the Christological controversy of the fifth century and was widely cited, as at the end of Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch (246 above). For an analysis see Moutsoulas 1974.

366 *Ibid.*, 7.



*salvation is not imaginary, nor is it the body only but the whole man, soul and body, that in the Word has truly attained salvation. That which was from Mary according to the divine scriptures was human by nature and was truly the Saviour's.*

*Julius, then the most holy bishop of Rome,  
from the Letter to Prosdocius<sup>367</sup>*

*(7) To complete the faith the Son of God is proclaimed to have been become flesh from the Virgin Mary and to have dwelt among men, not acting in a man (for this was the case with the prophets and apostles) but being perfect God in the flesh and perfect man in the spirit, not two sons, one a genuine son who assumed a man and the other a mortal man who was assumed by God, but one God only-begotten in heaven and only-begotten on earth.<sup>368</sup>*

*Felix the most holy bishop of Rome and martyr, from the Letter to  
Bishop Maximian and the clergy of Alexandria<sup>369</sup>*

*(8) Concerning the enfleshment of the Word and the faith, we believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, born from the Virgin Mary, that he is the eternal Son and Word of God and not a man assumed by God, so that there would be another [person] besides him; for the Son of God did not assume a man, so that there would be another besides him, but being perfect God he become also perfect man, enfleshed from the Virgin.*

*Theophilus the most holy bishop of Alexandria,<sup>370</sup>  
from the Fifth Paschal Letter*

*(9) For there exist even now remains of the then miracles. They should not disbelieve that the power of God is able to make a virgin give birth, in whom the living Word of God came to be in our likeness, since otherwise it would have been impossible for him to*

367 This and the following extract are from writings of Apollinarius (c.315–c.390) that were attributed by his followers to reputed fourth-century fathers of the church. It was from the Apollinarian forgeries that Cyril took the formulation 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'.

368 The extract breaks off mid-phrase. The original runs, '... but one [Son] only-begotten in heaven and only-begotten on earth, God in truth and man in fleshly formation' (Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodikea*, 284).

369 Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 318, §186.

370 Theophilus of Alexandria (385–412) was the uncle of Cyril of Alexandria.

*enter into closer communication with us. But so that he should not take a body from pleasure and sleep, as happens with other men, he took a body in the likeness of this from the Virgin, being born as man, appearing like us according to the form of a servant, but proved by his works to be the creator and lord of the universe, performing the works of God.*

*The same, from the Sixth Paschal Letter*

*(10) Just as the best artists not only display their art on precious materials to general amazement but often take cheap clay and soluble wax to display the power of their skill and gain far greater praise, so the supreme artist of all, the living and active Word of God, beautifying the universe with the harmony of order, did not come to us through taking a heavenly body as a precious material, but displayed the greatness of his art in clay, transforming man who was fashioned out of clay. He came forth as man from the Virgin in a novel manner, changing the mode of generation and having resolved not to shun likeness to us in all respects save sin;<sup>371</sup> being born, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and suckled, and lying as a baby in the cradle, he accepted for the reasons given the weakness of our nature. But while still a baby he confounded the enemy and his host, drawing the Magi to repentance and making them ignore the king who had sent them.*

*Cyprian the most holy bishop and martyr, from On Almsgiving<sup>372</sup>*

*(11) Many and great, most beloved brethren, are the divine benefits with which the lavish and abundant mercy of God the Father and Christ has both worked and is always working for our salvation – that the Father sent the Son to preserve us<sup>373</sup> and give us life, so as to be able to restore us, and that the Son was sent and willed to be called the son of man so as to make us sons of God. He humbled himself so that he might raise up the people who before were prostrate, he was wounded so that he might heal our wounds,*

371 Cf. Heb. 4:15.

372 Cyprian, *de opere et eleemosynis* 1. The work was written in 252 and was cited several times at the Council of Ephesus, though no Greek translation is known. We translate from the Latin Acts, which here preserve Cyprian's original wording.

373 Schwartz oddly omits 'nobis', which is in most of the MSS and is required by the syntax.

*he served so that he might lead to freedom those who were in servitude, he underwent death so that he might bestow immortality on mortals.*

*Ambrose, then the most holy bishop of Milan*<sup>374</sup>

*(12) And if they do not believe me, let them believe the apostle when he says, 'But after the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son, made from woman, made under the law.'<sup>375</sup> He said 'his Son', not one of many, not ordinary, but his own; and when he says 'his', he indicated the property of eternal generation. He asserted that he was afterwards 'made from a woman', in order that the making might be attributed not to the Godhead but to the assuming of a body, 'made of woman' by taking on of flesh, 'made under the law' through observance of the law. However, the former generation, the heavenly one, is before the law, while the latter is after the law.*

*The same*<sup>376</sup>

*(13) Let therefore vain questions about words fall silent, because the kingdom of God, as it is written,<sup>377</sup> consists not in verbal persuasion but in the demonstration of power. Let us preserve the distinction between the Godhead and the flesh. In each there speaks the one Son of God, because each nature is in the same [person]; yet while it is the same [person] who speaks, he does not always speak in one way. Note in him now the glory of God and now the sufferings of man. As God he speaks what is divine, because he is the Word; as man he says what is human, because he spoke in my nature. 'This is the living bread which came down from heaven.'<sup>378</sup> This bread is flesh, as he himself said: 'This bread which I will give is my flesh.'<sup>379</sup> This is he who came down, this is he whom the Father sanctified and sent into this world. Even the letter itself teaches us that not the Godhead but the flesh needed sanctification.*

374 *De fide ad Gratianum* 1. 94. This work (written in 377–80) was primarily directed against Arianism. Here again, and in the following excerpt, we translate the Latin version, which gives Ambrose's original wording.

375 Gal. 4:4.

376 *De fide ad Gratianum* 2. 77–8.

377 1 Cor. 2:4.

378 Jn 6:51.

379 Jn 6:52.

*Gregory the Great, then the most holy bishop of Nazianzus*<sup>380</sup>

*(14) Do not let men deceive or be deceived, accepting that the 'man of the Lord', as they call him, who is rather our Lord and God, is a man without a mind. For we do not separate the man from the Godhead, but we teach as a doctrine that he is one and the same, who was formerly not man but God, and the only and pre-eternal Son, unmingled with body and the things of the body, but who finally [became] a man, assumed for our salvation, passible in the flesh, impassible in the Godhead, circumscribed in the body, uncircumscribed in the spirit, the same both earthly and heavenly, seen and mentally apprehended, comprehensible and incomprehensible, so that by the same [person], who was both complete man and also God, the complete man who had succumbed to sin might be fashioned anew.*

*If anyone does not hold that Mary is Theotokos, he is severed from the Godhead.*

*If anyone [should hold] that he passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not formed in her at once divinely and humanly (divinely because without a man, humanly because in accordance with the laws of gestation), or if anyone should say that the man was formed and afterwards put on God, he is to be condemned, for this would not be a generation of God but an avoidance of generation.*

*If anyone introduces two sons, one from the God and Father and the second from the mother, but not one and the same, may he be deprived of the adoption promised to those who believe correctly. For God and man are two natures, since also soul and body are; but there are not two sons or two Gods; for neither are there two men here, even if Paul spoke in this way of that which is within a man and that which is outside him.<sup>381</sup> And, if one must speak concisely, there are indeed different elements that make up the Saviour, if indeed the invisible is not the same as the visible nor the timeless with that which is subject to time; yet there is no difference of person (God forbid!),<sup>382</sup> for the two are one by the*

380 Gregory the Theologian, *ep.* 101 to Cleodnius, written in 382 against Apollinarianism.

381 Cf. 2 Cor. 4:16, 'our outer man ... our inner man'.

382 The Greek expression for 'different elements' is ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ('one [thing] and another'), and for 'different persons' ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ('one [person] and another'), the phrases differing simply in their gender.

*combination, the Godhead having become man and the man having been 'deified' or however one should express it. And I say different elements, which is the opposite of what is the case as regards the Trinity; for there [we acknowledge] different persons so as not to confound the hypostases, but not different elements, for the three are one and the same in Godhead.*

*If anyone says that he worked in him<sup>383</sup> by grace as in a prophet but was not and is not conjoined and moulded with him in essence, let him be empty of the higher operation,<sup>384</sup> or rather full of the opposite.*

*If anyone does not worship the crucified one, let him be anathema and be numbered among the murderers of God.*

*If anyone says that he was made perfect by works, or that after his baptism or after his resurrection from the dead he was counted worthy of an adoptive sonship, as the pagans introduce interpolated [gods],<sup>385</sup> let him be anathema. For that which began, or progresses, or is made perfect, is not God, even if it is spoken of in this way according to a gradual growth.<sup>386</sup>*

*Basil, then the most holy bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia Prima<sup>387</sup>*  
*(15) For heaven and earth and the greatness of the seas, the creatures that live in the waters and the animals on dry land, plants and the stars and the air, the seasons and the varied order of the universe, do not set forth the supremacy of his might so well as the fact that the incomprehensible God was able, impassibly and by means of the flesh, to be bonded to death, so that by his own suffering he might bestow freedom from suffering on us.*

*Gregory the most holy bishop of Nyssa<sup>388</sup>*  
*(16) It says, 'Let this be thought among you which is also in*

383 That is, God the Word in [the man] Christ.

384 That of the Holy Spirit.

385 The reference is to the euhemeristic notion of some Greek philosophers, who supposed that the gods were originally mortal men who were subsequently raised to divine status.

386 Gregory has no respect for the deified men of paganism, but he is thinking of such biblical texts as Ps. 80:6, 'I said you are gods and sons of the Most High', which were understood to refer to the 'deification' (or union with God) attained by the worthy. He is arguing that this is a wholly inadequate way to explain the divinity of Christ.

387 *On the Holy Spirit*, 18.

388 *Sermons on the Beatitudes*, 1 (ACW 18, p. 91).

*Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, did not consider being equal with God a thing to be snatched, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.<sup>389</sup> What is more poverty-stricken for God than the form of servant? What is humbler for the king of whatever exists than to enter voluntarily into communion with our poverty-stricken nature? The king of kings and the lord of lords takes on the form of servitude, the judge of everything becomes subject to those in power, the lord of creation lives in a cave, the sovereign of everything does not find room in the inn but is cast aside into the manger of animals, the pure and undefiled one accepts the filth of human nature, and proceeding through all our poverty comes at last to experience death. Witness the extent of his voluntary poverty: life tastes death, the judge is led to judgement, the lord of the life of whatever exists is subjected to the verdict of the one giving sentence, the king of all the powers above the cosmos does not reject the hands of the executioners. To this example, it says, compare the measure of your own humility.*

*Atticus bishop of Constantinople<sup>390</sup>*

*(17)<sup>391</sup> Today Christ the Lord has undergone the generation due to love of mankind, for in respect of the generation of the divine dignity he pre-existed.*

*Then to this he adds again – The Word in his love for mankind is emptied, while remaining unemptied in his nature, for ‘he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.’<sup>392</sup> The one without flesh takes on flesh for your sake, for ‘the Word became flesh’.<sup>393</sup> The one who does not submit to touching because of the incorporeal character of his nature is touched, the one without beginning submits to a bodily beginning, the perfect one increases, the changeless one progresses, the rich one is in an inn, the one who encircles the sky with clouds is wrapped in swaddling clothes, the king is placed in a manger.*

389 Phil. 2:5–7.

390 Atticus was bishop of Constantinople 406–25.

391 This and the remaining items in the florilegium (17–20) are not to be found in the minutes of the first session, but are an expansion of the text read and approved then.

392 Phil. 2:7.

393 Jn 1:4.

*Amphilochius bishop of Iconium*<sup>394</sup>

(18) *Since the same one is both king and God and yet tasted death on account of the dispensation of the passion, so the gifts of the mysteries are symbols. They<sup>395</sup> bring gold for they recognize him as king. They bring frankincense for they know they are making an offering to God. They add also myrrh because of the death contained in the mystery of the passion.*

*The same*

(19) *If he had not been born in the flesh, you would not have been born again in the spirit; if he had not endured the form of a servant, you would not have gained the glory of adoption as sons. For the reason why the heavenly one appeared on earth was in order that you, the earthly one, might ascend to heaven; the reason why Christ emptied himself was so that we might all receive from his fullness. His death became your immortality, the suffering of the master became the elevation of the slave; yet you use the benefit conferred as an opportunity for blasphemy.*

*Likewise Atticus, then bishop of Constantinople*

(20) *If anyone hesitates over the incarnation of the Only-begotten, the conception in a virgin, the sharing of suffering, the cross, the passion, and death, may he learn to recognize that these things were productive of universal salvation and unworthy of the clemency of the Almighty. For if it were shameful for God to dwell in a virgin, it would be much more shameful to fashion her; but since he was not dishonoured by creating her, he did not judge dwelling in his creation worthy of shame. And if suffering is an evil, then how great a thing is setting people free from suffering! Consequently he both died by putting death to death with a death that was no death and rose to obtain our resurrection; and he underwent all this not in the nature of the Godhead but by assuming flesh – in respect of the former dwelling in the inviolability of his own impassibility, in respect of the latter suffering and enduring everything in order to become the pioneer and lawgiver of the supreme mode of life.*

394 For Amphilochius see Quasten, *Patrology*, 1960, 296–300.

395 The Magi, Mt. 2:11.

(*Ephesus I, Session of 22 July*)

918.<sup>396</sup> ‘According to the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors Theodosius and Valentinian there has assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus from, so to speak, the whole world, this holy council of most religious bishops from the holy churches everywhere. It has been in session and has decreed the authority and validity of the faith expounded through the Holy Spirit by the holy fathers who in their time convened in the city of Nicaea, being 318 in number; it has also enacted related matters in the way required.<sup>397</sup> One Charisius by name, presbyter and steward of the holy church of the city of Philadelphia, has given information that some of the heretics coming from Lydia wished to renounce their error, turn to the light of the truth, and be instructed in the correct and pious doctrines of the catholic church;<sup>398</sup> but when they should have been guided into the truth, they were deceived even more and fell, as it were, from one abyss into a yet deeper one. For he has given information that Antony and James, having the title of presbyter, came from Constantinople with letters of commendation from a certain Anastasius<sup>399</sup> and Photius, who were at that time companions of the heretic Nestorius and had themselves the title of presbyter. And although it was obligatory to put before those returning from error to the truth and seeking to come from darkness into the light the apostolic and gospel tradition of faith which the fathers assembled at Nicaea had in their time expounded, they brought an exposition of impious doctrines, set out in the form of a creed, and got those wretches to sign it; in so doing they have outdone every form of impiety. To explain precisely what I have said, I have inserted the plaint submitted by the above-mentioned presbyter Charisius and the exposition of that impious heresy concerning the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, together with the signatures of those who were deceived.’

396 Peter, the secretary of the council, who read out the preceding florilegium from the fathers, is still speaking and now introduces a new agenda item.

397 The reference is to the work of the first session, which confirmed the Nicene Creed and condemned Nestorius.

398 Nestorius was extremely active in putting pressure on heretics into submitting to the Catholic Church. See Young 1983, 233–4.

399 Anastasius was Nestorius’ *syncellus*. He anticipated Nestorius in publicly attacking the expression *Theotokos* at Constantinople. See Kidd 1922, III, 201, and *DHGE* 2, 1444, ‘12. Anastase’. In view of his prominence ‘a certain’ (τις) is derogatory.



919. *To the most holy and God-beloved ecumenical council assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus from Charisius presbyter and administrator of Philadelphia.*

*It is our prayer that all right-thinking people should always pay honour and fitting respect especially to spiritual fathers and teachers. If it ever happens that those who ought to teach instil such things about the faith in their pupils as harm the ears and hearts of all, then of necessity the hierarchy has to be reversed, and those who choose to be bad teachers have to be confuted by their inferiors. One of these is Nestorius, who is reaping the fruits of his own heresy; having the most evil disposition towards faith in Christ and having often taught what one should not, he has disrupted the whole world under the sun, in such a way as to compel even the Christ-loving emperors to decree that your holinesses should assemble here to confirm the doctrines of orthodoxy; granting this in his clemency, the Lord God brought together here all you holy fathers because of the aforementioned [person]. For this reason I fall prostrate before your sacredness and inform you that not only Nestorius himself but also his partners in impiety the presbyters Anastasius and Photius contrive to disseminate the same heresy in the other cities also. They have called, and call till now, on the services of a certain James, who shares their beliefs and to whom they give a share of both their hospitality and their effrontery; they have already written letters certifying his orthodoxy to the most religious bishops of Lydia. He has committed such outrages as will certainly impel your holinesses, when you learn of them, to impose canonical penalties both on him and on those who make use of him. For repairing to the city of Philadelphia in Lydia and deceiving some of the more simple (and these are clerics), he has invalidated the exposition of faith of the holy fathers at Nicaea and made them sign another exposition of faith or rather of faithlessness.<sup>400</sup> And this they have done, signing in their simplicity, 'We assent to this (it says) orthodox creed.' This exposition, full of heretical blasphemy and containing the signatures of those ensnared by it, is preserved, and I request that it be read in the presence of your sacredness so that you may be aware*

<sup>400</sup> The signatories are Quartodeciman and Novatian heretics, forced into submission to orthodoxy, after the persecution initiated by Nestorius (Socrates, *HE* VII. 29) and approved by imperial edict (*CTh* XVI. 5.65, of 30 May 428).

*of their attempt to overturn orthodoxy, and not only this document but also the letter of the aforesaid, where they testify to the orthodoxy of the heretic James who committed these outrages, while they have deprived me as a heretic of the right to receive communion and celebrate, although my beliefs are pious as is shown below. When these documents have been read, your God-belovedness will certainly discover their outrages against orthodoxy, which God will finally frustrate through your holinesses.*

920. *I believe in one God, Father, Almighty, creator and maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, consubstantial with the Father, who for us and for our salvation came down from heaven, was enfleshed, born of the holy Virgin, and made man, was crucified for us, died, rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming again to judge the living and the dead; and in the Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete, consubstantial with the Father and the Son, and in the holy catholic church, in the resurrection of the dead, and in life everlasting.<sup>401</sup>*

*I, Charisius, have presented this plaint as written above, and signed it with my own hand.*

*A copy of the exposition of the falsified creed<sup>402</sup>*

921. *Those who are being instructed now for the first time in the precision of the ecclesiastical doctrines or who wish to come over to the truth from any heretical error must be taught to profess:*

*We believe in one God, Father everlasting, who did not begin to exist subsequently but was everlasting God from the beginning, and did not subsequently become Father since he was always God and Father. We believe in one Son of God only-begotten, being from the essence of the Father, as really Son and of the same*

401 A comparison of this creed with those of Nicaea and Constantinople (II. 11, 14) shows how it belongs to a family of creeds that counted as versions of the Nicene Creed but were in fact free adaptations, particularly in the third article on the Holy Spirit, which was virtually absent from the Nicene text.

402 The long Christological section of the following creed expresses the theology of Nestorius, who insisted that the manhood of Christ is a distinct subject to whom the human experiences, particularly birth and death, are to be assigned, while, in virtue of his 'conjunction' (συνάφεια) with God the Logos, he shares in the titles of Son and Lord and in the divine worship owed to God. We learn from Cyril of Alexandria, *ep.* 91 (ACO 1.5 pp. 314–15) that the creed was attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, the theologian to whom Nestorius was most indebted.

*essence as the one of whom he both is and is believed to be the Son. And in the Holy Spirit, who is from the essence of the Father, being not Son but God in essence, as being of that essence of which is the God and Father from whom he is in essence. For 'we', as [scripture] says, 'have received not the spirit of the world but the Spirit that is from God',<sup>403</sup> separating him from all creation and joining him to God, from whom he is in essence in a way that distinguishes him from all creation, which we consider to be from God not in essence but as a result of workmanship, and we do not consider him to be the Son nor to have received existence through the Son.<sup>404</sup> We profess that the Father is perfect in personhood and the Son likewise and the Holy Spirit likewise, while we preserve the word of piety by considering the Father, Son and Holy Spirit not as three different essences but as one essence acknowledged in sameness of Godhead.*

*Concerning the dispensation which the Lord God accomplished for our salvation in the dispensation according to Christ the Lord, it is necessary to know that God the Word took a perfect<sup>405</sup> man who was of the seed of Abraham and David according to the statement in the holy scriptures,<sup>406</sup> being in nature the same as those of whose seed he was, man perfect in nature, consisting of rational soul and human flesh. Whom, being a man like us in nature, fashioned in the womb of the Virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit, coming from woman and coming under the law to redeem us all from the servitude of the law,<sup>407</sup> when we recovered the adoption as sons foreordained long ago, he conjoined inefably to himself, making him experience death according to the law of mankind, raising him from the dead, leading him into heaven and seating him at the right hand of God, whence, 'being above all rule and authority and dominion and power and every name that is named not in this age only but also in that to come',<sup>408</sup>*

403 1 Cor. 2:12.

404 The doctrine that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son was held by several of the fathers concerned to maintain the dignity of the Son, such as Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria.

405 This is the standard translation of τέλειος, but note that in this context the word simply means 'complete'.

406 Mt. 1:1.

407 Cf. Gal. 4:4–5.

408 Eph. 1:21.

*he receives worship from the entire creation as having an inseparable conjunction with the divine nature, in virtue of his relationship with God and the understanding of the entire creation that has assigned worship to him. We do not say 'two sons' or 'two lords', because God the Word is one Son in essence as the only-begotten Son of the Father, to whom being conjoined and partaking in sonship he shares the name and honour of the Son, and also because God the Word is Lord in essence, to whom being conjoined he shares the honour; and we do not say 'two sons' or 'two lords' for this reason also, that, while the case with the one who is Lord and Son in essence is obvious, the one assumed for our salvation enjoys inseparable conjunction to him and is therefore raised to the level of the name and honour of Son and Lord. He is not like each one of us, a separate son, which is why indeed we are called 'many sons' by the blessed Paul;<sup>409</sup> but alone possessing this privilege through his conjunction with God the Word and sharing in sonship and lordship, he destroys every thought of a duality of sons and lords, and enables us through his conjunction with God the Word to enjoy all faith, understanding and contemplation of him, because of whom he receives worship from the entire creation in virtue of his relationship to God.*

*We therefore say one Son and Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things came into being. We think in the first instance of God the Word, the Son of God and Lord in essence, and then we think in addition of the one assumed, Jesus of Nazareth, whom 'God anointed with the Spirit and with power',<sup>410</sup> as sharing in sonship and lordship through conjunction with God the Word. He is also called the second Adam by the blessed Paul,<sup>411</sup> as being of the same nature as Adam and yet revealing to us the order that is to come. His difference from him is as great as that of the one who bestows ineffable goods in the order that is to come as compared to the one who provided the origin of the present tribulations. In the same way he is called 'the second man',<sup>412</sup> for having revealed the second order, since, while Adam (through whom we received likeness to him) was the origin of the former one, mortal and*

409 Heb. 2:10.

410 Acts 10:38.

411 Cf. 1 Cor. 15:45.

412 1 Cor. 15:47.

*passible and burdened with many pains, the second one was revealed by Christ the Lord who, appearing from heaven in the age to come, will lead us all into his own fellowship. For 'the first man', he [Paul] says, 'is from the earth, earthy, the second man is the Lord from heaven',<sup>413</sup> that is, about to appear from there, to lead all to imitate himself, because of which he adds, 'As is the earthy one, so too are those who are earthy, and as is the heavenly one, so too are those who are heavenly; and as we have borne the image of the earthy one, let us also bear the image of the heavenly one.'<sup>414</sup> It is through his appearing, and being seen by all those going to be judged, that the divine nature, which is invisible, will perform the judgement, according to the blessed Paul, who says, 'The times of our ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent, because he has fixed a day on which he is going to judge the world in justice through a man whom he appointed, providing assurance by raising him from the dead.'<sup>415</sup>*

*This is the teaching of the ecclesiastical doctrines; let everyone who holds contrary beliefs be anathema. Let everyone who does not embrace saving repentance be anathema. Let everyone who does not observe the holy day of Easter according to the ordinance of the holy and catholic church be anathema.*

922.<sup>416</sup> *Budius son of Junicus, a Philadelphian, and Quartodeciman.<sup>417</sup> Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius,<sup>418</sup> I have approached the most holy and catholic church, and anathematize every heresy,*

413 1 Cor. 15:47.

414 1 Cor. 15:48–9.

415 Acts 17: 30–31.

416 The following affidavits by heretics (largely Quartodecimans) submitting to the Catholic Church closely follow a common form. The trivial variations in wording reflect the fact that the common formula was communicated orally and not in a written form.

417 The Quartodecimans, who went back to the origins of Christianity, celebrated Easter on the same day as the Jewish Passover, that is, on 14 Nisan, irrespective of on which day of the week it fell. Pope Victor tried and failed to have their practice condemned in the 190s, but they came to be viewed as heretics in the third century and were condemned at the Council of Nicaea (though the main concern of the council was not over this declining heresy but over the question of whether Easter, now firmly on a Sunday, should be calculated by reference to the Jewish Passover).

418 Bishop of Philadelphia.

*especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I formerly strayed, and assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing also those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. When the exposition was read to me, I signed through Hesychius of Philadelphia, a councillor, since I do not know how to write.*

923. *Hesychius son of Cerdanepius, a Philadelphian, councillor, and Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and made an entreaty, I have approached the most holy and catholic church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing also those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I have signed with my own hand.*

924. *Rufinus, twice a Philadelphian,<sup>419</sup> and Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy, I have made a prostrate entreaty to the most holy and catholic church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and assent with all my household to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing also those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable with all my household to the severity of the laws. When the exposition was read to me and satisfied me, I signed by my very own decision and choice.*

419 The Greek phrase is δις Φιλαδελφεύς ('twice a Philadelphian'), translated in the Latin version as *secundae Philadelpheiae*, but perhaps the phrase means that the person in question had inherited citizen rights in Philadelphia from both his parents.

925. *Eugenius twice a Philadelphian, and Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged with all my household the true faith of orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the most holy catholic church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and assent with all my household to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable with all my household to the severity of the laws. When the exposition was read to me and satisfied me, I signed with my own hand.*

926. *Faustinus, layman, twice a Philadelphian, and Quarto-deciman: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the catholic church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I formerly strayed, and assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing also those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. When the exposition was read to me, I came up with all my household and signed this pious creed with my hand.*

927. *Damalius and Alexander, employing the hand of Eutropius son of Theodore the most devout deacon: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most devout Bishop Theophanius, we have approached the catholic church, anathematizing every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which we had strayed, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox. When the exposition was read to us, we swore a dread oath by the holy Trinity and by the victoriousness and prosperity of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti not to infringe any of what is written above, declared our faith together with our households, and signed.*

928. *Flavius Nymphidius, twice a Philadelphian, and a scholasticus:*<sup>420</sup> *I renounce all the doctrines and customs of the Quartodeciman heresy which are not accepted by the orthodox faith, agreeing to share the orthodox faith in everything and to accept it.*
929. *Polychronius son of Tatian, a Philadelphian, employing the hand of Flavius Hesychius son of Cerdanepius of Philadelphia, a councillor, because I write slowly: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most devout Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the catholic church, after anathematizing every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I had strayed, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox. When the exposition was read to me, I swore a dread oath by the holy Trinity and by the victoriousness and prosperity of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti not to infringe any of what is written above, and after declaring my faith together with all my household, everything written above agrees with me.*
930. *Eustathius son of Marcellus, a Philadelphian, goldsmith, and Quartodeciman: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached by my very own will and choice God's holy catholic and orthodox church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti that if I infringe any of what is written above I am answerable to the severity of the laws. I have signed with my own hand.*
931. *Eutychius twice a Philadelphian: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached by my very own will and choice God's holy catholic and orthodox church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I have signed with my own hand.*

420 Member of the imperial guard.



932. *Stratonicus son of Ammonius, a Philadelphian, and Quarto-deciman: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety of the Christ-loving emperors Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I have signed through my grandson Alexander since I do not know my letters.*

933. *Theodoret, Alexander, and Philadelphus, signed through one of us, Alexander: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, we have approached God's holy catholic and apostolic church of the orthodox, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of those called Cathars<sup>421</sup> and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and we have sworn by the holy Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti that if we infringe any of what is written above we shall be liable to the severity of the laws. When this exposition was read to us, we signed.*

934. *Marinus son of Euethius, employing the hand of Neoterius, a lector of the orthodox: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached the holy catholic and apostolic church, and anathematize every heresy and those who do not observe the day of Easter like the orthodox. I have sworn a divine oath that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws; and I have signed.*

935. *Paidicius, a Philadelphian: I have signed with my own hand. Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic and apostolic church of the orthodox, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not*

421 The 'Cathars' (the 'pure'), also called the Novatianists, were a rigorist sect originating in Rome in 250, which rejected the reconciliation after penance of those guilty of apostasy and other 'sins against God'. For an assimilation between Novatianists and Quartodecimans in parts of Asia Minor see Millar 2004b, 121–2, citing Socrates, *HE* IV. 28 and V. 22.

*observe the holy day of Easter like the orthodox, and I have sworn a dread oath that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. When the exposition was read to me, I signed with my own hand.*

936. *Cyriacus, a Philadelphian, of the heresy of the Novatianists: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Cathars, and I have sworn a dread oath that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. When this exposition was read to me, I signed through Eusebius, son of Calliopius, the Syrian.*

937. *Euxenius, a Philadelphian, and Novatianist: Having acknowledged orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox, anathematize every heresy, and have sworn a dread oath not to infringe any of what is written above. I have signed with my own hand.*

938. *Diomedes, living in the village of Caccaba: Having acknowledged the orthodox faith and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, I have approached by my own free will and independent choice the holy catholic and apostolic church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I had previously strayed, and I swear by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the victoriousness and piety of the masters of the world that I shall keep to what is written above and not infringe any of it, but keep to the orthodox faith and observe it in everything; if I am ever found infringing any of what is written above, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. Having heard the exposition, I have signed with my own hand.*

939. *Julian, twice a Philadelphian: Having acknowledged orthodoxy, I have approached God's holy catholic church of the orthodox, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and I swear a dread oath by the piety of the Christ-loving emperors that if I infringe any of what is written above I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. Being satisfied, I have signed through Martyrius the lector.*

940. *Eutychius of the district of Aulax, leader of the heresy of the Quartodecimans: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, the most*

*devout chorepiscopus James, and the most devout presbyter and administrator Charisius, I have approached the holy catholic church, and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I had formerly strayed, and I assent to the exposition of the orthodox faith given above, anathematizing also those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic and apostolic church observes it, and swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I ever infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I have signed with my own hand.*

941. *Patricius, deuteropresbys<sup>422</sup> of the village of Paradioxylon, employing the hand of Maximus my fellow presbyter because I do not know how to write: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and entreated the most holy and God-beloved Bishop Theophanius, the most devout chorepiscopus James, and the most devout presbyter and administrator Charisius, and having just now requested and entreated to be received into the communion of God's holy catholic church of the faith of the orthodox, I anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans, and those who do not observe the holy day of Easter like God's catholic church, and I have sworn by the holy and life-giving Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I infringe any of this, I shall be liable to the severity of the laws.*

942. *Zeno of the district of Sagarios Pythas, of the heresy of the Quartodecimans: Having acknowledged the true faith of orthodoxy and entreated the most holy Bishop Theophanius, the most devout chorepiscopus James, and the most devout presbyter and administrator Charisius, I have approached the holy and catholic church and anathematize every heresy, especially that of the Quartodecimans in which I formerly strayed, and I assent to the exposition of orthodoxy given above, anathematizing those who do not observe the holy day of Easter as the holy catholic church observes it, swearing by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the piety and victoriousness of the masters of the world Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinian perpetual Augusti; if I*

422 Assistant priest, or curate.

*infringe any of this, [I swear] that I shall be liable to the severity of the laws. I, Flavius Palladius, employed my hand on his behalf, since he is present and says that he does not know how to write.*

943.<sup>423</sup> When this had accordingly been read, the holy council laid down that no one is allowed to produce or write or compose another creed beside the one laid down with the aid of the Holy Spirit by the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea; and that as regards those who dare to compose another creed, or produce or present it to those who wish to turn to the knowledge of the truth whether from paganism or Judaism or any form of heresy, they, if they are bishops or clerics, are to be expelled, the bishops from episcopacy and the clerics from the clergy, while if they are laymen they are to be anathematized. In the same way, if any are found, whether bishops or clerics or laymen, either holding or teaching the things contained in the exposition of the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God presented by the presbyter Charisius, or the abominable and perverted doctrines of Nestorius, which are also attached, they are to be subjected to the verdict of this holy and ecumenical council, with the result, clearly, that a bishop is to be stripped of episcopacy and deposed, a cleric is likewise to lose his rank, while if he is a layman, he too is to be anathematized as has been stated above.

944.<sup>424</sup> *From the book of Nestorius himself, Quaternion 17, on doctrine*<sup>425</sup>

423 This is the text of the so-called Canon 7 of Ephesus, which was much cited at Ephesus II and Chalcedon as forbidding the imposition of additional doctrinal texts and the composition of new definitions. Strictly, the canon applies, however, only to the formula to be used in the reception of converts.

424 The presbyter and notary Peter now reads out a further section from the minutes of the first session – the florilegium of extracts from Nestorius (*ACO* 1.1.2. pp. 45–52), selected to bring out his refusal to attribute the human experiences of Christ to God the Word: Nestorius consistently asserted that the personal subject in their case is the manhood of Christ, as a distinct subject of predication, even though his manhood is ‘conjoined’ to his Godhead and shares in the filial relationship of his Godhead to the Father and can therefore be referred to as ‘the Son’, in virtue of the one united to him. (See further 60–62 above, and Young 1983, 229–40). Nestorius’ opponents accused him of treating Christ as a mere human being, no more divine than the prophets and apostles.

425 The passage argues that Mary gave birth not to God the Word but to the human Christ,

(1) *When the divine scripture is going to speak about the birth<sup>426</sup> of Christ from the blessed Virgin or his death, it is nowhere found to use the word ‘God’ but either ‘Christ’ or ‘Son’ or ‘Lord’, because these three words indicate the two natures, sometimes this one, sometimes that one, sometimes both of them. To give an example, when scripture describes for us the virgin birth, what does it say? ‘God sent his Son.’<sup>427</sup> It does not say, ‘God sent God the Word’, but uses the name which expresses the two natures. For since the Son is man and God, it says, ‘He sent his Son, born of woman’, so that, when you hear ‘born of woman’, then you see the preceding name which indicates the two natures. You would ascribe the birth from the blessed Virgin to the ‘Son’ – for the Virgin Christotokos<sup>428</sup> gave birth to the Son of God – but since the Son of God is dual in respect of the natures, she did not give birth to the Son of God but gave birth to the manhood, which is ‘the Son’ because of the conjoined Son.*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 21*

(2) *Note, you heretic, the consequent. I do not envy the Virgin Christotokos this statement,<sup>429</sup> but on the contrary I know how venerable is the one who received God and from whom there came forth the Master of the universe and from whom there shone forth the sun of justice.<sup>430</sup> But again I suspect the applause: how do you understand ‘came forth’? ‘Came forth’ does not mean the same to*

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united to the Word but not identical with it. Mary, it follows, should not be called *Theotokos* or Mother of God. Nestorius’ opponents read this as a denial of the divinity of Christ.

426 γέννησις, which we translate sometimes as ‘birth’ (the normal English rendering) and sometimes as ‘generation’, where greater precision is desirable.

427 Gal. 4:4.

428 ‘Bearer of Christ’ – a term used and apparently coined by Nestorius, as preferable in his view to *Theotokos* (‘bearer of God’), which seemed to suggest that it was not the manhood but the Godhead that was born of Mary. Cyril of Alexandria protested against this in his First Anathema: ‘If anyone does not acknowledge Emmanuel to be truly God and hence the holy Virgin to be *Theotokos* (for she gave fleshly birth to the Word of God made flesh), let him be anathema.’ This, and the anathemas cited below, is contained in the Third Letter to Nestorius (Cyril, *Select Letters*, 28–33).

429 It is clear from what follows that the reference is to some scriptural passage telling of Christ ‘coming forth’ (προελθεῖν). The word is not used of the birth of Jesus directly in the bible, but Nestorius is thinking of such passages as Is. 42:13, ‘The Lord God of hosts will come forth (ἐξελεύσεται).’

430 Mal. 4:2 (3:20).

me as 'was born', for I do not so quickly forget the distinguishing features. I am taught by divine scripture that God 'came forth' from the Virgin Christotokos, but I am nowhere taught that God was 'born' from her.<sup>431</sup>

(3) And further on – Now divine scripture nowhere says that God was born from the Virgin Christotokos, but that Jesus Christ Son and Lord was. This we all acknowledge, for wretched is he who does not at once accept what divine scripture has taught. 'Rise, take the child and his mother.'<sup>432</sup> This is an utterance of the angels; the archangels doubtless understood the character of the birth better than you do. 'Rise, take the child and his mother.' It did not say, 'Rise, take God and his mother.'

Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 24

(4) Our statement, 'Do not fear to take Mary your wife, for that which was generated in her ...',<sup>433</sup> the meaning is not distorted by using either one 'n' or two<sup>434</sup> (for what was engendered in her is from the Holy Spirit), but it is if we say that God the Word was generated in the womb. For there is a difference between 'being with the one being generated' and 'being generated'. 'For that which has been generated in her', it says, 'is from the Holy Spirit', that is, the Holy Spirit engendered that which was in her. Therefore the fathers, being knowledgeable about the divine scriptures, saw that if in place of 'was enfleshed' we were to put 'was generated', God the Word would turn out either to be the son of the Spirit or to have two fathers, or, with one 'n', God the Word would turn out to be the creation of the Spirit. Therefore they avoided the term 'generation', and put 'who for us men and for our salvation

431 Nestorius distinguishes between 'coming forth', in other words the manifestation of the divine in the one who was born of Mary, and the actual 'being born' (or 'generation'), a biological process that (in his eyes) cannot be directly attributed to God the Word. The following two passages develop the same point.

432 Mt. 2:13.

433 Mt. 1:20.

434 The Latin version helpfully adds the explanatory gloss: 'The Greek [for 'was generated'] is *gennethen* ... If in Greek you use two *n*'s it means *born*, but if you use one it means *made*.' The two words (and some of their cognates) were indistinguishable in pronunciation and were constantly confused in manuscripts. The difference in meaning became crucial in the context of the Trinity, where the Nicene Creed insisted that the divine Son is 'begotten not made'.

*came down and was enfleshed*'.<sup>435</sup> What is meant by 'was enfleshed'? They did not say that he was changed from Godhead into flesh; in saying 'was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit'<sup>436</sup> they followed the evangelist. For the evangelist, when he came to the incarnation, avoided speaking of 'generation' in relation to the Word and put 'enfleshment'. How? Listen: 'The Word was made flesh.' He did not say, 'The Word was generated through the flesh.' For wherever the apostles or the evangelists mention the Son, they put that he was generated from woman. Attend to what is being said, I ask you. Wherever they say the name of the Son and that he was generated from woman, they put that he was generated; but wherever they mention the Word, none of them dared to speak of generation through the incarnation. Listen: when the blessed evangelist John came to the Word and his incarnation, hear what he says, 'The Word became flesh', that is, he took flesh, 'and tabernacled among us', that is, he put on our nature and dwelt among us, 'and we beheld his glory', that of the Son. He did not say, 'We beheld the generation of the Word.'<sup>437</sup>

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 15, on doctrine*  
 (5) *And so too we call Christ according to the flesh God because of his conjunction with God the Word, while knowing the appearance to be man. Listen to Paul preaching both: 'From the Jews', he says, 'is Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all.'*<sup>438</sup> *He first acknowledges the man and then speaks of the appearance as God in virtue of the conjunction with God, lest anyone should suspect Christianity of worshipping a man.*<sup>439</sup>

435 Nestorius is discussing the wording of the Nicene Creed, 'one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, generated from the Father as only-begotten ..., who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man.' He is insisting that talk of the 'generation of the Word' must be restricted to his pre-eternal birth from the Father.

436 The words 'from the Holy Spirit' are not in the original text of the Nicene Creed, but occur at this point in the creed of 381 (see II. 14). As Kelly (1972, 309) shows, Nestorius used a version of the creed that was closely akin, but not identical, to the latter. For such variant versions of the Nicene text see vol. 2, p. 193.

437 The passage analyses Jn 1:14, 'The Word became flesh and dwelt (lit., 'tabernacled') among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten by the Father.'

438 Rom. 9:5.

439 Nestorius did not deny worship to the humanity of Christ, but insisted that we worship it only in virtue of its conjunction with the Godhead; see extracts 8–10, 14–15 below.

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 27*

(6) *But just as we have said that God is the creator of all things and that Moses is God (for it says, 'I made you God over Pharaoh'),<sup>440</sup> and that Israel is the son of God (for it says, 'my first-born son Israel'),<sup>441</sup> and just as we have said that Saul is the Christ (for it says, 'I shall not place my hand on him because he is the Christ of the Lord'),<sup>442</sup> and Cyrus likewise (it says, 'Thus says the Lord to Cyrus my Christ'),<sup>443</sup> and that the Babylonian is holy (for it says, 'I shall command them; they are sanctified and I myself lead them'),<sup>444</sup> so too we say that Christ the Lord is God and Son and holy and Christ.<sup>445</sup> But although the sharing of the names is similar, there is not the same dignity.*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 15*

(7) *'Have this mind among yourselves which is also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, emptied himself, taking the form of a servant.'<sup>446</sup> It did not say, 'Have this mind among yourselves which is also in God the Word, who, being in the form of God, took the form of a servant', but taking 'Christ' as the name that indicates the two natures, it calls him without danger both 'the form of a servant', which he took, and 'God', the statements being assigned severally beyond our comprehension to the duality of the natures.<sup>447</sup>*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 16*

(8) *'So that at the name of Jesus', it says, 'every knee should*

440 Exod. 7:1.

441 Exod. 4:22.

442 1 Sam. 24:6.

443 Is. 45:1 ('my Christ' means 'the one anointed by the Lord').

444 Is. 13:3.

445 This was understood by Nestorius' opponents to assert that these titles are assigned to Christ in the same sense in which they are assigned to ordinary human beings, a misreading that the following sentence was intended to exclude.

446 Phil. 2:5-7. This is a key biblical passage for God the Word *becoming* man. Nestorius insists that the subject who takes the form of a servant is not God but 'Christ Jesus', that is, Christ God *and* man. The 'self-emptying' is the man's; it is not undergone by God.

447 Cyril of Alexandria protested against dividing the sayings in his Fourth Anathema: 'If anyone assigns the sayings contained in the gospels and apostolic writings to two persons or hypostases ..., some to a man considered separately from the Word of God and some as divine to the Word of God the Father alone, let him be anathema'.



*bend of those above the heavens, on the earth and under the earth and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.<sup>448</sup> I venerate the one borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who is hidden. God is inseparable from the one who appears; therefore I do not separate the honour of the one who is not separated. I separate the natures, but I unite the worship.<sup>449</sup>*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 17, on doctrine*

*(9) For even before the incarnation God the Word was Son and God and companion of the Father, but he took in the last times the form of the servant. But being, and being called, Son even before this, he cannot after the assumption [of the human nature] be called a separate son, lest we teach two sons; but since he was conjoined to the one who was Son in the beginning and is conjoined to him, it is impossible to accept distinction as regards the dignity of sonship – I say as regards the dignity of sonship, not as regards the natures.<sup>450</sup> This is why God the Word is also called Christ, since he enjoys constant conjunction with Christ.*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 15, on doctrine*

*(10) We therefore keep the conjunction of natures without confusion. Let us acknowledge God in man; let us venerate the man who is worshipped together with God Almighty because of the divine conjunction.<sup>451</sup>*

448 Phil. 5:10–11.

449 The continuation of this extract is provided at 15 below. Like the preceding extract, it comes from Nestorius' *First Sermon against the Theotokos*, which survives complete (trans. Norris 1980, 123–31).

450 Nestorius was constantly condemned, as in the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 34), for teaching that there are 'two sons' in Christ – the divine Son of God and an adopted, human son. As this passage illustrates, he actually taught that the human nature is 'son' in virtue of participating fully in the dignity of the divine Son.

451 Cf. §14 below. Cyril of Alexandria protested against this view in his Eighth Anathema: 'If anyone dares to say that the assumed man should be worshipped together with God the Word ..., and does not rather honour Emmanuel with a single worship and ascribe to him a single act of praise, since the Word became flesh, let him be anathema.' In Cyril's view, recognition that the Word gives a share in his glory to the man (as to a distinct being) is inadequate: rather, the human nature is one being with the Word who 'became flesh' (Jn 1:14) and thereby made the flesh his own.

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 6*

(11) *Look at what follows this immediately: it says, ‘so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in relation to God, for because he himself was tried and suffered, he is able to help those who are tempted.’<sup>452</sup> Therefore the one who suffered is a merciful high priest; it is the temple that was passible, not the life-giving God of the one who suffered.<sup>453</sup>*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 27*

(12) *So that you may learn, it means, how great was the conjunction of the Godhead, which was seen even in the babyhood of the Lord’s flesh.<sup>454</sup> For the same was both a baby and the lord of the baby. You praised the saying, but do not applaud it without examination. For I said: the same was a baby and dwelt in a baby.*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 1*

(13) *For the operations of the Trinity are shared, and are distinguished only in the hypostases. Indeed the glory of the Only-begotten was sometimes assigned to the Father (for it says, ‘It is my Father who glorifies me’),<sup>455</sup> sometimes to the Spirit (for it says, ‘The Spirit of truth will glorify me’)<sup>456</sup> and sometimes to the sovereignty of Christ.*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 16*

(14) *Speaking about Jesus – This is he who says, ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?’<sup>457</sup> This is he who underwent a three-day death. I worship him with the Godhead as sharing the divine authority.*

(15) *And further on – I venerate the one borne for the sake of the bearer; I worship the one who appears for the sake of the one who*

452 Heb. 2: 17–18.

453 Contrast Cyril of Alexandria’s protest in his Twelfth Anathema: ‘If anyone does not acknowledge that the Word of God suffered in the flesh and was crucified in the flesh and tasted death in the flesh, and became the first-born from the dead because as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema.’

454 Nestorius is discussing the worship paid by the Magi to Christ when still a baby (Mt. 2:11).

455 Jn 8:54.

456 Jn 16:13–14.

457 Mt. 27:46.

*is hidden. God is inseparable from the one who appears; therefore I do not separate the honour of the one who is not separated. I separate the natures, but I unite the worship.<sup>458</sup> That which was formed in the womb is not in itself God; that which was created by the Spirit is not in itself God; that which was buried in the tomb is not in itself God; for if it were, we would be unmistakable worshippers of man and worshippers of the dead. But since God is in the one assumed, so the one assumed, as conjoined to the one who assumed, is also reckoned as God, because of the one who assumed.*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 3, against heretics*

*(16) Speaking about the Spirit – How, he says, could the one who works together with the Son and the Father, be a servant?<sup>459</sup> If one investigates the activities of the Spirit, one will not find them to fall short of those of the Son and Father in any respect – not that the one Godhead is divided, but the divine scripture distributes that which is worked by a single power to each hypostasis in order to display the likeness of the Trinity. Observe with me the same originating in those of the works that occur in time. God ‘the Word became flesh and dwelt among us.’<sup>460</sup> The Father made the manhood assumed sit beside himself; for it says, ‘The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand.’<sup>461</sup> The Spirit descending applauded the glory of the one assumed: for it says, ‘When the Spirit of truth comes, he will glorify me.’<sup>462</sup>*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 6*

*(17) Speaking of Christ – ‘He was sent to preach release to captives’,<sup>463</sup> to which the apostle adds, ‘This is he who was made*

458 Cyril of Alexandria protested against the view expressed here in his Third Anathema: ‘If anyone separates the hypostases in the case of the one Christ after the union, joining them together in a mere conjunction according to honour or authority or sovereignty and not rather by a coming together according to a union of natures, let him be anathema.’

459 The reference is perhaps to 2 Cor. 3:17, ‘The Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.’

460 Jn 1:14.

461 Ps. 109:1.

462 Jn 16:13–14.

463 Lk. 4:18.

*a high priest faithful to God*<sup>464</sup> (for he came into being and did not pre-exist eternally); this is he, you heretic, who advanced little by little to the dignity of high priest. Hear a statement that proclaims this more clearly to you: ‘In the days of his flesh’, it says, ‘he offered up petitions and supplications to him who was able to save him from death, with powerful cries and tears, and was heard because of his devotion. Although he was a son, he learned obedience from what he suffered; and being made perfect, he became for all who obey him the cause of eternal salvation.’<sup>465</sup> It is that which progresses little by little that is perfected, you heretic. On this topic it is also proclaimed<sup>466</sup> in the gospels, ‘Jesus advanced in age and wisdom and grace.’<sup>467</sup> Speaking in agreement with this, Paul too says, ‘Being made perfect, he became for all who obey him the cause of eternal salvation, being addressed by God as a high priest according to the order of Melchizedek.’<sup>468</sup>

(18) *And further on – And he was called high priest. So why do you misinterpret Paul, mixing the impassible God the Word with the earthly likeness and making him a passible high priest?*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 7*

(19) *‘Wherefore, holy brethren, sharers in a heavenly call, consider the apostle and high priest of our confession, Jesus, who was faithful to the one who made him.’*<sup>469</sup>

(20) *And further on – Since we have only this high priest, sharing our feelings, of the same stock,*<sup>470</sup> *and reliable, do not reject faith in him. For because of the blessing promised us from the seed of Abraham he was sent to offer the sacrifice of his body on behalf of himself and his race.*

*It is to be noted that, having acknowledged that every high priest needs a sacrifice and having excepted Christ as not needing one, he*

464 Cf. Heb. 2:17.

465 Heb. 5:7–9.

466 The Greek MS reads ‘John proclaims’ and the Latin MSS have ‘Luke proclaims’. Schwartz suggests that the original contained neither name: ‘John’ was inserted by an ignorant editor, and ‘Luke’ was the obvious correction.

467 Lk. 2:52.

468 Heb. 5:9–10. For contrasting Antiochene and Alexandrian interpretations of the high priesthood of Christ in this epistle, see Young 1969.

469 Heb. 3:1–2.

470 See Heb. 2:14–18, 4:15.

*says here that he offers the sacrifice on behalf of himself and his race.*<sup>471</sup>

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 4*

*(21) So listen attentively to what is said. 'He who eats my flesh', he says<sup>472</sup> – remember that the statement is about the flesh and that it is not I who added the word 'flesh', lest I seem to them to misinterpret. 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood'. Did he say, 'He who eats my Godhead and drinks my Godhead'? 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.'*

*(22) And further on – To return to the subject, 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.' Remember that the statement is about the flesh. 'As the living Father sent me'<sup>473</sup> – me the one who appeared. But [they say that] I sometimes misinterpret; let us hear the sequel. 'As the living Father sent me.' My opponent says the Godhead, I say the manhood; let us see who is misinterpreting. 'As the living Father sent me.' The heretic says, 'Here it says the Godhead – he sent me (it says), God the Word.' 'As the living Father sent me, and I live' – according to them this is God the Word – 'because of the Father'. There then follows, 'And he who eats me, even he will live.' Whom do we eat, the Godhead or the flesh?<sup>474</sup>*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 16*

*(23) In all, he says, if you were to search in the whole New Testament, you would not find in it anywhere that death is connected to God, but either to Christ or to the Son or to the Lord.<sup>475</sup> For*

471 Cf. Heb. 7:27 on the Jewish high priest (a type of Christ) offering sacrifice 'first for his own sins and then for those of the people'. Hostile readers of Nestorius would be shocked by the apparent implication that Christ had to offer sacrifice on his own behalf, as if he were a sinner.

472 Jn 6:56.

473 Jn 6:57.

474 Cyril of Alexandria criticized this language for reducing the body of Christ that we receive in the Eucharist to mere human flesh, incapable of giving life. See the Third Letter to Nestorius, 7 (*Select Letters*, 22), together with the Eleventh Anathema, 'If anyone does not acknowledge the flesh of the Lord to be life-giving and to belong to the very Word of God the Father . . . , let him be anathema.'

475 Though this is true, it is not because the NT writers were concerned to discourage theopaschite expressions, as Nestorius supposes, but because they tended to use 'God' as a proper name of the Father and therefore very rarely applied it explicitly to Christ, indeed only at Jn 20:28, Rom. 9:5, Tit. 2:13.

*‘Christ’ and ‘Son’ and ‘Lord’, when used by scripture in relation to the Only-begotten, signify the two [natures] and are indicative sometimes of the Godhead, sometimes of the manhood, and sometimes of both. For example, when Paul announces in a letter, ‘When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son’,<sup>476</sup> he proclaims the manhood of the Son, and when again he says to the Hebrews, ‘God spoke to us in a Son, through whom he also made the ages’,<sup>477</sup> he indicates the Godhead of the Son. For the flesh is not the creator of the ages, being itself created after many ages.*

*(24) And further on – Neither did the Godhead have James as a brother nor do we proclaim the death of God the Word when we feed on the Lord’s blood and body.<sup>478</sup>*

*Likewise, by the same, Quaternion 23*

*(25) I observe, he says, that our congregations have great devotion and most fervent piety but often err as a result of ignorance of the knowledge of God that involves doctrine. This is not a criticism of the laity, but (how can I say it politely?) of the fact that your teachers do not have the time to inform you of some of the more precise doctrines.*

*Peter presbyter of Alexandria and primicerius of notaries said: ‘See how clearly he admits here that none of the teachers before him had said these things to the laity.’<sup>479</sup>*

945.<sup>480</sup> (1) Cyril bishop of Alexandria, I have signed.

(2) Arcadius bishop and legate of the apostolic see, I have signed.<sup>481</sup>

(3) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, I have signed.

(4) Projectus bishop, legate of the apostolic see, I have signed.

476 Rom. 5:10.

477 Heb. 1:2.

478 Cf. 1 Cor. 11:26.

479 In the minutes of the first session (ACO 1.1.2 p. 52) this is followed by a request from Bishop Flavian of Philippi that the preceding extracts be inserted in the minutes as proof of the heretical nature of Nestorius’ beliefs.

480 These signatures that complete the minutes of the session of 22 July 431 relate primarily to the decree at 943, the so-called Canon 7 of Ephesus. For an analysis of the loyalties of the metropolitans in the list see Vogt 1993.

481 Arcadius signs in Latin, as do Projectus and Philip (4–5) and also Senecio of Scodra (49), Felix of Apollonia (172) and Deacon Bessulas of Carthage (191).

- (5) Philip presbyter, legate of the apostolic see, I have signed.
- (6) Firmus bishop of Caesarea, I have signed.
- (7) Theodotus bishop of Ancyra, I have signed.
- (8) Verinianus bishop of the metropolis of Perge, I have signed through Bishop Timothy.
- (9) Severus bishop of Synnada, I have signed.
- (10) Perigenes bishop of Corinth, I have signed.
- (11) Iconius bishop of Gortyna in Crete, I have signed.
- (12) Memnon bishop of Ephesus, I have signed.
- (13) Reginus bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, I have signed.
- (14) Acacius bishop of Melitene, I have signed.
- (15) Palladius bishop of Amaseia, I have signed.
- (16) Erennianus bishop of Myra, I have signed.
- (17) Valerian bishop of Iconium, I have signed.
- (18) Pius bishop of the metropolis of Pessinus, I have signed.
- (19) Cyrus the most insignificant bishop of Aphrodisias, I have signed.
- (20) Amphilocheus bishop of the metropolis of Side, I have signed.
- (21) Maeonius bishop of the church in Sardis in Lydia, I have signed.
- (22) Hellanicus bishop of Rhodes, I have signed.
- (23) Dalmatius bishop of Cyzicus, I have signed.
- (24) Flavian bishop of Philippi, I have signed.
- (25) Aristonicus bishop of Laodicea, I have signed.
- (26) Paralios by the mercy of Christ bishop of Andrappa, I have signed.
- (27) Idduas bishop of Smyrna, I have signed.
- (28) Olympius bishop of the city of Claudiopolis, I have signed through the bishops Epiphanius and Eusebius.
- (29) Dynatus bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, I have signed.
- (30) Dominus bishop of the city of Cotiaenum, I have signed.
- (31) Eustathius bishop of the city of Docimium, I have signed.
- (32) Epiphanius bishop of the city of Creteia, I have signed.
- (33) Gregory bishop of the city of Cerasus, I have signed.
- (34) Helladius bishop of Adramyttium, I have signed.
- (35) Anysius bishop of the city of Thebes in Hellas, I have signed.
- (36) Dominus bishop of the city of Opus, I have signed.
- (37) Callicrates bishop of the city of Naupactus, I have signed.
- (38) Nicias bishop of the city of Megara, I have signed.
- (39) Callinicus bishop of Apamea, I have signed.

- (40) Peter the most insignificant bishop of Prusa, I have signed.
- (41) Euprepus bishop of Bizye, I have signed.
- (42) Dio bishop of the city of Thebes, I have signed.
- (43) Perrebius bishop of the Thessalian Saltus, I have signed.
- (44) Paul bishop of the city of Anthedon, I have signed.
- (45) Theodorus bishop of the city of Aninetus, I have signed.
- (46) {Eusebius bishop of Heraclea, I have signed.}<sup>482</sup>
- (47) John bishop of Lesbos of the shores of Selene, I have signed.
- (48) Thomas bishop of Derbe, I have signed.
- (49) Senecio bishop of the city of Scodra, I have signed.
- (50) Tribunianus bishop of the holy church in Primupolis, I have signed.
- (51) Martyrius bishop of the city of Ilistra, I have signed.
- (52) Nesius bishop of Colybrassus, I have signed.
- (53) Acacius bishop of Cotenna, I have signed.
- (54) Ablabius bishop of the city of Amorium, I have signed.
- (55) Philip bishop of Pergamum, I have signed.
- (56) Heracleon, also called Theophilus, bishop of the city of Tralles, I have signed.
- (57) Daphnus bishop of the city of Magnesia on the Maeander, I have signed.
- (58) Eusebius bishop of the city of Magnesia by Sipylus, I have signed.
- (59) Anderius the most insignificant bishop of Chersonesus, I have signed.
- (60) Paul the most insignificant bishop of the city of Lappa, I have signed.
- (61) Eutropius the most insignificant of the bishops, of the city of Augaza, I have signed.
- (62) Severus the most insignificant bishop of the city of Sozopolis in the province of Pisidia, I have signed.
- (63) Silvanus bishop of the city of Ceretapa, I have signed.
- (64) Commodus the most insignificant bishop of Tripolis, I have signed.
- (65) Constantius bishop of Diocleia, I have signed.
- (66) Nestorius bishop of Sion, I have signed.
- (67) Aphobius the most insignificant bishop of Coloe, I have signed.

482 Supplied from the Latin version.



- (68) {Phoscus bishop of the city of Thyateira, I have signed.}<sup>483</sup>
- (69) Paul bishop of the city of Daldis, I have signed.
- (70) Limenius bishop of the city of Saittae, I have signed.
- (71) Dorotheus bishop of the city of Myrina, I have signed.
- (72) Theodore bishop of the city of Attaleia, I have signed.
- (73) Aphthonetus the most insignificant bishop of the city of Heraclea by Latmus, I have signed.
- (74) Spudasius the most insignificant bishop of Ceramus, I have signed.
- (75) Philetus the most insignificant bishop of Amyzon, I have signed.
- (76) Docimasius bishop of the city of Maronea, I have signed.
- (77) Ennepius bishop of the city of Maximianopolis, I have signed.
- (78) Euthalius bishop of the city of Colophon, I have signed.
- (79) Lucian bishop of the city of Topirus, I have signed.
- (80) Rufinus bishop of the city of Gabae, I have signed.
- (81) Romanus bishop of the city of Raphia, I have signed.
- (82) Fidus bishop of Joppa, I have signed.
- (83) Hesychius bishop of the city of Parium, I have signed.
- (84) Timothy bishop of the city of Termessus and Eudocias, I have signed.
- (85) Eucharius bishop of the city of Dyrachium, I have signed.
- (86) Evagrius bishop of the city of Soli in Cyprus, I have signed.
- (87) Nectarius bishop of the city of Casae, I have signed.
- (88) Agathocles bishop of the city of Coronaea, I have signed.
- (89) Aeanes bishop of Sycamazon, I have signed.
- (90) Aedesius bishop of Isinda, I have signed.
- (91) Secundianus bishop of the city of Lamia, I have signed.
- (92) Nunechius bishop of the city of Selge, I have signed.
- (93) Matidianus bishop of Coracesium, I have signed.
- (94) Cyril bishop of Coela, I have signed by the hand of the presbyter Hellespontius.
- (95) Sapricius bishop of Paphos in Cyprus, I have signed.
- (96) Themistius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Iasus, I have signed.
- (97) Promachus the most insignificant bishop of the city of Alinda, I have signed.

483 Supplied from the Latin version.

- (98) Eudoxius bishop of the city of the city of Choma, I have signed.  
 (99) Libanius bishop of Palaeopolis, I have signed.  
 (100) Tarianus bishop of the city of Lyrbe, I have signed.  
 (101) Alexander bishop of Arcadiopolis, I have signed.  
 (102) Theodotus bishop of Nysa, I have signed.  
 (103) Rhodo bishop of Palaeopolis, I have signed.  
 (104) Tychicus the most insignificant bishop of the city of Erythrae, I have signed.  
 (105) Eugenius bishop of the city of Apollonia, I have signed.  
 (106) Aetius bishop of the city of Pionia in Hellespontus, I have signed.  
 (107) Timothy bishop of Germe in Hellespontus, I have signed.  
 (108) Archelaus the most insignificant bishop of Myndus, I have signed.  
 (109) Apelles the most insignificant bishop of Cibyra, I have signed.  
 (110) Philadelphus the most insignificant bishop of Trajanopolis,<sup>484</sup> I have signed.  
 (111) Eutherius the most insignificant bishop of Stratonicea in Lydia, I have signed.  
 (112) John the most insignificant bishop of the city of Aureliopolis, I have signed.  
 (113) Maximus the most insignificant bishop of Cyme, I have signed.  
 (114) Modestus bishop of the city of Anaea, I have signed.  
 (115) Theodosius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Mastaura, I have signed.  
 (116) Thomas bishop of Valentinianopolis, I have signed.  
 (117) Eusebius bishop of Clazomenae, I have signed.  
 (118) Eusebius bishop of Aspona, I have signed.  
 (119) Euporus bishop of Hypaepa, I have signed.  
 (120) Sidas bishop of Phaeno, I have signed.  
 (121) Domnus bishop of the city of Orcistus, I have signed.  
 (122) John bishop of Augustopolis, I have signed.  
 (123) Peter bishop of Parembolē, I have signed.

484 Here, and elsewhere in the Acts of Ephesus I, Philadelphus' see is given as Gratianopolis, but there was no city of this name in the eastern provinces. 'Trajanopolis' is the reading at this point in the Latin MSS of the Acts of Chalcedon and is to be preferred; this must be the city in Phrygia Pacatiana, since in 431 Peter was the bishop of Trajanopolis in Rhodope (*ACO* 1.1.8 p. 22).

- (124) Natiras bishop of Gaza, I have signed.
- (125) Zeno bishop of Curium in Cyprus, I have signed.
- (126) Euoptius bishop of Ptolemais in Pentapolis, I have signed.
- (127) Macarius bishop of Metelis, I have signed.
- (128) Eusebius bishop of Pelusium, I have signed.
- (129) Hermogenes bishop of Rhinocolura, I have signed.
- (130) Marinus bishop of Heliopolis, I have signed.
- (131) John bishop of Hephaestus, I have signed.
- (132) Heraclius bishop of Tamiathis, I have signed.
- (133) Strategius bishop of Athribis, I have signed.
- (134) Aristobulus bishop of Thmuis, I have signed.
- (135) Theon bishop of Heracleopolis Sethroites, I have signed.
- (136) Solon bishop of Carallia, I have signed.
- (137) Alypius bishop of the city of Sele, I have signed.
- (138) Macedonius bishop of Xoïs, I have signed.
- (139) Peter bishop of Oxyrhynchus, I have signed.
- (140) Metrodorus bishop of Leontopolis, I have signed.
- (141) Paul bishop of Phlagonis, I have signed.
- (142) Ammonius bishop of Panephrisis, I have signed.
- (143) Publius bishop of Olbia, I have signed.
- (144) Hieracis bishop of Aphnaeum, I have signed.
- (145) Samuel bishop of Dysthis, I have signed.
- (146) Sopater bishop of Septimiace in Libya, I have signed.
- (147) Isaac bishop of Helearchia, I have signed.
- (148) Isaac bishop of the city of Taua, I have signed.
- (149) Heraclius bishop of Thinis, I have signed.
- (150) Theonas bishop of Psinchaus, I have signed.
- (151) Cyrus bishop of Achaea, I have signed.
- (152) Eulogius bishop of Terenuthis, I have signed.
- (153) Alexander bishop of Cleopatris, I have signed.
- (154) Silvanus bishop of Coprithis, I have signed: I, Bishop Heraclius, signed for him because he was unwell.
- (155) Adelphius bishop of Onuphris, I have signed.
- (156) Abraham bishop of the city of Ostracine, I have signed.
- (157) Athanasius bishop of Paralus, I have signed.
- (158) Adelphius bishop of Sais, I have signed.
- (159) Lampetius bishop of Casium, I have signed.
- (160) Chrysaorius bishop of Aphroditopolis, I have signed.
- (161) Ammon bishop of Buto, I have signed.

- (162) Eutychius bishop of Theodosiopolis, I have signed.<sup>485</sup>
- (163) Venantius bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis, I have signed: I signed through my notary Theodosius.<sup>486</sup>
- (164) {Zenobius bishop of the city of Barca, I have signed.}<sup>487</sup>
- (165) Zeno bishop of the city of Teucheira, I have signed.
- (166) Eusebius bishop of Nilopolis, I have signed.
- (167) Heraclides bishop of Heracleopolis Magna, I have signed.
- (168) Macarius bishop of Antaeopolis, I have signed.
- (169) Sabinus bishop of Panopolis, I have signed.
- (170) Athanasius bishop of the city of Scepsis, I have signed.
- (171) Philumenus bishop of Cinna, I have signed.
- (172) Felix, representing the apostolic see, bishop of the city of Apollonia and Byllis,<sup>488</sup> I have signed.
- (173) Timothy bishop of the city of Tomi in the province of Scythia, I have signed.
- (174) Zenobius bishop of the city of Cnossus, I have signed.
- (175) Paulianus bishop of Maiuma, I have signed.
- (176) Phoebammon bishop of Coptos, I have signed.
- (177) Paviscus bishop of Apollo, I have signed.
- (178) Andrew bishop of Hermopolis, I have signed.
- (179) Phantias the most insignificant bishop of Harpasa, I have signed.
- (180) Theosebius bishop of Priene, I have signed.
- (181) Maximus bishop of Assus, I have signed.
- (182) Theoctistus bishop of Phocaea, I have signed.
- (183) Hermolaus the most insignificant bishop of Attuda, I have signed.
- (184) Theodore bishop of Gadara, I signed by the hand of the archdeacon Aetherius.
- (185) Athanasius bishop of the island of Paros, I have signed.
- (186) Paul bishop of Erymna, I have signed.

485 This and the following entry interrupt the list of Egyptian bishops (126–69).

486 Cf. his signature to the condemnation of Nestorius at the first session of the council, which concludes, 'I Paul the presbyter signed on his behalf, in his presence and at his bidding' (*ACO* 1.1.2 p. 61. 151). Hierapolis had for a time been the metropolis of a separate province (Phrygia Pacatiana II), as in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, but Venantius does not sign together with the other metropolitans (1–29). At Chalcedon there is no trace of a separate province, and the see of Hierapolis is not even represented.

487 Supplied from the Latin version.

488 So runs the Latin version; the Greek reads 'Felix bishop of the cities of Apollonia'.

- (187) Timothy bishop of Briulla, I have signed.  
 (188) Daniel bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia, I have signed.  
 (189) Asclepiades bishop of Trapezopolis, I have signed.  
 (190) Theodore bishop of the city of Echineum, I have signed.  
 (191) Bessulas deacon of the church of Carthage, I have signed.  
 (192) Stephen bishop of the city of Teos in Asia, I have signed.  
 (193) Caesarius *chorepiscopus* of the city of Arca, I have signed.  
 (194) Theodulus bishop of Elusa, I have signed.  
 (195) Theodore bishop of Arindela, I have signed.  
 (196) Letoeus bishop of Livias, I have signed.  
 (197) Aristocritus bishop of Olympus, I have signed.

(*Chalcedon*)<sup>489</sup>

942a. During the reading the lamps were lit, and Constantine the hallowed secretary {of the divine consistory}<sup>490</sup> read the sequel as follows:

(*Ephesus II*)

943a. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'I think everyone accepts the definition of the holy fathers who met long ago at Nicaea, which was confirmed and sanctioned as alone in force, and as pleasing to God and sufficient, by the holy council that convened here formerly. We heard them decree as follows: "If anyone affirms or holds or revises or inquires in addition to this, let him incur a sentence."<sup>491</sup> What is your decision? Let

489 The Greek text now resumes. The numeration in Schwartz's Greek text starts with 942, creating a discrepancy (that continues till the end of the session) with the Latin version whose numeration we followed in the preceding section (the minutes of the council of 431). To avoid confusion, we renumber the 942–945 of the Greek text as 942a–945a.

490 Supplied from the Latin version.

491 This is not an exact quotation, but spells out the implications of Canon 7 of the First Council of Ephesus (943 above), which forbade the use of any creed apart from that of Nicaea. The phrase we translate 'in addition to this' (παρὰ ταῦτα in the Greek) is ambiguous, in that it can mean either 'in addition to this' or 'contrary to this' (the Latin generally gives *praeter haec*, which is equally ambiguous); in our translation of this section (943a–964) the English phrases 'in addition to' and 'contrary to' translate the same Greek (or Latin) phrase, which encompasses, and often confuses, the two meanings. For the point being made by the bishops of Ephesus II is not only that the creed must not be contradicted but also that *any* addition to the creed is automatically a betrayal of it; this left the Home Synod of Constantinople of 448, which had required assent to the doctrine of two natures after the union, with no leg to stand on. Note also the ambiguity of the phrase 'the faith of Nicaea', which in a narrow sense meant simply the formulae of the Nicene Creed but in a broader sense encompassed the exposition of that creed developed by Cyril of Alexandria and formally approved at Ephesus I.

each person express his opinion in writing: can we inquire or revise in addition to this creed? If anyone has instituted an inquiry that goes beyond what has been said, {ordained and decreed,}<sup>492</sup> will he not rightly incur the sentence of the fathers? So let each of you say if he is of this opinion.’

944a. Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘The good repute of the 318 holy fathers for defining the faith was shown at the time by the divine grace to which they lent their tongues when they defined dogma, and is confirmed especially by the concord of the holy fathers who met in this illustrious metropolis – a concord that we must maintain in every way, for addition or subtraction are equally harmful to the rule of faith that was sanctioned by the holy fathers at Nicaea and confirmed by those who met here formerly. Those who hold opposing views I abhor as destroying the orthodox faith.’

945a.<sup>493</sup> Sozon bishop of Philippi said: ‘I believe and have believed in the faith defined by the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea, and we agree with the council that assembled in this city. Therefore those who think or teach what is contrary to this I do not believe to be orthodox.’

946. John bishop of the city of Sebasteia in Armenia Prima said: ‘To spread infection in the truth is nothing other than to attempt to mix impiety with the faith, for whoever spurns the faith which is firmly established by numbers, antiquity and the authority of those who defined it<sup>494</sup> has no rule of stability, but is afflicted with a fluctuating impiety of the will. For this reason I too abhor all heresy and innovation and revere only that faith which was defined by the holy fathers and which is the foundation of all our piety.’

947. Theodore bishop of Tarsus in the province of Cilicia said: ‘I too continue to hold what accords with the faith that was defined by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and formerly at Ephesus. Those who hold opinions contrary to this I judge to be not orthodox in their opinions.’

948. Basil bishop of the city of Seleucia in the province of Isauria said: ‘As for the faith defined by the holy fathers who met at Nicaea, the teaching of the holy fathers that has been read out,<sup>495</sup> and the decrees of

492 Supplied from the Latin version.

493 From 945a to 951 the Greek text gives only the names of the speakers. We translate the full text as preserved in the Latin version (948–54).

494 Cf. Augustine’s similar claim, in *The Usefulness of Belief* (written in 391), that the Catholic Church has unique authority because of ‘numbers, unanimity, antiquity’ (14.31).

495 The reference is to the patristic florilegium read out as part of the Acts of Ephesus I (917 above).

the holy fathers who formerly assembled in this city, I believe them to be the work of the same Holy Spirit, and I consider those who hold or teach what is contrary to them to be the enemies of the church of the orthodox.’

949. Stephen bishop of the city of Ephesus said: ‘The decrees and definitions of the 318 fathers who assembled in the city of Nicaea are clear, and were confirmed by the ecumenical council that met in this metropolis of Ephesus. Therefore, if anyone utters what is contrary to the decrees, let him be anathema, because this is the true and orthodox faith.’

950. Uranius bishop of the city of Hemerium in the province of Osrhoene, with Eulogius presbyter of Edessa acting as interpreter, said: ‘I abide by the definitions of the holy council that assembled at Nicaea and by the sentence decreed in this metropolis against those who transgress against this same faith. I anathematize those who dare to utter or explore what is contrary to this, and declare them to have no part in the true faith.’

951. Theodore bishop of Damascus said: ‘Whoever does not heed what has just been read has no part in the orthodox faith and deserves the anathema decreed by the holy fathers.’

952. Bishop Julius, representing the most holy Leo bishop of the church Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: ‘The apostolic see holds this.’

953. Stephen bishop of Hierapolis said: ‘We too agree with this, and we neither hold nor will hold a belief contrary to this, but even to our last breath we will adhere to this and will never tolerate anyone who attempts to teach what is contrary to this.’

954.<sup>496</sup> Meletius bishop of Larissa, also speaking on behalf of Domnus the most sacred bishop of Apamea in Syria Secunda, said: ‘I have always believed this from infancy and still hold the same faith, and I embrace the teaching of the holy fathers that has just been read to us.’

955. Cyrus bishop of the city of Aphrodisias in the province of Caria said: ‘I too have held this faith not only from my boyhood in the monastic life but also as the result of paternal teaching.’

956. Florentius bishop of the city of Lydia said: ‘I too adhere to the creed that has just been read and which was earlier defined by the holy fathers with the help of the Holy Spirit. I acknowledge it to be the source of my hope, and I approve what has been decreed.’

496 From 954 to 957 the Greek text again gives only the name of the speakers. We translate the full text as preserved in the Latin version (957–960), returning to the Greek version at 958.

957. Candidianus bishop of the city of Antioch in the province of Pisidia said: 'I too was brought up from boyhood in the orthodox faith, and became archdeacon of the imperial city; by the grace of God and of Christ I have hitherto, as I believe, lived a blameless life. Right up to this day I have preserved the unshakeable definitions of the 318 fathers at Nicaea and of those who met in this metropolis. These beliefs I have held and will hold to the end.'

958. Hilary, deacon of the church of Rome, with Florentius bishop of Lydia acting as interpreter, said: 'That which has just been read, partly from the creed of those who met at Nicaea and partly that which was confirmed at the holy council held previously at Ephesus, the apostolic see teaches and reveres. I recognize that it agrees with the doctrines of the holy fathers, and the apostolic see has inserted it, most holy fathers, in its own letter to you. If you order it to be read, you will find that it accords with the truth.'

959. Basil bishop of Trajanopolis said: 'My littleness also was nurtured in this holy faith, and in it I pray to complete my days.'

960. Polychronius bishop of Antipatris said: 'By the grace of God we maintain among us the divine and true definitions of the holy fathers, and in this faith we pray to be preserved.'

961. The holy synod said: 'We are all of the same conviction and belief.'

962. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'The holy and great council convoked long ago at Nicaea according to the will of God defined our orthodox and irreproachable faith. The holy council that met here a short time ago confirmed it, and also decreed that it alone should be approved by the church as in force; it laid down that no one is allowed to compose another creed in addition to it, or to inquire or innovate, or raise anything at all regarding our holy religion. Those who try to hold or investigate or compose anything in addition to this, or attempt at all to reverse what has been defined, it subjected to various penalties: if they are bishops, they are to be expelled from the episcopacy; if clerics, from the clergy; if laymen, they are to be excommunicated – for this is what we have learnt from the minutes that have just been read.<sup>497</sup> Since, moreover, as this holy and ecumenical council recognizes, Flavian formerly bishop of the

<sup>497</sup> Dioscorus is citing Canon 7 of Ephesus I (943 above), with greater precision than at 943a. That Flavian and Eusebius had infringed this canon is a recurring theme of the verdicts that follow (966–1066).



church of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum<sup>498</sup> are seen to have stirred up and perverted almost everything, and have become a cause of scandal and turmoil to the holy churches and the orthodox congregations everywhere, it is clear that they have brought upon themselves the penalties which were then defined by our holy fathers in council. Therefore, in confirmation of this, we have delivered the judgement that the aforesaid Flavian and Eusebius are deprived of all priestly and episcopal dignity. Let each of the most religious bishops here present declare his own opinion for recording in the minutes. Everything that is transacted today will be made known to our most pious and Christ-loving emperors.’

963. Bishop Flavian said: ‘I appeal to you.’<sup>499</sup>

964. Hilary deacon of the church of Rome said: ‘*Contradicitur*’ – which means, ‘An objection is lodged’.<sup>500</sup>

(*Chalcedon*)

965. When this was read the most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘Anathema to Dioscorus! At that time he condemned; this time let him be condemned. Holy Lord, punish him! Lord, Lord, punish him! Orthodox emperor, punish him! Many years to Leo! Many years to the patriarch!’

Constantine the hallowed secretary {of the divine consistory}<sup>501</sup> read the continuation of the same document:

(*Ephesus II*)

966. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Flavian and Eusebius have shown themselves to have no part in priesthood and episcopal rank by attempting to add to or subtract from the faith defined at the holy council at Nicaea and confirmed by the holy and ecumenical council that met previously in this city of Ephesus, with the effect that those who dare to

498 Dioscorus, as chairman, condemns Flavian and Eusebius in a judgement that immediately deprives them of ecclesiastical rank (and the honorifics, ‘most God-beloved’ and ‘most devout’, that went with it). Although his judgement has then to be ratified by the other bishops, it takes immediate effect. This was the normal conciliar procedure, to which may be compared the condemnation of Dioscorus himself at the third session of Chalcedon (III. 94–6).

499 ‘You’ here is singular: Flavian is appealing to Pope Leo through his representative the deacon Hilary.

500 Hilary’s formal protest (the Latin word is given in the Greek text) placed him in personal danger. With difficulty he effected his escape, which he commemorated in an inscription still to be seen in the baptistry of St John Lateran’s in Rome.

501 Supplied from the Latin version.

add to or subtract from the faith are excluded from the priesthood, especially when they have caused such turmoil. In consequence, I give the same judgement as the holy and ecumenical council and the holy and most God-beloved Archbishop Dioscorus, and exclude them from episcopal dignity.'

967. Domnus bishop of Antioch said: 'I am of the same opinion as your holy council which has deposed Flavian and Eusebius for being unfaithful to the holy council at Nicaea and to the one that convened here previously, and I agree to the just sentence that you have passed on them.'

968. Thalassius bishop of Caesarea said: 'All those who go against the decrees of the fathers relating to the faith bring on themselves the canonical penalties. Therefore Flavian and Eusebius, for transgressing the decrees issued by the holy fathers at Nicaea and at Ephesus, are excluded from episcopal rank according to the sentence both of your godliness and ourselves.'

969. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: 'I have always loved mercy; but since it is the cause of religion that has spurred the sacred fathers to issue in a just sentence a decision against Flavian and Eusebius, I give my assent.'

970. Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: 'The judgement pronounced against Flavian, formerly bishop, and Eusebius is just. I therefore approve and sign the deposition of both of them.'<sup>502</sup>

971.<sup>503</sup> Cyrus bishop of the city of Aphrodisias said: 'No one is so foolish or hostile to God as to dare to go against the decrees and sentences of the fathers. Therefore I too concur with the preceding sentences of the holy fathers in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.'

972. Erasistratus bishop of Corinth in Hellas said: 'Being present and having recognized from what has been read that Flavian and Eusebius do not believe in accord with the orthodox faith and heed neither the holy council at Nicaea nor that which met formerly at Ephesus, I too agree with the holy fathers and consider them, that is, Flavian and Eusebius, excluded from all episcopal dignity.'

973. Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, also representing Anastasius the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, said: 'The holy and great council

<sup>502</sup> Stephen later claimed to have signed Flavian's deposition only under duress (56–60 above).

<sup>503</sup> From 971–1066 the Greek text gives only the name of the speakers (omitting the latter also from 1001–05). We translate the full version preserved in the Latin version (974–1069).

that assembled in this city a short while ago to condemn the impious Nestorius decreed that no one may ever produce another creed than that issued at Nicaea by the 318 fathers. Therefore I too, observing this decree, judge all who abide by the aforesaid creed to be orthodox, but those who have reversed anything I anathematize and pronounce that they have no part in the orthodox faith.'

974. Meletius bishop of the city of Larissa, also representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea, said: 'I too assent with your holinesses to what is just and lawful in the deposition of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, because they have been proved to have transgressed the decrees handed down by the holy and great councils which met at Nicaea and Ephesus, and together with you I consider them excluded from episcopal dignity.'

975. Diogenes bishop of the city of Cyzicus said: 'I too approve the same as our holy fathers as to the verdict concerning Flavian and Eusebius, and exclude them from episcopal dignity.'

976. John bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia Prima said: 'Every novelty which is committed against justice by anyone brings on itself the lawful sentence. Therefore, because both Flavian and Eusebius stand convicted of transgression and introducing novelties in the faith which was laid down by the holy fathers at Nicaea and confirmed at Ephesus, they have been deprived of the priesthood by a just judgement according to the verdict of the most religious and holy archbishop of Alexandria and of the holy and ecumenical council, and I am in accord with them.'

977. Basil bishop of Seleucia in Isauria said: 'I follow the verdicts of your holinesses concerning the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and agree to everything determined by your beatitude. For you also have followed what the holy fathers earlier sanctioned and ordered concerning transgressors of the faith, that, if they are priests, they are excluded from the priesthood, while if they are laymen, they are to be placed under anathema.'

978. Theodore bishop of the city of Tarsus said: 'I too assent to the sentence pronounced on Flavian and Eusebius by the holy council as promulgated justly and canonically.'

979. Romanus bishop of the city of Myra in the province of Lycia said: 'I too concur with the enactments of the holy fathers concerning Flavian and Eusebius and with the sentence justly pronounced on them.'

980. Photius bishop of the city of Tyre said: 'My littleness also declares its accord with the sentence of this holy and ecumenical council

excluding Flavian and the most wicked Eusebius from the priesthood for holding opinions contrary<sup>504</sup> to the holy council at Nicaea and that which met a short time ago in this illustrious metropolis of Ephesus.’

981. Julian bishop of the city of Tavium said: ‘It is with profound regret that I make this sad pronouncement, for such is the rule of the wise; but because, in defence of piety, the leaders of this great ecumenical council have subjected Flavian and Eusebius to the verdict of the fathers, I assent to what has been done in accordance with the law.’

982. Florentius bishop of the city of Lydia said: ‘Because it is the decision of the holy and great council that those who have broken the divine laws should be condemned by its holy mouth, I too pronounce the same sentence as your holinesses on the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.’

983. Marinianus bishop of the city of Synnada said: ‘I follow in everything the verdict of the holy council, which surpasses my littleness, concerning Flavian and the truly wicked Eusebius, and I assent to their condemnation.’

984. Musonius bishop of the city of Nyssa said: ‘Because the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius have been found to spurn the holy council which met previously in the metropolis of Ephesus, therefore I too assent to their lawful condemnation.’

985. Constantine bishop of the city of Bostra said: ‘I too assent to the just deposition which has been pronounced by the holy council in the case of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and concur with the excellent sentence it has delivered.’

986. Stephen bishop of the city of Hierapolis said: ‘I too follow the sentence pronounced by your holinesses on the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius for transgressing the holy canons which were decreed at Nicaea and previously here, and consequently I agree to your verdict that they are excluded.’

987. Atticus bishop of the city of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus said: ‘I too follow the verdicts of the holy fathers in the sentence that has been pronounced on Flavian and Eusebius, and exclude them, as the sentence of the holy fathers has pronounced, from episcopal dignity.’

988. Eustathius bishop of Berytus said: ‘The decree issued by our holy fathers, who formerly assembled here by order of our most pious and

504 Here and subsequently (down to 1042 inclusive) ‘contrary’ translates *contrarius* (or its synonyms) and not the ambiguous *praeter* (see 943a, note).

God-beloved emperors, has become clear to all; this decree openly lays down that those who try to question, examine or add to the creed of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea are to be stripped of their rank. Therefore Flavian, formerly bishop of Constantinople, and Eusebius, who once presided at Dorylaeum, for holding contrary opinions, have incurred this altogether terrible sentence.'

989. Nunechius bishop of Laodicea Trimitaria said: 'I too assent to the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers on the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.'

990. Olympius bishop of the city of Constantia on the island of Cyprus said: 'I too concur with your holy and glorious council which has condemned Flavian and Eusebius for transgressing the decrees of the holy council at Nicaea and that which assembled here under our thrice blessed father and bishop Cyril of holy memory, and assent to the just verdict of your great and holy council.'

991. John bishop of the island of Rhodes said: 'I too assent to the verdict of your holy and great council for the exclusion of Flavian and Eusebius for transgressing the decrees of the holy and great council at Nicaea and the enactments made in this metropolis of Ephesus under our most devout father and bishop Cyril of holy memory.'

992. Candidianus bishop of the city of Antioch in the province of Pisidia said: 'To everything that has been canonically decreed by the whole holy council of holy fathers concerning Flavian and Eusebius I too assent.'

993. Stephen bishop of the city of Anazarbus said: 'I too assent to the sentence that has been justly pronounced by your holinesses on the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and consider them excluded in future from this dignity, because they have transgressed the decrees issued by the holy and great council at Nicaea and that which subsequently convened in this city.'

994. Gerontius bishop of Seleucia in Syria said: 'I too agree with your holy council and pronounce that Flavian and Eusebius are excluded from the episcopal dignity for transgressing the enactments of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and in the city of Ephesus.'

995. Rufinus bishop of the city of Samosata said: 'I assent to everything that has been justly pronounced concerning the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and consider them excluded from priestly dignity for transgressing the decrees of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and Ephesus.'

996. Indimus bishop of the city of Irenopolis said: 'I assent to the judgement justly promulgated by your holinesses in condemnation of

the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, who transgressed the decrees of the holy and great council of holy fathers who assembled in the city of Nicaea and those who met a short time ago in this city of Ephesus, and consider them excluded in future from episcopal dignity.'

997. Timothy bishop of Balaneae said: 'I too assent to the sentence justly pronounced by your holy council in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius for daring to infringe the decrees of the councils which met in the city of Nicaea and lately at Ephesus.'

998. Theodosius bishop of the city of Canatha said: 'I abide by all the verdicts of the holy council about the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and consider them excluded from episcopal dignity for transgressing the decrees of the fathers who met at Nicaea and at Ephesus.'

999. Seleucus bishop of Amaseia said: 'With the lawful and canonical verdicts of the holy council about Flavian and Eusebius I too concur and agree, and exclude them from all priestly ministry.'

1000. Peter bishop of the city of Gangra said: 'I too concur with the sentence of the holy fathers in condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius.'

1001. Eutychius bishop of Hadrianopolis in Epirus Vetus spoke to the same effect.

1002. Claudius bishop of the city of Anchiasmus in Epirus Vetus spoke to the same effect.

1003. Symeon bishop of Amida spoke to the same effect.

1004. Helias bishop of Hadrianopolis spoke to the same effect.

1005. Luke bishop of the city of Dyrrachium spoke to the same effect.

1006. Basil bishop of Trajanopolis said: 'To the sentence of this holy and great council concerning Flavian and Eusebius my littleness also assents.'

1007. Docimasius bishop of Maronea said: 'To the sentence pronounced by the holy and great council on Flavian and Eusebius my lowliness also assents.'

1008. Alexander bishop of the city of Sebaste said: 'To the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers on Flavian and Eusebius I too likewise assent.'

1009. Uranius bishop of the city of Hemerium in the province of Osrhoene, with Eulogius presbyter of Edessa acting as interpreter, said: 'In that they have dared to transgress the mandates of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and at Ephesus, they ought not only to be deprived of ecclesiastical rank but also subjected to the sword; for those who see their predecessors incurring such a penalty will necessarily be deterred from such an attempt. Because therefore Flavian and Eusebius have

transgressed them, I pronounce that they are excluded from episcopal dignity and are worthy of misfortunes beyond counting.'

1010. Athanasius bishop of the city of Opus said: 'I too concur with the sentence pronounced by the holy council in condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius, and make the same declaration.'

1011. Theodore bishop of Claudiopolis said: 'I assent with the judgments of the holy council in their condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius for not abiding by the canons of the 318 fathers and the decrees of the holy council which formerly assembled in this city of Ephesus, and I assign the same sentence as that which has been justly pronounced by your holy council.'

1012. Leontius bishop of Ascalon said: 'I assent to all the verdicts of the holy fathers concerning Flavian and Eusebius, that they should be excluded from all priestly dignity.'

1013. Photinus bishop of Lydda said: 'Rightly and justly did the holy council that met here previously decree that no one was to erase anything of what had been enacted at Nicaea or here. Therefore I assent to what has now been decreed by the holy fathers, and exclude from episcopal rank Flavian and Eusebius, who dared to transgress what had been enacted in the holy council.'

1014. Anastasius bishop of Areopolis said: 'From hearing the case that was conducted between the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and Eusebius and Flavian, and castigating their unbelief on the basis of the minutes that have been produced and the plaint that was presented, I too concur with the holy fathers and have excluded them, that is, Flavian and Eusebius, from all priestly dignity.'

1015. Theodosius bishop of the city of Amathus said: 'Flavian and Eusebius, who did not keep the decrees of the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and formerly in this city and have been condemned by the holy fathers, have been excluded by myself as well from episcopal dignity, for I follow the decrees of the holy fathers.'

1016. Paul bishop of the city of Maiuma said: 'Flavian and Eusebius transgressed the decrees of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and formerly at Ephesus and have for this reason been condemned by the holy council now assembled. I too have pronounced them excluded from episcopal dignity.'

1017. Zosimos bishop of the city of Menois said: 'Flavian and Eusebius did not keep the decrees of their holy fathers who met at Nicaea and at Ephesus but transgressed and disfigured them, and have for this reason

been condemned by the sentence of this present holy council. They have been excluded from episcopal dignity by myself as well, in accord with the holy fathers.'

1018. Epiphanius bishop of the city of Perge said: 'Execrable was this to me. I too, while lamenting in my soul, concur with the condemnation of Flavian formerly bishop of Constantinople and of Eusebius who held the presidency of the city of Dorylaeum.'

1019. Baruchius bishop of the city of Sozusa said: 'The Holy Spirit always produces bishops who are protectors of the faith, and therefore those who act contrarily to how they should be to be condemned. Among them are both Flavian and Eusebius, who have been found to have had the effrontery to rebel against the canonical ordinances of the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and at Ephesus, and should therefore lose episcopal rank, paying the just penalty for their temerity.'

1020. Heraclius bishop of the city of Azotus said: 'As for those who always attempt to disrupt and disfigure the excellent decrees of the holy fathers, this holy and great council has done well to dismiss Flavian and Eusebius from all priestly ministry. Therefore I too follow and approve their just verdict.'

1021. John bishop of Tiberias said: 'Just and lawful is the sentence pronounced by the holy council on Flavian and Eusebius, and therefore I too make the same declaration.'

1022. Musonius bishop of Zoara said: 'Those who oppose what was sanctioned first by the 318 holy fathers who were assembled at Nicaea by the Holy Spirit and again after them in this great metropolis of Ephesus resist not men but God. Therefore Flavian and Eusebius, who spoke and acted in opposition to the Holy Spirit, should both be stripped of episcopal rank, and attribute their fall to themselves rather than to us who recoil from their impiety.'

1023. Dionysius bishop of Sycamazon said: 'Just and welcome to God are the verdicts of the fathers concerning the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, who were not orthodox on the faith. Therefore I too pronounce the same sentence as the holy council.'

1024. Caiumas bishop of Phaeno said: 'I too have found the verdicts of the holy fathers concerning the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius to be just, and in agreement with the holy council have dismissed them from the priesthood.'

1025. Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna said: 'No one dares to go against the statutes of the holy and great councils, which decreed as from God



that those who transgress the orthodox religion incur lawful censure. Therefore I too, concurring with the sentence of your holinesses, have stripped the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius of priestly dignity.’

1026. Constantius bishop of the city of Sebaste said: ‘Flavian and Eusebius, who took up arms in bitter combat against what had been lawfully decreed about the faith long ago by those at Nicaea and recently at Ephesus, should be stripped of episcopal rank, freeing through their own fall the whole world from the scandal they created.’

1027. Zebennus bishop of Pella said: ‘Welcome to God and beneficial are the verdicts of the holy fathers concerning Flavian and Eusebius, who did not follow the holy and ecumenical council at Nicaea or what was confirmed in this city of Ephesus against those who violate the ecclesiastical canons. Therefore I too concur with the sentence and have excluded Flavian and Eusebius from all priestly dignity.’

1028. Alypius bishop of Bacatha said: ‘Having been present as a hearer<sup>505</sup> during the examination of the case between the most devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches and Flavian and Eusebius, I too recognize, both from the minutes that have been read to us and from the plaint that has been presented, that the same Flavian and Eusebius deserve censure and have been shown to be guilty of heresy. Therefore I concur with the most holy fathers and have excluded them, that is, Flavian and Eusebius, from priestly dignity.’

1029. Polychronius bishop of the city of Antipatris said: ‘To the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers on Flavian and Eusebius, that they are excluded from priestly and episcopal dignity, I too assent.’

1030. Pancratius bishop of the city of Livias said: ‘Flavian and Eusebius, whose fall from the episcopate has freed the whole world from scandal, teach everyone the need to abide by the canons promulgated by the holy fathers at Nicaea and at Ephesus and not take up arms in open warfare as they did.’

1031. Auxilaus bishop of the nation of the Saracen *foederati* said: ‘It is right to follow the decrees of the holy fathers, and therefore I too assent to the judgement they have pronounced on the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.’

1032. Domininus bishop of the city of Plataea said: ‘Since the verdict of the holy fathers is clear, as is the judgement pronounced on Flavian and

505 The Latin word is *audiens*, corresponding to the Greek ἀκροατής, which can mean a full participant and not just a spectator.

Eusebius, I too, concurring with the sentence, make the same declaration.’

1033. Theodosius bishop of Mastaura said: ‘Since the judgement of the holy fathers in condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius is just, I too concur with the sentence.’

1034. Cyriacus bishop of Aegae said: ‘Although it was against our prayers that Flavian and Eusebius did not obey the lawful definitions of the holy fathers issued at Nicaea and confirmed in this metropolis of Ephesus, the sentence pronounced against them by the holy council is just, and I too concur with it in the condemnation of the persons aforesaid.’

1035. Flavian bishop of the city of Adramyttium said: ‘I too assent to the verdict that has been pronounced on Flavian and Eusebius by the holy bishops Dioscorus, Juvenal, Domnus, Stephen, Thalassius and the entire holy council assembled together with them because of Flavian and Eusebius, and I judge them excluded from every exercise of priesthood.’

1036. Cyriacus bishop of Lebedus said: ‘I too concur with the verdict of the holy fathers, and therefore assent to the condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius, who treated the truth with contempt.’

1037. Leontius bishop of the city of Magnesia said: ‘It was not my wish that the impudent crimes against the most holy and devout presbyter and archimandrite Eutyches would take place, nor that the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius would be convicted of holding opinions alien to the orthodox faith. But because what they did has been crushed by the inviolability of the canons, the aforesaid most religious archimandrite has deserved to receive just mercy from this holy and ecumenical council and also to recover rank, communion and the headship of his monastery, while Flavian and Eusebius must attribute to themselves the destruction brought on by their own blasphemy. Therefore I too assent to the verdict concerning them issued by the whole ecumenical council dear to God.’

1038. Eutropius bishop of Pergamum said: ‘I too concur with the sentence of the holy fathers in condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius.’

1039. Gennadius bishop of the city of Teos in the province of Achaia said: ‘I likewise concur with the holy fathers, that Flavian and Eusebius are excluded from sharing priestly rank.’

1040. Olympius bishop of Augaza said: ‘I greatly lament in myself as I too give a judgement that accords with the sentences of the holy fathers of the ecumenical council of Ephesus that have already been delivered, that Flavian and Eusebius are excluded from the entire priestly fellowship.’

1041. Maximus bishop of Tralles said: 'I too assent to the condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, according to the sentence pronounced by the holy fathers.'

1042. Julian bishop of Hypaepa said: 'I too concur with the verdict issued by the holy fathers who by the grace of God are assembled in the metropolis of Ephesus, that Flavian and Eusebius are excluded from episcopal dignity and are not to enjoy the holy and secret mystery of Christ our Lord and God, because their opinions are contrary to the holy faith which was defined by the holy fathers who assembled in the city of Nicaea and who subsequently convened in the city of Ephesus.'

1043. Theopemptus bishop of Cabasa said: 'War is serious when waged by open enemies, but it is still more grievous when waged by false friends and deceivers, for they cause harm by pretence, drawing the most simple away from piety and distancing them from the doctrines of the church. The most devout Flavian, formerly bishop of the great city of Constantinople, who wished to confirm the doctrines of the wicked Nestorius, has been shown by many proofs to be a heretic, while Eusebius, formerly a wrong appointment as bishop of the city of Dorylaeum, has been caught holding the same views as Flavian. So because they did not abide by the doctrines of the holy fathers, this holy and great council has pronounced against them a just sentence of condemnation. I too concur with all the verdicts of the holy council regarding them, that it should be plain that they are excluded from episcopal dignity and all priestly ministry.'

1044. Calosirius bishop of Arsinoites, with his deacon Helias acting as interpreter, said: 'I too make the same declaration as the preceding most holy bishops in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and I assent to all the verdicts of the holy council.'

1045. John bishop of the city of Hephaestus said: 'If a divine sentence from the Saviour declared that he who causes one of the little ones to fall incurs a most grievous penalty,<sup>506</sup> what worthy of their impiety should be suffered by those who at this time have thrown almost the whole world into confusion and given confidence, as far as they could, to those who follow the wicked doctrines of Nestorius? In addition they have given pagans and Jews the opportunity to deride and denigrate the Christian faith, as if our orthodox and unimpeachable faith were unknown until today, when in fact this faith was defined by the holy fathers

506 Cf. Mt. 18:6.

at Nicaea through the Holy Spirit, and was sealed a short time ago in this metropolis also. The holy fathers in the latter council resolved by a holy and just sentence to cut off from the priesthood whoever dared to introduce any new interrogation or creed in addition to that which had been fully defined through the Holy Spirit, as I have said; but the aforesaid persons, despising this just decree, did what pleased themselves. The occasion for hostilities against the aforesaid presbyter Eutyches was the guardianship of the orthodox faith, which the same most religious man has exercised continuously till the end; and this was treated as a crime justifying his condemnation, for the worship of God is an abomination to the sinner. Therefore Flavian and Eusebius duly incur the sentence of our holy fathers, and have been expelled from the priesthood by this holy council, for attempting to alter the faith and foolishly follow the doctrines of Nestorius, so that in future no innovation may be perpetrated against the pious and orthodox religion.'

1046. Heraclides bishop of the city of Heracleopolis said: 'I too concur with the verdict of your holy council, and assent to the condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.'

1047. Isaac bishop of the city of Helearchia said: 'I too declare the same as the most holy fathers and bishops who have spoken before me in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.'

1048. Gemellinus bishop of the city of Erythrum said: 'Those who do not heed the excellent and well-defined doctrines of the holy fathers incur ecclesiastical sentence. This has occurred in the present case. Because an investigation was carried out by Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum relating to certain points displeasing to our spiritual fathers who made up the venerable number of 318 bishops and to those in the metropolis of Ephesus who recently confirmed their proceedings, and since Flavian of Constantinople, when making his judgement, allowed the introduction of some points that are not contained in the aforesaid teaching, they of necessity incur the sentence decreed previously by the holy fathers in the metropolis of Ephesus, who resolved that [such persons] are to be deposed and excluded from every ecclesiastical rank.'

1049. Apollonius bishop of Tanis said: 'Eusebius and Flavian have been discovered thinking and acting in opposition to what the holy fathers assembled at Nicaea in their time defined concerning the orthodox faith which is in Christ and to what was lately confirmed in this metropolis of Ephesus. They have thereby incurred the penalties therein contained, and have been condemned by this holy and ecumenical council and

excluded from every priestly rank. Therefore I too agree and assent.'

1050. Gennadius bishop of the city of Hermopolis Maior said: 'I too pronounce the same sentence as the holy fathers who spoke before me in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and decree that they should be condemned.'

1051. Cyrus bishop of Babylon said: 'I too assent to the verdicts in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.'

1052. Athanasius bishop of the city of Busiris said: 'I too give a verdict that accords with the sentence justly pronounced on Flavian and Eusebius, and assent to what has been decreed in their case.'

1053. Photinus bishop of the city of Teucheira said: 'I too pronounce sentence in accord with the verdicts of the holy fathers, confirming their condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and I assent to all the verdicts issued against them.'

1054. Theophilus bishop of the city of Cleopatris said: 'I agree and assent to the decrees of this holy and ecumenical council concerning the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and concur with all the verdicts delivered against them.'

1055. Pasmusius bishop of the city of Paralus said: 'I too concur with the verdict of this holy and great council in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.'

1056. Sosias bishop of the city of Sozusa said: 'I too recognize as just the verdicts of the holy fathers in condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, and concur with them.'

1057. Theodulus bishop of the city of Tesila said: 'It would have been better for the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius if they had not been born, but to have millstones hung round their necks and be thrown into the sea, because they have caused simple souls to fall.<sup>507</sup> Therefore I concur with their condemnation for transgressing the decrees of the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and formerly at Ephesus.'

1058. Theodore bishop of Barca said: 'I too intend to say, do, and think the very things that have been decided by this holy council, and among them I am in agreement and accord over the condemnation of the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius.'

1059. Rufus bishop of the city of Cyrene said: 'The former bishops Flavian and Eusebius are the cause of their condemnation, since they had the temerity to revise the doctrines of the holy fathers. Therefore I

507 Cf. Mt. 26:24, 18:6.

too agree and assent to their condemnation, which has been promulgated by this holy and great council.'

1060. Zeno bishop of the city of Rhinocolura said: 'Although this holy and great council has pronounced against former bishops a sentence that is severe, full of great sadness, and worthy of the most bitter tears, yet because of the great wickedness and impiety of the impious Eusebius and of Flavian, who was led astray by his insanity and blindness, as the reading of the minutes has shown, we ourselves, who follow the rules of compassion and brotherly love, assent while lamenting to the just judgement promulgated against them.'

1061. Lucius bishop of the city of Zygris said: 'The former bishops Flavian and Eusebius, who have been convicted of transgressing what was decreed both at Nicaea and by the holy fathers formerly assembled at Ephesus, I too condemn, in accordance with the verdicts of all this holy council.'

1062. Auxonius bishop of the city of Sebennytyus said: 'Although the sentence pronounced on Flavian and Eusebius is worthy of tears, since we ought to be saddened and filled with grief according to the law of compassion, yet I too, following this holy and ecumenical council, assent to the verdicts delivered against them.'

1063. Isaac bishop of the city of Taua said: 'As may be understood from the acts of Nicaea and of the council that convened in this city, the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius have brought on themselves the sentence of so many assembled bishops, assisted by the Holy Spirit, because they transgressed what was transacted at that time. Therefore, according to the declarations of the most religious fathers, it is fitting that they be excluded from every priestly rank.'

1064. Philocalus bishop of the city of Zagylis said: 'Now that the conciliar decrees of the holy fathers concerning the orthodox faith have been read, we recognize from the minutes that have now been produced and read that the former bishops Flavian and Eusebius revised the excellent decrees of the holy fathers. Therefore I too assent to their condemnation according to the resolutions of this holy council.'

1065. Isaias bishop of the city of Hermopolis Minor said: 'According to what has been proved from the series of acts, Eusebius and Flavian passed sentence on themselves, because after the decrees of the holy and ecumenical councils, that is, of Nicaea and Ephesus, they had the temerity to expound another faith, bringing on themselves the penalties laid down at the previous holy councils. This present holy and ecumenical

council has condemned them, and I concur with its verdict.’

1066. Barsaumas presbyter and archimandrite, with the monk Eusebius acting as interpreter, said: ‘I too, following the holy fathers who met at Nicaea and previously at Ephesus and now your holinesses, view as condemned Flavian formerly bishop of the city of Constantinople and Eusebius, who have been condemned by you, since I recognize that the acts of your holinesses have been performed according to the fear of God.’

(The Signatures)<sup>508</sup>

1067. (1) Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria, I pronounced and signed.

(2) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, I pronounced and signed.

(3) Domnus bishop of the city of Antioch, I pronounced and signed.

(4) Stephen bishop of Ephesus, I pronounced and signed.

(5) Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, I pronounced and signed.

(6) Eusebius bishop of the metropolis of Ancyra, I pronounced and signed.

(7) John bishop of Sebasteia, I pronounced and signed.

(8) Cyrus the most insignificant bishop of the holy church of God of the metropolis of Aphrodisias, I pronounced and signed.

(9) Erasistratus bishop of the holy church of God of Corinth, I pronounced and signed.

(10) Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, also representing Anastasius the most holy archbishop of Thessalonica, I pronounced and signed.

(11) Meletius bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea, I pronounced and signed.

(12) Diogenes bishop of Cyzicus, I pronounced and signed.

(13) Basil bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, I pronounced and signed.

(13a) John bishop of the island of Rhodes: I pronounced and signed.<sup>509</sup>

(14) Theodore bishop of Tarsus, I pronounced and signed.

(15) Romanus bishop of Myra, I pronounced and signed.

(16) Photius bishop of Tyre, I pronounced and signed.

(17) Theodore bishop of Damascus, I pronounced and signed.

(18) Julian bishop of Tavium, I pronounced and signed.

508 The Greek specifies the names of only 11 of the signatories (nos 1–9, 12–13). We translate the full Latin version (numbered in the Schwartz edition as 1060). The list contains several doublets: 10 = 28, 11 = 27, 68 = 104, 116 = 119, 130 = 138, 131 = 139, and probably 132 = 140. For the reluctance with which several of these bishops signed, see I. 56–62, 134, 853–61.

509 Not all the MSS have this entry, but this bishop is bound to have signed: cf. 991.

- (19) Florentius bishop of the metropolis of Lydia, I pronounced and signed.
- (20) Marinianus bishop of Synnada, I pronounced and signed.
- (21) Musonius bishop of Nyssa, I pronounced and signed.
- (22) Constantine bishop of Bostra, I pronounced and signed.
- (23) John by the grace of God bishop of Nicopolis in Armenia Prima, I pronounced and signed.
- (24) Acacius bishop of Ariaratheia, I pronounced and signed.
- (25) Stephen bishop of Hierapolis, I pronounced and signed.
- (26) Atticus bishop of Nicopolis, which is the metropolis of Epirus Vetus, delivering judgement with the holy fathers, I pronounced and signed.
- (27) Meletius, bishop of the holy church of Larissa, speaking for both Bishop Domnus of Apamea and myself, I pronounced and signed.
- (28) Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, representing Anastasius the most holy archbishop of Thessalonica, I pronounced and signed.
- (29) Eustathius bishop of Berytus, I pronounced and signed.
- (30) Nunechius the most insignificant bishop of the metropolis of Laodicea, I pronounced and signed.
- (31) Candidianus bishop of the metropolis of Antioch, I pronounced and signed.
- (32) Stephen bishop of Anazarbus, I pronounced and signed.
- (33) Gerontius bishop of Seleucia in Syria, I pronounced and signed.
- (34) Rufinus bishop of Samosata, I pronounced and signed.
- (35) Indimus bishop of Irenopolis, I pronounced and signed.
- (36) Timothy bishop of the city of Balaneae, I pronounced and signed.
- (37) Theodosius bishop of Canatha, I pronounced and signed.
- (38) Eutychius bishop of the city of Hadrianopolis in Epirus Vetus, I pronounced and signed.
- (39) Claudius bishop of the city of Anchiasmus in Epirus Vetus, I pronounced and signed.
- (40) Symeon bishop of the metropolis of Amida in Mesopotamia, I pronounced and signed.
- (41) Helias bishop of Hadrianopolis, I pronounced and signed through Romanus bishop of Myra, because I am illiterate.
- (42) Seleucus by the grace of God bishop of the metropolis of Amaseia, I pronounced and signed.
- (43) Peter bishop of the city of Gangra, I pronounced and signed.
- (44) Luke bishop of Dyrrachium, I pronounced and signed.



- (45) Antony bishop of Lychnidus, I pronounced and signed.
- (46) Mark bishop of the city of Euroea, I pronounced and signed.
- (47) Vigilantius bishop of the city of Larissa, I pronounced and signed.
- (48) Basil bishop of the holy church of God of Trajanopolis in the province of Rhodope, I pronounced and signed.
- (49) Docimasius bishop of the holy church of Maronea in the province of Rhodope, I pronounced and signed.
- (50) Constantine bishop of Demetrias, I pronounced and signed.
- (51) Alexander bishop of the church of Sebaste of Tarsus, I pronounced and signed.
- (52) Sozon bishop of Philippi, I pronounced and signed.
- (53) Eusebius bishop of Doberus in Macedonia Prima, I pronounced and signed.
- (54) Maximin bishop of the city of Serrhae in Macedonia, I pronounced and signed.
- (55) Hermogenes bishop of Cassandrea in Macedonia Prima, I pronounced and signed.
- (56) Diogenianus bishop of Remesiana in Dacia Mediterranea, I pronounced and signed.
- (57) Luke bishop of Beroea in Macedonia, I pronounced and signed.
- (58) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Trocnades, also representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus the metropolis of Galatia Secunda, I pronounced and signed.
- (59) John bishop of Messene in Achaea, I pronounced and signed.
- (60) Athanasius bishop of Opus in Achaea, I pronounced and signed.
- (61) Theodore bishop of Claudiopolis, I pronounced and signed.
- (62) Olympius bishop of the metropolis of Constantia in Cyprus, I pronounced and signed.
- (63) Leontius bishop of Ascalon, I pronounced and signed.
- (64) Photinus bishop of Lydda, I pronounced and signed.
- (65) Anastasius bishop of Areopolis, I pronounced and signed.
- (66) Theodosius bishop of Amathus, I pronounced and signed.
- (67) Paul bishop of Maiuma, I pronounced and signed.
- (68) Zosimus bishop of Menois, I pronounced and signed.
- (69) Baruchius bishop of the church of Sozusa, I pronounced and signed.
- (70) Heraclius bishop of Azotus, I pronounced and signed.
- (71) John bishop of the city of Tiberias, I pronounced and signed.

- (72) Musonius the most insignificant bishop of Zoara, I pronounced and signed.
- (73) Dionysius bishop of Sycamazon, I pronounced and signed.
- (74) Caiumas bishop of the city of Phaeno, I pronounced and signed through my fellow bishop Dionysius, because I am illiterate.
- (75) Constantius bishop of Sebaste, I pronounced and signed.
- (76) Zebennus bishop of the city of Pella, I pronounced and signed.
- (77) Alypius bishop of Bacatha, I pronounced and signed.
- (78) Polychronius bishop of Antipatris, I pronounced and signed.
- (79) Pancratius bishop of Livias, I pronounced and signed.
- (80) Auxilaus bishop of the nation of the Saracen *foederati*, I pronounced and signed.
- (81) Domninus bishop of Plataea, I pronounced and signed.
- (82) Theodosius bishop of Mastaura, I pronounced and signed.
- (83) Cyriacus the most insignificant bishop of Aegae, I pronounced and signed.
- (84) Flavian the most insignificant bishop of Adramyttium, I pronounced and signed.
- (85) Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Lebedus, I pronounced and signed.
- (86) Leontius the most insignificant bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander, I pronounced and signed.
- (87) Eutropius bishop of Pergamum, I pronounced and signed.
- (88) Gennadius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Teos, I pronounced and signed.
- (89) Olympius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Augaza, I pronounced and signed.
- (90) Maximus the most insignificant bishop of Tralles, I pronounced and signed.
- (91) Julian the most insignificant bishop of Hypaepa, I pronounced and signed.
- (92) Chrysanthius the most insignificant bishop of Bagis, I pronounced and signed.
- (93) Polycarp the most insignificant bishop of Tabala, I pronounced and signed.
- (94) Paul the most insignificant bishop of Tripolis, I pronounced and signed.
- (95) Epiphanius the most insignificant bishop of Perge in Pamphylia, I pronounced and signed.

- (96) Peter bishop of Chersonesus, speaking also on behalf of Cyriacus bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, I signed.
- (97) Olympius bishop of Sozopolis in the province Pisidia, I pronounced and signed.
- (98) Florentius bishop of Tenedos, Poroselene and the Coasts, I pronounced and signed.
- (99) Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna, I pronounced and signed.
- (100) Bassus bishop of the city of Sion, I pronounced and signed.
- (101) Daniel the most insignificant bishop of the holy church of God of what was once the city of Cadi,<sup>510</sup> I pronounced and signed.
- (102) Symmachius the most insignificant bishop of the holy church of God of Attuda, I pronounced and signed.
- (103) Philetus bishop of the holy church of God of Ceraseis, I pronounced and signed.
- (104) Zosimus bishop of Menois, I pronounced and signed.
- (105) Maras bishop of the city of Dionysias, I pronounced and signed.
- (106) Eulogius presbyter at the request of Uranius bishop of the city of Hemerium in the province of Syria Osrhoene, I signed for him, pronouncing together with the council.
- (107) Theopemptus bishop of the city of Cabasa, I pronounced and signed.
- (108) Calosirius bishop of the city of Arsinoites, I pronounced and signed through Helias my archdeacon.
- (109) John bishop of the city of Hephaestus, I pronounced and signed.
- (110) Heraclides bishop of Heracleopolis, I pronounced and signed.
- (110a) Isaac bishop of the city of Helearchia: I pronounced and signed.<sup>511</sup>
- (111) Gemellinus bishop of Erythrum, I pronounced and signed.
- (112) Apollonius bishop of the city of Tanis, I pronounced and signed.
- (113) Gennadius bishop of the city of Hermopolis Maior, I pronounced and signed.
- (114) Cyrus bishop of the city of Babylon, I pronounced and signed.
- (115) Athanasius bishop of the city of Busiris, I pronounced and signed.

510 'What was once' is an expression of modesty: the city had not lost its status.

511 Not all the MSS have this entry, but this bishop is bound to have signed: cf. 1047.

- (116) Photinus bishop of the city of Teucheira, I pronounced and signed.
- (117) Theophilus bishop of Cleopatris, I pronounced and signed.
- (118) Pasmius bishop of the city of Paralus, I pronounced and signed.
- (119) Photinus bishop of Teucheira, I pronounced and signed.
- (120) Sosias bishop of Sozusa, I pronounced and signed.
- (121) Theodulus bishop of Tesila, I pronounced and signed.
- (122) Theodore bishop of Barca, I pronounced and signed.
- (123) Rufus bishop of the city of Cyrene, I pronounced and signed.
- (124) Zeno bishop of the city of Rhinocolura, I pronounced and signed.
- (125) Lucius bishop of Zygris, I pronounced and signed.
- (126) Auxonius bishop of Sebennytus, I pronounced and signed.
- (127) Isaac bishop of the city of Taua, I pronounced and signed.
- (128) Philocalus bishop of Zagylis, I pronounced and signed.
- (129) Isaias bishop of Hermopolis, I pronounced and signed.
- (130) Marianus bishop of Gaza, I pronounced and signed.
- (131) Martyrius bishop of Gortyna in Crete, I pronounced and signed.
- (132) Gennadius bishop of the city of Cnidus,<sup>512</sup> I pronounced and signed.
- (133) Barsaumas presbyter and archimandrite, I pronounced and signed.
- (134) Longinus presbyter, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, I pronounced and signed.
- (135) Anthimus presbyter, representing Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana in the province of Cappadocia Secunda, I pronounced and signed.
- (136) Ariston presbyter, representing Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, I pronounced and signed.
- (137) Olympius presbyter, representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis in the province of Pontus, I pronounced and signed.
- (138) Marianus bishop of Gaza, I pronounced and signed.
- (139) Martyrius bishop of Gortyna in Crete, I pronounced and signed.
- (140) Gennadius bishop of the city of Cnossus, I pronounced and signed.

512 Cnidus is probably an error for Cnossus, in which case this entry is a doublet of 140.

(*Chalcedon*)

1068.<sup>513</sup> The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘On the question of the orthodox and catholic faith we decree that a more exact examination must take place more completely when the council meets tomorrow.<sup>514</sup> But since the injustice of the deposition of Flavian of devout memory and of the most devout Bishop Eusebius has been proved by the scrutiny of the proceedings that have been read and the spoken testimony of some of the leaders at the then council, who have confessed that they erred and that they had no reason to depose them since they had not erred in the faith, it appears right to us according to the will of God, if it please our most divine and pious master, that Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria, Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus, and Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, who had authority at that council and directed it, should receive the same penalty from the sacred council and be excluded from the episcopal dignity in accordance with the canons.<sup>515</sup> All these developments are to be reported to the divine head.’

1069. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them<sup>516</sup> exclaimed: ‘This judgement is just.’

1070. The most devout Illyrian bishops and those with them<sup>517</sup> said: ‘We have all erred. Let us all be granted forgiveness.’

1071. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them said: ‘Many years to the senate! Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us.<sup>518</sup> Many years to the emperors! The impious are always routed; Christ has deposed Dioscorus. Christ has deposed the murderer. This is a just sentence. This is a just council. {This is a holy council.} The senate is just, {the council is just}.<sup>519</sup> God has avenged the martyrs.’

1072. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let each of the most devout bishops of the present holy council set out in writing

513 We here return to the Greek version.

514 This indeed took place at the second session, held two days later.

515 Dioscorus was immediately placed under arrest (III. 19), as presumably were the other suspended bishops.

516 The bishops of Syria, Asia Minor and Thrace (see 28 above).

517 The bishops of Illyricum (the Balkans apart from Thrace) and Palestine.

518 This is one of the first recorded uses of the *Trisagion* acclamation, apparently imported from Syria. See *ODB*yz 3, 2121.

519 Supplied from the Latin version.

what he believes, without any anxiety and with the fear of God before his eyes, recognizing that the beliefs of our most divine and pious master [Marcian] accord with the creed of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and the creed of the 150 fathers after that,<sup>520</sup> with the canonical letters and expositions of the holy fathers Gregory, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius and Ambrose, and with the two canonical letters of Cyril which were approved and published at the first Council of Ephesus,<sup>521</sup> and does not depart from their faith in any way. In addition it is a familiar fact that the most devout Leo archbishop of Senior Rome sent a letter to Flavian of devout memory concerning the dispute that Eutyches impiously stirred up in opposition to the catholic religion<sup>522</sup>,<sup>523</sup>

520 The Council of Constantinople of 381. Apart from a brief incidental reference at 160, this is the first reference in the Acts to the authority of this council, which is to be constantly cited hereafter. The doubtfully historical attribution to this council of a new version of the creed was to be exploited by the imperial representatives as a precedent for drawing up new definitions of the faith, thereby evading Canon 7 of Ephesus (943 above), so constantly cited by Dioscorus and his allies.

521 This might appear to refer to the Second and Third Letters of Cyril to Nestorius, of which the former was solemnly approved at Ephesus I (431) and the latter inserted into the minutes; but the Third Letter was (after the peace of 433) only tolerated by Cyril's opponents as a rebuttal of Nestorius and was in no way accepted as having authority as a positive theological statement. It will become clear from the second session of the council that Cyril's 'two canonical letters' are the same two that were read out at the Synod of 448 – the Second Letter to Nestorius, and the Letter to John of Antioch. See de Halleux 1992.

522 The Greek MSS read 'the catholic *church*'. But 'the catholic *religion* (θηρησεία)' is the reading both of the Latin version and of the version read out at the fourth session (IV. 3).

523 The Latin edition concludes with the words, 'I have read. We have read. Aetius archdeacon of imperial Constantinople New Rome and *primicerius* of notaries said: "It is complete."' Hefele-Leclercq, II.2, 685, takes these as a series of utterances at the end of the session. But they are simply a record of a subsequent checking of the minutes. Cf. II. 2n.

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Volume 45

# The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon

Translated with introduction and notes by  
RICHARD PRICE and MICHAEL GADDIS

*Volume Two*  
Sessions II–X  
Session on Carosus and Dorotheus  
Session on Photius and Eustathius  
Session on Domnus

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## NUMBERING OF THE SESSIONS

The numbering of the sessions is problematic. The Greek and Latin editions differ in the numbering and to some extent in the order of the acts of the council; this arises principally from the different placing and numbering of the ‘act’ consisting of Canons 1–27. Further complications are the existence of several acts outside the numbered sequence and the omission of some of the minor acts in either the Greek or the Latin version. The numbering we adopt arises from our decision to exclude Canons 1–27 from the numbered sequence, since there is no evidence that they were discussed or approved at a session of the council. Our numbering happens to be almost identical to that of the Latin edition, which has generally been followed in western treatments of the council (such as Hefele-Leclerq), except that we include the second act of 31 October as Session XV, where it conveniently replaces the canons and enables our numbering of the final session to coincide with that in the Latin Acts and Hefele and Leclerq.

Strictly, a distinction should be drawn between the ‘acts’ of the council, of which several could be transacted in one day, and the ‘sessions’ of the council, each lasting one day: the *Breviarium* of Liberatus, composed in Carthage in the early 560s, lists and numbers the sessions (*sessiones*, *conventus* or *secretaria*) accordingly, and details the acts (*actiones*) each one transacted.<sup>1</sup> A different numeration for ‘sessions’ and for ‘acts’ would therefore be both logical and traditional; but it would be confusing for the modern reader and is not adopted here.<sup>2</sup> Table 1 (*see over*) sets out the variations.

<sup>1</sup> *Breviarium* 13, *ACO* 2.5 pp. 119–23. Facundus in his *Defence of the Three Chapters* accordingly numbers the ninth and tenth acts of the Latin edition as falling in the seventh and eighth sessions (5.3.6); see A. Fraïsse-Bétoulières in Facundus, *Défense des trois chapitres*, vol. 2, pt 2 (SC 479), 242–5 nn.

<sup>2</sup> A solution would be to refer to the work of the council as a series not of ‘sessions’ but of ‘acts’. But the word ‘session’ is more natural to English ears and is too well established to be jettisoned.

**Table 1. Different Numerations of the Acts and Sessions**

<i>Agenda</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Session in Liberatus</i>	<i>Act in Greek edition</i>	<i>Act in Latin edition</i>	<i>Session in our edition</i>
Ephesus II	8 October	I	I	I	I
The Faith Trial of Dioscorus	10 October	II	III	II <sup>3</sup>	II
Tome of Leo	13 October	III	II	III	III
Carosus and Dorotheus	17 October	IV	IV	IV	IV
	20 October	–	Unnumbered (‘18’ in <i>ACO</i> 2.1)	Omitted	Unnumbered
Photius and Eustathius	20 October	–	Unnumbered (‘19’ in <i>ACO</i> 2.1)	Omitted	Unnumbered
The Definition Promulgation of Definition Antioch and Jerusalem	22 October	V	V	V	V
Theodoret	25 October	VI	VI	VI	VI
Ibas (1)	26 October	VII	VIII	VII	VII
Ibas (2)	26 October	VII	IX	VIII	VIII
Domnus	26 October	VII	X	IX	IX
Ephesus (1)	27 October	VIII	XI	X	X
Ephesus (2)	27 October	–	Omitted	Unnumbered	Unnumbered
Nicaea and Nicomedia	29 October	IX	XII	XI	XI
Perrhe	30 October	X	XIII	XII	XII
Letter of Leo	30 October	X	XIV	XIII	XIII
Canon 28	31 October	XI	XV	XIV	XIV
Canons 1–27	31 October	–	XVI	Omitted	XV
	1 November	XII	XVII	XVI	XVI
	–	XI	VII	XV	–

3 The oldest Latin edition, however, the *versio antiqua* (for which see vol. 1, p. 84), has the second and third acts in the same order as the Greek.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AHC	<i>Annuario historiae conciliorum</i>
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
ByzZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CCC	<i>Creeeds, Councils and Controversies</i> , J. Stevenson, rev. W.H.C. Frend
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
ChH	<i>Church History</i>
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DR	<i>Downside Review</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEC	<i>Encyclopedia of the Early Church</i> , ed. A. Di Berardino
ep(p).	<i>epistola(e)</i>
ER	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
EThL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FC	The Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>

<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LRE</i>	<i>The Later Roman Empire</i> , A.H.M. Jones
NF	neue Folge
NPNF	Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana periodica</i>
<i>ODByz</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. P. Kazhdan
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. Migne
<i>PGL</i>	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G.W.H. Lampe
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne
<i>PLRE 2</i>	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. 2, ed. J.R. Martindale
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
<i>RSCC</i>	<i>Roman State and Christian Church</i> , ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton
<i>RThL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
SBAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SGLG</i>	<i>Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia</i>
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
{ }	Supplements to the Greek text, as annotated, from the Latin version
[ ]	Translator's additions, to clarify the meaning
I. 50	Session I, paragraph 50
50	Paragraph 50 of the session that is being annotated
50n.	Note at paragraph 50



## THE SECOND SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

The second session, held on 10 October 451, was the first session on ‘how to confirm the true faith’ (II. 2). The emperor’s chief representative, the patrician Anatolius, who chaired this and most of the sessions of the council, proposed the setting up of a committee of bishops to draft a definition of the faith. The bishops responded with apparently unanimous opposition, which the chairman simply ignored, declaring that his proposal would be put into effect; this is a striking instance of the way that imperial policy rather than episcopal wishes dominated the proceedings of the council. The session was largely taken up by the reading of a series of credal and dogmatic documents, including the Tome of Leo; the supporters of miaphysite (one-nature) Christology criticized certain of its statements, which its apologists defended by citing similar statements in Cyril of Alexandria, whose unique authority in Christology was taken for granted throughout the council.

### COMMENTARY

The second or ‘corrected’ edition of the Latin text of the Acts, as well as that of Rusticus, gives the session of 10 October (on the faith) as the second act of the council and that of 13 October (the trial of Dioscorus) as the third. The Greek version, however, and also the first edition of the Latin (*versio antiqua*), reverse the order though not the dates; the purpose of this was to achieve a logical sequence, with the acts that dealt with Dioscorus (I and III in our numeration) coming before the acts of the sessions (II, IV, V, VI) that dealt with the faith. We follow the chronological order given in most of the Latin witnesses, with the session on the faith of 10 October as the second session.

It has occasionally been suggested that the order in the Greek Acts is in fact chronologically correct, with the trial of Dioscorus preceding the first of the sessions on the faith, and that it is the dates of the sessions that are in

error.<sup>1</sup> However, though it might seem more logical to us if the council had disposed of Dioscorus first, the words of the chairman at the end of the first session (I. 1068) were quite explicit that the next session, to be held almost immediately, was to attend to the faith, while the need for a full trial of Dioscorus was not immediately apparent. Secondly and most decisively, the acclamations in the second session demanding the reinstatement of Dioscorus (II. 34n., 41) were a natural response to his suspension at the end of the first session (I. 1068) but would have been inconceivable after his formal trial and deposition in the third.<sup>2</sup> In all, we may with confidence continue to date the first session on the faith to 10 October and to number it accordingly as the second session.

### **The course of the session**

The letters of the emperor Marcian summoning the council had given as the reason for its convocation the need to confirm the orthodox faith.<sup>3</sup> The Council of Nicaea (325) had drawn up a creed which by the time of Chalcedon was considered irreplaceable and therefore set no precedent for the drawing up of fresh creeds; the production of new creeds had, in fact, been explicitly forbidden in Canon 7 of the First Council of Ephesus (read out at I. 943). The two councils of Ephesus of 431 and 449 had sought to confirm the faith by approving certain already existent documents and by condemning certain individuals. Therefore the bishops assembled at Chalcedon would have expected to settle the doctrinal issue in the same two

1 Chrysos (1971, 262–6) argues that the correct date of what we call the second session is 14 October, following the trial of Dioscorus on 13 October. His arguments are: (a) the demand of the Oriental bishops at II. 36, 38, 43 that Dioscorus be exiled implies that he had already been condemned; (b) the Greek MSS at IV. 3 *fin.* (though not the Latin MSS or the Greek MSS at II. 1) date the second session to 14 October; and (c) the granting by the chairman at the end of the second session (31) of an adjournment of five days before the debate over the faith was resumed fits better a three-day interval (which would have been reckoned as four) than the seven days that would have elapsed if the second session had been held on 10 October. These arguments, though accepted by L’Huillier (1996, 190) and apparently by de Halleux (1989, 28, n. 2), are unconvincing.

2 That Dioscorus referred to the third session as the second (III. 22), ignoring the existence of the session of 10 October, from which he was excluded, has no weight against the arguments advanced here. Nor is it a strong argument in favour of our view that at the second session the lay chairman refers to the first session as the ‘previous’ one (II. 2); though it might seem odd for him to ignore the third session if (as Chrysos argues) it had preceded the second, the word need mean no more than that the first session was the last one he himself had chaired.

3 See Documents before the Council 12, 14 and 15.

ways – in this case by solemnly ratifying the Tome of Leo, which Marcian had from his accession treated as the key document in the controversy, and by disciplining Dioscorus and other opponents of Leo. Not only did the bishops not expect a new definition, but few if any of them had any desire for one, while the stance of the Roman delegates was that the task of the council was simply to approve the Tome of Leo as the definitive Christological statement. It therefore came as a shock to the bishops when at the beginning of this second session the patrician Anatolius, as the chairman and the emperor's representative,<sup>4</sup> told them to 'produce a pure exposition of the faith' (II. 2), in other words to compose a new credal statement.<sup>5</sup>

The bishops protested vigorously: it was not permissible to issue a new creed, and nothing was needed to protect orthodoxy beyond approval of the Tome of Leo (3–5). The chairman ignored their objections and proposed the setting up of a select committee to 'deliberate in common about the faith' (6). The bishops maintained their opposition. The chairman agreed to a request from one of the bishops that the Creed of Nicaea be read out, and then himself gave instructions for the reading of a second creed – that supposedly issued by the Council of Constantinople of 381. This creed had been referred to by the chairman in the previous session (I. 1072), but is mentioned in no document predating the Council of Chalcedon itself; even if the Council of Constantinople of 381 had approved this creed (which is uncertain), it had certainly not presented it as comparable in standing to the Creed of Nicaea, and very few of the bishops who arrived at Chalcedon are likely even to have heard of it.<sup>6</sup> The sudden resurrection of this forgotten creed in 451 was doubtless motivated by the need to find a precedent for drawing up new creeds and definitions to supplement the Creed of Nicaea, as a way of getting round the ban on new creeds in Canon 7 of Ephesus.

There followed a reading of three more documents (17–22) – Cyril of Alexandria's Second Letter to Nestorius, his Letter to John of Antioch (both of which had been read out at the first session, I. 240 and 246, as contained in the minutes of the Home Synod of 448), and a document already referred

4 Statements attributed, as in the minutes at this point, to 'the most glorious and magnificent officials and the exalted senate' were made by Anatolius as spokesman for all the imperial representatives present.

5 The phrase used was *πίστιν ἐκθέσθαι*, which means literally 'to expound the faith' but was often used in the more technical sense 'to issue a creed'.

6 On the vexed question of the connection between the 'Creed of Constantinople' and the council of 381, see Kelly 1972, ch. X. What, however, was not novel was the circulation of variant versions of the Nicene Creed, of which the Constantinopolitan was but one among many; see p. 193 below.

to but not yet read out, the Tome of Leo. The letters of Cyril were greeted, predictably, with acclamations of unanimous approval, but the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops who had supported Dioscorus in the first session (and deserted him only temporarily at I. 283–98) interrupted the reading of the Tome with objections to several passages, a remarkable discourtesy towards a document that most of the bishops, in all probability, had already signed;<sup>7</sup> this led, presumably, to detailed discussion that was reduced in the record to a series of citations from Cyril of Alexandria, intended to demonstrate agreement between Leo and Cyril (24–6).<sup>8</sup> At the end of the reading the Tome was greeted with acclamations of approval (23) that can scarcely have been unanimous. One bishop asked for Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius to be taken into account as well: this Third Letter contained the controversial Twelve Chapters and was regularly ignored by moderate followers of Cyril; there was no further mention of it in the public sessions of the council.<sup>9</sup> The chairman now proposed a postponement of further discussion of the faith at a formal session of the council until Leo's supporters had provided further reassurance for the critics of the Tome at a meeting to be held at the residence of the archbishop of Constantinople (31–3).

At this point Dioscorus' supporters interrupted the proceedings with acclamations demanding that participation in the council be restored to Dioscorus and the other leading bishops that had been suspended at the end of the first session (34). They were opposed by the bishops from the diocese of the east and by the representatives of the clergy of Constantinople. The response of the imperial representatives is not recorded, but a negative response is implied by the trial of Dioscorus in the following third session and by the exclusion of the other suspended bishops until the fourth (IV. 14–18).

7 Anatolius of Constantinople had begun collecting signatures to the Tome well before the council (Documents before the Council 9). We may presume that the bishops waiting at Nicaea before the council opened will have been pressed for their signatures. In the fourth session a great number of bishops reported that they had already signed (IV. 9).

8 The Illyrian bishops were formally under the jurisdiction of Rome (exercised through the Bishop of Thessalonica as papal vicar), and supported Rome in its opposition to Canon 28 on the privileges of Constantinople, in that none of them signed either the canon (XVI. 9) or the subsequent letter from the council fathers in its support (Documents after the Council 2). Their prominence among the critics of the Tome and the supporters of Dioscorus (see I. 4) is therefore unexpected.

9 The letter had been inserted into the Acts of the Council of Ephesus of 431: see de Halleux 1992. But it was not counted at Chalcedon among the 'conciliar' letters of Cyril. For Chalcedon's preference for the 'moderate' Cyril of the two approved letters over the 'uncompromising' Cyril of the Chapters, see General Introduction, vol. 1, 63–8.

The chairman now closed the session, declaring that the proposals he had made would be put into effect (45). These included the setting up of a special committee to draw up a new definition of faith – the fruit of their work was subsequently presented at the fifth session. When first making the proposal, the chairman had said it was subject to the approval of the bishops (6). This approval had not been forthcoming, but the chairman treated his proposal as approved nonetheless. Episcopal resistance was not to be allowed to frustrate the wishes of the government; as was to become plain in the fifth session, Marcian was determined to be a new Constantine, supplementing the Creed of Nicaea with a new text, produced under his direction.

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, six days before the Ides of October,<sup>10</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there assembled in the holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia the most glorious officials, that is: (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) the most magnificent and glorious Tatian, prefect of the City, (4) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices, (5) the most magnificent and glorious Martialis, *magister*, (6) the most magnificent and glorious Sporacius, count of the hallowed *domestici*, (7) the most magnificent Genethlius, count of the divine *privata*; and also the glorious senate, that is: (8) the most magnificent and glorious Florentius, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (9) the most magnificent and glorious Senator, former prefect, and patrician, (10) the most magnificent and glorious Nomus, former *magister*, former consul, and patrician, (11) the most magnificent and glorious Protogenes, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (12) the most magnificent and glorious Zoilus, former prefect, (13) the most magnificent and glorious Theodore, former prefect of the City, (14) the most magnificent and glorious Apollonius, former prefect, (15) the most magnificent and glorious Romanus, former *praepositus*, (16) the most magnificent and glorious Theodore, former prefect of Illyricum, (17) the most magnificent and glorious Constantine, former praetorian prefect, (18) the most magnificent and glorious Artaxes, former *praepositus*.

<sup>10</sup> 10 October 451.

There also assembled the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by divine decree, that is: (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most sacred and God-beloved Archbishop Leo of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most sacred archbishop of the renowned city of Constantinople New Rome, and the other most sacred and devout bishops, that is: (5) Maximus of Antioch, (6) Quintillus of Heraclea, representing Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, (7) Stephen of Ephesus, (8) Lucian of Bizye, representing Cyriacus bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (9) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (10) Peter of Corinth, (11) Florentius of Sardis, (12) Eunomius of Nicomedia, (13) Eusebius and Constantine, presbyters, representing Anastasius bishop of Nicaea, (14) Eleutherius of Chalcedon, (15) Meletius of Larissa, representing Domnus bishop of Apamea in Syria Secunda, (16) Amphilocheus of Side, (17) Julian of the city of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Rome, (18) Theodore of Tarsus, (19) Cyrus of Anazarbus, (20) Constantine of Bostra, (21) Photius of Tyre, (22) Theodore of Damascus, (23) Nonnus of Edessa, (24) Symeon of Amida, (25) John of Sebasteia, (26) Seleucus of Amaseia, (27) Constantine of Melitene, (28) Patricius of Tyana, (29) Peter of Gangra, (30) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Dorotheus of Neocaesarea,<sup>11</sup> (31) Romanus of Myra, (32) Critonianus of Aphrodisias in Caria, (33) Nunechius of Laodicea, (34) Marinianus of Synnada, (35) Onesiphorus of Iconium, (36) Pergamius of Antioch in Pisidia, (37) Epiphanius of Perge, (38) Atticus of Nicopolis, (39) Martyrius of Gortyna, (40) Luke of Dyrrachium, (41) Constantine of Demetrias, representing Vigilantius of Larissa in Thessaly, (42) Francion of Philippopolis, (43) Basil of Trajanopolis, (44) Sebastian of Beroea in Macedonia,<sup>12</sup> (45) Theoctistus of Beroea in Syria, (46) Gerontius of Seleucia, (47) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius of Laodicea in Syria, (48) Eusebius of Dorylaeum, (49) Sabas of Paltus, (50) Sophronius of Constantia, (51) Patricius of Neocaesarea, (52) Maras of Anasartha, (53) Romulus of Chalcis, (54) Leontius of Ascalon, (55) Annianus of Capitolias, (56) Zebennus of Pella, (57) John of Tiberias, (58) Beryllus of Aela, (59) Aretas of Elusa, (60) Musonius of Segor, (61) Pancratius of Livias, (62) Zosimus of Menois, (63) Polychronius of Antipatris, (64) John of Gadara,

11 Schwartz, *ACO* II.6 p. 71 (under Φωτεινός) thinks this entry a confusion, arising from I. 3.38–39, and that Atarbius of Trapezus should be given as Dorotheus' representative, as in the other bishops' lists. But a deacon called Photinus appears in the fourth session as Dorotheus' representative (IV. 9.52).

12 Sebastian's see was in fact Beroe in Thrace.

(65) Paul of Anthedon, (66) Photinus of Lydda, (67) Heraclius of Azotus, (68) Marcian of Gerara, (69) Stephen of Jamnia, (70) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis, (71) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis, (72) Theodore of Claudiopolis in Isauria, (73) Julius of Celenderis, (74) Epiphanius of Cestrus, (75) Aelianus of Selinus, (76) Gaius of Syedra, (77) Ammonius of Iotape, (78) Matalus of Philadelphia, (79) Mark of Arethusa, (80) Timothy of Balaneae, (81) Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum, (82) Eutychianus of Epiphaneia, (83) Paul of Mariamme, (84) Lampadius of Raphaneae, (85) Alexander of Sebaste, (86) Philip of Adana, (87) Hypatius of Zephyrium, (88) Theodore of Augusta, (89) Julian of Rhosus, (90) Polychronius of Epiphaneia, (91) John of Flaviopolis, (92) Indimus of Irenopolis, (93) Sophronius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Bassianus of Mopsuestia, (94) Proclus of Adraa, (95) Eulogius of Philadelphia, (96) Theodosius of Canatha, (97) Hormisdas of Philippopolis, (98) Damian of Sidon, (99) Theodore of Tripolis, (100) Olympius of Paneas, (101) Paul of Ptolemais, (102) Paul of Aradus, (103) Thomas of Porphyreon, (104) Porphyry of Botrys, (105) Phosphorus of Orthosia, (106) Porphyry, archdeacon, representing Uranius bishop of Emesa, (107) Joseph of Heliopolis, (108) Jordanes of Abila, (109) Valerius of Laodicea, (110) Thomas of Euaria, (111) Theodoret of Cyrrhus, (112) Rufinus of Samosata, (113) John of Germanicia, (114) Timothy of Doliche, (115) Euolcius of Zeugma, (116) Athanasius of Perrhe, (117) Zebennus of Martyropolis, (118) Callinicus of Apamea, (119) Caiumas of Marcopolis, (120) John of Carrhae, (121) Abramius of Circesium, (122) Leucadius of Mnizus, (123) John of the nation of the Saracens, (124) Noah of Cephas, (124a) Hieracis,<sup>13</sup> (125) John of Polemonium, (126) Gratidianus of Cerasus, (127) Julian of Tavium, (128) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis, (129) Hyperechius of Aspona, (130) Acacius of Cinna, (131) Euphrasius of Lagania, (132) Cecropius of Sebastopolis, (133) John of Nicopolis, (134) Atticus of Zela, (135) Antiochus of Sinope, (136) Eucharius, deacon, representing Paraluis of Andrappa, (137) Paul, presbyter, representing Uranius of Ibora, (138) Acacius of Ariaratheia, (139) Heraclius of Comana, (140) Adelphius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Adolius of Arabissus, (141) Euphronius, presbyter, representing Domnus of Cucusus, (142) Otrius, presbyter, representing John of Arca, (143) Theodosius of

13 A false entry, deriving from the fact that this list must go back to a source that originally included at this point the Egyptian suffragans, of whom the first was Hieracis of Aphnaeum; cf. I. 3.140 (which includes the Egyptian bishops), where Hieracis immediately follows Noah of Cephas. Clearly when the Egyptian names were deleted, that of Hieracis (without his see) remained by error. The same slip occurs at IV. 1.125a and VI. 1.139a. We discuss the implications of this for the editing process in vol. 3, 198.

Nazianzus, (144) Aristomachus of Colonia, (145) Rhenus of Ionopolis, (146) Epiphanius, presbyter, representing Aetherius of Pompeiopolis, (147) Philotimus, presbyter, representing Themistius of Amastris, (148) Theodore of Heraclea, (149) Eulogius, presbyter, representing Genethlius of Creteia, (150) Theophilus of Hadrianopolis, (151) Helpidius of Thermae, (152) Aquila of Eudoxias, (153) Mysterius of Amorium, (154) Longinus of Orcistus, (155) Docimasius of Maronea, (156) Serenus of Maximianopolis in Rhodope, (157) Aetherichus of Smyrna, (158) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (159) Cyriacus of Aegae, (160) Mamas of Aninetus, (161) Leontius of Magnesia on the Maeander, (162) Quintus of Phocaea, (163) Proclus of Algiza, (164) Thomas of Auliucome, (165) Olympius of Theodosiopolis, (166) Philip of Neaule, (167) Rufinus of Briulla, (168) Marcellinus of Metropolis, (169) Isaias of Elaea, (170) Paulinus of Theodosiopolis, (171) Julian of Hypaepa, (172) Hesperus of Pitane, (173) Proterius of Myrina, (174) Basilicus of Palaeopolis, (175) Maeonius of Nysa, (176) Peter of Dardanus, (177) Thalassius of Parium, (178) David of Hadrianeia, (179) Eulalius of Pionia, (180) Pionius of Troas, (181) Stephen of Poemanenum, (182) Theosebius of Ilium, (183) Hermias of Abydus, (184) Daniel of Lampsacus, (185) Patricius of Hadrianutherae, (186) Menecrates of Ceraseis, (187) Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, also representing Andrew of Satala, (188) Helias of Blaundus, (189) Polycarp of Tabala, (190) Patricius of Acrasus, (191) Paul of Tripolis, (192) Amachius of Saittae, (193) Leucius of Apollonshieron, (194) Gemellus of Stratonicea, (195) Alcimedes of Silandus, (196) Dionysius of Attaleia, (197) Nicholas of Acarassus, also representing Stephen of Limyra, (198) Zenodotus of Telmessus, (199) Fronto of Phaselis, (200) Philip of Balbura, (201) Theodore of Antiphellus, (202) Leontius of Araxa, (203) Antipater of Caunus, (204) Andrew of Tlos, (205) Romanus of Bubon, (206) Nicias of Megara, (207) Athanasius of Opus, (208) Domninus of Plataea, (209) Onesimus of Argos, (210) Mark of Euroea, (211) Peregrinus of Phoenice, (212) Eutychiu of Hadrianopolis, (213) Claudius of Anchiasmus, (214) Soterichus of Corcyra, (215) Dionysius of Antioch, (216) John of Alinda, (217) Flacillus of Iasus, (218) Papias of Eriza, (219) Dionysius of Heraclea by Latmus, (220) Menander of Heraclea by Salbacus, (221) Eupithius of Stratonicea, (222) John of Amyzon, (223) Tynchanius of Apollonia, (224) Theodoret of Alabanda, (225) John of Cnidus, (226) Julian, presbyter, representing Calandion of Halicarnassus, (227) Daniel of Cadi, (228) Modestus of Sebaste, (229) Paul of Aristium, (230) Eulalius of Siblia, (231) Chares of Dionysopolis, (232) John of Trapezopolis, (233) Gennadius of Acmonia, (234) Thomas of Theodosiana,



(235) Gennadius of Mossyna, (236) Evander of Diocleia, (237) Gerontius of Basilinopolis, (238) Alphius of Myndus, (239) Theoctistus, presbyter, representing Diogenes of Orthosia, (240) Philotheus, presbyter, representing Zoticus of Harpasa, (241) Mirus of Eulandra, (242) Lucian of Ipsus, (243) Philip of Lysias, (244) Epiphanius of Midaem, (245) Abercius of Hieropolis, (246) Cyriacus of Eucarpia, (247) Eustochius of Docimium, (248) Aquila of Aurocra, (249) Basil of Nacoleia, (250) Strategius of Polybotus, (251) Neoptolemus of Corna, (252) Paul of Derbe, (253) Plutarch of Lystra, (254) Eugenius of Cana, (255) Rufus of Hyde, (256) Tyrannus of Homanada, (257) Acholius of Laranda, (258) Eutropius of Adada, (259) Paul of Philomelium, (260) Paulinus of Apamea, (261) Theotecnus of Tyriaem, (262) Heorticius of Metropolis, (263) Cyrus of Sinethandus, (264) Libanius of Parlais, (265) Alexander of Seleucia, (266) Olympius of Sozopolis, (267) Fontianus of Sagalassus, (268) Adelus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Messalinus of Laodicea, (269) Bassonas of Neapolis, (270) Florentius of Hadrianopolis, (271) Movianus of Limenae, (272) Euelpistus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Florentius of Tenedos, (273) Soterias of Theodosiane, also representing Heliodorus of Amathus and Proechius of Arsinoe, (274) Epaphroditus of Tamasus, also representing Didymus of Lapethus, (275) Dionysius, deacon, representing Photinus of Chytri, (276) John of Messene, (277) Ophelimus of Tegea, (278) Irenaeus of Naupactus, (279) Cyril of Subrita, (280) Gennadius of Cnossus, (281) Eusebius of Apollonia, (282) Demetrius of Lappa, (283) Euphratas of Eleutherna, (284) Chrysogonus, presbyter, representing Paul of Cantanus, (285) Sozon of Philippi, (286) Eusebius of Doberus, (287) Maximin of Serrhae, (288) Nicholas of Stobi, (289) Dardanius of Bargala, (290) Honoratus of Thasos, (291) Theophilus of Ariassus (292) Neon of Sillyum, (293) Diodotus of Lysinia, (294) Maras of Codrula, (295) Paul of Pogla, (296) Marcellinus of Isinda, (297) Macedon of Magydus, (298) Eudoxius of Etenna, (299) Eugenius of Cotenna, (300) Marcellinus of Carallia, (301) Obrimus of Coracesium, (302) Peter of Echinaeum, (303) Aurelius the African, (304) Eustathius of the nation of the Saracens, (305) Restitianus the African.

2. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, the most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘At the previous session an investigation was made into the deposition of Flavian of devout memory and of the most devout Bishop Eusebius. It was evident to all that the inquiry proceeded in accordance with justice and due process, and it was then proved that they had been deposed in a manner both cruel and improper. The steps we thought necessary to be taken on this

matter were then made known to you by the resolution.<sup>14</sup> The question that is now to be investigated, judged and studied is how to confirm the true faith; it is particularly because of the faith that the council has assembled. You know that each one of you will give an account to God on behalf both of his own soul and of all of us, who long both to be taught the truths of religion correctly and to see every dispute resolved through the concord and agreement, harmonious exposition and teaching, of all the sacred fathers. Therefore apply yourselves without fear, favour or enmity to produce a pure exposition of the faith, so that even those who appear not to share the views of all may be restored to harmony by acknowledging the truth. We wish you to know that the most divine and pious master of the world and we ourselves preserve the orthodox faith handed down by the 318, by the 150,<sup>15</sup> and by the other holy and glorious fathers, and believe in accordance with it.' (I have read, we have read, he has read.)<sup>16</sup>

3. The most devout bishops exclaimed:<sup>17</sup> 'No one makes a new exposition,<sup>18</sup> nor do we attempt or presume to do so. For it was the fathers who taught, what they expounded is preserved in writing, and we cannot go beyond it.'

4. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: 'There arose the affair of Eutyches. A decree was issued on the subject by the most holy archbishop of Rome; we assent to it and we have all signed his letter.'<sup>19</sup>

14 See I. 1068.

15 The fathers of the councils of Nicaea (the 318) and of Constantinople (the 150).

16 From this point this formula (*ἀνέγνων, ἀνεγνωμεν, ἀνέγνω*) appears repeatedly in the Greek text after speeches by the chairman. It is a formula of verification used by the scribes who edited the text, or even by the chairman himself (as suggested by Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxv), certifying that his instructions and decisions have been faithfully recorded.

17 Rusticus *ad loc.* suggests that, where the text does not specify that an acclamation was made by *all* the bishops (as at 15 below), we are to understand that only certain bishops made it. But it is clear from the whole course of the debate both in this and the fifth session that the great majority of the bishops were unhappy at the proposal to produce a new definition of the faith.

18 'Exposition' here and in the following paragraphs means 'creed'. The reference here, and repeatedly in the following discussion, is to the ban on the composition of new creeds enunciated in Canon 7 of Ephesus I (I. 943).

19 The 'decree' is the Tome of Leo, given below at 22. On the accession of Marcian and Pulcheria, Pope Leo demanded adherence to the Tome by each of the eastern bishops as a condition for restoration of communion with him, broken as a result of the Council of Ephesus of 449. Anatolius of Constantinople and Maximus of Antioch, in accordance with the policy of the new government, were active and thorough in collecting signatures from the bishops under their authority (see Documents before the Council 9).

5. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘This is what we all say. What has already been expounded is sufficient. It is not permissible to produce another exposition.’

6. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘If it seems good to your devoutness, let the most sacred patriarchs of each diocese<sup>20</sup> select, each one, one or two [bishops] from their own diocese, come together, deliberate in common about the faith, and then make their decisions known to all, so that, if all are in accord, every dispute may be resolved, which is what we wish, and if some prove to be of a contrary opinion, which we do not expect, this may reveal their opinions as well.’

7. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We will not produce a written exposition. There is a canon which declares that what has already been expounded is sufficient. The canon forbids the making of another exposition. Let the [will] of the fathers prevail.’

8. Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis said: ‘Since improvising about the faith is impossible for those taught to follow the holy council of Nicaea and the one that was rightly and piously convened at Ephesus, in accordance with the faith of the holy fathers Cyril and Celestine and the letter of the most holy Leo, we beg your greatness to grant us a postponement so that we may attain the truth of the matter with an appropriate plan – although indeed as regards ourselves, who have signed the letter of the most sacred Leo, we stand in no need of correction.’

9. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: ‘The faith was well defined by the 318 holy fathers and confirmed by the holy fathers Athanasius, Cyril, Celestine, Hilary, Basil, Gregory, and now again by the most holy Leo. We request that the creed of the 318 holy fathers and the letter of the most sacred Leo be read.’

10. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the exposition of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea be read.’

Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia read from a document:<sup>21</sup>

20 That is, the senior bishops of each secular diocese (or group of provinces) – Macedonia, Thrace, Asiana, Pontica, Oriens and Egypt.

21 Nicomedia was the metropolitan see of Bithynia, in which Nicaea lay. Its bishop could therefore be trusted to produce the most authentic text of the Nicene Creed. It was not, however, the version inserted in the Chalcedonian Definition (see our discussion on pp. 191–4 below).

*The Exposition of the Council at Nicaea*

11. *In the consulship of the most illustrious Paulinus and Julian, in the 636th year after Alexander, on 19th Daisius and the 13th day before the Kalends of July<sup>22</sup> at Nicaea, the metropolis of Bithynia.*

*We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those on heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, ‘There was when he was not’, and ‘Before being begotten he was not’, and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.*

12. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘This is the faith of the orthodox. This we all believe. In this we were baptized, in this we baptize. The blessed Cyril taught accordingly. This is the true faith. This is the holy faith. This is the eternal faith. Into this we were baptized, into this we baptize. We all believe accordingly. Pope Leo believes accordingly. Cyril believed accordingly. Pope Leo expounded accordingly.’

13. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Read out as well the exposition of the 150 holy fathers.’

Aetius the most devout archdeacon of Constantinople read from a document:

*The holy creed defined by the 150 holy fathers, agreeing with the holy and great council at Nicaea.<sup>23</sup>*

14. *We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all ages, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with*

<sup>22</sup> 19 June 325.

<sup>23</sup> This version of the text of the Creed of Constantinople is more accurate than that included in the Chalcedonian Definition, which omits a few phrases: see V. 33, with our note *ad loc.*

*the Father, through whom all things came into being, who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and became man, was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried, rose on the third day in accordance with the scriptures and ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end; and in the Holy Spirit, the lord and life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified together, who spoke through the prophets; and in one holy catholic and apostolic church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins. We await the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the age to come. Amen.*

15. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘This is the faith of all. This is the faith of the orthodox. We all believe accordingly.’

16. Aetius the most devout archdeacon said: ‘There is also the letter written by the most holy Cyril, [now] among the saints, then bishop of the great city of Alexandria, to Nestorius, which was approved by all the holy bishops who assembled previously at Ephesus to condemn the same Nestorius, and was confirmed by the signatures of all. There is also the letter of the same Cyril, [now] among the saints, written to John of sacred memory, then bishop of the great city of Antioch, which was likewise confirmed. If it please you, I shall read them.’

17. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the letters of Cyril of sacred memory be read.’

Aetius archdeacon of imperial Constantinople read:

18. *Cyril to his fellow priest the most devout and religious Nestorius<sup>24</sup>*  
*Certain persons, as I am informed, are gossiping to the detriment of my character in the presence of your religiousness, and this constantly, looking out in particular for gatherings of officials; and, thinking perhaps to tickle your ears, they make ill-considered statements, for they have in no way been wronged, but were convicted, and quite rightly too, one for having wronged the blind and the poor – and the rest of the letter, which had previously been read at the synod that took place at Constantinople concerning Eutyches.*

<sup>24</sup> Cyril’s Second Letter to Nestorius. For the full text see I. 240. We follow the Greek Acts in giving only the first few lines at this point. The full text is given in the Latin version here, and was doubtless included in the original Greek edition of the Acts which the Latin translates.

The same archdeacon Aetius likewise read:

19. *To my lord, beloved brother and fellow priest John, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.*<sup>25</sup>

*Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad, for the middle wall of division has been broken down, an end has been put to grieving and the mode of all dissension removed, as Christ the Saviour of us all bestows peace on his churches – and the rest, as the whole letter had previously been read at the same synod concerning Eutyches.*

20. After the reading the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We all believe accordingly. Pope Leo believes accordingly. Anathema to him who divides and him who confuses! This is the faith of Archbishop Leo. Leo believes accordingly. Leo and Anatolius believe accordingly. We all believe accordingly. As Cyril so we believe. Eternal is the memory of Cyril. As is contained in the letters of Cyril, so we hold. We have believed accordingly, and we believe accordingly. Archbishop Leo thinks, believes and wrote accordingly.’

21. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the letter of the most religious Leo, archbishop of the imperial and senior Rome, be read.’

Veronicianus, the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory, read from a document given him by Aetius archdeacon of the holy church of Constantinople:

*Leo bishop of Rome to his beloved brother Flavian*<sup>26</sup>

22. *Having read the letter of your love, whose extremely slow arrival*

<sup>25</sup> Cyril’s Letter to John of Antioch (433); for the full text see I. 246. The full text is given in the Latin version at this point also; as at 18, we follow the extant Greek version in abridging.

<sup>26</sup> This is the Tome of Leo, dated 13 June 449. We translate the Greek version of the text (given in full at *ACO* 2.1 pp. 10–20), since this was the text read out at this point and because English translations of the Latin original are legion (e.g., Stevenson/Frend, *CCC*, 336–44, and Norris 1980, 145–55). The Greek translation is faithful but not slavish; Schwartz was so impressed by its quality that he surmised that it was produced at Constantinople under the aegis of the empress Pulcheria (*ACO* 2.1.1 p. xv). It has some importance in the history of literature because of the echoing of a passage from it (the series of antitheses on the human and divine operations in Christ) in Ephraemus Graecus, *Sermon on the Transfiguration*, whence the same passage was taken and paraphrased in a section of Metropolitan Ilarion’s *Sermon on Truth and Grace* (written c.1050), the acknowledged masterpiece of medieval Russian religious literature; see Müller 1962, which gives the relevant passage of Pseudo-Ephraem as well as Ilarion’s

amazes us,<sup>27</sup> and having studied the sequence of the minutes of the proceedings in the presence of the bishops, we have at length grasped the nature of the threat that arose among you against the health of the faith, and what seemed earlier to have escaped attention has now become clear to us. As a result Eutyches, who had been thought worthy of honour with the title of presbyter, has been shown up to be someone extremely unintelligent and utterly uneducated, with the consequence that the saying of the prophet applies to him, 'He refused to understand doing good; he meditated unrighteousness on his bed.'<sup>28</sup> What could be more unrighteous than to have impious opinions and to resist those who have sound opinions and are wiser? Into this folly fall those who through some impediment of unclarity are hindered from recognizing the truth, have recourse not to the prophetic sayings nor to the writings of the apostles nor to the authority of the gospels but to themselves, and are consequently shown up as teachers of error, since they have not become disciples of the truth. For what education from the divine books of the Old and New Testament has been received by one who has not even grasped the rudiments of the creed itself? And is what is proclaimed throughout the whole world, by the voice of all those being born again, still beyond the mental comprehension of this old man?

*Ignorant therefore of what ought to be thought about the incarnation of the Word of God, and refusing to labour in the wide field of the divine scriptures so as to become worthy of the light of knowledge from that source, he ought at least through attentive listening to have made his own that common and not discordant confession which is professed by the whole multitude of the faithful, that it believes in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus his only-begotten Son our Lord, born from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin – three declarations by which the machinations of virtually all the heretics are defeated. For when God is believed to be both Almighty and Father, the Son is also revealed as coeternal with him, in no respect differing from the Father, since he is God from God, Almighty from Almighty, begotten from eternity as coeternal, not later in time, nor less in power, nor*

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sermon. We indicate in our footnotes the cases, few and slight, where the Greek fails to render the Latin accurately.

27 Flavian wrote to Leo immediately after the Home Synod of November 448 at which Eutyches was condemned, but his letter (*ep.* 22 in the collection of Leo's letters), to which the Acts of the Synod were attached, took months to arrive. Leo heard first of Eutyches' condemnation from Eutyches' own appeal to him (*ep.* 21), supported by a letter from Theodosius II.

28 Ps. 35:4.

unlike in glory, nor separated in essence. The same, eternal Only-begotten of the eternal Father, was born from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin; this birth in time neither subtracted anything from his divine and eternal birth nor added anything to it, but emptied<sup>29</sup> the whole of itself to save man who was deceived, so that it might conquer death and strike down by its own power the devil who had authority over death. For we would not have been able to conquer the author of sin and death, if he had not assumed our nature and made it his own, he whom neither sin could defile nor death detain. For he was indeed conceived from the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin Mother, who brought him forth with her virginity preserved, just as she conceived him while preserving her virginity.<sup>30</sup> But if from this unpolluted fount in the faith of Christians he could not draw a pure understanding, because he was obscuring for himself the light of luminous truth through his own blindness, he could at least have submitted to the teaching of the apostles. And since Matthew says, 'The book of the generation of Jesus Christ the son of David, the son of Abraham',<sup>31</sup> he could have sought out as well the instruction of the apostolic proclamation. And when he read in the Letter to the Romans, 'Paul the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle and set apart for the gospel of God, which he announced beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures concerning his Son who came to be from the seed of David according to the flesh',<sup>32</sup> he could have turned his pious attention accordingly to the prophetic books. And when he found the promise of God to Abraham, 'In your seed all the nations will be blessed',<sup>33</sup> he could also, in order to be in no doubt about the meaning of this 'seed', have followed the apostle saying, 'The promises were spoken to Abraham and to his seed; he did not say "and to seeds", with reference to many, but with reference to one "and to your seed", which is Christ.'<sup>34</sup> He could also have grasped through inner hearing the proclamation of Isaiah saying, 'Behold, the Virgin will conceive in her womb and will bear a son, and they will call his name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us',<sup>35</sup> and he could have faithfully read the

29 'emptied': Latin, 'expedit' (*impedit*). The Greek echoes Phil. 2:7.

30 'preserved ... remaining intact': the Latin word in both cases is *salva*; it is typical of the Greek translation that it prefers elegant variation, in contrast to the more lapidary Latin.

31 Mt. 1:1.

32 Rom. 1:1–3.

33 Gen. 22:18.

34 Gal. 3:16.

35 Is. 7:14.



words of the same prophet, 'A child has been born for us, and a Son has been given to us, whose authority is upon his shoulder, and they will call his name Angel of great counsel, mighty God, potentate,<sup>36</sup> ruler of peace, father of the age to come.'<sup>37</sup> He would not then, speaking vainly, have said that the Word became flesh in such a way that Christ born from the Virgin possessed human form but did not possess the truth of his mother's body.<sup>38</sup> Or did he perhaps think that Christ the Lord is not of our nature because the angel sent to the blessed Mary said, 'The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you, and therefore the holy thing born from you will be called the Son of God',<sup>39</sup> as if this implied that, because the conception of the Virgin was a work of divine creation, the flesh of the one being conceived was not from the nature of the one who conceived? But that generation, which is uniquely wonderful and wonderfully unique, is not to be thought of in such a way that through the novelty of the generation the reality<sup>40</sup> of the race is rejected. For the Holy Spirit gave the Virgin fruitfulness, but the truth of the body was taken from [her] body, and when Wisdom built itself a house<sup>41</sup> the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,<sup>42</sup> that is, in this body which he took from man and which he animated with the spirit of a rational life.

With, therefore, the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person,<sup>43</sup> lowliness was assumed by divinity, impotence by power, mortality by immortality; and for the payment of the debt owed by our nature the divine nature was united to the passible nature, so that – this fitting our cure – one and the same, being 'the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus',<sup>44</sup> would be able to die in respect of the

36 'potentate': not in the Latin original, nor in all versions of the Septuagint.

37 Is. 9:6.

38 Leo is commenting on I. 522. Reasoning from Eutyches' rejection of two natures after the union and his evident reluctance to admit that Christ's body is consubstantial with ours (I. 516), he deduced mistakenly that Eutyches held that the manhood of Christ was not taken from the Virgin but came into being as a result of a change within the Godhead itself (Leo, *ep.* 124, ACO 2.4 p.160. 2–3).

39 Lk. 1:35.

40 'reality': Latin, 'distinctive character' (*proprietas*).

41 Prov. 9:1.

42 Jn 1:14.

43 This clause was subsequently included verbatim in the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 34), with two changes – the replacement of συντιύσης by συντεχούσης for 'coming together', and the replacement of 'one person' by 'one person and hypostasis'. Both changes reflect the preferred terminology of Cyril of Alexandria.

44 1 Tim. 2:5.

*one and would not be able to expire in respect of the other. Therefore in the pure and perfect nature of true man true God was born, complete in what is his own and complete in what is ours. We call ours that which the Creator deposited in us from the beginning and which he received back again to restore; for that which the deceiver introduced in addition – and the man, being deceived, sinned<sup>45</sup> – did not have any trace in the Saviour. Nor because he entered into a share in human weakness did he in consequence become a sharer also in our sins. For he assumed the form of a servant without any defilement of sin, augmenting the human without lessening the divine, since that emptying through which the invisible made himself visible, and the maker and master of the universe chose to become one among men, was a condescension of compassion and not a deficiency of power. Therefore the one who while remaining in the form of God created man, himself in the form of a servant became man; for each nature preserves without any loss its own distinctive character, and just as the form of God does not destroy the form of the servant, so the forming of the servant did not diminish the form of God. For because the devil boasted that the man<sup>46</sup> cheated by his deceit, deprived of the divine gifts and stripped of the benefits of immortality, had come under a heavy sentence of death, and that he [the devil] had found some comfort in his own ills from the fellowship of the one who had become a betrayer,<sup>47</sup> and that in addition God, since his justice demanded it, had changed his own decree about man, whom he had provided with so great honour –, there was need for the dispensation of the ineffable mystery, so that the changeless God, whose will cannot be deprived of its inherent goodness, might accomplish with an ineffable mystery the original dispensation of his piety concerning us, and so that the man who had been forced into sin by the malice of diabolical wickedness might not perish contrary to the will of God.*

*Therefore the Son of God enters this lowly state of the world, descending from his heavenly throne without being separated from the glory of the Father, born by a new order and a new birth – by a new order because, although invisible in what is his own, he became visible at our level and, although incomprehensible, he willed to be comprehended and, while remaining eternal, he began to be in time and, although master of the universe, he received a servile form, after veiling the greatness of his own*

45 'sinned' is a mistranslation of *admisit*, which here means 'admitted'.

46 The Greek refers most naturally to an individual man, i.e. to Adam, while the Latin *homo* refers to mankind in general.

47 'betrayer': Latin, 'transgressor' (*praevaricator*).

*Godhead; the impassible God did not disdain being a passible man, nor the immortal one to submit to the laws of death. And he was born by a new birth, since inviolate virginity, without experiencing desire, provided the material of the flesh. There was taken from the mother of the Lord nature but not sin; nor, because in the Lord Jesus Christ born from the womb of the Virgin the generation is a marvellous one, is his nature for this reason unlike ours. For the one who is true God is himself also true man. And there is no deceit in this union, in that both are with each other;<sup>48</sup> both the lowliness of the man and the greatness of the Godhead; for just as God does not undergo change through compassion, so the man is not consumed by the greatness of divine dignity. For each form performs what is proper to it in communion with the other, the Word achieving what is the Word's, while the body accomplishes what is the body's; the one shines with miracles, while the other has succumbed to outrages. Just as the Word is inseparable from equality with the glory of the Father, so the body has not abandoned the nature of our race. For one and the same is truly Son of God and truly son of man, God in that 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God',<sup>49</sup> man in that 'the Word became flesh and dwelt among us',<sup>50</sup> God in that 'through him all things came into being, and without him not one thing came into being',<sup>51</sup> man in that 'he came into being from a woman, and came into being under the law'.<sup>52</sup> The generation of the incarnation<sup>53</sup> is a display of human nature, while the childbearing of the Virgin provides an indication of divine power; and the infancy of the child is recognized through the meanness of the swaddling clothes, while the greatness of his majesty is shown by the voices of the angels. He whom Herod impiously plots to kill is like human beings newly born, but it is the master of the universe whom the Magi rejoice to worship with supplication. And when he came to the baptism of his forerunner John, in order that he should not escape notice because his Godhead was hidden by the veil of flesh, the voice of the Father resounding from heaven said, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.'<sup>54</sup> Accordingly he who as man is*

48 'both are with each other' is a felicitous rendering of the Latin *in invicem sunt*, which could equally mean, less fortunately, that the two natures act alternately.

49 Jn 1:1.

50 Jn 1:14.

51 Jn 1:3.

52 Gal. 4:4.

53 'incarnation': Latin, 'flesh'.

54 Mt. 3:17.

*tempted by the devil's craftiness is served as God by the rank of the angels. For to hunger and thirst, to be weary and to sleep are confessedly human, but to satisfy five thousand men with five loaves and to give the Samaritan woman living water, which, when she drew it, made her never thirst again,<sup>55</sup> to walk on the surface of the sea without one's feet being wetted, and to still the surging of the waves by rebuking the swell is without doubt of God. As therefore, to pass over most of the instances, it is not of the same nature to weep for a dead friend from a disposition of pity and, when the mound of a burial already four days old was demolished, to raise him up to new life by a command of the voice,<sup>56</sup> or to be hung on the cross and to shake all the elements, changed from night to day, or to be pierced with the nails and to open the gates of paradise to the faith of the thief, so also it is not of the same nature to say, 'I and the Father are one', and to say, 'My father is greater than I.'<sup>57</sup> For although indeed in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one person of God and man, nevertheless that because of which the outrage is common in both is one thing and that because of which the glory is common is another.<sup>58</sup> For he has from us the humanity that is less than the Father, and he has from the Father the Godhead that is equal with the Father.*

*Because, then, of this union of person that needs to be conceived in each nature we also acknowledge that the Son of man came down from heaven, when the Son of God assumed the body from the Virgin from whom he was born, and again the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried,*

55 Latin, 'which, when drawn, would grant the drinker not to thirst any more.'

56 See Jn 11: 35–44.

57 The two passages are Jn 10:30 and 14:28. Timothy Aelurus, the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria from 457, retorted, 'It belongs to the same nature to say, "My Father and I are one", and "My Father is greater than I"' (Ebied and Wickham 1985, 152). It is the eternal Word who, in the human nature he makes his own, becomes less than the Father.

58 The original Latin of this key clause would more naturally be translated 'that because of which there is common outrage in both is one thing and that because of which there is common glory is another'. In other words, both natures share in both the glory and the humiliation of the incarnate Word. This assertion is welcome after an analysis of the roles of the Godhead and the manhood that almost seemed, in Nestorian fashion, to separate the two, even though it would, of course, be senseless to describe, say, walking on the water or telling the dead to rise as activities of the Godhead that did not involve the humanity. Cf. Leo, *ep.* 124.5: the flesh does not act without the Word nor the Word without the flesh. It is striking that Dioscorus, in exile at Gangra after his deposition, while firmly rejecting dyophysite expressions, offered an analysis of the operations of Christ that echoes that of Leo: 'Men saw him as man walking on the earth, and they saw him the creator of the heavenly hosts as God. They saw him sleeping 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' (trans. Perry 1881, 392).

when he endured these things not in the Godhead itself in which he is only-begotten, coeternal and consubstantial with the Father, but in the weakness of his human nature. Whence it is that in the creed itself we all acknowledge the only-begotten Son of God crucified and buried, according to that apostolic saying, 'For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.'<sup>59</sup> Now when our Lord and Saviour himself was instructing the faith of the disciples by means of his questions, he said, 'Who do men say that I, the son of man, am?' And when they replied that various people had various opinions, he said, 'Whom do you say that I am?' I, that is, who am the son of man and whom you behold in the form of a servant and in the reality of a body, whom do you call me?' When the blessed Peter, divinely inspired and through his own confession about to become salvation for all the nations, replied, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God', he was worthily declared blessed by the Lord, and from the archetypal rock drew the solidity both of his virtue and his name.<sup>60</sup> Through the revelation of the Father he acknowledged the same [person] to be both Son of God and Christ, since one of these taken without the other is unprofitable for salvation, and it was equally dangerous to believe the Lord Jesus Christ to be either God only without man or man only without God. After the resurrection of the Lord, which was obviously of his true body, since no other rose again than the one who had been crucified and had died, what else occurred in his forty-day tarrying than the cleansing of our faith from all obscurity? For conversing with his disciples, spending time and eating with them, and letting himself be handled in a somewhat punctilious and intrusive way by the touch of those stricken by doubt, for this reason he condescended to go in and visit his disciples when the doors were closed, communicated the Holy Spirit by his breath and, bestowing the light of knowledge, revealed the secrets of the divine scriptures. And again he showed the wounds in his side, the piercing of the nails, and all the signs of his recent passion, saying, 'Handle me and see that a spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you behold that I have',<sup>61</sup> in order that the distinctive character both of his divine and of his human nature might be known to have remained in him inseparable, and that we might learn in this way that the

59 1 Cor. 2:8. Leo is expounding the principle of *communicatio idiomatum*, according to which the union of the two natures is expressed by attributing to each nature the characteristics of the other.

60 Mt. 16: 13–18.

61 Lk. 24:39.

*Word is not the same as the flesh, but might acknowledge that both the Word and the flesh are the one Son of God.*<sup>62</sup>

*Of this faith in the mystery this Eutyches must be deemed lacking and without a share, for he has not acknowledged our nature in the only-begotten of God, either because of the lowliness of the manhood or because of the glory of the resurrection, nor did he fear the declaration of the blessed apostle and evangelist John, saying, 'Every spirit that acknowledges that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God, and every spirit that divides Jesus Christ is not from God, and this is the Antichrist.'<sup>63</sup> What is it to divide Christ if not to sever his human nature from him and to try to make vain by shameless fictions the mystery through which alone we are saved? He who has created obscurity around the nature of the body of Christ is necessarily deranged with the same blindness in relation to his passion as well. For if he does not think the cross of the Lord to be false and is in no doubt that the passion he underwent for the salvation of the world was real, let him then acknowledge the flesh of the one whose death he acknowledges, and let him not deny that the one who he acknowledges was passible was a man of our flesh, since the denial of the true body is a denial also of the body's suffering. If therefore he accepts the faith of Christians and does not avert his hearing from the preaching of the gospel, let him consider which nature it was that, pierced by the nails, hung on the wood of the cross; and when the side of the one fixed to the cross was opened by the spear of the soldier, let him reflect whence the blood and water flowed so that the church of God might be watered both by the bath [of baptism] and by the cup. Let him also hear blessed Peter the apostle proclaiming that the cleansing of the spirit occurs through the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, and let him not read inattentively the words of the same apostle, saying, 'Knowing that you have been ransomed from your vain mode of life inherited from your fathers not by corruptible things, silver or gold, but by the precious blood of Jesus Christ as of a holy and spotless lamb.'<sup>64</sup> Let him also not resist the witness of blessed John the apostle, saying, 'The blood of Jesus the Son of God purifies us from every sin',<sup>65</sup> and*

62 The Latin of this clause is ambiguous as to whether 'the Word and the flesh' or 'the one Son of God' is the subject.

63 1 Jn 4:2–3. The phrase 'that divides Christ' derives from the Vulgate text (*qui solvit Iesum*), while the standard Greek text has 'that does not acknowledge Jesus'. The fact that the Greek translator of the Tome uses the phrase τὸ διαγοῦν shows that he was unacquainted with the Greek variant that the Vulgate is translating – ὃ λυεῖ.

64 1 Pet. 1:18–19.

65 1 Jn 1:7.

again, *'This is the victory that has conquered the world, our faith. Who is he who has conquered the world if not he who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who comes through water and blood, Jesus Christ, not in water only but in water and blood, and the Spirit is the one bearing witness, since the Spirit is the truth. For there are three bearing witness, the Spirit and the water and the blood, and the three are one',*<sup>66</sup> *namely, the Spirit of sanctification, the blood of redemption, and the water of baptism, which three are one and remain indivisible, and none of them is separated from their conjunction, since the catholic church lives and advances in this faith, so that neither the manhood without the true Godhead nor the Godhead without the true manhood may be believed [to exist].*

When, however, Eutyches said in reply to the interrogation of your hearing, *'I profess that our Lord was from two natures before the union, but after the union I profess one nature',*<sup>67</sup> *I am amazed that so absurd and so distorted a profession was not deemed reprehensible by any rebuke of the judges, and that so senseless a statement was passed over as if what had been heard had offended no one, when it is just as impious to say that the only-begotten Son of God is from two natures before the incarnation as it is unlawful to assert that after the Word became flesh there is one nature in him.*<sup>68</sup> *Lest Eutyches should suppose that this statement was either correct or acceptable, since it was not curbed by any judgement on your part, we prompt the precision of your love, most honoured brother, that if through the mercy of God the matter is brought to satisfaction, the ignorance of this uneducated man may be purged of this corruption in his thinking. He, as the sequence of the Acts makes plain, was beginning to draw back from his*

66 1 Jn 5:4–8.

67 See I. 527.

68 Leo misunderstands the teaching, developed by Cyril of Alexandria, that in Christ there are two natures 'before' the union and one nature 'after' it, in the sense that, in the context of the Christological model that conceives of the two natures as two entities that 'came together' to form the one Christ, there are two distinct elements 'before' the union (although in reality the human nature did not, of course, pre-exist the union) and one reality 'after' it. See Cyril, Letter to Acacius 12, in Cyril of Alexandria, *Select Letters*, 48, 'In respect of the elements from which is the one and only Son and Lord Jesus Christ, as we accept them in thought, we say that two natures have been united, but after the union, when the division into two has now been removed, we believe that the nature of the Son is one, as of one [person], though made man and incarnate.' It is strange that Leo criticizes the Home Synod for tolerating Eutyches' denial of two natures after the union (made at I. 527), since, although the Synod did not respond instantly, it proceeded to insist that Eutyches acknowledge this doctrine (I. 543–5, 549), and it was his refusal to do so that led to his condemnation.

*opposition,<sup>69</sup> when, constrained by your judgement, he professed that he asserted what he had not asserted before, and acquiesced in that faith which he had previously been a stranger to;<sup>70</sup> but when he refused to agree over the impious doctrine to be anathematized,<sup>71</sup> your fraternity recognized that he remained in his heresy and deserved to receive the sentence of deposition. If he is honestly and profitably repentant about this, and if, however belatedly, he nevertheless recognizes that the authority of the bishops was set in motion against him of necessity, or if he is intending a full apology so as to condemn all his evil opinions by a clear statement in person and by his signature, no degree of mercy to the one set right will be worthy of censure, since our Lord the true and good shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep, and who came to save the souls of men and not destroy them, wishes us to be imitators of his goodness, so that, while justice should chastise sinners, the mercy of compassion should in no way repel the repentant. For then indeed, then<sup>72</sup> with good fruit is the truth of the faith vindicated, when even by the originators<sup>73</sup> of impiety their own heresy is condemned.*

*To conclude the whole matter piously and faithfully we have sent our brothers Bishop Julius and Renatus the presbyter and in addition my son Hilary the deacon in our place, to whom we have joined our notary Dulcitus, whose faith we have tested, being confident that the help of God will be present, so that he who was led astray may be saved through the condemnation [by himself] of the perversity of his opinions.*

*May God keep you in good health, most beloved brother.*

*Given on the Ides of June in the consulship of the most illustrious Asturius and Protogenes.<sup>74</sup>*

23. After the reading of the aforesaid letter the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘This is the faith of the fathers. This is the faith of the apostles. We all believe accordingly. We orthodox believe accordingly. Anathema to him who does not believe accordingly! Peter has uttered this through Leo. The apostles taught accordingly. Leo taught piously and truly. Cyril taught accordingly. Eternal is the memory of Cyril. Leo and Cyril taught the same.

69 ‘opposition’: Latin, ‘conviction’.

70 See I. 514–24, 535.

71 Latin, ‘refused to give his assent by anathematizing his impious doctrine’. For Eutyches’ refusal, see I. 540–44.

72 ‘then’: Latin, ‘at last’.

73 ‘originators’: Latin, ‘adherents’.

74 13 June 449.



Leo and Cyril taught accordingly. Anathema to him who does not believe accordingly! This is the true faith. We orthodox think accordingly. This is the faith of the fathers. Why was this not read out at Ephesus?<sup>75</sup> Dioscorus concealed it.'

24. When there was being read the part of the aforesaid letter that contains the words, 'For the payment of the debt owed by our nature divine nature was united to the passible nature, so that – this fitting our cure – one and the same, being the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, would be able to die in respect of the one and would not be able to expire in respect of the other', and the most devout Illyrian and Palestinian bishops raised an objection,<sup>76</sup> Aetius the most devout archdeacon of imperial Constantinople read out the chapter of Cyril of sacred memory, the late bishop of the city of Alexandria, containing the words, 'Since again his own body by the grace of God tasted death on behalf of everyone, as the apostle says,<sup>77</sup> he himself is said to have suffered death on our behalf, not as though he entered into the experience of death in regard to his own nature (for to say or think that would be lunacy) but because, as I have just said, his own flesh tasted death.'<sup>78</sup>

25. Likewise when there was being read the part that contains the words, 'For each form performs what is proper to it in association with the other, the Word achieving what is the Word's, while the body accomplishes what is the body's; the one shines with miracles while the other has succumbed to outrages',<sup>79</sup> and the most devout Illyrian and Palestinian bishops raised an objection, Aetius archdeacon of the holy church of

75 See I. 83, with our note.

76 Timothy Aelurus objected, 'Notice how again he teaches similar things to Nestorius when he says he can die in one person and not expire in one, calling the mortal and the immortal two different things' (Ebied and Wickham, 1985, 147).

77 Heb. 2:9. The correct text, as given at I. 240, has 'as Paul says'.

78 From the Second Letter to Nestorius, given in full at I. 240 above.

79 This sentence was to be quoted constantly by the miaphysite (one-nature) opponents of Chalcedon as evidence of Nestorianism, but it could be defended as simply applying the Aristotelian principle that every nature has its own proper movement (e.g., Ebied and Wickham 1985, 149); see Chadwick 1981, 191–2. The fact remains that Leo's understanding of the operations in Christ differed from Cyril's: for Cyril the duality of the operations exists *outside* Christ (that is, in the contrasting effects, some divine and some human, of the one 'theandric' [divine-human] activity), while for Leo it also exists *in* Christ, in whom each nature has its own striving towards the term of its activity. Following Augustine, Leo stressed the mediatorship of Christ, as God and man: only as man could he offer the supreme sacrifice, and this required human free will and a human nature that was not merely passive under the direction of the Word of God that assumed it, but possessed its own spontaneity.

Constantinople read out the chapter of Cyril of sacred memory containing the words, ‘Some of the sayings are particularly fitting to God, some again are particularly fitting to man, while others occupy a middle position, revealing the Son of God as God and man simultaneously and at the same time.’<sup>80</sup>

26. Likewise when there was being read from the same letter the part that contains the words, ‘Although indeed in the Lord Jesus Christ there is one person of God and man, nevertheless that because of which the outrage is common in both is one thing and that because of which the glory is common is another, for he has from us the humanity that is less than the Father, and he has from the Father the Godhead that is equal with the Father’,<sup>81</sup> and the most devout Illyrian and Palestinian bishops raised an objection, Theodoret the most devout bishop of Cyrrhus said, ‘There is a similar instance in the blessed Cyril which contains the words, “He became man without shedding what was his own, for he remained what he was; he is certainly conceived as one dwelling in another, that is, the divine nature in what is human.”’<sup>82</sup>

27. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘After all this does anyone have any further objections?’

28. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘No one has any objections.’

29. Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis said: ‘Since your magnificence is showing readiness to listen with patience, order it to be granted to us that within a few days what is pleasing to God and to the holy fathers may be formulated with calm reflection and unruffled thought, since the letter of our master and holy father and archbishop Leo who administers

80 Cyril, Letter to Acacius, 16, *Select Letters*, 52. Cyril is trying to justify his acceptance (under pressure) of the Formula of Reunion (see I. 246), which distinguished the sayings in this way. But his own favoured position was that the sayings should not be distributed between the two natures; see the Fourth Anathema in his Third Letter to Nestorius (*Select Letters*, 30).

81 Timothy Aelurus objected, ‘He subverts [his statement that the person is one] by speaking of “one” and “another”. How, tell me, could “one” have become “one and another”? For “one” and “two” cannot be thought of as being the same, neither can the concept of unity be attributed to “one and another”’ (Ebied and Wickham 1985, 152).

82 That Theodoret spoke up in support of the Tome was noted by Leo himself in a letter to Theodoret of 453 (*ep.* 120, *ACO* 2.4 p. 80). The passage he quotes from Cyril is *Scholia de incarnatione*, XXIV [25], Greek fragment in *ACO* 1.5. p. 228. 20–21; it is a passage where Cyril uses a way of expressing the incarnation – the Godhead dwelling in the manhood as in a temple – that the Antiochenes, such as Theodoret himself, used far more frequently than Cyril himself. In defending Leo by reference to Cyril, Theodoret was simultaneously adopting the approach most acceptable to the council fathers and defending his own position, for which see our commentary on Session VIII.

the apostolic see has now been read. We should also be provided with the letter of the blessed Cyril written to Nestorius in which he urged him to assent to the Twelve Chapters,<sup>83</sup> so that at the time of the examination we may be found well prepared.’

30. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘If you order this to be granted, we request that the fathers take part in the examination.’<sup>84</sup>

31. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘The hearing will be adjourned for five days,<sup>85</sup> so that in the meantime your holinesses may meet in the residence of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius and deliberate together about the faith, so that the objectors may be instructed.’

32. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We believe accordingly. We all believe accordingly. {As Leo, so we believe.}<sup>86</sup> None of us raises any objections. We have already signed.’<sup>87</sup>

33. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘It is not necessary for you all to meet, but since it is appropriate to convince all the objectors, let the most devout Archbishop Anatolius select from among the bishops who have signed those he considers competent to instruct the objectors.’

34. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We have a request concerning the fathers. Restore the fathers to the council. {Those who agree with Leo to the council! The fathers to the council!}<sup>88</sup> [Report] our acclamations to the emperor. [Report] these petitions to the orthodox one. [Report] these petitions to the Augusta. We have all erred; forgive us all.’

83 This is the Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius (*Select Letters*, 12–33). It was constantly cited by uncompromising Cyrillians, and was for this reason ignored by those who preferred the more conciliatory Cyril of the Letter to John of Antioch; it is the latter who were the dominant voice at Chalcedon. See our comment in vol. 1, 67–8.

84 See 34, with our note, below.

85 In fact the council returned to the question of the faith seven days later (in the fourth session of 17 October), after having in the meantime sat in judgement on Dioscorus.

86 Supplied from the Latin version.

87 See 4, with our note, above.

88 These acclamations are supplied from the Latin version. As worded, the petition is for the reinstatement of the five bishops (Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia in Isauria) who, together with Dioscorus, were suspended at the end of the first session (I. 1068) and who, unlike Dioscorus, made their peace with the government by signing Leo’s Tome (see IV. 11–18). However, it is clear from the reactions of the Constantinopolitan clergy and the Oriental bishops that the reinstatement of Dioscorus was also requested at this point, as it certainly was at 41 below.

35. The clerics of Constantinople exclaimed: ‘Only a few are clamouring. The council is not speaking.’

36. The most devout Oriental<sup>89</sup> bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘The Egyptian into exile!’

37. The most devout Illyrian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We beg you, have mercy on us all.’

38. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘The Egyptian into exile!’

39. The most devout Illyrian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We have all sinned, have mercy on us all. [Report] these acclamations to the orthodox emperor. The churches are divided.’

40. The clerics of Constantinople exclaimed: ‘Dioscorus into exile! {The heretic into exile!}<sup>90</sup> God has deposed Dioscorus.’

41. The most devout Illyrian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘We have all sinned, forgive us all. [Restore] Dioscorus to the council. [Restore] Dioscorus to the churches. May no misfortune occur in your time. {May no misfortune occur in your reign. May there be no division in your reign.<sup>91</sup>’

42. The clerics of Constantinople exclaimed: ‘He who is in communion with Dioscorus is a Jew.’

43. The most devout Oriental bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘The Egyptian into exile! The heretic into exile!’

44. The most devout Illyrian bishops and those with them exclaimed: ‘[Restore] the fathers to the council.’

45. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘The proposals will be put into effect.’<sup>92</sup>

89 That is, of the diocese of the Orient, in the patriarchate of Antioch.

90 Supplied from the Latin version.

91 Supplied from the Latin version.

92 The reference is to the proposals made by the officials at 6 and 31.

## THE THIRD SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

The third session, of 13 October 451, was devoted to a trial of Dioscorus of Alexandria by the bishops, concluding with his condemnation and degradation. Charges were brought by Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum (Phrygia), who had appeared as Dioscorus' principal accuser already in the first session, and also by four witnesses from Egypt, whose complaints make colourful reading. Dioscorus refused to appear, despite the three summonses he received in the course of the day according to standard procedure. The bishops proceeded to condemn him. The exact grounds for his condemnation, beyond his failure to respond to the summonses, were left unclear. The Acts illustrate the strengths and defects of late Roman criminal proceedings and at the same time the way in which published minutes could be effective propaganda against opposition leaders.

### COMMENTARY

The third session<sup>1</sup> was the one session of the council that was chaired not by a lay official – in fact none of the officials and senators attended – but by a bishop, Paschasinus of Lilybaeum, the senior representative of Pope Leo. Was this because the business of the session was the formal trial of Dioscorus, and it was felt that bishops must be judged by bishops? However, the original intention had been that the officials should take part (III. 31) and in later sessions (IX–XIV) a lay official was happy to preside over cases involving a whole series of bishops under a cloud; so the more likely explanation is that the government wanted to give the impression that the trial of Dioscorus was not a show trial stage-managed by themselves. The parade of impartiality was pushed so far that at the following session the

<sup>1</sup> This session is the third act in the Latin Acts but the second in the Greek. See our commentary on the second session, pp. 1–2 above.

imperial representatives rebuked the bishops for condemning Dioscorus without reference to the emperor (IV.12).

What was now the status of the verdict delivered by the lay chairman at the end of the first session, when he declared Dioscorus and five other bishops deposed (I. 1068)? He referred then to a need for imperial ratification but not for a further hearing by the bishops. However, the third session saw a formal trial of Dioscorus, and the work of the first session was now summed up by Bishop John of Germanicia in the following terms:

It has been three days since, according to the decree of the devout emperor, the glorious officials and the sacred senate joined the council in examining the offences alleged against your religiousness by Bishop Eusebius; and having condemned you, they imposed the penalty of a sentence, if this should be pleasing to the bishops, who have received from the Lord God the competent authority. (78)

The other five bishops who had been condemned at the end of the first session were still excluded from the council, and Dioscorus was summoned to attend as a defendant already condemned in a preliminary judgement; so the verdict delivered at the end of the first session was to this extent still in force. However, as John's words indicate, the verdict delivered at the end of that session had now become a provisional one, needing ratification by the bishops at the end of a fresh trial of the defendant – something of which there had been no hint at the end of the first session. So the status of the verdict delivered at the end of that session was altered in retrospect. The emperor could have deposed Dioscorus simply by confirming the sentence delivered by the chairman at the first session; instead he chose to hold a fresh trial, in which he and his agents played no direct part. One motive for this was the support expressed for Dioscorus by some of the bishops at the close of the previous session: this made necessary a more complete presentation of the case against him.

### **The trial of Dioscorus**

Dioscorus' trial at the third session of the council took the following form.<sup>2</sup> He was tried and condemned – *in absentia*, since he refused to attend. As at the first session the role of principal plaintiff (5) was taken by Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum, deposed in 449 at Ephesus II, who accused Dioscorus of misconduct at that council and of sharing the heresy of Eutyches

<sup>2</sup> The hearing followed the standard form, as set out by Gaudemet 1958, 258–67.

(condemned in Leo's Tome, which most of the bishops had by now signed).<sup>3</sup> Dioscorus was sent a formal summons, and, when he refused to attend, a second one. The council then admitted four witnesses from Alexandria, who submitted written complaints against Dioscorus, accusing him, in passing, of heresy and treason, but concentrating on allegations of tyrannous conduct in Alexandria, principally against the relatives and close associates of his predecessor Cyril (47, 51, 57, 64);<sup>4</sup> the purpose of this evidence was manifestly to discredit Dioscorus in the eyes of the pro-Cyrrillian majority at the council. A third summons was then sent to Dioscorus, which he again refused to heed. The bishops proceeded to condemn him, to deposition and degradation,<sup>5</sup> 192 bishops (or their representatives) speaking in turn.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, the bishops, including many who had not been present at the session, signed his condemnation. It was completed by the sending, in the name of the council, of a series of letters – to the emperor Marcian (98), to Dioscorus himself (99), to the clergy of Alexandria (100), and to the empress Pulcheria (103).

What were the offences that were supposed to justify the severity of the verdict? There was no formal reading of a list of charges, and no summing up at the end. It was not felt necessary for the bishops to define the offences of which they judged Dioscorus to be guilty, and most of them restricted themselves to enunciating a bare sentence of deposition. So what precisely was he condemned for?

Most obviously, he had incurred deposition by ignoring a threefold summons.<sup>7</sup> This point was made again and again by the bishops; it is the only one of his offences that was constantly spelled out by his judges. But although many of the bishops spoke as if such contempt led automatically to the severe penalties of deposition and excommunication, it is clear that the justice of condemnation on these grounds depended on the reasonableness

3 Gaudemet 1958, 259 notes that this procedure differed from that in secular courts, where the charges were introduced by the judge.

4 The government had clearly gone to considerable trouble to produce these witnesses. Their complaints show marked similarities in theme, style and phraseology, which reveal the hand of a common redactor, who clearly enjoyed his work.

5 Excommunication was automatically entailed, and was referred to in several of the judgements uttered by individual bishops (96) and in the council's letter to Pulcheria (103).

6 The figure of 192 contains two probable instances of a bishop speaking twice, once on his own behalf and a second time for someone he is representing (Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, 131 and 171, and Trypho of Chios, 30 and 95), quite apart from Lucian of Bizye, whose second speech, numbered by Schwartz at 128a, is not included in the figure of 192.

7 For degradation as the penalty for ignoring a threefold summons see also XIV. 123.

of the issuing of the summonses, and that in turn depended on the seriousness and plausibility of the charges. Ignoring the summonses was a grave offence because it was taken to imply acknowledgement of guilt, not just because it constituted contempt of court. Compare the case of Bishop Athanasius of Perrhe, examined in Session XIV. He had first been tried and deposed at Hierapolis for ignoring a threefold summons (XIV. 76), but a fresh trial was allowed at Antioch, when he was again condemned after ignoring a threefold summons (XIV. 123–36); yet at Chalcedon the imperial representatives ordered a fresh retrial (XIV. 162): so ignoring a summons was not necessarily fatal for a defendant. Accordingly, at the trial of Dioscorus the chairman Paschasinus, who gave his verdict first (94), spelled out a number of specific crimes, as well as referring vaguely to the existence of others, and these (sometimes specifically, at others with vague references to ‘crimes’ and ‘misdeeds’) recur in the letters that then went out in the name of the council to the emperors and to the churches. A few of the bishops when uttering their individual verdicts referred likewise to Dioscorus’ offences. Let us take them in turn, setting out where and how often they were expressed in the verdicts and letters.

General references to crimes (beyond, that is, not heeding a threefold summons) or to Dioscorus having betrayed a bad conscience (which implies crimes) occur frequently – in a good number of the bishops’ verdicts and in all the conciliar letters.

Specific crimes also receive some, though less frequent, mention:

1. Receiving Eutyches back into communion even before Ephesus II had revoked the decisions of the Home Synod of 448 was brought up by Paschasinus, by one of the other bishops (96.13), and in the letter to Marcian.

2. The allegedly unjust condemnation of Flavian at Ephesus was mentioned by several bishops (89–91; 96. 65, 114, 137).

3. Dioscorus’ not permitting the reading of Leo’s Tome at Ephesus was specified as a crime in Paschasinus’ verdict and in the letters to Marcian and Pulcheria.

4. Dioscorus’ excommunication of Pope Leo just before Chalcedon<sup>8</sup> was mentioned by Paschasinus and in the letter to Marcian.

<sup>8</sup> Dioscorus declared Leo excommunicate while the bishops were gathering at Nicaea, before the council moved to Chalcedon. Since Leo had excluded Dioscorus from commemoration in the liturgy months earlier (see *ep.* 80, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 38–40, 13 April 451), this might seem a less than outrageous *quid pro quo*. One may surmise that it was stimulated by the exertion of pressure on the bishops assembled at Nicaea to sign Leo’s Tome.



5. His maltreatment of Eusebius of Dorylaeum was mentioned by one bishop (91) and also in the letter to Marcian.

6. His reinstatement of bishops condemned by provincial councils is mentioned, without any particulars, by Paschasinus (see 94n.).

In all, it is clear that Dioscorus was condemned for certain specific crimes, not just for ignoring a threefold summons. Charges against him had also been considered in the first session, leading to his suspension: the emphasis then was on his maltreatment of Flavian at Ephesus, an offence that, oddly, receded into the background in the third session. The crimes stressed in this session were Dioscorus' reception of Eutyches back into communion, his suppression of Leo's Tome, and his excommunication of Leo; curiously, none of these charges was mentioned in the session until the bishops began to pronounce judgement. One matter that remained undefined was the status of the other charges: all we have are repeated references in the verdicts and letters to unspecified offences.

A question of particular interest is whether Dioscorus was condemned only for misconduct or also for heresy. There is no mention of heresy in Paschasinus' verdict or in the letter to Marcian. So the answer may appear to be no.<sup>9</sup> But there are some grounds for giving the opposite answer:

1. The principal plaintiff was Eusebius of Dorylaeum, and his plaint concentrated on the charge of heresy, specifically that of sharing the heresy of Eutyches – a charge that was taken up and repeated by one of the bishops delivering a verdict (96.63).

2. Vague and unsubstantiated charges of blasphemy against the doctrine of the Trinity were included in all the four complaints from the plaintiffs from Alexandria (47, 51, 57, 64).

3. The letter to Pulcheria (103) contains extended, though vague, references to heresy.

4. Finally, the letter that Marcian addressed to the monks of Alexandria in 454 (Documents after the Council 14) describes Dioscorus as an adherent of Eutychianism.

The issue came sharply to the fore some days later at the fifth session when the wording of the definition of faith was under discussion. The chairman insisted that the formula that Christ is 'from two natures' was

<sup>9</sup> Bolotov (1917, 285) attributes the failure to press the charge of heresy more strongly to the fact that Dioscorus refused to appear and so could not be condemned out of his own mouth (as Eutyches had been at the Home Synod of 448). The charge that he was an obstinate heretic lacked substance until the promulgation of the Chalcedonian Definition with its teaching of two natures after the union.

unacceptable because it was favoured by Dioscorus (V. 13). Bishop Anatolius of Constantinople immediately objected, ‘Dioscorus was not deposed on account of the faith; but because he broke off communion with the lord Archbishop Leo and was summoned a third time but did not come, this is why he was deposed.’ The chairman, however, ignored this intervention, and continued to speak as if Dioscorus’ teaching has been condemned, and the bishops weakly concurred (V. 26–7). Dioscorus had certainly given support to Eutyches, but did that prove him a heretic? It is not obvious to modern historians that Eutyches deserved his reputation as a heretic;<sup>10</sup> even if he did, Dioscorus had distanced himself from him at the first session of the council (I. 168), and in his subsequent exile at Gangra was to denounce the Eutychian error of denying Christ’s consubstantiality with the rest of the human race.<sup>11</sup> The drawback with this change of stance was that it was not compatible with defending the decree in favour of Eutyches voted at Ephesus II.<sup>12</sup> The point to be made in the present context, however, is that the later categorization of Dioscorus as a Eutychian heretic is not securely based on the proceedings of Chalcedon.

In all, the bishops who pronounced Dioscorus’ condemnation, or signed it subsequently, agreed, explicitly or implicitly, that he had committed offences that merited the severe penalties of deposition and excommunication. They did not, however, express a common mind as to which of Dioscorus’ offences were proved and deserved this penalty. The injustice of a judicial procedure where the precise charges on which someone is condemned are left undefined needs no underlining.

The procedure by which the verdict of condemnation was delivered also deserves analysis. After Dioscorus had failed to heed the third summons, Bishop Paschasinus, as chairman, invited the judgement of the council fathers, who condemned Dioscorus by acclamation. The chairman was then asked by two of the bishops to pronounce his verdict (91, 93). His verdict of condemnation and deposition, delivered in the name of Pope Leo (94), was followed by similar verdicts of condemnation uttered in turn by around 190 other bishops or their representatives (95–6). Note how, when delivering their verdicts, all the bishops follow Paschasinus’ lead in referring to Dioscorus as ‘*formerly* bishop’: once the chairman had spoken, the sentence

10 See vol. 1, 116.

11 See Ebied and Wickham 1970, 360 and Chadwick 2001, 575, citing Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* 3.1. Subsequent anti-Chalcedonians did not defend Eutyches either.

12 *ACO* 4.2 pp. 170–71 records a discussion of this point in a debate between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians during the reign of Justinian.

took immediate effect. Bishop Leontius of Magnesia delivered his verdict in the following terms: ‘It is a pious rule that one must obey the holy fathers and follow their judgements. Observing this rule in the present case of the verdicts relating to Dioscorus, I too agree with the sentence and deprive him of all priestly dignity’ (96.43). The bishops had no option but to follow the lead of their chairman. Those who were unwilling to condemn Dioscorus simply absented themselves from the session. The implication of this strict conformism is that open disagreement could not be tolerated because there would have been no clear way of resolving it. There was clearly no principle of decision by majority vote: conciliar decisions were made by consensus, and consensus was understood to require the agreement of all the bishops present.<sup>13</sup> The chairman would take account of the views of the bishops; but once he had pronounced his verdict, the role of the council fathers was simply to confirm it.<sup>14</sup>

### The numbers of bishops

Interest attaches to the question of whether the figures for the attendance at the third session, and for the subsequent signing of Dioscorus’ condemnation, have a tale to tell. Unfortunately, the lists are not wholly reliable.<sup>15</sup> III. 2 lists 204 bishops (or their representatives) as attending, and of these five should be deducted, as in all probability not present personally but represented by bishops who are listed separately (7, 31, 42, 65, 142). However, of the 192 bishops (or their representatives) who uttered verdicts condemning Dioscorus at 94–6, seven are absent from the attendance list (79, 82, 157, 172–5), which shows up the latter as incomplete. Nevertheless, it is clear that attendance was only fractionally above 200, a figure that contrasts strikingly with the total number of council members, bishops or their

13 Compare the discussion in Gaudemet 1958, 266–7 of Canons 14–15 of Antioch (c.328) which likewise require an unanimous verdict but admit the possibility of dissentient voices at a preliminary stage.

14 A number of the bishops refer to the chairman’s verdict as a *διαλλαξία* (*interlocutio* in the Latin version), which strictly meant an interlocutory or interim verdict that does not determine the final outcome (e.g., 96.5, 11). But the word is often used loosely in the minutes for any resolution (e.g., I. 238, II. 45, III. 96.13); it cannot be pressed to mean that the bishops considered the chairman’s verdict to be merely provisional.

15 One indication of sloppiness in the editing of the minutes of this session is the exceptional frequency of a failure to indicate when a bishop did not himself attend, speak or sign but was represented by another. Our footnotes draw attention to these cases.

representatives, which we estimate to have been around 370.<sup>16</sup>

It was obvious that a show-trial was planned for Dioscorus, and therefore not surprising that his friends and allies absented themselves, quite apart from the five bishops – Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia I, Eusebius of Ancyra in Galatia I, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia in Isauria – who had been suspended at the end of the first session for their collaboration with Dioscorus at Ephesus II. The suffragans of the suspended bishops were generally conspicuous for their absence: none of the 19 Egyptian suffragan bishops attended, nor did any of Juvenal's 18 suffragans (the bishops of Palestine) or any of the six suffragans of Galatia I – though one of the two suffragans of Cappadocia I (Musonius of Nyssa) was present. Of the six sees that had been placed under Berytus in the previous year (see Session on Photius and Eustathius 18), only one (Tripolis) was represented; likewise, of the nine Isaurian suffragans, only one (Theodore of Claudiopolis) attended. Another disaffected group of bishops were the Illyrians, who in the second session had joined their Palestinian colleagues in questioning the orthodoxy of Leo's Tome: of the 31 Illyrian bishops listed as present at the first session, only seven are named as attending the third.<sup>17</sup> These absences, which add up to almost 90, constitute a large body of clergy alienated by the proceedings of the council. It was clearly desirable that as many as possible of these should be brought back on board: this was achieved at the following fourth session in which the suspended bishops (apart, of course, from Dioscorus) were reinstated at the price of signing Leo's Tome.

A curious problem attends the list of signatories to Dioscorus' condemnation. These will have been gathered after the session, and reveal the degree of success the government achieved in securing episcopal approval of the verdict. The Greek version (97G) gives 252 names (including some erroneous entries and doublets), while the Latin version (97L) gives 308, listed in a quite different order; we include both lists in our translation. Since the Latin list is particularly rich in doublets, the number of new names is actually only 36. Of these, no fewer than 22 are the names of bishops or their representatives who attended the third session and uttered verdicts condemning Dioscorus (9, 128, 160, 209, 212, 219, 223, 229, 250, 263, 265, 279–80, 282, 285, 289–90, 298, 299, 306–8); since it is not credible that these clergy would have failed to sign his condemnation, this guarantees the

16 See the calculation in Appendix 2: Attendance and Ecumenicity, vol. 3, 193–203.

17 The bishops of Corinth (Achaea), Eleutherna and Lappa (Crete), and Anchiasmus, Euroea, Nicopolis and Phoenice (Epirus Nova and Vetus).

reliability of the Latin list of signatories and its superiority to the Greek version, which emerges as manifestly incomplete. At the same time, the Latin list includes at least two, and perhaps three, metropolitan bishops who were elected only after the council (8, ?15, 182), and one of the other new names is a bishop who appears neither to have attended the council nor sent a representative (Alexander of Tomi, 183). But the fact that of the names found only in the Latin list a majority are almost certainly correct, and only a few problematic, justifies us in treating the list as a reliable record of the number of bishops (or their representatives) at Chalcedon who were ready to put their names to Dioscorus' condemnation.<sup>18</sup> Deducting from the full tally of 308 names the later additions, dubious entries and the many doublets (both mere repetitions and cases where a bishop signed twice, once on his own behalf and a second time for a colleague who did not attend the council), the total number of bishops or their representatives who signed the condemnation comes out as 265.<sup>19</sup> This is significantly lower than the number of signatories to the Definition, which was around 350.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that out of around 370 council members only around 200 turned up for the third session speaks clearly of a lack of enthusiasm among the bishops for Dioscorus' trial and deposition, as does the fact that the subsequent drumming up of signatures achieved only mediocre results. It is manifest that the condemnation of Dioscorus failed to win consensus. The great majority of the bishops accepted the government policy of undoing the work of Ephesus II and acclaiming the Tome of Leo; they had certainly abandoned the cause of Dioscorus; but the vindictive condemnation of the turbulent priest was not a popular measure.

18 Rusticus provides detailed information about a further Greek list of signatories, akin to the Latin one but less full, since it includes only 21 of the 36 additional names of the Latin version (see Schwartz's edition and annotation of 97G and 97L). Since these 21 include all the four we have described as problematic and only six of the 22 whose authenticity is supported by their speaking against Dioscorus at 96, this list must be judged inferior to the Latin one. Schwartz 1937, 7–9 regards even the Latin list as untrustworthy, but gives no adequate grounds for his scepticism. It may finally be noted that, according to Liberatus, *Breviarium* 14 (ACO 2.5 p.123, 24), the four Egyptian bishops who deserted Dioscorus at the first session (I. 293–6) also condemned Dioscorus; they certainly accepted his deposition and proceeded to elect Proterius in his place, but in the absence of their names from any of the lists we may doubt whether they actually signed his condemnation.

19 Our notes to 97L indicate the entries we discount. Eusebius of Dorylaeum is not among the signatories: he must have felt that he could not properly act as both plaintiff and judge.

20 For a computation of the number of bishops who signed the Definition, see Appendix 2: Attendance and Ecumenicity, vol. 3, 193–203, esp. n. 9.

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our most pious and Christ-loving emperor Marcian, for the first time, and the one to be designated, three days before the Ides of October,<sup>21</sup> at Chalcedon in the province of Bithynia.

2. By the grace of God and by the decree of the most pious emperors an ecumenical council was convoked, and there assembled in the martyrrium of the holy and victorious martyr Euphemia all the most sacred and God-beloved bishops, with: (1–3) the bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the presbyter Boniface, representing Leo, the most holy and sacred archbishop of the apostolic see, (4) Anatolius of Constantinople, (5) Maximus of Antioch, (6) Stephen of Ephesus, (7) Cyriacus of Heraclea,<sup>22</sup> (8) Lucian of Bizye, (9) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (10) Julian of Cos, (11) Valerian of Bassianae, (12) Eunomius of Nicomedia, (13) Peter of Corinth, (14) Eleutherius of Chalcedon, (15) Theodore of Tarsus, (16) Romanus of Myra, (17) Cyrus of Anazarbus, (18) Constantine of Bostra, (19) Seleucus of Amaseia, (20) John of Sebasteia, (21) Constantine of Melitene, (22) Calogerus of Claudiopolis, (23) Patricius of Tyana, (24) Amphilochius of Side, (25) Epiphanius of Perge, (26) Theodore of Damascus, (27) Atticus of Nicopolis of Epirus Vetus, (28) Basil of Trajanopolis, (29) Florentius of Sardis, (30) Francion of Philippopolis, (31) John of Rhodes,<sup>23</sup> (32) Peter of Gangra, (33) Photius of Tyre, (34) Nunechius of Laodicea, (35) Onesiphorus of Iconium, (36) Stephen of Hierapolis, (37) Marinianus of Synnada, (38) Pergamius of Antioch in Pisidia, (39) Nonnus of Edessa, (40) Olympius metropolitan of Constantia in Cyprus,<sup>24</sup> (41) Theoctistus of Pessinus,<sup>25</sup> (42) Domnus of Apamea in Syria,<sup>26</sup> (43) Critonianus of Aphrodisias, (44) Symeon of Amida, (45) Sebastian of Beroe, (46) Cecropius of Sebastopolis, (47) John of Germanicia, (48) Atarbius of Trapezus, (49) Joseph of Heliopolis, (50) Antiochus of Sinope, (51) Acacius of Ariarathea, (52) Atticus of Zela, (53)

21 13 October 451.

22 Not present in person, but represented by Lucian of Bizye (listed in the following entry): see 96.7 below.

23 Despite the speech attributed to him at 96.30, he appears to have been represented throughout the council by Trypho of Chios (listed separately at 2.74).

24 According to the other lists, he was represented at the council by Epiphanius of Soli and Epaphroditus of Tamasus.

25 Not present in person, but represented by Archdeacon Photinus: see 96.38 below.

26 Not present in person, but represented by Meletius of Larissa, who is listed separately (75): see 96.35 below.

'Eustathius of Halicarnassus',<sup>27</sup> (54) Apragmonius of Tieum, (55) John of Nicopolis, (56) Gratidianus of Cerasus, (57) Thalassius of Parium, (58) Philip of Adana, (59) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis, (60) Daniel of Cadi, (61) Theodosius of Nazianzus, (62) Theodore of Claudiopolis in Isauria, (63) Theodore of Tripolis, (64) Thomas of Theodosiana, (65) Dorotheus of Neocaesarea,<sup>28</sup> (66) John of Polemonium, (67) 'Athanasius of Messene',<sup>29</sup> (68) Patricius of Neocaesarea in Euphratensis, (69) Alexander of Seleucia, (70) Valerius of Laodicea in Phoenice, (71) Cyrinus of Patara, (72) Theophilus of Ariassus, (73) Aetherichus of Smyrna, (74) Trypho of Chios, (75) Meletius of Larissa, (76) Neon of Sillyum, (77) Eudoxius of Etenna, (78) Marcian of Cotenna,<sup>30</sup> (79) Diodotus of Lysinia, (80) John of Flaviopolis in Cilicia, (81) Paul of Ptolemais, (82) Dionysius of Heraclea, (83) John of Alinda, (84) Eupithius of Stratonicea, (85) John of Amyzon, (86) Papias of Eriza, (87) Dionysius of Antioch, (88) Tynchanius of Apollonia, (89) Theodoret of Alabanda, (90) Menander of Heraclea, (91) Flacillus of Iasus, (92) John of Cnidus, (93) Calandion of Halicarnassus,<sup>31</sup> (94) Callinicus of Apamea in Hexapolis, (95) Theotecnus of Tyriaeum, (96) Heorticius of Metropolis, (97) Cyrus of Sinethandus, (98) Florentius of Tenedos,<sup>32</sup> (99) Zenodotus of Telmessus, (100) Sabas of Paltus, (101) Theoctistus of Beroea, (102) Thomas of Porphyreon, (103) Macarius of Aenus, (104) Cyriacus of Aegae, (105) Genethlius of Creteia,<sup>33</sup> (106) Philip of Theodosiopolis, (107) Basilicus of Theodosiopolis, (108) Paulinus of Apamea in Pisidia, (109) Basil of Nacoleia, (110) Heraclius of Comana, (111) Rufinus of Samosata, (112) Menecrates of Ceraseis, (113) Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, (114) Patricius of Acrasus, (115) Dionysius of Attaleia in Lydia, (116) Paul of Tripolis, (117) Gemellus of Stratonicea, (118) Maeonius of Nysa, (119) Isaias of Elaea, (120) Hesperus of Pitane, (121) Quintus of Phocaea, (122) Eustochius of Docimium, (123) Musonius of Nyssa, (124) Aristomachus of

27 The place name is certainly corrupt (Calandion was bishop of Halicarnassus) and perhaps the personal name as well.

28 According to the other lists, he was represented at the council by Atarbius of Trapezus (already listed at 48) or (less frequently) by his deacon Photinus.

29 The place name is corrupt; at 96.83 it is given, equally erroneously, as 'Mossyna'. It is not possible to identify this bishop from the other acts and lists of the council.

30 Eugenius was bishop of Cotenna. Marcian was perhaps his representative, though Schwartz suggests a single person with two names.

31 Not present in person, but represented by his presbyter Julian: see 96.108 below.

32 Despite the speech attributed to him at 96.113, it appears from the other lists that he was represented at the council by the *chorepiscopus* Euelpistus.

33 Not present in person, but represented by his presbyter Eulogius: see 96.119 below.

Colonia, (125) Rhenus of Ionopolis, (126) Paul of Mariamme, (127) Eustathius of the Saracens, (128) Athanasius of Perrhe, (129) Uranius of Emesa,<sup>34</sup> (130) Damian of Sidon, (131) Noah of the fort of Cephas, (132) Uranius of Iborra,<sup>35</sup> (133) Polychronius of Epiphaneia [in Cilicia], (134) Theodore of Antiphellus, (135) Lucian of Ipsus, (136) Neoptolemus of Corna, (137) Acholius of Laranda, (138) Julian of Hypaepa, (139) Leontius of Magnesia, (140) Eudoxius of Choma, (141) Fronto of Phaselis, (142) Stephen of Limyra,<sup>36</sup> (143) Leontius of Araxa, (144) Antipater of Caunus, (145) Philip of Balbura, (146) Cratinus of Panormus, (147) Andrew of Tlos, (148) Nicholas of Acarassus, (149) Romanus of Bubon, (150) Paul of Philomelium, (151) Florentius of Hadrianopolis, (152) Messalinus of Laodicea in Pisidia,<sup>37</sup> (153) Helpidius of the staging-post of Thermae, (154) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis, (155) Longinus of Orcistus, (156) Mysterius of Amorium, (157) Peter of Dardanus, (158) Jovian of Deultum, (159) Fontianus of Sagalassus, (160) Indimus of Irenopolis, (161) Aquila of Eudoxias, (162) Eutropius of Adada, (163) Mark of Arethusa, (164) Proterius of Myrina, (165) Marcellinus of Metropolis, (166) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (167) Olympius of Theodosiopolis, (168) Mamas of Aninetus, (169) Antonianus of Amisus,<sup>38</sup> (170) Paralius of Andrappa,<sup>39</sup> (171) Domnus of Cucusus,<sup>40</sup> (172) Gerontius of Seleucia in Syria, (173) Julian of Rhosus, (174) Hypatius of Zephyrium, (175) Peter of Gabbula, (176) Rufinus of Briulla, (177) Olympius of Sozopolis, (178) Euphratas of Eleutherna,<sup>41</sup> (179) Caiumas of Marcopolis, (180) John of Carrhae, (181) Abramius of Circesium, (182) Demetrius of Lappa, (183) Bassonas of Neapolis, (184) Movianus of Limenae, (185) Gennadius of Acmoneia, (186) Eulalius of Pionia, (187) Amachius of Saittae, (188) Theodosius of Canatha, (189) Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum,

34 Despite the speech attributed to him at 96.147, it appears that he was represented throughout the council by the archdeacon Porphyry.

35 Not present in person, but represented by his presbyter Paul: see 96.150 below.

36 Despite the speech attributed to him at 96.45, it is clear from VI. 9.219 that he was represented at the council by Nicholas of Acarassus (listed separately at 2.148).

37 Despite the speech attributed to him at 96.58, it appears from the other lists that he was represented at the council by the *chorepiscopus* Adelus.

38 Not present in person, but represented by Helpidius presbyter of Amisus: see 96.191 below.

39 Not present in person, but represented by Helpidius presbyter of Andrappa: see 96.189 below.

40 Not present in person, but represented by his presbyter Euphronius: see 96.190 below.

41 Presumably representing his metropolitan Paul of Cantanus, as in the lists for the first and fourth sessions.



(190) Hermias of Abydus, (191) Patricius of Hadrianotherae, (192) Leucius of Apollonshieron, (193) Helias of Blaundus, (194) Alcimedes of Silandus, (195) Proclus of Adraa, (196) Theosebius of Ilium, (197) Pionius of Troas, (198) Stephen of Poemanenum, (199) Mark of Euroea, (200) Claudius of Anchiasmus, (201) Peregrinus of Phoenice, (202) Cyrus of Cybistra, (203) Theodore of Heraclea, (204) Timothy of Doliche.

3. Aetius, archdeacon of imperial Constantinople New Rome and *primicerius* of notaries,<sup>42</sup> said: ‘Your holinesses will remember that recently, when there was read the petition against the most God-beloved Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria submitted to our most devout and Christ-loving emperors by the most God-beloved Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum, there followed a reading of the text of certain minutes in the presence at this most holy assembly of the most glorious and magnificent officials and the sacred and glorious senate, when the matter at issue between them was examined till late in the evening.’<sup>43</sup> The same most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius has now presented to your sacredness a fresh plaint against the aforesaid most sacred Bishop Dioscorus, which I have in my hand and present for your good pleasure.’

4. Paschasinus bishop of Lilybaeum, representing Leo the most holy archbishop of the apostolic see of Senior Rome, said in Latin: ‘It is well known to this God-beloved council that a divine letter was sent to the blessed and apostolic Pope Leo summoning him to the holy council. But since neither the custom of antiquity nor the necessities of the general time seemed to allow this, he has charged our littleness to preside over this holy council in his stead.’<sup>44</sup> It is therefore necessary that whatever is brought forward should be examined by our sentence. Therefore let the plaint that has now been presented by our most God-beloved brother and fellow-bishop Eusebius be received by the most God-beloved archdeacon and *primicerius* {of notaries}<sup>45</sup> and read.’

Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries took the document and read:

5. *To the holy and ecumenical council that has assembled in the city of Chalcedon in Bithynia by decree of our most pious emperors, from Bishop*

42 See I. 102n.

43 This is a summary of the first session.

44 It had been Pope Leo’s understanding that his legates were to preside throughout the council (Documents before the Council 8, 10). In fact this was the only session at which they did so.

45 Supplied from the Latin version.

*Eusebius of Dorylaeum, speaking on behalf of himself, of Flavian, [now] among the saints, the late bishop of Constantinople, and of the orthodox faith.*

*Knowing the love of God and hatred of evil in the character of your holinesses and your sympathy for those who have been wronged, we who have endured many terrible things contrary to all good order from the most devout Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria address ourselves to your God-belovedness, asking for justice. The facts of the matter are as follows. Your holy council, together with the hyper-illustrious and most eminent officials and the exalted senate, recently assembled in this holy and great church, and heard our petition against the most devout Bishop Dioscorus which had been addressed to our most pious emperors;<sup>46</sup> it committed the case to you, took cognizance of the dispute between us, and examined the outrages committed by Dioscorus against myself, Flavian, [now] among the saints, and the orthodox faith. We accused the aforesaid Dioscorus of sharing the beliefs of the heretical Eutyches, who has been deposed and anathematized, and of the fact that, wishing to confirm that man's false beliefs at the council that recently took place in the metropolis of Ephesus, he assembled a multitude of disorderly mobs, achieved domination through the wealth at his disposal, and proceeded to damage the orthodox faith, so far as he could, to introduce the ferment of a new heresy into the catholic church, and to strip me of priestly rank. When the hearing took place, as your God-belovedness knows, the aforesaid Dioscorus was proved by us to hold views contrary to the orthodox faith, to have prevented me from attending the assembly in the metropolis of Ephesus to present my defence, and also to have prevented Flavian, [now] among the saints, the late bishop of Constantinople, on whose behalf I also spoke, from presenting his defence at the proper time; in addition he was proved to have inserted into the minutes statements that had not been uttered by the then council, to have forced them to sign blank pages, and to have perpetrated every crime against religion, against the divine canons, and against the due procedure of the laws. I therefore beg and entreat your holinesses: have pity on us, most holy fathers, and since you still have in your memory the recent proceedings between myself and the aforesaid Dioscorus, decree that the proceedings against me be quashed, that there be no prejudice against me on the basis of the minutes unjustly compiled against me, and that I recover priestly rank. [I beg you] also to anathematize his abominable teaching, confirm the doctrine of piety, and make him pay the penalty for his crimes, so that he may be an example to*

*future generations and curb all who attempt to act like him. If we obtain this, we shall give thanks without cease to your sacredness.*

*I, Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum in the province of Phrygia Salutaris, have presented this plaint signed by my own hand.*

6. After the reading Bishop Eusebius said: 'I request that my adversary be summoned to face me.'

7. Aetius archdeacon and protonotary said: 'As you [Paschasinus] ordered, already before the session the deacons Domninus and Cyriacus went from here to the most devout Bishop Dioscorus as to all the other most sacred bishops, and bade him come here in person. But he declared that, although he wished to attend, his guards, so he claimed, would not let him.'

8. Bishop Paschasinus said: 'Since we do not see Dioscorus the most holy bishop of Alexandria present here, let the most devout clerics go and look for him, in case he happens to be just outside the assembly.'

9. Aetius archdeacon and protonotary said: 'As you have ordered, the presbyters Epiphanius and Helpidius have gone round this holy martyrrium, looking for Dioscorus the most God-beloved bishop of Alexandria. If it please you, let them appear and be questioned.'

10. Anatolius bishop of Constantinople New Rome said: 'Let the most devout presbyters Epiphanius and Helpidius say if they have looked for the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus.'

11. The presbyters Epiphanius and Helpidius said: 'We went around the precincts of this holy place looking for him, but didn't find him.'

12. Anatolius bishop of Constantinople New Rome said: 'If it please your holiness, let some of our most God-beloved brothers and fellow bishops be sent to him at the lodgings where he is staying and summon him to appear before this holy council.'

13. Maximus bishop of the great city of Antioch said: 'It is an excellent proposal of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius that most God-beloved bishops be sent to summon the most God-beloved {Dioscorus}<sup>47</sup> bishop of the great city of Alexandria and make clear to him the charge that has been brought against him.'

14. The holy council said: 'It is appropriate that this should be made clear to Dioscorus the most God-beloved bishop of the great city of Alexandria. So let the most God-beloved Bishop Constantine the metropolitan of Bostra, Acacius of Ariaratheia and Atticus of Zela go and summon the most

47 Supplied from the Latin version.

God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus to appear before this holy assembly.’

15. The most devout bishops Constantine, Acacius and Atticus set off, with the lector and notary Himerius. When they returned, Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries said: ‘The most sacred bishops Constantine of the metropolis of Bostra, Acacius of Ariaratheia and Atticus of Zela, who were sent a short time ago by your holiness to Dioscorus the most God-beloved bishop of Alexandria, are now present. We bring this to the attention of your holiness.’

16. Anatolius bishop of Constantinople New Rome said: ‘Let the most God-beloved bishops deign to inform this holy council what response they received from the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus.’

17. Constantine bishop of Bostra said: ‘At the order of your holiness we went to Dioscorus the most God-beloved bishop of Alexandria, and delivered to him in writing the message entrusted to us. We ask the lector and notary Himerius, who accompanied us and took notes, to report both what was said by us and what answer he gave to us.’

18. Bishop Paschasinus said through an interpreter: ‘Let the notary Himerius, according to the proposal of our most God-beloved brother and fellow bishop, come forward and read out what answer Bishop Dioscorus gave, so that this blessed council may be able to carry out a proper consultation in common and decide what ought to be done.’

Himerius lector and notary read as follows:

19. *Constantine bishop of the metropolis of Bostra said to Bishop Dioscorus: ‘The holy council invites your holiness to present yourself before it. It is assembled in the martyrium of the holy and victorious martyr Euphemia.’*

*Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I am under guard. Let them say if I am allowed to come.’*

*Acacius bishop of Ariaratheia said: ‘We were not sent to the hallowed magistriani<sup>48</sup> but to your sacredness, to ask you to take the trouble to repair to the holy council assembled in the martyrium of the holy martyr Euphemia.’*

*Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: ‘I am ready to appear at the holy and ecumenical council, but I am prevented.’*

*Atticus bishop of Zela said: ‘A plaint against your holiness has been presented just now to the holy and ecumenical council by the most God-*

48 These were *agentes in rebus* (officers who were primarily couriers but undertook some police duties) under the master of the offices.

*beloved Bishop Eusebius. The great and holy council has informed your holiness through us that you should appear and make a defence against the charges.'*

*Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'I have said once already that I too have an intention to go to the holy and ecumenical council, but as your God-belovedness can see, I am prevented by the hallowed magistriani and scholarii.'*<sup>49</sup>

20. After this had been read, Himerius lector {and notary}<sup>50</sup> said: 'After my departure together with the most God-beloved bishops we met Eleusinius, the most wondrous assistant of the most magnificent and glorious master of the divine offices.<sup>51</sup> The most God-beloved bishops returned again to the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus and on their arrival again admonished him. Certain things were said which I have in my notes, and if it please your holiness I shall read them.'

21. The holy and ecumenical council said: 'Read them.'

Himerius lector {and notary}<sup>52</sup> read as follows:

*22. Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria said: 'Having collected myself and considered what is advantageous, I make this reply. At the previous meeting of the council the most magnificent officials who were in session took certain decisions after a full discussion of each point. Since a second meeting of the council summons me to a revision of the aforesaid, I request that the great officials and the sacred senate, who attended the council previously, should also attend now, so that these same decisions can be reconsidered in their presence.'*

*Acacius bishop of Ariaratheia said: 'The holy and great council hasn't summoned your holiness with the intention of revising any of the transactions in the presence of the great and glorious officials and the sacred senate, but it has sent us to tell your sacredness to repair to the assembly and not absent yourself from it.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'You have now said to me, "Eusebius has presented a plaint against your religiousness." I again request that his case be examined in the presence of the officials and the sacred senate.'*

49 Members of the *scholae palatinae* (imperial guards), also under the master of the offices.

50 Supplied from the Latin version.

51 As we learn below (22), Eleusinius was able to assure the bishops that Dioscorus was free to come to the council.

52 Supplied from the Latin version.

*Atticus bishop of Zela said: 'We have been sent to your sacredness to exhort you ...'*

*He was interrupted by Bishop Dioscorus, who said: 'I have replied that I want my case to be examined again in the presence of the great officials and the exalted senate.'*

*Constantine bishop of the metropolis of Bostra said: 'As soon as we came, your sacredness replied, "If I am allowed by my guards, I shall repair to the holy council." Since then through the coming of the most magnificent assistant to the most glorious master {of the offices}<sup>53</sup> you have received permission, if you so wish, to come to the holy council, give us, if it please you, an answer on the matter.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'I have now heard that the most magnificent officials and the exalted senate are not present. This is why I have now given you this answer.'*

23. After the reading Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'I ask your holiness to give instructions that the account that has just been read by the notary who was sent to the most devout Bishop Dioscorus along with the most devout bishops be included in the text of the minutes.'

24. Maximus bishop of Antioch said: 'Let the account that has just been read by the lector Himerius be included in the text of the minutes. It is also appropriate that in accordance with the canons of the holy fathers there should again be sent to the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus men to summon him a second time to appear before the holy and ecumenical council.'

25. Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'The most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus piles up pretexts and excuses for not repairing to this holy council. Certain of the charges have already been proved in the presence of your holinesses, {of the most magnificent officials}<sup>54</sup> and of the illustrious and glorious senate, while there are other charges that need to be examined and proved in the presence of your holinesses. Order him to attend. For we will not reverse anything that has already been transacted.'

26. Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'What is the pleasure of your holinesses on the subject of the proposed second summons?'

27. The holy council said: 'It is appropriate and canonical that he be summoned a second time. So let the most God-beloved bishops Pergamius, Cecropius and Rufinus go to the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus to bid

53 Supplied from the Latin version.

54 Supplied from the Latin version.

him appear before us.’

28. Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries said: ‘Is it therefore the wish of your holinesses that we send a message to him in the name of the holy council?’

29. Amphilochius bishop of Side<sup>55</sup> said: ‘Let the matter be postponed for one or two days.’

30. Menecrates bishop of Ceraseis in the province of Lydia said: ‘One man has devastated the whole world, and are we going to devote three months to him?’

A second summons was sent, as follows:

31. *The holy and ecumenical council to Dioscorus the most God-beloved bishop of Alexandria.*

*The rulers of all lately decreed that the case between your religiousness and the most devout Bishop Eusebius should be examined in the presence of the most magnificent and glorious officials and the sacred and glorious senate and in our presence; and now it has been decreed that this great holy council now in session, possessing apostolic authority, without reversing the earlier transactions in your regard in that divine session, should conduct an examination of certain other charges that have now been presented in a plaint by the same most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius. Without evasion, therefore, let your religiousness appear before us to make your defence, as the order of the canons requires. Note that we have [now] made a second canonical summons to your religiousness, sending our most God-beloved brothers and fellow bishops Pergamius, Cecropius and Rufinus; they have the duty of bidding your religiousness to appear before us without delay to answer the charges.*

32. When they had returned, Aetius the archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries said: ‘The bishops who served the second summons, Pergamius, Cecropius and Rufinus, are now present. This is our report.’

33. Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: ‘Let the most God-beloved bishops say if they have any message from Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria, and let them give a true report to the holy council of what they heard.’

34. Pergamius bishop of Antioch in Pisidia said: ‘Following the instruction

<sup>55</sup> Amphilochius as a convinced miaphysite (see VI. 9.21n.) had no stomach for Dioscorus’ condemnation.

of your holinesses, we delivered the citation for the second canonical summons to the most God-beloved Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria, and in response to the order given him in writing he gave an answer which, if it please your sacredness, will be read by the lector and notary Hypatius, who took notes and was present with us.'

35. Diogenes bishop of Cyzicus said: 'Let the lector Hypatius read to this great and holy and ecumenical council the notes he took from the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus.'

Hypatius lector and notary read as follows:

36. *Pergamius bishop of Antioch in Pisidia said: 'The holy and universal council assembled in the martyrrium of the holy martyr Euphemia, carrying out a second summons, has sent our littleness to your sacredness to convey the citation in writing, declaring what we shall now read to your sacredness.'*

*After the reading to Bishop Dioscorus of the order sent him by your holy and ecumenical council through the most God-beloved bishops, Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria said: 'I have already informed your God-belovedness that I am constrained by illness, and I demand that the most magnificent officials and the sacred senate attend the hearing of the points under examination on this occasion also. It is because my illness has been prolonged that I have made a postponement.'*

*Cecropius bishop of Sebastopolis said: 'A short time ago your sacredness made no mention of illness but requested the presence of the sacred senate and the most magnificent officials, but now you have added this. We therefore ask you to act as becomes you and to fulfil what meets the canons by obeying the holy and universal council, so that the case may proceed regularly and according to the canons.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'I have said once for all that I have demanded the presence of the most magnificent and glorious officials and the sacred senate at what now requires examination.'*

*Rufinus bishop of Samosata said: 'What has now been raised is canonical. This is now the occasion for your sacredness to attend and request what you like from the holy council.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'Are the most God-beloved bishops Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil and Eustathius present at the council?'*<sup>56</sup>

56 These bishops had been deposed together with Dioscorus by an interlocutory sentence at the end of the first session (I. 1068) because they shared responsibility for the proceedings of Ephesus II. Dioscorus is questioning the justice of his being singled out for trial.



*Bishop Pergamius said: 'The holy and ecumenical council did not instruct us to give answers on this occasion to questions put by your holiness; we have adequately carried out the citation to satisfy the canonical second summons. It is therefore for your sacredness to pay due honour to the holy and universal council by obedience, and to honour in the same way the canonical rules known to your religiousness by showing due compliance.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'On this occasion too I have the same to say: I have petitioned our most pious and Christ-loving emperor that the most magnificent officials and the sacred senate who were previously at the holy council should attend the examination on this occasion as well, and that there should also be present the most God-beloved bishops who together with me and along with me are implicated in the accusations that Eusebius has brought against us.'*

*Bishop Cecropius said: 'Eusebius has brought charges against your religiousness only, and there is no need for others to be involved, but simply that due and canonical compliance be observed and that there be a canonical examination. A canonical examination does not require the presence of officials or any other laymen but only the presence of your sacredness, since you have been accused in your own person. There is no need for this delay or procrastination, if indeed you wish to be obedient both to God and the canons and do not wish to confirm the charges of your accuser by procrastination.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'I have once for all requested from the most pious and Christ-loving emperor that the other bishops should appear along with me. For Eusebius' case is not a private one against me as an individual but a general one relating to the actions of us all.'*

*Bishop Pergamius said: 'According to the citation that the most God-beloved fellow Bishop Cecropius delivered to your God-belovedness, the accusation brought by the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius, being made against your religiousness, is directed at your person. This is why it is your religiousness that the council summoned at that time, and summons [now], appropriately and canonically.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'I have said what I said once for all, and, in brief, I have nothing further to say.'*

37. After these words had been read, Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'In the petition presented to our victorious and triumphant masters I formulated an accusation solely against the most God-beloved Dioscorus, since I had been wronged by him, together with our father Flavian, [now]

among the saints; and I now declare by the guarantee of the minutes that I bring charges against no one else save solely Dioscorus of the great city of Alexandria. Do not therefore allow Dioscorus any excuses, or let him force me to accuse other people whom I have no wish to. If indeed I had been wronged by others, I could have brought charges against anyone I want; but since I do not admit this and haven't suffered any wrong from anyone else, I ask your holinesses to summon him to your holy assembly a third time, requiring him to appear and receive the accusations which I have brought against him.'

38. While he was speaking, Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries said: 'Certain individuals describing themselves as clerics, and accompanied by others who are laymen, have recently arrived from Alexandria and presented complaints against the most sacred Dioscorus. They are just outside this holy assembly and are making an appeal: they adjure you by the holy and consubstantial Trinity and by the prosperity and victory of our Christ-loving emperors to grant them admittance. We submit this to your good pleasure.'

39. The holy council said: 'Let those who have presented the complaint be admitted.'

40. After they had been admitted, Athanasius, describing himself as a presbyter of the great city of Alexandria, said: 'After having suffered all kinds of terrible treatment, replete with every form of impiety and oppression, at the hands of the most devout and religious Bishop Dioscorus, I have presented a petition to our most pious and Christ-loving masters, informing them of my case and of the plots and contrivances I have suffered from him. I present the same petition to this holy and ecumenical council, and I ask our holy and most God-beloved bishops and fathers to have pity on me also, and to grant a sympathetic hearing as I expound my case.'

41. After him Ischyron, describing himself as a deacon of the great city of Alexandria, said: 'So that the most devout Bishop Dioscorus may not think that the most religious Bishop Eusebius is the only one to have brought charges against him but may realize that there are other plaintiffs, and may know who they are and what charges they bring against him, we ask that our complaints be read.'

42. Bishop Lucentius said: 'May the complaints presented to us against the most sacred Bishop Dioscorus by various people be read out by Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* {of notaries},<sup>57</sup> so that the entire holy council

57 Supplied from the Latin.

may know what they contain.’

43. Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries took the plaint of Theodore and read it out.

44.<sup>58</sup> After the reading, Bishop Paschasinus said: ‘What does the plaintiff Theodore, now present, have to say in respect of this? If he is confident that he can prove the charges he brings against the most devout Bishop Dioscorus, let him say so with his own mouth, if he doesn’t wish the sentence of the canons to rebound against himself.’

45. Theodore said: ‘I ask that the plaint I have presented be inserted into the minutes. For I am ready to substantiate what I have said.’

46. Bishop Paschasinus said: ‘Let the plaint that has been read be inserted into the ecclesiastical minutes, and let Theodore state the rest that pertains to the case when his adversary appears.’

*Plaint of Theodore, deacon of Alexandria, presented against Dioscorus*

47. *To the most godly and God-beloved Leo, ecumenical archbishop and patriarch of Great Rome, and to the holy and ecumenical council convoked at Chalcedon by the will of God and imperial decree, from Theodore, deacon of Alexandria.*

*The outrages of the most devout Dioscorus bishop of the great city of Alexandria require ancient eloquence able to describe each of the outrages he has committed against the Godhead and against the holy canons of the fathers and in addition against many and various persons of that country. The proceedings before various officials will instruct your sacredness about his machinations that amount to high treason; nevertheless, it is to recount in summary everything he has done to my littleness that I come to petition your holinesses. I served for twenty-two years, more or less, in the department of the hallowed magistriani, without ever causing harm or giving ground for complaint, thinking myself worthy of the privileges of that great department. But Cyril of sacred and holy memory, who was then archbishop of renowned Alexandria and champion of the correct and unimpeachable faith, made me a deputy, especially at the time of the council which took place under his presidency at Ephesus. I served irreproachably at that sacred council, brought about by God, so much so that, because of my loyalty and zeal, he honoured me with admittance into the clergy of the great city of Alexandria. Even though this might seem to deprive me of what was due to my many years in public service, I thought the service of the divine and*

58 Clearly 44–6 would have been better placed after 47. 48 is simply a variant version of 45.

*venerable mysteries a greater honour, and remained fifteen years in the same clerical rank, hoping to receive a greater honour. But meanwhile Cyril of sacred and holy memory departed from human life, and was succeeded (would it had never happened!) by the most devout Bishop Dioscorus. Even though no charge was brought against me, either in writing or verbally, and not even mere criticism, Dioscorus, at the beginning of the episcopate that he obtained I know not how, expelled me from the clergy and threatened to drive me out of that great city, for no other reason than because I had been honoured with the friendship and favour of Cyril of sacred memory; for his plan was to chase out of that city, or even deprive of life, not only the members of Cyril's family but also all those who had been on familiar terms with him, whom he hated because of the orthodoxy of his [Cyril's] faith.<sup>59</sup> For he is a heretic and has always held the opinions of Origen; furthermore he is a man who has not refrained from blasphemies against the holy Trinity, nor from taking part in murders, nor from cutting down trees, nor arson, nor demolishing homes, but who has always lived a shameful life, as I am ready to prove.*

*Since therefore your God-belovedness sees that I have suffered no trifling wrong, after sacrificing so long a time in government service because I considered the rank of the priesthood more important, I beg to be allowed to appear before your holy council and to exercise my rights, so as not to suffer a double loss, after working blamelessly in government service, as I have said, and after serving with modesty in the most sacred clergy, to the best of my ability, during the time I have described. I shall prove that Dioscorus has committed all the crimes that I have mentioned, and in addition the outrage he committed in the metropolis of Nicaea.<sup>60</sup> There, this most holy man – or, rather, this man in every respect most savage –<sup>61</sup> having acquired a habit of wrongdoing, and thinking nothing of the outrage he had committed against Flavian of sacred and holy memory, proceeded to an even worse crime; {for he issued}<sup>62</sup> an excommunication against the most*

59 The significant fact that emerges from this and the following complaints (51, 57, 64) is that Dioscorus on his election to the see of Alexandria carried out a purge of the relatives and henchmen of his predecessor Cyril. This may have been perfectly justified, but it did not improve his standing at a council where Cyril was accorded unqualified respect.

60 It was at Nicaea that the bishops first assembled before moving to Chalcedon. See Documents before the Council 6, 12.

61 There is a pun in the Greek: 'this ἁγιώτατος [most holy man] or, rather, ἄγριώτατος [most savage man].'

62 Supplied from the Latin version.

*holy and sacred bishop of the apostolic see of Great Rome, and he forced the most holy bishops who had come with him from Egypt, who were more or less ten in number (for more did not dare to leave Egypt with him, on account of his crimes at Ephesus),<sup>63</sup> to put their signatures to this, compelling the reluctant partly by threats and partly by deception; it was indeed weeping and groaning that they signed that unlawful document. Observe therefore, most religious fathers, that his outrageous behaviour is neither permitted by God nor tolerable to men. I also ask your sacredness to order, if it please you, that his subordinates be put in custody so that the truth may be brought to light: they are Agorastus, Dorotheus, Eusebius, and John the notary. When the time calls, I will present to your angelic choir holy men adorned with rectitude and piety who will be able to give evidence on each point.*

*I, Theodore, deacon of the holy catholic church of the great city of Alexandria, the aforesaid, have presented this plaint to the holy and ecumenical council.*

48. After the plaint had been read, the same Theodore said: 'I am ready, when the most devout Bishop Dioscorus presents himself at your holy council, to substantiate my allegations.'

49. Boniface presbyter of the church of Rome said: 'It is right that the plaint of Ischyryon, who is crying out and who is present, should also be read.'

50. Romanus bishop of Myra said: 'In accordance with the words of the most God-beloved presbyter Boniface, let the plaint presented by Ischyryon be read.'

Asclepiades, deacon and notary, took the document and read it out.

50a. {After it had been read, Peter bishop of the metropolis of Corinth said: 'Let the plaint presented by the most devout Ischyryon and which the reading has made known to this holy and ecumenical council be inserted in the present minutes.}'<sup>64</sup>

*Plaint of Ischyryon, deacon of Alexandria, presented against  
Dioscorus to the holy and ecumenical council*

*51. To the most holy and blessed Leo, ecumenical archbishop and patriarch of Great Rome, and to the holy and ecumenical council convoked*

63 In fact the Egyptian (and Libyan) bishops who accompanied Dioscorus to Chalcedon numbered 19, only slightly fewer than the 23 who were with him at Ephesus II.

64 Supplied from the Latin version.

*at Chalcedon by the will of God and imperial decree, from Ischyriion, deacon of the great city of Alexandria.*

*Now that all victims of ill-treatment have received freedom to speak, that just leaders rule over the human race, and that every machination and form of oppression and the horrors of tyranny have finally come to an end, I too have now had the confidence to send this document to your sacredness and to inform you of the outrages that I myself and certain others have suffered (if I had a tongue able to speak for them as well) from the most devout Dioscorus bishop of the great city of Alexandria; for there is no one who has not experienced his cruelty and inhumanity. Some have seen their lands devastated by tree-cutting being perpetrated against them, some have seen their homes demolished, some have been driven into exile, some hit with fines, while others have been chased out of the great city of Alexandria as if it were his personal property. That he has not hesitated to commit grave crimes of high treason, great and distinguished people know, and in addition the whole of that great city of Alexandria, as is proved by the proceedings before various officials. For the wild insults that he has often uttered against the holy and consubstantial Trinity are known to all the people of that famous city, and in addition to the devout clergy and the most devout monks. His outrageous behaviour towards everyone, unfitting for a bishop and especially for one of so great a city and of that evangelical see, reached the point where, when our most pious emperors gave grain to the churches of Libya (because this country is very dry and no grain at all is cultivated there) in the first place for the offering of the bloodless sacrifice and in addition for the relief of travellers and also of the indigenous poor, he did not permit the holy bishops of that country to accept the gift, but had the grain valued at a huge sum and sold it himself at a very high price, it being a time of dearth, with the result that neither was the awesome and bloodless sacrifice offered, nor, as I said, did strangers or the local inhabitants enjoy this relief.*

*Of the affair of Peristeria of illustrious memory no one is ignorant, and especially not the inhabitants of imperial New Rome. For the good of her soul, she had laid down in her will that a large quantity of money was to be given to the monasteries and in addition to the hostels and alms-houses and to other poor people of the land of Egypt; but this most devout man, furious that she had not left it to him personally, contrived that this money was distributed not as alms but to actresses and other people in the theatre, in order that the fragrance from the sacrifice of Peristeria, illustrious in memory, should not ascend to God, as far as was in his power. While the intentions of*

*this woman became famous, the dice<sup>65</sup> of the aforesaid devout man and his dissoluteness are known in the whole of that country, since openly disreputable women wallow all the time in the episcopal residence and its baths; particularly [well known] is the notorious Pansophia, called Oreine,<sup>66</sup> about whom the numerous populace of Alexandria has spread a report commemorating her and her lover, which will be made known to your angelic choir. And this is not all: even murders have been committed at the instigation of this marvellous preacher.*

*Since the outrages which he has committed against my pitiable self are intolerable, I petition and entreat your holinesses to take pity on me, a man who laboured for a long period for the holy church of this great city and was for this reason admitted into its clergy. In the time when Cyril of sacred and most holy memory adorned the evangelical see, I was often sent on missions, in particular to imperial New Rome. Sometimes in the winter season I made the whole journey by horse, while at others, because of the urgent needs entrusted to me by Cyril of sacred memory, I made a whole voyage by sea; I travelled at times across Lycia and at others across Pamphylia. As a result of these extreme exertions my body was quite worn out, as your beatitude can see with your own eyes. I was deemed worthy of the friendship and favour of Archbishop Cyril, remembered among the saints, a fact which distressed the most devout Dioscorus; certainly, as soon as Cyril of holy and sacred memory went to heaven and this man was installed (would it had never happened!), he prevented me from serving the sacred and venerable mysteries. On top of that he sent some monks and others against my modest property and consigned it to arson, with the result that the buildings on the property from which in my poverty and weakened bodily state I derived my livelihood were entirely destroyed by fire; also all the various fruit trees on my property were cut down and the land itself devastated, and they ceased to bring me an income, with the result that from then on I had to beg and lacked essential sustenance. But not even satisfied with this, he sent against me in my pitiable state a band of ecclesiastics, or rather, to tell the truth of bandits,<sup>67</sup> with Peter and Arpocraton the deacons<sup>68</sup> and Menas the presbyter, to*

65 In other words, his passion for gaming. The Latin translator found the word incongruous and emended it to 'the life'.

66 Oreinê (Ὀρεινή) is a nickname, meaning 'Mountain Lass'. An epigram in the *Anthologia Palatina* 16. 19 refers to the scandal: "'Peace (εἰρήνη) be to all", said the bishop as he came out. But how can she be for all, when he alone enjoys her within?"

67 An 'ecclesiastical' (ἐκκλησιαστικῶν) band of bandits (ληστικῶν): another pun.

68 We follow the Latin. The Greek ('with Peter the deacon and Arpocraton') leaves the rank of the latter unclear.

*despatch me beyond human affairs and with orders to bring him my dead body; and if I had not by the mercy of God learnt of their plans shortly beforehand and made my escape, I would long ago, as I have said, have passed from human affairs. Although by the mercy of God I had managed to escape, out of stupidity I did not flee from great Alexandria, because of my physical weakness, and my need of plenty of care from my relatives, and also because I and my ancestors are from that city and have had our home there. Enraged by this, as if nothing had happened, during the very days of Easter he again ordered Arpocraton to kidnap me; for Arpocraton had always been an assistant to his fury, along with Peter the aforesaid deacon, as was shown by what happened at Ephesus to Flavian of sacred memory, late bishop of Constantinople, and [what happened] to many of his men,<sup>69</sup> including the most devout Nestorius, who is now a bishop but was at that time presbyter and administrator of the church of the great city of Alexandria.<sup>70</sup> I was locked up in a hospital for the maimed, although I was in no way answerable to anyone, and no charge, as I have said, had ever been brought against me. But even to this hospital Dioscorus again sent people to kill me, as is known to all those who live there: it is surely their hatred of evil that spurred them to help me, which is why I am alive to this day. And he did not release me from this unlawful imprisonment until I promised, despite my bodily condition, to leave great Alexandria and to do his will in certain other matters as well.*

*Since you see, most holy and sacred fathers, that his whole course of action has been neither permitted by God nor acceptable to the laws, or to any human being, I beg {and beseech the footprints of}<sup>71</sup> your angelic host to take pity on me, and to admit me to the most holy and ecumenical council to substantiate all these charges, so that I may be granted immunity in respect of the wrongs I have suffered and, if it please your sacredness, that my rank may be restored to me, a man who was for a long time the faithful servant of that champion of orthodoxy Cyril of holy memory, who has become infirm, and who does not have any other means of procuring the necessities of life. If I am granted my rights, I shall perform the customary prayers and thanksgivings to Christ our common Saviour on behalf of your angelic choir.*

69 'Many of his men' is the reading of the Latin version, preferred by Schwartz to the Greek 'many others'.

70 This must be the Bishop Nestorius of Phlagonis who at Chalcedon deserted Dioscorus; see I. 295n.

71 Supplied from the Latin version.



*I also request, in proof of what I have said, that Agorastus, Dorotheus, Eusebius, Didion, Arpocraton, Peter and Gaianus be detained and also the keeper of the bishop's baths, who has accompanied him abroad in a private capacity and who can give a precise account of everything. I am ready at the time of the hearing and on the orders of your sacredness to produce most holy men, of attested merit in life and faith, who can witness to all these things.*

*I, Ischyriion the deacon, have presented this plaint, drawn up in accordance with my wishes, and which I both dictated and signed with my own hand.*

51a. After it had been read, Bishop Paschasinus said: 'Let the plaint which we have received from Athanasius, who is here present, also be read.'

Procopius deacon and notary took it and read it out.

52. After it had been read, Bishop Lucentius said: 'Consider carefully what you say in your plaint against the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus and, if you have the confidence, inform him of it and declare it to him with your own mouth.'

53. Athanasius said: 'I am ready and confident, once he has appeared before your most holy council, of convicting him of all the charges I have brought against him.'

54. After him Ischyriion said: 'If Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria is brought to this most holy and ecumenical council, I too am ready to {establish}<sup>72</sup> by manifest proofs everything I have said to your angelic choir,<sup>73</sup> not least by producing as witnesses his *syncelli*<sup>74</sup> who are with him and accompany him to this day, in order to prove the truth of my words from his own close associates, by your prayers. Some of them were awarded their rank for assisting in those murders at Ephesus, and they are here {with him<sup>75</sup>}.'

55. After the reading Marinianus bishop of Synnada said: 'Let the plaint presented by the most devout Athanasius against the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus be inserted in the text of the minutes along with the rest.'

56. Pergamius bishop of Antioch in Pisidia said: 'It is appropriate that

72 Supplied from the Latin version.

73 'Angelic choir' is the phrase in the Latin, which is clearer for the modern reader than the Greek, 'your angel', a form of address to a church hierarch – in this case the chairman, Bishop Paschasinus.

74 *Syncelli* were the intimate advisers and assistants of patriarchs. See *ODB*yz 3, 1993–4.

75 Supplied from the Latin version.

the plaint that has been read, which was presented by the most devout Athanasius and in which he accused Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria, should be inserted in the minutes of the current proceedings. But let the same Athanasius say with his own voice if he stands by his accusations.<sup>76</sup>

*Plaint of Athanasius, presbyter of Alexandria, brought against  
Dioscorus to the holy council*

57. *To the most holy and blessed Leo, ecumenical patriarch of Great Rome, and to the holy and ecumenical council convened in the city of Chalcedon by the will of God and imperial command, from the pitiable Athanasius, formerly presbyter of great Alexandria and son of the sister of Archbishop Cyril of sacred memory.*

*Cyril of holy and blessed memory, who was archbishop of great Alexandria for thirty-two years and lived blamelessly in the orthodox faith, was the maternal uncle of myself, Athanasius, and of my brother Paul of illustrious memory, and the brother of my mother Isidora. In the will he made when about to die he honoured his successor as bishop, whoever that might be, with many large legacies from his own estate, adjuring him in writing, by the venerable and awesome mysteries, to comfort his family and not to cause it any trouble.<sup>77</sup> But the most devout Bishop Dioscorus, who to the misfortune not only of us but of the whole diocese<sup>78</sup> succeeded to the see, out of hatred for that man's orthodoxy, being himself a heretic, not only did not comfort us, but even, ignoring those awesome oaths, did to us precisely the opposite, scheming against us in every way. At the very beginning of the episcopate that he obtained I know not how, he threatened with death both myself and our brother who was still alive, and exiled us from renowned Alexandria, with the aim that as exiles we would repair to all-fortunate Constantinople hoping to receive assistance. The aim of the aforesaid devout man was that we should there be arrested and brought before Chrysaphius of unholy memory<sup>79</sup> and also the most magnificent and glorious Nomus who*

<sup>76</sup> Athanasius replies at 58, after the insertion at this point in the minutes of the plaint read out at 51a.

<sup>77</sup> In other words, Cyril had enriched his relatives out of church funds, and left a large legacy to his successor as a *douceur* to win his compliance.

<sup>78</sup> Meaning not simply the diocese of Alexandria but the (civil) diocese of Egypt, all of which was subject to the bishop of Alexandria as patriarch.

<sup>79</sup> Chrysaphius (*PLRE* 2, 295–7) was a palace eunuch who exercised a dominating influence over the emperor Theodosius II throughout the 440s; he was the godson of Eutyches. On Theodosius' death Pulcheria had him executed.

*was at that time in control of the affairs of the world;<sup>80</sup> he had told them by letter, as if procuring a great benefit for the aforesaid persons, that we were to be eliminated by them, while he would thank them for hounding us. And indeed, as soon as we arrived at the imperial city in the hope of receiving assistance, we were detained in custody and subjected to all kinds of ill-treatment until we should hand over all our movable goods; since we did not have the means to satisfy the extortion worked by these torments, we were compelled to borrow from numerous moneylenders at exorbitant rates.<sup>81</sup> Our brother Paul of illustrious memory could not endure these injuries and maltreatment and departed from human life, while I, Athanasius, along with our aunts and the wife and children of our brother, remained among human affairs only to our misfortune, having nothing but the creditors who, as we have said, had lent us money at exorbitant rates. Finally, we did not even have the option to depart, since our creditors brought various charges against us and we did not have the means to pay what was due to them, for we were required to pay vast sums, which were beyond the means not merely of ourselves but even of those renowned for their wealth, {with the result that nothing was left us<sup>82</sup>}.*

*On top of this, to deprive us even of our accommodation, he contrived to have our houses turned into churches, even though that of myself, Athanasius, since it overhangs a fourth storey, was quite unsuitable for a church; and with the aforesaid houses he included other adjoining buildings and porches.<sup>83</sup> But not even content with this, he deprived me of my presbyteral office and struck me off the list of clergy, although no charge had been brought against me. And since then we have spent seven years wandering from place to place, sometimes, as I have mentioned, pursued by creditors and sometimes by him himself, while denied permission to lodge in churches or monasteries. Therefore I, Athanasius, made my way to Metanoia (this is a*

80 Nomus (PLRE 2, 785–6) was master of the offices 443–6. He was one of the lay officials present at most of the sessions of the council.

81 Obtaining justice at Constantinople required bribery; Cyril of Alexandria had to buy the deposition of Nestorius in 431 after the inconclusive Council of Ephesus with massive bribes. His relatives doubtless arrived at Constantinople similarly equipped, but found the going rates beyond their means and had to turn to the moneylenders; even so, their bribes failed to gain an audience with Chrysaphius, the all-powerful chamberlain. The whole episode illustrates the corruption of the court rather than any particular wrongdoing on the part of Dioscorus.

82 Supplied from the Latin version.

83 Dioscorus treated the property of Cyril's relatives as church property, which originally it may well have been. Cyril had been preceded as archbishop by his uncle Theophilus, and the enriching of the family out of church property could have been going on for 60 years.

*suburb of great Alexandria, once called Canopus, which suburb has by ancient and immemorial custom provided asylum for fugitives; the whole site is thought to be under the protection of the sacred monastery of Tabennesi<sup>84</sup> and, what is more, within the precincts of the holy church of God, and also contains a public bath), in the hope of getting my poor body looked after and finding safety from those plotting [against me]. But the aforesaid most devout bishop was so set on impiety that he did not take any pity on us who were now wretched beyond all wretchedness, nor pay any attention to the commandments of Christ, but forbade us from washing in the public baths and from having any bread sent to us or cooked food sold to us there, his one aim being that we should perish from hunger and destitution; and indeed from extreme want and straitened circumstances I was almost beyond human affairs – a state I prayed for as an escape from my misfortunes; but by the mercy of God this did not happen to me.*

*The money which was demanded from us, whether from our own property or what we had borrowed, as we have said, at exorbitant rates, amounted to one thousand four hundred pounds of gold, more or less, which was extracted from us by the most magnificent and glorious Nomus, through the services of the hallowed magistrianus Severus, who was deputy assistant in the department of the hallowed magistriani; for the barbarous Chrysaphius we never saw face to face. Thinking nothing of these dire misfortunes of ours, Dioscorus took possession even of the property that remained to me, Athanasius, with the result that I was short of the necessities of life from every angle and had henceforth to beg from those who perform acts of piety in order to support both myself and the two or three slaves left to me. In addition to all this money, by hounding and oppressing our aunts, the sisters of Cyril of sacred and blessed memory, even to their very souls, and threatening them with death, he extorted eighty-five pounds of gold from them; and on top of this [he extorted] from the children of my brother of illustrious memory and his wife, though the former were unfortunate orphans and the latter was mourning the loss of a husband, forty pounds of gold.*

*Observe then, you most God-beloved in all respects, that not even the barbarians have ever committed such outrages against those subject to them as has this marvellous preacher, who ought to be teaching his congregations to forget injuries but instead commits such outrages not only against us but against many others as well. We beg your sacredness to give us your assistance and to pronounce a judgement that will enable us to recover the*

84 Tabennisi, in the Thebaid, was the original monastery of St Pachomius.

*sum that was wrongly demanded from us by the most magnificent and glorious Nomus and pay it to our creditors. We are ready to prove that this most magnificent man demanded this quantity of gold from us, and also that the most devout Bishop Dioscorus has had the audacity to insult Christ himself and to commit many other crimes which are forbidden not only by the laws but also by the most savage and cruel of the barbarians, for his crimes surpass even their cruelty and impiety towards God. We beg for your assistance, to which we have already appealed, so that, giving thanks to God and to your religiousness, we may offer up the customary prayers of thanksgiving on behalf of your holinesses to our common Saviour Christ. We further request that witnesses, able at the time of the hearing to witness to everything we have said, should not be neglected.*

*I, the pitiable Athanasius, presbyter of the renowned city of Alexandria, have presented this plaint to the most holy Leo, ecumenical patriarch and archbishop of Senior Rome and to the most holy and ecumenical council of holy bishops and fathers.*

58. After this Athanasius said: ‘I stand by my position, and shall prove by manifest proofs that the most devout Bishop Dioscorus has orchestrated all these actions against me. For eight whole years up to this day he has plotted and schemed against me, threatening my very preservation, and against all our family, my aunts, my thrice-blessed brother, his wife and his orphaned children.’

59. John bishop of the metropolis of Sebasteia said: ‘Let the person standing [before us] indicate clearly what he wants.’

60. Sophronius said: ‘I too have repaired to this most holy council because of the many injustices I have suffered at the hands of the most devout Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria. I recently came and presented a plaint; order it to be read.’

61. John bishop of Sebasteia said: ‘Let the plaint of Sophronius, standing [before us], be read.’

Asclepiades deacon and notary took the document and read it out.

62. After the reading Sophronius said: ‘I request that my plaint be inserted in the minutes.’

63. Patricius bishop of Tyana said: ‘Let the plaint which has been read be included in the text of the minutes according to the request of Sophronius.’

*Plaint of Sophronius presented against Dioscorus to the holy and ecumenical council at Chalcedon*

64. *To the most holy and blessed Leo, ecumenical archbishop and patriarch of Great Rome, and to the holy council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by the will of God and imperial mandate, from Sophronius, a Christian.*

*It is for me the result of prayer, and not only for my most insignificant self but for all those who have been wronged by Dioscorus bishop of the great city of Alexandria, that, according to the will of God and the decree of the {most sacred}<sup>85</sup> masters of the world, your most holy and angelic council has convened, to which I have come in order to inform you of the tyranny and violence that I have suffered from the aforesaid most devout bishop. I therefore beg your most holy council to give me a hearing so that I may inform you of the outrages committed against me, as far as I have the power, for they are great and require supreme eloquence. I too have been greatly wronged and reduced to poverty as a result of the various machinations of the most devout Dioscorus bishop of great Alexandria. It is because of his various machinations against me in my poverty that I have come to inform you that I hold various people {variously}<sup>86</sup> accountable and that I have in particular been wronged by Macarius, a decurion of great Alexandria. Out of lawless desire this man carried off and detained my wife Theodote, by whom I have had children, even though no separation had ensued nor grievance occurred, for on the contrary we were still living together. Aggrieved by this crime which even the barbarians have never committed lightly, I repaired with some difficulty to the masters of the world and the great and most eminent prefects, and accused the aforesaid Macarius; certain proceedings on the matter then took place. I demanded that Macarius, who had so brazenly contravened the law, should, together with our wife Theodote, be arraigned, so that the case might proceed by a legal examination, and I named other people as well who were answerable to me, according to written and unwritten proofs. Having with me therefore both the divine decrees and the grave judgements of the great and most eminent prefects, and also, appropriately enough, the one who was to help in executing them, I mean the venerable Theodore, who is of the highest rank, I repaired to great Alexandria so that these judgements could be put into execution. But the most devout Bishop Dioscorus, who does everything*

85 Supplied from the Latin version.

86 Supplied from the Latin version.

*impiously and thinks himself superior to everyone, did not permit the execution of either the divine decrees or the gravest judgements, claiming that the country belonged to him rather than to the rulers. And indeed he sent against me Isidore, who bears the name of deacon but who had always been the minister of his fury, along with a robber-band of country people and some others, to make me beyond human affairs and to drive off, with his mission unaccomplished, the very high-ranking executor who had been assigned to me, which is indeed what happened; not content with this, this deacon, under orders from the most devout Bishop Dioscorus, seized all my property, in boats and other things, from which I, together with my children, derived support. Against all expectation, I learnt of this from someone who warned me of the fury of the aforesaid man; so I took to flight and escaped.*

*Since not even the barbarians have ever committed the outrages perpetrated by the most devout Dioscorus, I beg and petition your angelic host to take pity on me and to order that the tyrant who by divine providence has been detained here should defend himself against me. I am ready to prove that the most devout Bishop Dioscorus has often uttered blasphemous statements against the holy and consubstantial Trinity, that in addition he has committed adultery, and that he is guilty of high treason. When for universal good fortune the divine laureata were brought to the great city of Alexandria,<sup>87</sup> he went so far as to distribute gratuities to many people, through the services of Agorastus, Timothy and certain others, and to have them banished; he resented the fact, in short, that such a master of the world was being proclaimed, for he wanted rather to rule the Egyptian diocese himself, as is proved by the proceedings before various officials and is testified to in addition by the admirable tribune {and notary}<sup>88</sup> John. And if it had not happened by divine providence that the most magnificent and glorious Theodore, the noble champion of the laws, was directing the affairs of the Egyptian diocese,<sup>89</sup> great Alexandria would long ago have been seized by the aforesaid tyrant. That not I alone but many others as well have experienced the fury of the aforesaid most devout Dioscorus is an acknowledged fact, even if the victims, whether through poverty or fear of his*

87 The reference is to the display of *laureata* (laurel-wreathed portraits of the emperors) on the occasion, doubtless, of Marcian's accession in 450. The behaviour attributed here to Dioscorus would have been regarded as treasonable and so lacks credibility.

88 Supplied from the Latin version.

89 Theodore, prefect of Egypt, was entrusted after the council with the election of a new bishop of Alexandria in collaboration with the four Egyptian bishops who deserted Dioscorus during the first session (I. 293–6); see Liberatus, *Breviarium* 14, ACO 2.5 p. 123.

tyranny, have not had the courage to betake themselves to your sacredness and bring an accusation.

*I beg and petition your angelic chorus that Agorastus, who happens to be here and is one of the accomplices of his fury, being his syncellus, should be brought along, and that you bid me to come before your most holy and ecumenical council to substantiate all my allegations. For I am ready, if I gain your holy hearing, to prove that the most devout Bishop Dioscorus has committed all these crimes.*

*I, the aforesaid Sophronius, a Christian, have presented this plaint to the most holy and ecumenical council, as it is already stated.*

65. After the reading the holy council said: ‘Let all these complaints be included in the proceedings. It is clear that they will have to be read again in the presence of the most sacred Bishop Dioscorus, who is the subject of the complaints.’

66. Florentius bishop of Sardis said: ‘Since the documents which have been read are clear, let the most religious Bishop Dioscorus be summoned a third time, since this is required by adherence to ecclesiastical order, so that, if even after this he refuses, the canon may take its course.’

67. Paschasinus the most religious bishop said: ‘The most religious Bishop Florentius has, in what he has said, made the fitting proposal that he be cited to appear a third time by our most holy brothers and should not delay responding to the suits of his accusers. Therefore, if it please the holy and ecumenical council, let the most religious Bishop Dioscorus be summoned a third time.’

68. Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries said: ‘Since you have judged that a third summons should be sent to the most religious Bishop Dioscorus by the holy and ecumenical council, instruct {if it please you}<sup>90</sup> some of the most holy bishops to go and cite him now at length to present himself at the sacred assembly of your holinesses.’

69. The holy council said: ‘The most religious bishops Francion, Lucian and John will go to {the most holy}<sup>91</sup> Bishop Dioscorus and make known to him this third summons in a brotherly exhortation.’

<sup>90</sup> Supplied from the Latin version.

<sup>91</sup> Supplied from the Latin version. At this stage in the proceedings Dioscorus would not have been referred to without the normal honorific. Contrast 79 below.



*Third Summons*

70. *The most holy and great ecumenical council to the most sacred Bishop Dioscorus.*

*The statements of your religiousness are of great diversity and complexity: you gave the information at one time that you were being detained by the hallowed magistriani and scholarii, and then, after permission was obtained from them, that you demanded the presence of the most magnificent and glorious officials at the proceedings; afterwards you used illness as an excuse, and again pretended that you were waiting for the participation of the most magnificent and glorious officials; and in addition you indicated that you had now petitioned our most pious and Christ-loving emperor that the most God-beloved bishops Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil and Eustathius should appear with you to answer the charges made against you. But in no way do any of these statements tell the truth; rather, each statement you make excludes out the truth. Since therefore not even the most pious emperor has decreed what you asked for but has entrusted the hearing to this most holy and ecumenical council, and there is no other obstacle to our conducting the present canonical examination, drop every excuse and deign to repair to this sacred assembly to respond to the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius and his fresh accusations and to defend yourself against those who have just presented complaints against you, who are not few and who have come from Alexandria, both clerics and laymen, whose names are Athanasius, Ischyron, Theodore and Sophronius. Know that if, after this third canonical summons which is completely unimpeachable, you defer coming, the present holy and great ecumenical council will follow the procedure which puts in motion the penalty laid down by the canons for those who are noncompliant and disdain a conciliar summons. For the purpose of the third summons, we have now sent to you our fellow bishops the most God-beloved Francion of Philippopolis, Lucian of Bizye and John of Germanicia in Anatolia.*

71. The most God-beloved Archbishop Anatolius said: ‘As has been resolved, let the most God-beloved bishops Francion, Lucian and John go to the most religious Bishop Dioscorus and bid him finally come to the holy council.’

72. Francion bishop of Philippopolis said: ‘Order one of the notaries who took notes to come with us, to read out the statements of your holy council to the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus.’

73. The holy council said: ‘Let Palladius, deacon and notary of the most God-beloved Bishop Patricius [of Tyana], go and read to the most God-

beloved Bishop Dioscorus from the record our message to him in the presence of the most devout bishops who have been sent.’

74. When the most God-beloved bishops had returned again, Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of notaries said: ‘The most holy bishops sent to the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus to deliver the third summons according to the divine canons are present, and we bring this to your notice.’

75. Anatolius bishop of Constantinople New Rome said: ‘Tell us what response you have now received to the third summons from the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus.’

76. Francion bishop of Philippopolis said: ‘As your sacredness deigned to order us to make our way to the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus, so we went and delivered your commands orally, and had read out to him the third written summons which you sent in writing. We request that what we said to him and what he said in reply be read to the holy council.’

77. Maximus bishop of Antioch said: ‘Let the statements made by the most God-beloved Bishop Dioscorus in answer to the third summons be read.’

Palladius, deacon and notary of the most God-beloved Bishop Patricius, read out the following:

*78. Francion bishop of Philippopolis said to Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria: ‘The most holy and ecumenical council, in session in the holy martyrion of Saint Euphemia, has sent our lowliness to your religiousness to deliver this already third summons according to the procedure of the holy canons. Your religiousness will order the reading of the written summons it has sent, so that you may deign to appear at their assembly dear to God and answer the accusations.’*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: ‘I have given your religiousness a sufficient answer, to which I have nothing to add. I am satisfied with it.’*

*Lucian bishop of Bizye said: ‘It is proper for your sacredness to obey the holy and great council and appear before it, confident in your own conscience, in order to defend yourself against the charges. If you continue to refuse, you will be subjected to the canonical penalty, especially since this is already the third summons to you from the most holy and great council.’*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: ‘What I said I have said, to which I have nothing to add.’*

*John bishop of Germanicia said: ‘It has been three days<sup>92</sup> since, according*

92 In fact five days (from 8 to 13 October). For the loose use of ‘three’ for a small indefinite number see Lampe, *PGL*, 1402.

*to the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperor, the most magnificent and glorious officials and the sacred senate with the holy council carried out an examination of the offences alleged against your religiousness by the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius; and having condemned your religiousness, they put you under sentence, if this should be pleasing to the most holy bishops, who have been entrusted by the Lord God with delivering it. But the most holy and great council, considering what is proper for itself, granted a reprieve to your religiousness until today. So if you have a pure conscience, deign to appear and respond to the holy and great council.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'And I say for the third time that I have nothing to add to what I have said already.'*

*Bishop Francion said: 'But we consider it essential for your religiousness to appear before the holy council and respond, so that what is pleasing to God may be decided.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'I shall say the same again, and I have nothing more to add to what I have said.'*

*Bishop Lucian said: 'Matters neither small nor trivial are contained in the complaints presented against your religiousness to the most holy and ecumenical council. If then you are confident in your ability to withstand the allegations, we ask you to appear and prove on all counts that you are free from, and innocent of, the complaints against you.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'Why do you compel me to speak further? I shall say the same as my preceding statements.'*

*Bishop John said: 'Surely the case compels you? This is a great and ecumenical holy council, and we believe that it passes judgement as if God were witness. If then your sacredness knows that you can rebut the complaints brought against you by both the most God-beloved Eusebius and those who have come today and presented complaints, appear and clear the holy church of God from stain.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'The catholic church has no stain – God forbid! I know how I have responded to the injunctions.'*

*Bishop John said: 'The offences of priests bring disgrace on all. So if your holiness knows that you are the victim of calumny from anyone, the holy council is not far away. Take the trouble to refute the lie.'*

*Bishop Dioscorus said: 'What I said I have said, and I am satisfied with it.'*

79. After the reading Bishop Paschasinus said: 'The most God-beloved and blessed holy council has learnt that Bishop Dioscorus, when summoned

a third time by the most God-beloved bishops Francion, Lucian and John to answer the charges against him, has refused to come, knowing himself to be liable. What then is deserved by one who is guilty of contempt in this way? Let your holinesses make it clear by your own mouth.'

80. The holy council said: 'He deserves the censure imposed by the canons on the non-compliant.'

81. Stephen bishop of Ephesus said: 'The correct step is for the one who has been summoned according to the holy canons and who responds with contempt to be subjected to the penalty of the canons.'

82. Bishop Paschasinus said: 'We again ask your beatitude: he who has already for the third time been summoned by our brothers and fellow bishops and who responds with contempt and does not come, what does he deserve? We want to know the decision of your holinesses.'

83. The holy council said: 'The decision in the canons.'

84. Bishop Lucian said: 'Our most blessed father and archbishop Cyril took certain measures against Nestorius at the holy council of Ephesus. Examine them and give the appropriate verdict.'

85. Bishop Paschasinus said: 'Does your religiousness bid us impose the ecclesiastical penalties on him? Do you approve?'

86. The holy council said: 'We all approve the decision.'

87. Bishop Paschasinus said: 'Does your religiousness bid us impose the ecclesiastical penalties on him, as I have said?'

88. The holy council said: 'Yes, we approve.'

89. Quintus bishop of Phocaea said: 'When he murdered that most holy man Flavian, the guardian of orthodoxy, he didn't cite canons or have them read, nor did he follow any ecclesiastical procedure, but he deposed him on his own authority. But now everything has been decided canonically, and he ought not to have recourse again to a postponement.'

90. Proterius bishop of Myrina<sup>93</sup> said: 'When the most holy Flavian was murdered, nothing was done properly in his case; but now there are so many holy fathers. Is he now again trying to contrive a postponement, even when all those in the holy council are piously assembled?'

91. Julian bishop of Hypaepa said: 'Holy fathers, listen. When Dioscorus in the city of Ephesus had the authority to judge between ...,<sup>94</sup> he

93 We follow the Latin version: the Greek erroneously gives 'Smyrna'.

94 There is at this point a lacuna in the Greek text that goes back to the archetype translated in the Latin version, which endeavours to make sense of the passage by the following paraphrase: 'When in the metropolis of Ephesus Dioscorus had the primacy in judging between the holy Flavian and the most religious Bishop Eusebius and between Eutyches [i.e. between

deposed the most holy Flavian and the most religious Bishop Eusebius by an unjust verdict, and he was the first to pronounce the unjust judgement, while all followed him under compulsion. But now your holiness has the authority of the most holy Archbishop Leo, as does the entire holy council convoked according to the grace of God and the decree of our most pious emperors.<sup>95</sup> You have taken cognizance of all the injustices that occurred at Ephesus; all the proceedings there have come to the knowledge of your holiness. You summoned Dioscorus a first, a second, and a third time, and he refused to comply. We therefore ask your holiness, who represents – or rather all those who represent – the most holy Archbishop Leo, to deliver sentence upon him and to pronounce against him the penalties contained in the canons. For all of us, and the whole ecumenical council, concur with your holiness.’

92. Bishop Paschasinus said: ‘I ask again: what is the pleasure of your beatitude?’

93. Maximus bishop of the great city of Antioch said: ‘What seems good to your holiness we also ratify.’

94. (1–3) Paschasinus bishop of Lilybaeum in Sicily, and with him Lucentius bishop of Asculum, and Boniface presbyter of the church of Great Rome, representing the most holy and blessed Leo, patriarch of Great Rome and archbishop, delivered this sentence:<sup>96</sup> ‘Manifest are the deeds committed with lawless audacity by Dioscorus bishop of the city of Alexandria against the discipline of the canons and the rules of the church, as is shown by the past proceedings<sup>97</sup> and the present pleas. To omit the greater part, Eutyches, who shared his perfidy and had been lawfully condemned by his own bishop, Flavian of holy memory, he is known to have received [into communion] even before sitting [in council] together with the bishops who had assembled in the city of Ephesus. To them, however, the apostolic see grants pardon, because they are proved to have done what was perpetrated against their will, in such a way that they still now adhere to both the most blessed pope and the ecumenical and holy council, and as a result have obtained the

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Flavian and Eusebius on the one hand and Eutyches on the other], delivering a verdict unjust in every way, he was the first to deliver an unjust judgement ...’

95 Bishop Julian follows the Roman line, also expressed by the Roman representatives at 94.1–3, that ultimate authority lay with the pope and that not only his representatives but also the whole council acted as his delegates. The eastern bishops, in contrast, treated the pope (acting through his legates) as *primus inter pares*.

96 We translate the original Latin text, preserved in Leo, *ep.* 103 (*ACO* 2.4 pp. 155–6, *ep.* 112). The Greek version is faithful but not slavish.

97 That is, at the first session, as the Greek translation states explicitly.

remedy of sacred communion. The aforesaid, however, thinks it a matter of distinction to persevere in evil, when he ought, as is fitting, with bowed head and groans to be lying prostrate on the ground, because he did not even allow the reading of the letter of the most blessed pope written to Flavian of venerable memory, the priest of Christ; for when those who had brought it asked for permission to have it read, he spurned fulfilling his promise through keeping to his oath, with the result that the impiety of wicked doctrine was increased and harm and scandal were caused to all the churches. We intended, however, to be lenient towards these outrages and to extend [to him] appropriately the mercy we had shown the other bishops, even though they are found not to have had the same responsibility for the judgement. {But he has greatly surpassed his first crimes with his later ones, and had the presumption to pronounce excommunication against the most holy and sacred Leo archbishop of Great Rome; there have also been presented to the holy and great council}<sup>98</sup> complaints of accusers full of various charges; and although summoned a third time with a canonical admonition by our most devout brothers and fellow bishops, he spurned coming, held back by secret pangs of conscience. Since with lawless usurpation he also received [into communion] people lawfully condemned by the provincial council to which they were subject,<sup>99</sup> he has brought down upon himself a sentence of condemnation, by frequently trampling on the decrees of the ancient fathers. Therefore the holy and most blessed pope, the head of the universal church, through us his representatives and with the assent of the holy council, endowed as he is with the dignity of Peter the Apostle, who is called the foundation of the church, the rock of faith, and the doorkeeper of the heavenly kingdom,<sup>100</sup> has stripped him of episcopal dignity and excluded him from all priestly functions. What remains is for the venerable council assembled to pronounce, as justice bids, a canonical verdict against the aforesaid Dioscorus.’

98 A lacuna in the Latin text is here supplied from the Greek.

99 The Greek (‘condemned lawfully by various councils’) is more vague, perhaps to obscure the infelicity of introducing a new charge at this point in the proceedings. Paschasinus may be referring to the support Dioscorus gave to Athanasius of Perrhe, who was condemned at two provincial synods but reinstated at Ephesus II, for which see our commentary on Session XIV.

100 The Greek translation is less effusive about papal primacy: ‘Therefore the most holy and blessed Leo, archbishop of Great and Senior Rome, through us and the present most holy council, together with the thrice-blessed and wholly renowned Peter the Apostle, who is the rock and stay of the catholic church and the foundation of the orthodox faith, ...’

95.<sup>101</sup> (4) Anatolius of imperial Constantinople New Rome said: 'I concur completely with the apostolic see. I too ratify the deposition of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, who has deprived himself of all priestly ministry by his complete disregard for the canons of the holy fathers in refusing to comply when canonically summoned a third time.'

96.<sup>102</sup> (5) Maximus bishop of the great city of Antioch said: 'I had hoped that none of my brothers and fellow bishops would ever descend to such offences as are subject to the canons. But because Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, in addition to other matters, was manifestly disobedient in not presenting himself when a canonical third summons was sent to him, I therefore subject him to the ecclesiastical sentence, in accordance with the resolution of our father the most holy and blessed Leo archbishop of the imperial city of Senior Rome, through his legates the most holy bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most religious Boniface presbyter of the same Great Rome, and of the most holy and blessed Anatolius archbishop of imperial New Rome. I in agreement with them adjudge him deprived of every episcopal or priestly dignity and ministry.'

(6) Stephen bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus said: 'I too concur with what has been said by the most religious and holy Leo and Anatolius on the condemnation of Dioscorus formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and declare him deprived of all priestly dignity.'

(7) Lucian bishop of the city of Bizye and representing the most God-beloved Cyriacus bishop of the metropolis of Heraclea, said for him: 'I assent to what has been decreed according to God by the holy and great council concerning the condemnation of Dioscorus formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly ministry and dignity.'

(8) Diogenes bishop of the metropolis of the city of Cyzicus said: 'Dioscorus formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, when complains

101 Rusticus in his edition of the Latin version follows his Greek source in giving a number to each of the verdicts, starting with Anatolius', which is given the number 9, since (as he explains in an annotation, *ACO* 2.3 p. 305n.) nos 1–8 were assigned to the three persons of the Trinity, St Peter, Pope Leo, and the three papal representatives. The desire to augment the number of those condemning Dioscorus is understandable, but it is startling to find the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity dragooned into service.

102 We translate the Latin text of 96 (numbered 94 in Schwartz's edition of the Latin version). Throughout this long section the Greek edition gives the bare names of the bishops, omitting their verdicts.

were lately presented against him and he received a canonical third summons from most religious bishops, did not comply, and thereby made himself liable to penalties of this kind. Therefore I also approve the sentence pronounced on him; I deprive him of all priestly ministry, and assent to the verdict of the most holy and blessed Leo archbishop of imperial Rome and to those of the most holy and blessed Anatolius of imperial New Rome and of the holy and ecumenical council now in session.'

(9) Julian bishop of Cos and legate of the church of Rome said: 'Fountains of tears pour from me and common pity inhibits my tongue from holding forth. But because, contrary to my desire, Dioscorus bishop of the great city of Alexandria has through his non-compliance shown himself liable to so many charges, since he is accused of a multitude of crimes by various plaintiffs and after a canonical third summons refused to present himself, being held back by a guilty conscience, I say weeping and groaning: he is deprived of the dignity of the episcopate and of all priestly ministry.'

(10) Eunomius metropolitan bishop of the city of Nicomedia said: 'What was transacted with proper caution after careful examination by this holy and ecumenical council regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, I too fittingly ratify, and adjudge him deprived of priestly office.'

(11) Peter metropolitan bishop of Corinth in the province of Achaea said: 'I too assent to the resolutions both of the legates of the most holy and blessed Leo archbishop of Great Rome and of the most holy and God-beloved Anatolius, who exceeds all praise, concerning the condemnation of Dioscorus, and pronounce him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(12) Eleutherius bishop of Chalcedon said: 'I concur with all the just verdicts of this holy and ecumenical council against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(13) Theodore metropolitan bishop of Tarsus said: 'Dioscorus has deprived himself of priestly dignity by the following offences: he illegally received into communion Eutyches, who had been condemned by Flavian of holy memory; he has been accused of crimes of the utmost gravity; and he did not comply when summoned by the holy and ecumenical council. He has therefore been justly condemned by the greatest sees – the archbishops Leo and Anatolius of the most holy churches of Great Rome and New Rome. I too in agreement with them pronounce my sentence, adjudging him deprived of all pontifical ministry.'

(14) Romanus metropolitan bishop of the city of Myra said: 'Dioscorus



was accused in plaints presented by the most religious bishop Eusebius and also by several clerics to the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors; and he did not comply when he received a canonical third summons from the most devout bishops to come and defend himself against the charges brought against him. In accord I too follow the most holy and God-beloved Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, the most holy and God-beloved Anatolius archbishop of New Rome Constantinople, and the entire holy and ecumenical council, and declare the aforesaid Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the city of Alexandria, because of his contempt and non-compliance, deprived both of episcopal dignity and all priestly ministry.'

(15) Cyrus metropolitan bishop of the city of Anazarbus said: 'It is a matter for deep sorrow that one of our former fathers should have descended to crimes of this kind that deprive him of priestly dignity. But the developments relating to Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and the three summonses sent to him which he refused to heed have compelled our holy and most blessed fathers to deprive him, canonically and fittingly, of episcopal dignity and ministry. I too follow and repeat the judgements they have delivered justly and rightly, adjudging him deprived of episcopal dignity and ministry.'

(16) Constantine metropolitan bishop of the city of Melitene said: 'I lament and deplore that Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, has by his actions fallen from episcopal rank. Because, however, sentence has been passed on him fittingly, canonically and justly by the holy and most blessed Archbishop Leo, the holy and most blessed Anatolius archbishop of the city of New Rome Constantinople, and the holy, great and ecumenical council of Chalcedon, I concur with the verdicts regarding the aforesaid, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(17) Seleucus metropolitan bishop of the city of Amaseia said: 'I too agree and concur with the lawful and canonical sentence passed just now on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, by the apostolic see of Rome through the most holy bishops who have come to this place, by the most holy and God-beloved Anatolius archbishop of New Rome, and by the entire holy council, and adjudge him deprived of all pontifical ministry.'

(18) John metropolitan bishop of the city of Sebasteia said: 'Just and canonical is the sentence passed on Dioscorus, former bishop of the great city of Alexandria, by our most God-beloved and holy father Leo archbishop of Rome, the most God-beloved and holy Anatolius archbishop of New Rome Constantinople, and this holy and ecumenical council. I assent to all

the verdicts regarding him, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(19) Constantine metropolitan bishop of the city of Bostra said: ‘I too assent to the verdicts against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, delivered by the most God-beloved bishops the legates of the most holy Archbishop Leo and by the holy and most blessed Anatolius archbishop of the imperial city of Constantinople New Rome, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.’

(20) Calogerus metropolitan bishop of the city of Claudiopolis said: ‘I assent to the canonical and just proceedings regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and pronounce him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.’

(21) Patricius metropolitan bishop of the city of Tyana said: ‘I had no wish to get involved in the effrontery of Dioscorus, who showed such contempt both for the divine canons and for the holy fathers and archbishops Leo of Great Rome and Anatolius of New Rome and the entire holy and ecumenical council. But because his actions have broken the whole sequence of the canons, I concur with all the verdicts that the very great and God-beloved council has issued concerning him, and adjudge him deprived of all pontifical ministry.’

(22) Amphilochius metropolitan bishop of the city of Side in the province of Pamphylia [Secunda] said: ‘It was not my wish to cut off any member whomsoever of the church, particularly one of rank. But because Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, in addition to the charges that certain persons have brought against him, refused to present himself when summoned a third time by the holy and ecumenical council and brought down the sentence of the council on his own head, he has only himself to blame.’<sup>103</sup>

(23) Epiphanius metropolitan bishop of the city of Perge in the province of Pamphylia [Prima] said: ‘I had no wish at all to pass even on lesser people such a sentence as we have now passed on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria. But because he made himself liable by refusing to appear when summoned a third time by the holy and ecumenical council or to answer the charges brought against him, he has passed sentence on himself. Complying with this sentence, I too assent to all the judgements delivered in his case.’

103 For Amphilochius’ lack of enthusiasm over the condemnation of Dioscorus, see 29 above. He signed the Chalcedonian Definition with equal reluctance; see I. 9.21n.

(24) Theodore metropolitan bishop of the city of Damascus said: 'Justly and rightly, and in accordance with the norm of the holy canons, has the holy and great council decreed that Dioscorus be deprived of priestly and episcopal dignity. Therefore I too deprive him of all priestly ministry, in agreement, as I have already said, with the verdicts of the holy and great council.'

(25) Atticus metropolitan bishop of the city of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus said: 'I too approve and follow the fidelity to the canons of the holy fathers who have decreed the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'

(26) Onesiphorus metropolitan bishop of the city of Iconium said: 'Dioscorus, who is not ignorant of the canons and customs of the church, ought to have complied with the orders of the holy and ecumenical council and, when summoned by most God-beloved bishops a third time, have appeared before the holy council to answer the charges against him.'

(27) Basil metropolitan bishop of the city of Trajanopolis said: 'My littleness too assents to the verdicts of the holy council regarding Dioscorus.'

(28) Florentius metropolitan bishop of the city of Sardis said: 'I too follow the verdicts issued by the most holy and blessed Pope Leo through the legates of his beatitude at the proceedings here and through the other holy bishops; and I decree that Dioscorus, bishop of the great city of Alexandria, should be deprived of priesthood and ecclesiastical communion because of the offences recorded above.'

(29) Francion metropolitan bishop of the city of Philippopolis said: 'I too concur with the apostolic see, the most holy and God-beloved Anatolius archbishop of New Rome Constantinople, and the present holy and ecumenical council over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived both of priestly dignity and of communion in the awesome mysteries.'

(30) John metropolitan bishop of the island of Rhodes<sup>104</sup> said: 'I too concur with all the just and canonical verdicts of this holy and ecumenical council against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly and episcopal dignity and ministry.'

(31) Peter metropolitan bishop of the city of Gangra said: 'I too assent to

104 Despite his presence in the attendance list (2.31), John of Rhodes does not appear to have attended the council, and must have been represented at this point by Trypho of Chios, who delivers a verdict on his own account at 95 below. Cf. Lucian of Bizye, who gave his verdict twice, once on behalf of his metropolitan (7) and once on his own account (128a).

the decisions of the apostolic see and the holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus.'

(32) Photius metropolitan bishop of the city of Tyre said: 'I assent to the just and canonical sentence passed on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, by the most holy and blessed Archbishop Leo, the most holy and blessed Anatolius bishop of this imperial city, and the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by the will of God and imperial decree. I approve their verdicts in his regard, and hold him to be deprived of all priestly dignity.'

(33) Nunechius metropolitan bishop of the city of Laodicea said: 'In accordance with the verdicts pronounced by our most God-beloved and holy father Leo, archbishop of Senior Rome through the most God-beloved bishops deputed by him and the most God-beloved priest Boniface, and by the most God-beloved and holy Anatolius archbishop of New Rome Constantinople, and all the present holy council, I too adjudge Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(34) Pergamius metropolitan bishop of the city of Antioch in the province of Pisidia said: 'In time past Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, caused extreme disruption to the divine canons. After several persons presented written testimonies against him to the great and holy council, he was summoned not merely once or twice but three times and yet refused to appear, sending replies that were improper and inapposite; for this he was justly condemned by this ecumenical and holy council to deprivation of priestly ministry and dignity. I too pronounce that he is liable to the above-mentioned penalties.'

(35) Meletius bishop of the city of Larissa, speaking on behalf of Domnus the most holy metropolitan bishop of the city of Apamea, said: 'Being in agreement with the holy fathers, I deliver the same verdict against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly ministry and dignity.'

(36) Critonianus metropolitan bishop of the city of Aphrodisias said: 'In accordance with the sentence passed on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, by our fathers the most holy and God-beloved archbishops of the great imperial cities for not complying when canonically summoned a second and a third time, I too, in agreement with the same sentence, pronounce him deprived of all priestly office and ministry.'

(37) Symeon metropolitan bishop of the city of Amida said: 'I too concur with the canonical proceedings of the most holy and God-beloved

Anatolius archbishop of the city of New Rome Constantinople<sup>105</sup> and the most holy and God-beloved bishops assembled in this holy council regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge the same Dioscorus deprived of all episcopal dignity and ministry.’

(38) Theoctistus metropolitan bishop of the city of Pessinus said: ‘I too assent, through Photinus my most religious archdeacon, to all the verdicts of the holy and ecumenical council against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly dignity and ministry.’

(39) Fontianus bishop of the city of Sagalassus said: ‘I concur with the decisions of the most holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of all priestly and ecclesiastical office.’

(40) Neoptolemus bishop of Corna said: ‘We too must follow the canonical verdicts of the holy fathers and metropolitan bishops against Dioscorus, and therefore I too assent to the condemnation issued in his case.’

(41) Acholius bishop of the city of Laranda said: ‘With the just and canonical judgements of the holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, I too concur in the matter of his condemnation.’

(42) Julian bishop of Hypaepa said: ‘I too assent to the sentences delivered by the most holy bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most devout presbyter Boniface, legates of the most holy and blessed archbishop of Rome, and by the most holy and blessed Anatolius archbishop of the imperial city of Constantinople New Rome, and to all the verdicts of the holy and ecumenical council regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and I adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity and of the enjoyment of the holy and ineffable mystery of our God.’

(43) Leontius bishop of the city of Magnesia said: ‘It is a pious rule that one must obey the holy fathers and follow their judgements. Observing this rule in the present case of the verdicts regarding Dioscorus, I too agree with the sentence and deprive him of all priestly dignity.’

(44) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Choma said: ‘I too assent to the decisions of the holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priesthood.’

<sup>105</sup> The omission of reference to the Roman see can only have been accidental. The importance of the agreement of Rome and Constantinople in condemning Dioscorus was obvious to all.

(45) Stephen bishop of the city of Limyra<sup>106</sup> said: 'I assent to the canonical condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and therefore I too in my littleness sentence him to deposition from all priesthood.'

(46) Fronto bishop of the city of Phaselis said: 'I too concur with the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and approve his deposition from all episcopal and priestly ministry, just as the holy fathers and the holy council have both decreed.'

(47) Theodore bishop of the city of Antiphellus said: 'I assent to the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, in accordance with the ruling of the canons, and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity.'

(48) Leontius bishop of the city of Araxa said: 'In accordance with the sentence passed by the fathers, holy in all respects, on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, I concur with his condemnation and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity.'

(49) Antipater bishop of the city of Caunus said: 'I assent to the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(50) Philip bishop of the city of Balbura said: 'I too concur with the declarations of the holy fathers concerning the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and approve his deposition from episcopal dignity and all priestly ministry.'

(51) Cratinus bishop of Panormus said: 'I too concur with the condemnation by the holy fathers of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity.'

(52) Andrew bishop of Tlos said: 'I am in complete agreement with the decisions of the preceding holy fathers concerning the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly honour.'

(53) Nicholas bishop of Acarassus said: 'I assent to the condemnation by the holy fathers and the holy council of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity.'

(54) Romanus bishop of Bubon said: 'I make the same judgement as the most holy fathers before me. I concur with them in the condemnation of

106 Despite his presence in the attendance list (2.142), this bishop was probably represented here and throughout the council by Nicholas of Acarassus, who delivers a verdict on his own account at 53.

Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly honour.’

(55) Atticus bishop of Zela said: ‘I lament what has happened in consequence of our former brother and fellow priest descending to such crimes. But because it is appropriate and just that I should be stirred to pass the same canonical sentence on him, I too for this reason concur with the condemnation by the holy fathers of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity.’

(56) Paul bishop of Philomelium said: ‘I too concur both with the most holy Archbishop Leo and with the just sentence issued for the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(57) Florentius bishop of Hadrianopolis said: ‘Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, has paid the penalty for his crimes. So I too assent to the verdicts of the holy fathers and archbishops and the entire holy council in his case, and decree that he is to discontinue all church ministry.’

(58) Messalinus bishop of Laodicea<sup>107</sup> said: ‘The Godhead has shown that great crimes are not forgotten through the passing of time. The canons of the most divine and holy fathers have apprehended the wrongdoer, and decree through us that Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, is to be ejected from ecclesiastical office and from divine and priestly functions.’

(59) Helpidius bishop of the staging-post of Thermae said: ‘I concur with the sentence passed by the holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(60) Longinus bishop of the city of Orcistus said: ‘I concur with the holy fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(61) Mysterius bishop of the city of Amorium said: ‘I too in my littleness assent to the sentence passed by our most holy and God-beloved fathers and bishops on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(62) Peter bishop of Dardanus said: ‘I too concur with the verdicts of the holy fathers against Dioscorus, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.’

<sup>107</sup> Despite his presence in the attendance list (2.152), this bishop was probably represented here and throughout the council by the *chorepiscopus* Adelus.

(63) Jovian bishop of Deultum said: 'I too concur that Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, who has been accused of many and various crimes and in addition followed the heresy of Eutyches, has been justly condemned by the holy and great synod, and deem him deprived of all episcopal ministry.'

(64) Indimus bishop of Irenopolis in Cilicia Secunda said: 'I agree to the sentence passed on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, by the most holy and blessed Leo archbishop of Rome through those he deputed, most holy and blessed bishops, and in addition by the most holy and blessed Anatolius bishop of the imperial city of Constantinople New Rome and by the other most holy fathers, and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(65) Aquila of the city of Eudoxias said: 'I acknowledge that Dioscorus has been justly condemned in this holy council by the holy fathers, because he condemned Bishop Flavian of blessed memory contrary to the canons. I too with the whole council regard him as condemned.'

(66) Eutropius bishop of Adada said: 'I agree and consent to the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, by the most holy and blessed archbishops Leo and Anatolius of Senior and New Rome and by this holy and ecumenical council, and adjudge him deprived of every church ministry.'

(67) Mark bishop of Arethusa said: 'I too agree with the holy fathers to this same judgement on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.'

(68) Proterius bishop of the city of Myrina said: 'I too concur with all the holy fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'

(69) Marcellinus bishop of the city of Metropolis said: 'I too agree with the holy fathers of the ecumenical and holy council over the condemnation of Dioscorus, who has justly been condemned.'

(70) Eusebius bishop of the city of Clazomenae said: 'I too concur with the most holy and God-beloved fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'

(71) Olympius bishop of Theodosiopolis said: 'I too agree with the most holy and God-beloved fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria.'

(72) Mamas bishop of the city of Aninetus said: 'I too assent to the decision of the holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the city of Alexandria.'



(73) Gerontius bishop of the city of Seleucia said: 'I too assent to the condemnation by the holy fathers of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'

(74) Julian bishop of the city of Rhodus said: 'I assent to the condemnation by the holy fathers of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(75–78) Hypatius bishop of Zephyrium, Alexander bishop of Sebaste, Theodore bishop of Augusta, and Chrysippus bishop of Mallus<sup>108</sup> said: 'We assent to all the just and canonical judgements of the holy and ecumenical council regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and regard him as deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(79) Chrysippus, presbyter, speaking on behalf of the most God-beloved and holy Cyriacus bishop of the holy church of God of Trocnades, said: 'I too concur with the decision of the holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, that he is to be deprived of priestly and episcopal dignity.'

(80) Daniel the most insignificant<sup>109</sup> bishop of the city of Cadi said: 'In accordance with the verdicts of the apostolic see of imperial Senior Rome and all the present holy council, I too adjudge that Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, is deprived of all church ministry and of holy communion.'

(81) Thomas bishop of the city of Theodosiana said: 'I too concur with both the apostolic see and the ecumenical holy council over Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, that he is to be deprived of church ministry and of holy communion.'

(82) John bishop of Trapezopolis said: 'I too concur with all the preceding holy fathers over Dioscorus, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry and dignity.'

(83) 'Athanasius bishop of Mossyna'<sup>110</sup> said: 'I too concur with the whole council, and adjudge Dioscorus deprived of all priestly dignity and of holy communion.'

108 Of these four bishops only the first, Hypatius of Zephyrium, comes in the attendance list (2.174). Though the latter is incomplete, it is probable that Hypatius is speaking here on behalf of three absent colleagues.

109 Since the notaries would not themselves have added this adjective, the implication is that each bishop gave his name and style before pronouncing judgement, as may also be deduced from IV. 9.37.

110 The place name is certainly corrupt and this bishop cannot be identified. See 2.67n.

(84) Patricius bishop of Neocaesarea in the province of Augusto-euphratesia said: 'I agree with the holy and ecumenical council, and adjudge Dioscorus deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(85) Epictetus bishop of Diocletianopolis said: 'I too, following the footsteps of the holy fathers with the holy men, adjudge Dioscorus deprived of episcopal honour and dignity.'

(86) Alexander bishop of Seleucia in the province of Pisidia said: 'I too assent in everything to the judgement of your angelic assembly on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'<sup>111</sup>

(87) Valerius bishop of Laodicea in Phoenice said: 'I deliver the same verdict on the former bishop Dioscorus as the holy council, and adjudge him deprived of all church ministry and episcopal dignity.'

(88) Cyrinus bishop of the city of Patara said: 'I too assent and agree to the judgement of the most holy fathers and archbishops on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deem him deprived of priestly dignity and ministry.'

(89) Theophilus bishop of the city of Ariassus said: 'In respect of all the verdicts of the holy and ecumenical council against Dioscorus, formerly bishop, I assent to the proceedings in his case.'

(90) Neon bishop of the city of Sillyum said: 'I assent to all the declarations and decisions of the holy and ecumenical council regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and concur with all that has been transacted concerning him.'

(91) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Etenna said: 'Like the preceding holy fathers, I too concur with the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop.'

(92) Marcian bishop of Cotenna said: 'Like the preceding holy fathers, I too concur with the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop.'

(93) Diodotus bishop of the city of Lysinia said: 'I too assent to all the decisions regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, who was a bishop.'

(94) John bishop of Flaviopolis in the province of Cilicia said: 'I assent to the sentence passed by the holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.'

(95) Trypho bishop of the island of Chios said: 'I concur with the holy fathers over Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(96) Paul bishop of the city of Ptolemais said: 'I too assent to all the verdicts of the holy and ecumenical council regarding Dioscorus, formerly

111 At this point there follows in the Latin a similar speech by Natiras of Gaza (86a). Since there is no trace of this in the Greek list of speakers, and no other Palestinian bishops are recorded as attending this session, it is unlikely to be authentic.

bishop, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(97) Dionysius bishop of the city of Heraclea said: 'I too concur with the sentence passed by the most holy and blessed archbishops and fathers of the great and imperial cities on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, who, when summoned twice and three times, did not comply; and I deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(98) John bishop of the city of Alinda said: 'I too concur with the holy fathers of Senior and New Rome and the other holy fathers over Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(99) Eupithius bishop of the city of Stratonicea said: 'In accordance with the sentence passed by the holy archbishops and fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, who was summoned a second and a third time, I too concur with them, and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(100) John bishop of the city of Amyzon said: 'I too concur in all respects with the steps taken over Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and adjudge him deprived of all episcopal dignity and ministry.'

(101) Papias bishop of the city of Eriza said: 'In accordance with the sentence passed by the holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, I too concur with them, and adjudge him deprived of all episcopal ministry.'

(102) Dionysius bishop of the city of Antioch in the province of Caria said: 'I too concur with all the holy fathers, and adjudge Dioscorus, formerly bishop, deprived of all episcopal dignity and function.'

(103) Tynchanus bishop of the city of Apollonia said: 'I pronounce the same judgement regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop, as our most holy and God-beloved archbishops and fathers.'

(104) Theodoret bishop of the city of Alabanda said: 'I too pronounce the same judgement as our most God-beloved and holy archbishops and fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and adjudge him deprived of all episcopal dignity and function.'

(105) Menander bishop of the city of Heraclea said: 'I too pronounce the same judgement as our holy archbishops and fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deprive him of all priestly dignity and function.'

(106) Flacillus bishop of the city of Iasus said: 'In accordance with the sentence pronounced by the most holy archbishops and fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, who, when summoned a second and a third time, did not comply, I too deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and function.'

(107) John bishop of the city of Cnidus said: 'I too concur with the holy fathers and adjudge Dioscorus, formerly bishop, deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(108) Julian, presbyter, representing Calandion bishop of the city of Halicarnassus, said: ‘In accordance with the just sentence pronounced by the holy archbishops and fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop, who, when summoned a second and a third time, did not comply, I too deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.’

(109) Theotecnus bishop of Tyriaeum said: ‘I too assent to everything that has been decreed by the holy fathers, in fear of God and with strict attention to the holy canons, regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deprive him of all episcopal ministry.’

(110) Heorticius bishop of the city of Metropolis in the province of Pisidia said: ‘I too concur with the most holy fathers of Senior and New Rome and all the other holy fathers over Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.’

(111) Cyrus bishop of the city of Sinethandus said: ‘Dioscorus, formerly bishop, acted against the canons, was accused by numerous persons of grave and heinous outrages, and when summoned by a third citation did not comply. I therefore pronounce him deprived from the priestly college.’

(112) Aetherichus bishop of the city of Smyrna said: ‘I too assent to the holy fathers’ decree regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deem him deprived of episcopal dignity and of communion in holy things,<sup>112</sup> in accordance with the decision of the most holy Archbishop Leo, the most holy Archbishop Anatolius, and the holy council.’

(113) Florentius bishop of the island of Tenedos<sup>113</sup> said: ‘Dioscorus, formerly bishop, has stripped himself of pontifical dignity by the way in which, when summoned a third time by several most holy bishops in accordance with the ecclesiastical canons, he refused to comply, using improper excuses. He therefore deserves to be deprived of priestly office, of every ministry, and also of communion, in accordance with the decision of the preceding most holy fathers and bishops.’

(114) Zenodotus bishop of the city of Telmessus said: ‘Dioscorus has received a just judgement and has no grounds for complaint, since he wrongfully condemned the then bishop Flavian of holy memory, who had in no way been proved deserving of condemnation, as was shown by the minutes read earlier in this holy council, and since, when summoned just

<sup>112</sup> The Latin *communio sanctorum* generally means ‘communion of the saints’ (as in the Apostles’ Creed) but in this context translates a Greek phrase which means ‘communion in holy things’, i.e., holy communion.

<sup>113</sup> Despite his presence in the attendance list (2.98), this bishop was probably represented here and throughout the council by the *chorepiscopus* Euelpistus.

now by the holy council through the most holy fathers once, a second, and a third time according to the procedure of the holy canons, he refused to appear and answer his accusers. Let him be justly removed from episcopal office and all ecclesiastical rank.'

(115) Sabas bishop of the city of Paltus said: 'It is in accordance with justice and religion that the holy fathers have condemned the new Cain, Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria. I too condemn him and pronounce him deprived of all church ministry.'

(116) Theoctistus bishop of the city of Beroea said: 'I assent to all the decisions of the holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry and of communion.'

(117) Macarius bishop of the city of Aenus said: 'I assent to all the decisions of the presiding holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus.'

(118) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Aegae said: 'I assent to all the canonical and lawful verdicts of the holy fathers relating to Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly honour and episcopal dignity.'

(119) Eulogius, presbyter, representing the most devout Genethlius bishop of the city of Creteia, said: 'Being in agreement, I have signed the verdicts of the holy council.'

(120) Philip bishop of the city of Theodosiopolis or Neaule said: 'I too concur with the holy fathers over Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and deprive him of episcopal dignity and all priestly ministry.'

(121) Basilicus bishop of the city of Palaeopolis said: 'In accordance with the holy fathers' verdict which they pronounced on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, passing sentence on him canonically, I too concur with them that he should be deprived of priestly dignity and communion.'

(122) Paulinus bishop of the city of Apamea in Pisidia said: 'I make the same judgement as the most God-beloved fathers of Old and New Rome on the wicked deeds of Dioscorus, who committed intolerable offences against the Godhead, and I concur with his rightly issued condemnation.'

(123) Basil bishop of the city of Nacoleia said: 'I deliver the same verdict as the holy council of fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of all priestly ministry for not complying with the canons.'

(124) John bishop of the city of Germanicia said: 'It is manifest that Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the city of Alexandria, because of a bad conscience over the charges against him, refused to present himself at this

holy and ecumenical council. Therefore I too assent to the sentence passed on him according to the canons.’

(125) Cecropius bishop of the city of Sebastopolis said: ‘I too concur with the apostolic see and this holy and great council over the canonical verdicts on Dioscorus, and I assent to his deprivation from priestly ministry.’

(126) Acacius bishop of the city of Ariaratheia said: ‘I too assent to the just and right judgement both of the apostolic see and of the holy and ecumenical council on Dioscorus’ non-compliance with the canons, and I declare him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(127) John bishop of Nicopolis said: ‘A good purpose has a good outcome. But because Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, had no right intention and failed to comply on receiving a canonical third summons, he brought final judgement on himself. Therefore I too, concurring with everyone, adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(128) Rufinus bishop of the city of Samosata said: ‘Following the holy archbishops and fathers, I too concur with these just and canonical decisions over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(128a) Lucian bishop of Bizye<sup>114</sup> said: ‘I too, following the holy fathers, concur with the just and canonical sentence passed on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of all priestly dignity.’

(129) Sebastian bishop of Beroe said: ‘May Dioscorus, caught in the snares of the canons, be deprived of episcopal office. I therefore concur over him with all the holy fathers, according to the saying in apostolic scripture, “Drive out the wicked person from among yourselves”.’<sup>115</sup>

(130) Menecrates bishop of the city of Ceraseis said: ‘I make the same judgement as my metropolitan<sup>116</sup> and the holy council: I concur with the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly dignity.’

(131) Cossinius bishop of the city of Hierocaesarea in the province of Lydia said: ‘I concur with this holy and great council over the condemnation of Dioscorus, and I pronounce him deprived of all priestly office and ministry.’

(132) Patricius bishop of the city of Acrasus said: ‘I assent to the

114 Lucian has already cast his verdict at 7, on behalf of his metropolitan Cyriacus of Heraclea; he now speaks again on his own behalf. The Greek list of speakers omits his name at this point.

115 1 Cor. 5:13.

116 Florentius bishop of Sardis in Lydia, who cast his verdict at 28.

condemnation by the entire holy council of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(133) Dionysius bishop of the city of Attaleia said: ‘I assent to the just and canonical condemnation of Dioscorus, who was bishop of Alexandria, by the holy and ecumenical council, and deem him deprived of all church ministry.’

(134) Paul bishop of Tripolis said: ‘I too assent to the just and canonical condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, issued by this holy and ecumenical council, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.’

(135) Gemellus bishop of the city of Stratonicea said: ‘I assent to the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, issued by this holy and great council, and adjudge him deprived of all episcopal office.’

(136) Maeonius bishop of the city of Nysa in the province of Asia said: ‘Neither small nor slight were the offences of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, against the divine canons, as was proved earlier before the most eminent officials and the most sacred senate,<sup>117</sup> and as various charges from several persons have proved today. So, following the holy fathers, I too pronounce him stripped of all priestly dignity.’

(137) Isaias bishop of the city of Elaea said: ‘Now that a just sentence has been passed on him by the holy fathers, may Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, regarding his crimes against Bishop Flavian of holy memory, hear the voice of the Lord through my littleness: “With what judgement you judge you will be judged”.<sup>118</sup> This is why he has been expelled from this holy and ecumenical council, with which I too concur.’

(138) Hesperus bishop of Pitane said: ‘Since the holy fathers have pronounced a just and canonical judgement in the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, I too together with all [the bishops] deprive him of all church ministry.’

(139) Quintus bishop of the city of Phocaea said: ‘I assent to the just and holy decisions of the holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop.’

(140) Eustochius bishop of Docimium said: ‘Since Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, has been canonically convicted by the holy and most blessed fathers, I too deem him deprived of every priestly order.’

(141) Musonius bishop of Nyssa said: ‘I am of the same judgement as that pronounced by the holy fathers in the condemnation of Dioscorus,

<sup>117</sup> That is, at the first session, over which the lay officials presided.

<sup>118</sup> Mt. 7:2.

formerly bishop of Alexandria, and I deprive him of all priestly dignity.’

(142) Rhenus bishop of Ionopolis said: ‘I too assent to the verdicts of the apostolic see and the holy council assembled at Chalcedon against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria.’

(143) Paul bishop of the city of Mariamme said: ‘I agree with all the holy fathers and convict Dioscorus, formerly bishop, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.’

(144) Eustathius bishop of the nation of the Saracens said: ‘I assent to all the decrees of the holy canons and the holy fathers.’

(145) Thalassius bishop of the city of Parium said: ‘I too ratify the just verdicts of the holy council against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all episcopal dignity.’

(146) Athanasius bishop of Perrhe said: ‘I assent to all the decisions of the holy council regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all episcopal dignity.’

(147) Uranius bishop of Emesa<sup>119</sup> said: ‘I pronounce the same sentence as the holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and wish him to be deprived of all episcopal ministry.’

(148) Damian bishop of the city of Sidon said: ‘I pronounce the same verdict as the holy council, and adjudge Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, deprived of all priestly ministry.’

(149) Noah bishop of the fort of Cephas said: ‘I too concur with all the decisions of the holy council regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.’

(150) Paul, presbyter, representing the most God-beloved Uranius bishop of the city of Ibora, said: ‘Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, stands self-convicted and has deprived himself of priestly dignity. Therefore I too, having received such instructions from the most God-beloved bishop Uranius, concur with the most holy and God-beloved bishops who have passed this just sentence on him.’

(151) Polychronius bishop of the city of Epiphaneia said: ‘I agree with the holy fathers over the just and canonical condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity.’

(152) Theodore bishop of the city of Tripolis in the province of Phoenice Prima said: ‘I admire the wisdom of this holy and great council and the

119 Despite his presence in the attendance list (2.129), this bishop was probably represented here and throughout the council by the archdeacon Porphyry.



compassion and magnanimity it has shown to Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, while I lament the hardness of heart of the man aforementioned. For when he was summoned a third time by this holy and great council to come to the most God-beloved assembly and answer criminal charges, he did not consent, stung by a bad conscience. Therefore I too assent and agree to the just and canonical decisions of this holy and blessed council regarding him, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.'

(153) Lucian bishop of the city of Ipsus said: 'Hearing the proceedings and decisions of the holy fathers and the entire holy council regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, in view of his non-compliance with the holy canons, I too adjudge him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'<sup>120</sup>

(154) Proclus bishop of the city of Adraa said: 'I too pronounce the same verdict as that decreed by the most God-beloved and holy archbishops and the holy council, and adjudge Dioscorus deprived of all episcopal and priestly dignity.'

(155) Amachus bishop of the city of Saittae in Lydia said: 'I too pronounce the same verdict as that canonically decreed by the holy and ecumenical council on the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly dignity.'

(156) Alcimedes bishop of the city of Silandus in the province of Lydia said: 'I assent to what has been decreed by this holy and ecumenical council, appropriately and with strict attention to the canons, regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(157) Polycarp bishop of the city of Tabala in the province of Lydia said: 'I too pronounce the same verdict as the holy and ecumenical council, according to the sentence pronounced in the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly dignity and of church ministry.'

(158) Leucius bishop of the city of Apollonoshieron in the province of Lydia said: 'I too make the same declaration as the holy council on the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly ministry and episcopal dignity.'

(159) Patricius bishop of the church of Hadrianutherae in the province of Hellespontus said: 'I too concur with this holy and most blessed council, and

120 At this point the Latin version inserts a second translation of Cyrus of Sinethandus' speech at 111.

condemn Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the city of Alexandria, who has been accused and condemned for many great crimes by the holy archbishops. I pronounce him deprived of all ecclesiastical communion.'

(160) Helias bishop of the city of Blaundus said: 'I too assent to the decisions of the holy council regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(161) Eusebius bishop of the city of Seleucia ad Belum said: 'Following the right, just and canonical judgement of this holy, great and ecumenical council, and concurring with its verdicts against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, I pronounce him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(162) Theodosius bishop of Canatha said: 'I concur with this holy and ecumenical council over Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all episcopal dignity and all priestly ministry.'

(163) Hermias bishop of the holy church of Abydus said: 'I concur with the holy fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all church ministry.'

(164) Gennadius bishop of the city of Acmonia in Phrygia Pacatiana said: 'I concur with the holy fathers and the holy and great council over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and I too adjudge him deprived of all church ministry.'

(165) Eulalius bishop of the city of Pionia in the province of Hellespontus said: 'I assent to the verdicts of the holy fathers, and adjudge Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(166) Theosebius bishop of Ilium said: 'I concur with the verdicts of the holy and ecumenical council against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(167) Pionius bishop of the city of Troas said: 'I assent to all the verdicts of the holy fathers against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the city of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of episcopal honour and all priestly ministry.'

(168) Stephen bishop of the city of Poemanenum said: 'I assent to the verdicts of the most holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(169) Callinicus bishop of Apamea said: 'By not complying with three canonical summonses from the holy and ecumenical council, Dioscorus has shown himself to be deprived of priestly dignity, by perpetrating what is contrary to the canons. Therefore, following the sentence both of the most

holy Leo archbishop of Rome, which he pronounced on him through those he deputed, and of the most holy Anatolius archbishop of the great city of Constantinople, and of [Bishop Maximus of] Antioch, we too have delivered in his case the same verdict.'

(170) Romanus bishop of Eudoxiopolis in the province of Thrace said: 'Following the faith and decree of the holy fathers, I have adjudged Dioscorus deprived of all priestly ministry and ecclesiastical dignity.'

(171) Andrew bishop of the city of Satala in the province of Lydia<sup>121</sup> said: 'I too make the same declaration, and assent to the condemnation of Dioscorus by the most holy and ecumenical council. I deprive him of all priestly ministry and episcopal dignity.'

(172) Sophronius bishop of the city of Constantia said: 'I assent to the verdicts delivered by the most holy and God-beloved archbishops, and in addition by the most holy fathers sitting with them, against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and I pronounce him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(173) Hormisdas bishop of the city of Philippopolis in the province of Arabia said: 'I assent to the just and canonical acts of the holy and ecumenical council regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all church ministry.'

(174) Paul bishop of Aradus said: 'It is manifest that Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, when summoned by your holy and ecumenical council, was stung by a bad conscience when he refused to appear at this most God-beloved council and answer the criminal charges brought against him. Therefore I too concur with the lawful condemnation pronounced on him by the holy fathers, and deprive him of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(175) Timothy bishop of Balaneae said: 'My littleness also concurs with the canonical sentence passed by this holy and ecumenical council on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and I deem him deprived of all priestly dignity and ministry.'

(176) Theodosius bishop of Nazianzus in the province of Cappadocia Secunda said: 'I concur with the holy fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry and episcopal dignity.'

(177) Aristomachus bishop of Colonia in the province of Cappadocia

<sup>121</sup> Andrew was probably represented here and throughout the council by Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, who has already spoken on his own behalf at 131. See IV. 9.126n., where a speech is certainly attributed to him in his absence.

Secunda said: 'In full agreement with the holy fathers and canons, I declare Dioscorus deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(178) Peter bishop of Gabbula said: 'I assent to all the decisions of the holy and ecumenical council regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(179) Rufinus bishop of Briulla said: 'I too assent to the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, as the holy and ecumenical council has decreed, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(180) Olympius bishop of Sozopolis said: 'I agree with all the holy fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(181) Euphratas bishop of Eleutherna said: 'I agree with the holy fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(182) Caiumas bishop of Marcopolis: his verdict is missing.

(183) John bishop of Carrhae said: 'I pass the same sentence as the holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and pronounce him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(184) Abramius bishop of the fort of Circesium said: 'I pass the same sentence as the holy fathers on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.'

(185) Demetrius bishop of the city of Lappa said: 'I agree with the holy fathers over the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly ministry.'

(186) Bassonas bishop of Neapolis said: 'I concur with the declarations of the holy fathers regarding the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deem him deprived of all priestly and church ministry.'

(187) Movianus bishop of Limenae said: 'I too concur with the condemnation of Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and adjudge him deprived of all priestly and church ministry.'

(188) Antiochus bishop of Sinope said: 'I too concur with the lawful, just and canonical verdicts of the most God-beloved and holy Leo archbishop of Rome and the most holy Anatolius archbishop of the imperial city regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly ministry.'

(189) Helpidius, presbyter, representing the most God-beloved Paralius

bishop of Andrapa, said: 'I concur with the lawful verdicts of the archbishops and the ecumenical council against Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'

(190) Euphronius, presbyter, speaking on behalf of the most God-beloved Domnus bishop of Cucusus, said: 'I assent and agree to the sentence justly passed by this holy and ecumenical council on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, and deprive him of all priestly ministry and dignity.'

(191) Helpidius, presbyter, representing the most God-beloved Antonianus bishop of Amisus, said: 'I too concur with the lawful and canonical sentence passed by the most holy archbishops and the holy and ecumenical council on Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'

(192) Theodore bishop of Claudiopolis in the province of Isauria said: 'I assent to the just verdicts of the most holy Leo archbishop of the imperial city of Rome through the most God-beloved bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most God-beloved presbyter Boniface the legates of the same most God-beloved Archbishop Leo, of the most God-beloved Anatolius archbishop of the imperial city of New Rome Constantinople, and of the whole council, regarding Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the holy church of Alexandria, and I ratify that he is deprived of the dignity of the episcopate.'

After all the most sacred bishops had passed judgement, they signed as follows:

97G.<sup>122</sup>(1) Paschasinus bishop of Lilybaeum in the province of Sicily, representing Archbishop Leo of Great Rome: together with the most holy council I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.<sup>123</sup>

(2) Lucentius bishop of Asculum, himself representing Leo of the apostolic see of Great Rome: together with the most holy council I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(3) Boniface, presbyter and legate of the church of Senior and Great Rome, myself likewise representing the most holy Archbishop Leo: together with the honoured, most blessed and apostolic church of Pope Leo I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(4) Anatolius archbishop of Constantinople: together with the holy

122 The Greek and Latin editions offer strikingly different versions of this list of signatories. We translate first the Greek and then the Latin version. For discussion see pp. 36–7 above.

123 Rusticus informs us that in the Greek MS in the Acoemete monastery at Constantinople this signature was in Latin.

council I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(5) Maximus bishop of the great city of Antioch: together with the holy council I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(6) Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, representing the most holy Anastasius archbishop of Thessalonica: together with the holy council I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

All the others decreed and signed in the same form and sequence.

(7) Stephen of Ephesus, (8) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (9) Julian of Cos, the most insignificant of the bishops and the legate of the apostolic see – and so on, (10) Peter of Corinth, (11) John of Sebasteia, (12) Seleucus of Amaseia, (13) Constantine of Melitene, (14) Patricius of Tyana, (15) Theodore of Tarsus, (16) Theodore of Damascus, (17) Peter of Gangra, (18) Basil of Trajanopolis, (19) Eleutherius of Chalcedon, (20) Basil of Seleucia in Isauria,<sup>124</sup> (21) Amphilochius of Side, (22) Cyrus of Anazarbus, (23) Calogerus of Claudiopolis,<sup>125</sup> (24) Eunomius of Nicomedia, (25) Romanus of Myra, (26) Constantine of Bostra, (27) Francion of Philippopolis, (28) Meletius of Larissa, (29) Domnus of Apamea,<sup>126</sup> (30) Stephen of Hierapolis, (31) Florentius of Sardis, (32) Pergamius of Antioch in Pisidia, (33) Nunechius of Laodicea, (34) Onesiphorus of Iconium, (35) Luke of Dyrrachium, (36) Epiphanius of Perge, (37) Marinianus of Synnada, (38) Photius of Tyre, (39) Nonnus of Edessa, (40) Sebastian of Beroe, (41) John [of Nicopolis] of Armenia Prima, (42) Aristomachus of Colonia, (43) John of Germanicia, (44) Cecropius of Sebastopolis, (45) Acacius of Ariarathea, (46) Heraclius of Comana, (47) Symeon of Amida, (48) Gratidianus of Cerasus, (49) Atarbius of Trapezus, (50) Thalassius of Parium, (51) Atticus of Nicopolis, (52) Philip of Adana, (53) Theoctistus of Beroea, (54) Gerontius of Seleucia, (55) Timothy of Balaneae, (56) Sophronius of Constantia, (57) Alexander of Sebaste, (58) Meletius of Larissa, (59) Mark of Arethusa, (60) Theodosius of Nazianzus, (61) Hypatius of Zephyrium, (62) Theodore of Claudiopolis, (63) Uranius of Emesa,<sup>127</sup> (64) Lucian of Ipsus, (65) Julian of Rhosus, (66) Eustochius of Docimium, (67) Theodore of Augusta, (68) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis, (69) Polychronius of Epiphaneia, (70) Euolcius of

124 His name is excised by Schwartz, apparently because it is lacking in his preferred MSS of 97L (see 97L.19n.).

125 His representative Apragmonius of Tieum is likely to have signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.36. Apragmonius signs on his own account at 77.

126 28–29 ought to run together as ‘Meletius of Larissa, representing Domnus of Apamea’ (cf 97L.61). Meletius signs on his own account at 58.

127 His representative Archdeacon Porphyry presumably signed on his behalf.

Zeugma, (71) Paul of Ptolemais, (72) Trypho of Chios, (73) John of Rhodes,<sup>128</sup> (74) Basil of Nacoleia, (75) Paul of Mariamme, (76) Antiochus of Sinope, (77) Apragmonius of Tieum, (78) Zenodotus of Telmessus, (79) Rhenus of Ionopolis, (80) Critonianus of Aphrodisias, (81) Chrysippus of Mallus, (82) Callinicus of Apamea, (83) Indimus of Irenopolis, (84) Mirus of Eulandra, (85) Caiumas of Marcopolis, (86) John of Carrhae, (87) Abramius of Circesium, (88) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (89) Cyriacus of Eucarpia, (90) Mamas of Aninetus, (91) Aetherichus of Smyrna, (92) Leontius of Magnesia, (93) Docimasius of Maronea, (94) Proterius of Myrina, (95) Maeonius of Nysa, (96) Marcellinus of Metropolis, (97) Isaias of Elaea, (98) Quintus of Phocaea, (99) Hesperus of Pitane, (100) Theotecnus of Tyriaeum, (101) Bassonas of Neapolis, (102) Paul of Philomelium, (103) Paul of Tripolis, (104) Cyrus of Sinethandus, (105) Olympius of Theodosiopolis, (106) Fontianus of Sagalassus, (107) Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, (108) Paulinus of Apamea, (109) Sabas of Paltus, (110) Eudoxius of Choma, (111) Philip of Balbura, (112) Fronto of Phaselis, (113) Patricius of Neocaesarea, (114) Timothy of Doliche, (115) Cyrinus of Patara, (116) Stephen of Limyra,<sup>129</sup> (117) Theodore of Antiphellus, (118) Leontius of Araxa, (119) Antipater of Caunus, (120) Andrew of Tlos, (121) Cratinus of Panormus, (122) Nicholas of Acarassus, (123) Romanus of Bubon, (123a) Eusebius of Clazomenae,<sup>130</sup> (124) Eulogius of Philadelphia, (125) Olympius of Sozopolis, (126) Theosebius of Ilium, (127) Abercius of Hieropolis, (128) Heorticius of Metropolis in Pisidia, (129) Dominus of Plataea, (130) Irenaeus of Naupactus, (131) Athanasius of Opus, (132) Hermias of Abydus, (133) Eutropius of Adada, (133a) Florentius of Hadrianopolis, (134) Proclus of Adraa, (135) Damian of Sidon, (136) Theodosius of Canatha, (137) Alexander of Seleucia in Pisidia, (137a) Hesperus of Pitane,<sup>131</sup> (138) Rufinus of Samosata, (139) Patricius of Acrasus, (140) Hormisdas of Philippopolis, (141) Theodore of Tripolis, (142) Neoptolemus of Corna, (143) Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum, (144) Peter of Dardanus, (144a) Theosebius of Ilium,<sup>132</sup> (145) John of Polemonium, (146) Martyrius of Gortyna, (147) Nicholas of Stobi, (148) Cyrus of Cybistra, (149) Gennadius of Acmonia, (150) Demetrius

128 His representative Trypho of Chios presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.53. Trypho has just signed on his own account (72).

129 His representative Nicholas of Acarassus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.219. Nicholas signs on his own account at 122.

130 Doublet of 88.

131 Doublet of 99.

132 Doublet of 126.

of Lappa, (151) Euphratas of Eleutherna, (152) Constantine of Demetrias, (153) Paul of Derbe, (154) Plutarch of Lystra, (155) Eugenius of Cana, (156) Rufus of Hydra, (157) Tyrannus of Homanada, (158) Acholius of Laranda, (159) Dionysius of Attaleia, (160) Philip of Lysias, (161) Strategius of Polybotus, (162) Cyriacus of Trocnades,<sup>133</sup> (163) Diodotus of Lysinia, (164) Dionysius of Antioch, (165) John of Alinda, (166) Tynchanus of Apollonia, (167) Menander of Heraclea, (168) John of Amyzon, (169) Theodore of Alabanda, (169a) Antipater of Caunus,<sup>134</sup> (170) Eupithius of Stratonicea, (171) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis, (172) John of Cnidus, (173) Calandion of Halicarnassus,<sup>135</sup> (174) Theoctistus of Pessinus,<sup>136</sup> (175) Mysterius of Amorium, (176) Cyriacus of Aegae, (177) Julian of Hypaepa, (178) Longinus of Orcistus, (179) David of Hadrianeia, (180) Alcimedes of Silandus, (181) Polycarp of Tabala, (182) Amachius of Saittae, (183) Helias of Blaundus, (184) Menecrates of Ceraseis, (185) Leucius of Apollonoshieron, (186) Gemellus of Stratonicea, (187) Stephen of Poemanenum, (188) Thomas of Theodosiana, (189) Aquila of Aurocra, (190) Rufinus of Briulla, (191) Thomas of Porphyreon, (192) Valerius of Laodicea in Phoenice, (193) Pionius of Troas, (194) Paul of Pogla, (195) Theodore of Heraclea in Pontus, (196) John of Flaviopolis, (197) Gennadius of Mossyna, (198) John of Trapezopolis, (199) Eulalius of Pionia in Troas, (200) Neon of Silylum, (201) Theophilus of Ariassus, (202) Macedon of Magydus, (203) Paul of Aristium, (204) Serenus of Maximianopolis, (205) Philip of Neaule, (206) Paulinus of Theodosiopolis, (207) Julius of Celenderis, (208) Tyrannus of Germanicopolis, (209) Epiphanius of Cestrus, (210) Acacius of Antioch in Lamotis, (211) Ammonius of Iotape, (212) Matalus of Philadelphia, (213) Aelianus of Selinus, (214) Peter of Gabbula, (215) Noah of Cephas, (216) Maras of Anasartha, (217) Romulus of Chalcis,<sup>137</sup> (218) Olympius of Prusias,<sup>138</sup> (219) Theophilus of Hadrianopolis,<sup>139</sup> (220) Gennadius of Creteia.<sup>140</sup>

133 His representative the presbyter Chrysippus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.174.

134 Doublet of 119.

135 We learn from the Latin version (97L.270) that the presbyter Julian signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.270.

136 His representative Archdeacon Photinus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.38.

137 We learn from the Latin version (97L.205) that Maras of Anasartha signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.64. Maras signs on his own account at 216.

138 A doublet of 252, where the presbyter Modestus signs on his behalf.

139 A doublet of 251, where the presbyter Pelagius signs on his behalf.

140 A false entry: Genethlius was the bishop of Creteia, and his entry occurs below (249).



All the above signed in the same way with the following signature: 'I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.'

(221) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem: persuaded by the opinion of the most holy and sacred bishops who have deposed Dioscorus, and in agreement, I too have signed his deposition.

(222) Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia: following the decree of the holy fathers, I have signed the deposition of Dioscorus.

(223) Florentius bishop of Tenedos, Lesbos, Poroselene and the Coasts: I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus, and signed through the *chorepiscopus* Euelpistus since my hand trembles due to weakness.

(224) Soterias bishop of Theodosiane, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(225) Epaphroditus bishop of the holy church of God at Tamasus, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(226) Dorotheus bishop of the metropolis of Neocaesarea,<sup>141</sup> I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(227) Helpidius of the staging-post of Thermae, I have decreed and signed the deposition of Dioscorus.

(228) Aquila bishop of the holy church of God at Eudoxias, I have decreed and signed the deposition of Dioscorus.

(229) Atticus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Zela, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(230) John bishop of Diocaesarea in Isauria, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus, and signed through my lector Nilus.

(231) Eulalius bishop of the holy church of God at Sibia, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(232) Eustathius bishop of the city of Berytus: persuaded by the opinion of the most God-beloved and holy bishops who deposed Dioscorus, I have agreed to the deposition and signed with my own hand.

(233) Eusebius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia: persuaded by the opinion of the most holy and sacred bishops who deposed [Dioscorus] and in agreement, I have signed the deposition of Dioscorus.

(234) Julian by the mercy of God bishop of Tavium: in agreement with the most holy bishop of our metropolis<sup>142</sup> I have in the same way signed the deposition of Dioscorus.

141 His representative Atarbius of Trapezus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.37. Atarbius signs on his own account at 49.

142 Eusebius of Ancyra.

(235) Meliphthongus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of God at Juliopolis: although in the words of scripture<sup>143</sup> I arrived at the eleventh hour for the deposition of Dioscorus,<sup>144</sup> in accord with the fathers I agree to the sentence passed on him by the holy and ecumenical council, and have signed.

(236) Acacius bishop of the city of Cinna, I agree with the great and ecumenical council over the deposition of Dioscorus and have signed.

(237) Leucadius bishop of Mnizus: in agreement with the great and ecumenical council over the deposition of Dioscorus, I have signed with my own hand.

(238) Euphrasius bishop of Lagania, I agree with the great and ecumenical council, and have signed the deposition of Dioscorus.

(239) Daniel bishop of Lampsacus, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(240) Antiochus of Arca, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(241) Rufinus bishop of Byblus, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(242) Alexander bishop of Antaradus, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(243) Leontius bishop of Ascalon, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(244) Photinus bishop of Lydda, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(245) Anianus bishop of Capitoliass, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(246) John bishop of Cnidus, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.<sup>145</sup>

(247) Docimasius bishop of Maronea, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.<sup>146</sup>

(248) Sozon bishop of Philippi: having been informed of the examination by the holy fathers and being duty bound to follow their judgement, I have signed the deposition of Dioscorus.

143 Cf. Mt. 20:9.

144 The meaning can only be that Meliphthongus arrived late at the council, though in time to sign Dioscorus' deposition. His inclusion in the attendance lists of the first two sessions can only be an error.

145 Doublet of 172.

146 Doublet of 93.

(249) Eulogius, presbyter of Creteia, representing Bishop Genethlius, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(250) Modestus, presbyter, representing Olympius bishop of Prusias, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(251) Pelagius, presbyter, representing Theophilus bishop of Hadrianopolis, I have decreed the deposition of Dioscorus and signed.

(252) 'Perses', I have signed in Persian.<sup>147</sup>

97L.<sup>148</sup> (1) Paschasinus bishop of the city of Lilybaeum, representing the most blessed and apostolic Leo of the universal church, pope of the city of Rome, presiding over the holy council: with the consent of the ecumenical council I have signed the condemnation of Dioscorus.

(2) Lucentius bishop of the church of Asculum, similarly.

(3) Caelius<sup>149</sup> Boniface presbyter of the holy Roman Church, similarly.

(4) Anatolius archbishop of Constantinople Rome, together with the holy council I have equally decreed the condemnation of Dioscorus and signed.

(5) Maximus bishop of Antioch, similarly.

(6) Stephen metropolitan bishop<sup>150</sup> of Ephesus, I have signed.

(7) Quintillus bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, I have signed.<sup>151</sup>

(8)\* Andrew presbyter of Thessalonica, I have signed on behalf of Euxitheus my bishop.<sup>152</sup>

(9)\* Lucian bishop of Bizye, I have signed on behalf of Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Thrace.

(10) Diogenes metropolitan bishop of Cyzicus, I have signed.

147 'Perses' (= a Persian) is too good to be true as the name of a Persian bishop, and there is no other trace of Persian participation in the council. The entry is not merely dubious but absurd.

148 We now give the Latin version of the list of signatories. Entries that occur only in the Latin list (omitting doublets) are asterisked. The proportion of garbled place names is high; as always we correct them without special annotation.

149 This is the only occurrence in the Acts of Boniface's first name.

150 A distinctive Latin rendering of the Greek phrase 'bishop of the metropolis'.

151 Quintillus is signing on behalf of his metropolitan Anastasius of Thessalonica (cf. 97G.6), whence his inclusion among the metropolitans.

152 The bishop of Thessalonica at the time of Chalcedon was Anastasius; his successor Euxitheus was consecrated in 452/3 (Schwartz 1937, 8). This name is therefore a later addition to the list. Schwartz argues that, since such an addition would have been made by the bishop himself not a representative, the entry is purely fictitious; but it is imaginable that the presbyter happened on some occasion to be representing his bishop at Constantinople and agreed to sign on his behalf.

- (11) Julian bishop of Cos and legate of the Roman Church, I have signed.
- (12) Peter bishop of Corinth in the province of Achaea, I have signed.
- (13) Eunomius metropolitan bishop of the city of Nicomedia, I have signed.
- (14) Theodore metropolitan bishop of Tarsus, I have signed.
- (15)\* John bishop of (?) Ephesus,<sup>153</sup> I have signed.
- (16) Romanus metropolitan bishop of the city of Myra, I have signed.
- (17) Eleutherius bishop of Chalcedon, I have signed.
- (18) Seleucus bishop of Amaseia, I have signed.
- (19) Constantine metropolitan bishop of the city of Melitene, I have signed.
- (19a) Basil bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, I have signed.<sup>154</sup>
- (20) Eustathius bishop of Berytus, I have signed.
- (21) Cyrus metropolitan bishop of the city of Anazarbus, I have signed.
- (22) John metropolitan bishop of the city of Sebasteia, I have signed.
- (23) Constantine metropolitan bishop of the city of Bostra, I have signed.
- (24) Patricius bishop of Tyana, I have signed.
- (25) Theodore bishop of the city of Damascus, I have signed.
- (26) Peter bishop of the city of Gangra, I have signed.
- (27) Basil metropolitan bishop of the city of Trajanopolis, I have signed.
- (28) Calogerus metropolitan bishop of the city of Claudiopolis, I have signed.<sup>155</sup>
- (29) Amphilochius metropolitan bishop of the city of Side in the province of Pamphylia, I have signed.
- (30) Epiphanius metropolitan bishop of the city of Perge in the province of Pamphylia, I have signed.

153 The MSS read 'John bishop of Ephesus'. This cannot be John of Hephaestus (in Augustamnica), who was not present at Chalcedon; in any case no Egyptian bishop would have signed Dioscorus' condemnation. As an emendation I would suggest 'John bishop of Ephesus' – John II, who became bishop between the close of the council and the accession of Leo I (457). This would parallel the inclusion of Euxitheus of Thessalonica (§8) and Eutherius of Sardis (§182), two other post-Chalcedonian metropolitans.

154 This entry occurs in over half the Latin MSS and in the Greek list (97G.20). Schwartz, however, deletes it because of its absence from Rusticus and from the Codex Acoemitanus that Rusticus cites; see Schwartz 1937, 7–8.

155 His representative Apragmonius of Tieum is likely to have signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.36. Apragmonius signs on his own account at 97.

(31) Atticus metropolitan bishop of the city of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus, I have signed.

(32) Onesiphorus metropolitan bishop of the city of Iconium, I have signed.

(33) John metropolitan bishop of the island of Rhodes, I have signed.<sup>156</sup>

(34) Florentius metropolitan bishop of the city of Sardis in the province of Lydia, I have signed.

(35) Photius metropolitan bishop of the city of Tyre, I have signed.

(36) Francion metropolitan bishop of the city of Philippopolis, I have signed.

(37) Trypho bishop of the island of Chios, I have signed.

(38) Nunechius metropolitan bishop of Laodicea, I have signed.

(39) Pergamius metropolitan bishop of the city of Antioch, I have signed for myself and for Domnus the most devout metropolitan bishop of the city of Apamea.<sup>157</sup>

(40) Eulogius metropolitan bishop of Philadelphia in the province [of Arabia], I have signed.

(41) Proclus bishop of the city of Adraa, I have signed.

(42) Critonianus metropolitan bishop of the city of Aphrodisias, I have signed.

(43) Symeon metropolitan bishop of the city of Amida, I have signed.

(44) Stephen bishop of Hierapolis, I have signed.

(45) Theoctistus metropolitan bishop of the city of Pessinus, I have signed.<sup>158</sup>

(46) Fontianus bishop of the city of Sagalassus, I have signed.

(47) Luke metropolitan bishop of the city of Dyrrachium in the province of Epirus Nova, I have signed.

(48) Marinianus bishop of Synnada, I have signed.

(49) John bishop of Germanicia, I have signed.

(50) Trypho bishop of Chios, I have signed.<sup>159</sup>

(51) Theodore bishop of the city of Claudiopolis, I have signed.

(52) Nonnus bishop of the city of Edessa, I have signed.

(53) Sebastian bishop of the city of Beroe, I have signed.

156 His representative Trypho of Chios presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.53. Trypho signs on his own account at 37.

157 An error: Domnus here (61) and elsewhere was represented by Meletius of Larissa.

158 His representative Archdeacon Photinus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.38.

159 Doublet of 37.

- (54) Paul bishop of Ptolemais, I have signed.
- (55) John bishop [of Nicopolis] in the province of Armenia, I have signed.
- (56) Cecropius bishop of the city of Sebastopolis, I have signed.
- (57) Aristomachus bishop of the city of Colonia, I have signed.
- (58) Thalassius bishop of the city of Parium, I have signed.
- (59) Acacius bishop of the city of Ariaratheia, I have signed.
- (60) Heraclius bishop of the city of Comana, I have signed.
- (61) Meletius bishop of Larissa, making a statement on behalf of Domnus bishop of Apamea in Syria, I have signed.
- (62) Meletius bishop of Larissa, I have signed.
- (63) Mark bishop of the city of Arethusa, I have signed.
- (64) Callinicus bishop of the city of Apamea, I have signed.
- (65) 'Paul bishop of the city of Paltus',<sup>160</sup> I have signed.
- (66) Theodosius bishop of the city of Nazianzus, I have signed.
- (67) Philip bishop of the city of Adana, I have signed.
- (68) Euolcius bishop of Zeugma, I have signed.
- (69) Polychronius bishop of Epiphaneia, I have signed.
- (70) Neoptolemus bishop of Corna, I have signed.
- (71) Acholius bishop of the city of Laranda, I have signed.
- (72) Julian bishop of the city of Hypaepa, I have signed.
- (73) Gerontius bishop of Seleucia in Syria, I have signed.
- (74) Theoctistus bishop of the city of Beroea, I have signed.
- (75) Zenodotus bishop of the city of Telmessus, I have signed.
- (76) Cratinus bishop of Panormus, I have signed.
- (77) Leontius bishop of the city of Magnesia, I have signed.
- (78) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Choma, I have signed.
- (79) Uranius bishop of the city of Emesa, I have signed.<sup>161</sup>
- (80) Epictetus bishop of the city of Diocletianopolis, I have signed.
- (81) Timothy bishop of Balaneae, I have signed.
- (82) Symeon bishop of Amida, I have signed.<sup>162</sup>
- (83) Theotecnus bishop of the city of Tyriaeum, I have signed.
- (84) Paul bishop of the city of Philomelium, I have signed.
- (85) Paulinus bishop of the city of Apamea in Pisidia, I have signed.
- (86) Bassonas bishop of the city of Neapolis, I have signed.

160 Either the personal or the place name is incorrect: Sabas was bishop of Paltus, and signs at 281.

161 His representative the archdeacon Porphyry presumably signed on his behalf.

162 Doublet of 43.

- (87) Florentius bishop of the city 'Orion',<sup>163</sup> I have signed.
- (88) Cyrus bishop of the city of Sinethandus, I have signed.
- (89)\* Macarius bishop of the city of Laodicea, I have signed.<sup>164</sup>
- (90) Indimus bishop of the city of Irenopolis in the province of Cilicia Secunda, I have signed.
- (91) Hypatius bishop of the city of Zephyrium, I have signed.
- (92) Aetherichus bishop of the city of Smyrna, I have signed.
- (93) Antiochus bishop of the city of Sinope, I have signed.
- (94) Lucian bishop of the city of Ipsus, I have signed.
- (95) Basil bishop of the city of Nacoleia, I have signed.
- (96) Eustochius bishop of the city of Docimium, I have signed.
- (97) Apragmonius bishop of the city of Tieum, I have signed.
- (98) Heorticius bishop of the city of Metropolis in the province of Pisidia, I have signed.
- (99) Alexander bishop of the city of Seleucia in the province of Pisidia, I have signed.
- (100) Timothy bishop of the city of Doliche, I have signed.
- (101) Gratidianus bishop of the city of Cerasus, I have signed.
- (102) Rhenus bishop of Ionopolis, I have signed.
- (103) Patricius bishop of the city of Neocaesarea Augusta in the province of Euphratesia, I have signed.
- (104) Sophronius bishop of the city of Constantia, I have signed.
- (105) John bishop of the city of Flaviopolis, I have signed.
- (106) Theodore bishop of Augusta, I have signed.
- (107) Cyrinus bishop of Patara, I have signed.
- (108) Cyriacus bishop of Eucarpia, I have signed.
- (109) Abercius bishop of Hieropolis, I have signed.
- (110) Paul bishop of the city of Mariamme, I have signed.
- (111) Eusebius bishop of the city of Clazomenae, I have signed.
- (112) Mirus bishop of the city of Eulandra, I have signed.
- (113) Paul bishop of the city of Tripolis, I have signed.
- (114) Eutropius bishop of Adada, I have signed.
- (115) Olympius bishop of the city of Sozopolis, I have signed.
- (116) Leontius, bishop, I have signed.<sup>165</sup>

163 Probably a corruption of 'Sardeon', that is, of Sardis, and therefore a doublet of 34.

164 His representative the presbyter Eusebius presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.56.

165 The three Leontii (of Araxa, Ascalon and Magnesia) known to have attended the council appear elsewhere in this list (77, 152, 178) so this name must either be a doublet or an error.

- (117) Mamas bishop of the city of Aninetus, I have signed.  
 (118) Proterius bishop of the city of Myrina, I have signed.  
 (119) Marcellinus bishop of the city of Metropolis, I have signed.  
 (120) Isaias bishop of the city of Elaea, I have signed.  
 (121) Hesperus bishop of the city of Pitane, I have signed.  
 (122) Abramius bishop of Circesium, I have signed.  
 (123) Maeonius bishop of the city of Nysa, I have signed.  
 (124) Caiumas bishop of the city of Marcopolis, I have signed.  
 (125) John bishop of the city of Carrhae, I have signed.  
 (126) Theodore bishop of the city of Antiphellus, I have signed.  
 (127) Quintus bishop of Phocaea, I have signed.  
 (128)\* Movianus bishop of the city of Limenae, I have signed.  
 (129) Julian bishop of the city of Rhosus, I have signed.  
 (130) Valerius bishop of the city of Laodicea, I have signed.  
 (131) Philip bishop of the city of Lysias, I have signed.  
 (132) Alcimedes bishop of the city of Silandus in the province of Lydia,  
 I have signed.  
 (133) Amachus bishop of the city of Saittae, I have signed.  
 (134) Polycarp bishop of the city of Tabala in the province of Lydia, I  
 have signed.  
 (135) Leucius bishop of Apollonoshieron, I have signed.  
 (136) Dionysius bishop of the city of Attaleia, I have signed.  
 (137) Gemellus bishop of the city of Stratonicea, I have signed.  
 (138) Leucius bishop of the city of Apollonoshieron,<sup>166</sup> I have signed.  
 (139)\* Nicias bishop of the city of Megara, I have signed.  
 (140) Athanasius bishop of the city of Opus, I have signed.  
 (141) Philip bishop of the city of Neaule, I have signed.  
 (142) Atarbius bishop of the city of Trapezus, I have signed.  
 (143) Irenaeus bishop of the city of Naupactus, I have signed.  
 (144)\* Ophelimus bishop of the city of Tegea, I have signed.  
 (145) Dominus bishop of the city of Plataea, I have signed.  
 (146) Eudoxius bishop of Choma, I have signed.<sup>167</sup>  
 (147) Stephen bishop of the city of Limyra, I have signed.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Doublet of 135, disguised in the original by the unusual forms given to both the names at 135 – ‘Eleusinius’ and ‘Fanum Apollinis’.

<sup>167</sup> Doublet of 78.

<sup>168</sup> His representative Nicholas of Acarassus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI.9.219. Nicholas signs on his account at 151.



- (148) Fronto bishop of the city of Phaselis, I have signed.  
 (149) Philip bishop of the city of Balbura, I have signed.  
 (150) Antipater bishop of the city of Caunus, I have signed.  
 (151) Nicholas bishop of the city of Acarassus, I have signed.  
 (152) Leontius bishop of the city of Araxa, I have signed.  
 (153) Philip bishop of the city of Balbura, I have signed.<sup>169</sup>  
 (154) Andrew bishop of the city of Tlos, I have signed.  
 (155) Romanus bishop of the city of Bubon, I have signed.  
 (156) Alexander bishop of Sebaste, I have signed.  
 (157) Stephen bishop of the city of Poemanenum, I have signed.  
 (158) Hermias bishop of the holy church of God at Abydus, I have signed.  
 (159) Cossinius bishop of the city of Hierocaesarea in the province of Lydia, I have signed.  
 (160)\* Patricius bishop of the holy church of God at Hadrianutherae in the province of Hellespontus, I have signed.  
 (161) Strategius bishop of the city of Polybotus, I have signed.  
 (162) Olympius bishop of the city of Theodosiopolis, I have signed.  
 (163) Damian bishop of the city of Sidon, I have signed.  
 (164) Theodosius bishop of the city of Canatha, I have signed.  
 (165) Docimasius bishop of Maronea, I have signed.  
 (166) Thomas bishop of Porphyreon, I have signed.  
 (167) Epiphanius bishop of the city of Cestrus, I have signed.  
 (168) Matalus bishop of Philadelphia, I have signed.  
 (169) Aelianus bishop of the city of Selinus, I have signed.  
 (170)\* Evander bishop of Diocleia, I have signed.  
 (171) Eulogius, presbyter, I have signed on behalf of Genethlius my most devout bishop of the city of Creteia.  
 (172) Pelagius presbyter, I have signed on behalf of Theophilus my most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis.  
 (173) Modestus presbyter of Prusias, I have signed on behalf of my bishop Olympius.  
 (174) Serenus bishop of the city of Maximianopolis, I have signed.  
 (175) John bishop of Polemonium, I have signed.  
 (176) Soteras bishop of the city of Theodosiane, I have signed.  
 (177) Epaphroditus bishop of Tamasus, I have signed.  
 (178) Leontius bishop of the city of Ascalon, I have signed.

169 Doublet of 149.

- (179) Patricius bishop of Acrasus, I have signed.  
 (180)\* Zebennus bishop of Pella, I have signed.  
 (181)\* Ibas bishop of the city of Edessa, I have signed.<sup>170</sup>  
 (182)\* Eutherius bishop of the city of Sardis, I have signed.<sup>171</sup>  
 (183)\* Alexander bishop of the whole province of Scythia, I have signed.<sup>172</sup>  
 (184) Photinus bishop of the city of Lydda, I have signed.  
 (185) Anianus bishop of the city of Capitolias, I have signed.  
 (186) Theophilus bishop of the city of Ariassus, I have signed.  
 (187) Martyrius bishop of the city of Gortyna, I have signed.  
 (188) Nicholas bishop of the city of Stobi, I have signed.  
 (189)\* Cyril bishop of the city of Subrita, I have signed.  
 (190) Eusebius bishop, I have signed.<sup>173</sup>  
 (191)\* Peregrinus bishop of Phoenice, I have signed.  
 (192)\* Claudius bishop of Anchiasmus, I have signed.  
 (193) Euphratas bishop of the city of Eleutherna, I have signed.  
 (194) Gennadius bishop of the city of Acmonia in the province of Phrygia, I have signed.  
 (195) Demetrius bishop of the city of Lappa, I have signed.  
 (196) Neoptolemus bishop of Corna, I have signed.<sup>174</sup>  
 (197) Paul bishop of the city of Derbe, I have signed.  
 (198) Plutarch bishop of the city of Lystra, I have signed.  
 (199) Eugenius bishop of the city of Cana, I have signed.  
 (200) Rufus bishop of the city of Hyde, I have signed.  
 (201) Tyrannus bishop of the city of Homanada, I have signed.  
 (202) Acholius bishop of Laranda, I have signed.<sup>175</sup>  
 (203) Peter bishop of the city of Gabbula, I have signed.  
 (204) Noah bishop of the fort of Cephas, I have signed.  
 (205) Maras bishop of the city of Anasartha, I have signed for myself and for Romulus bishop of the city of Chalcis.

170 Wickham (*TRE* 7, 675) sees the omission of Ibas from the Greek list as a deliberate excision at the time of the Three Chapters controversy.

171 A later addition to the list, since Eutherius became bishop of Sardis only after the council. In 451 the bishop was Florentius, who signed at 34 above.

172 Alexander of Tomi had attended the hearing at Constantinople of 13 April 449 (I. 555.7), but there is no evidence to show he attended Chalcedon. This name is probably a later addition to the list (like 8, 15, 182).

173 Most probably a doublet of Eusebius of Clazomenae (111), but possibly Eusebius of Apollonia or Eusebius of Doberus.

174 Doublet of 70.

175 Doublet of 71.

- (206) Eulalius bishop of the city of Sibia, I have signed.  
 (207) Peter bishop, I have signed.<sup>176</sup>  
 (208) Theosebius bishop of the city of Ilium, I have signed.  
 (209)\* Dionysius bishop of the city of Heraclea, I have signed.  
 (210) John bishop of the city of Alinda, I have signed.  
 (211) Eupithius bishop of Stratonicea, I have signed.  
 (212)\* Papias bishop of Eriza, I have signed.  
 (213) Theodoret bishop of the city of Alabanda, I have signed.  
 (214) John bishop of the city of Amyzon, I have signed.  
 (215) Tynchanius bishop of Apollonia, I have signed.  
 (216) Dionysius bishop of Antioch,<sup>177</sup> I have signed.  
 (217) Florentius bishop of the city of Hadrianopolis, I have signed.  
 (218) Atticus bishop of the city of Zela, I have signed.  
 (219)\* Messalinus bishop of Laodicea, I have signed.<sup>178</sup>  
 (220) Helpidius bishop of the staging-post of Thermae, I have signed.  
 (221) Menander bishop of Heraclea, I have signed.  
 (222) Evander bishop of the city of Diocleia, I have signed.<sup>179</sup>  
 (223)\* Flacillus bishop of the city of Iasus, I have signed.  
 (224) John bishop of Cnidus, I have signed.  
 (225) Aquila bishop of the city of Eudoxias, I have signed.  
 (226) Romanus bishop of the city of Eudoxiopolis, that is, Selymbria in the province of Thrace, I have signed.  
 (227) Theodore bishop of Heraclea, I have signed.  
 (228) Rufinus bishop of the city of Samosata, I have signed.  
 (229)\* Athanasius bishop of the city of Perrhe, I have signed.  
 (230) Rufinus bishop of the city of Briulla, I have signed.  
 (231) Pionius bishop of the city of Troas, I have signed.  
 (232) Hormisdas bishop of the city of Philippopolis in the province of Arabia, I have signed.  
 (233) Julius bishop of the city of Celenderis, I have signed.  
 (234) Tyrannus bishop of the city of Germanicopolis, I have signed.  
 (235) Acacius bishop of Antioch, I have signed.  
 (236) Ammonius bishop of the city of Iotape, I have signed.

176 Probably a doublet of one of the other Peters in the list (12, 26, 203, 261).

177 The MSS add 'in Pisidia', which should either be excised or transferred to the following entry.

178 His representative the *chorepiscopus* Adelus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.292.

179 Doublet of 170.

- (237) Gennadius bishop of the city of Mossyna, I have signed.
- (238) Another Gennadius, bishop of the city of Acmonia, I have signed.<sup>180</sup>
- (239) Paulinus bishop of the city of Theodosiopolis, I have signed.
- (240) John bishop of the city of Trapezopolis, I have signed.
- (241) Florentius bishop of Lesbos and Tenedos, I have signed.<sup>181</sup>
- (242) Dorotheus bishop of Neocaesarea, I have signed.<sup>182</sup>
- (243) Aquila bishop [of Aurocra], I have signed.
- (244) John bishop of Diocaesarea, I have signed.<sup>183</sup>
- (245) Eulalius bishop of the city of Pionia in the province of Hellespontus, I have signed.
- (246) Daniel bishop of Lampsacus, I have signed.
- (247) Antiochus bishop of Arca, I have signed.
- (248) Rufinus bishop of the city of Byblus, I have signed.
- (249) Alexander bishop of Antaradus, I have signed.
- (250)\* Jovian bishop of the city of Deultum, I have signed.
- (251)\* John bishop of the city of 'Supertis',<sup>184</sup> I have signed.
- (252) Theodore bishop of the city of Tripolis, I have signed.
- (253) Paul bishop of the city of Aristium, I have signed.
- (254) Sozon bishop of Philippi, I have signed.
- (255) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Trocnades, I have signed.<sup>185</sup>
- (256) Diodotus bishop of city of Lysinia, I have signed.
- (257) Macedon bishop of the city of Magydus, I have signed.
- (258) Neon bishop of the city of Sillyum, I have signed.
- (259) Mysteries bishop of the city of Amorium, I have signed.
- (260) Longinus bishop of the city of Orcistus, I have signed.
- (261) Peter bishop of the city of Dardanus, I have signed.
- (262) Chrysippus bishop of the city of Mallus, I have signed.
- (263)\* Daniel bishop of the city of Cadi, I have signed.
- (264) Thomas bishop of the city of Theodosiana, I have signed.

180 Doublet of 194.

181 The *chorepiscopus* Euelpistus signed on his behalf, 96G.223.

182 His representative Atarbius of Trapezus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.37. Atarbius signs on his own account at 142.

183 The lector Nilus signed on his behalf, 96G.230.

184 Schwartz suggests emending this to Tiberias, but very few Palestinian bishops signed Dioscorus' condemnation. It is not possible to identify this bishop with one of the known attendees at the council.

185 His representative the presbyter Chrysippus presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.174.

- (265)\* ‘Athanasius bishop of Mossyna’, I have signed.<sup>186</sup>  
 (266) David bishop of the city of Hadrianeia, I have signed.  
 (267) Theoctistus bishop of the city of Pessinus, I have signed.<sup>187</sup>  
 (268) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Aegea, I have signed.  
 (269) Paul bishop [of Pogla], I have signed.  
 (270) Julian presbyter, representing Calandion bishop of the city of Halicarnassus, I have signed.  
 (271) Eulogius bishop of Philadelphia, I have signed.<sup>188</sup>  
 (272) Proclus bishop of Adraa, I have signed.<sup>189</sup>  
 (273) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, I have signed.  
 (274) Thalassius bishop of Caesarea, I have signed.  
 (275)\* Natiras bishop of the city of Gaza, I have signed.<sup>190</sup>  
 (276) Cyrinus bishop of the city of Patara, I have signed.<sup>191</sup>  
 (277) Theophilus bishop of the city of Ariassus, I have signed.<sup>192</sup>  
 (278) Eusebius bishop of Ancyra, I have signed.  
 (279)\* Eudoxius bishop of the city of Etenna, I have signed.  
 (280)\* Marcian bishop of the city of Cotenna, I have signed.  
 (281) Sabas bishop of the city of Paltus, I have signed.  
 (282)\* Macarius bishop of the city of Aenus, I have signed.  
 (283) Cyriacus bishop of the city,<sup>193</sup> I have signed.  
 (284) Philip bishop of Theodosiopolis or Neaule, I have signed.<sup>194</sup>  
 (285)\* Basilicus bishop of Palaeopolis, I have signed.  
 (286) Lucian bishop of the city of Bizye, I have signed.<sup>195</sup>  
 (287) Patricius bishop of the city of Acrasus, I have signed.<sup>196</sup>  
 (288) Eustochius bishop of the city of Docimium, I have signed.<sup>197</sup>  
 (289)\* Eustathius bishop of the nation of the Saracens, I have signed.

186 A dubious entry. See our 2.67n.

187 Doublet of 45.

188 Doublet of 40.

189 Doublet of 41.

190 In view of the attribution to Natiras in the Latin version at 96.86 of a verdict against Dioscorus of doubtful authenticity (see note *ad loc.*), it is safest to discount this entry.

191 Doublet of 107.

192 Doublet of 186.

193 The place name is missing. This must be a doublet of 9, 108, 255 or 268.

194 Doublet of 141.

195 Doublet of 9.

196 Doublet of 179.

197 Doublet of 96.

(290)\* Paul presbyter, representing Uranius the most devout bishop of the city of Iborá, I have signed.

(291) Helias bishop of the city of Blaundus, I have signed.

(292) Eusebius bishop of the city of Seleucia ad Belum, I have signed.

(293) Patricius bishop of Hadrianutherae, I have signed.<sup>198</sup>

(294) Julian bishop of Tavium, I have signed.

(295) Meliphthongus bishop of Juliopolis, I have signed.

(296) Stephen bishop of the city of Poemanenum, I have signed.<sup>199</sup>

(297) Acacius bishop of the city of Cinna, I have signed.

(298)\* Andrew bishop of the city of Satala, I have signed.<sup>200</sup>

(299)\* Paul bishop of Aradus, I have signed.

(300) Abramius bishop of the fort of Circesium, I have signed.<sup>201</sup>

(301) Bassonas bishop of the city of Neapolis, I have signed.<sup>202</sup>

(302) Leucadius bishop of the city of Mnizus, I have signed.

(303) Euphrasius bishop of the city of Lagania, I have signed.

(304) Movianus bishop of the city of Limenae, I have signed.<sup>203</sup>

(305) Antiochus bishop of the city of Sinope, I have signed.<sup>204</sup>

(306)\* Helpidius presbyter, representing the most devout Bishop Paralius of the city of Andrapa, I have signed.

(307)\* Euphronius presbyter, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of the city of Cucusus, I have signed.

(308)\* Helpidius presbyter, representing the most devout Antonianus bishop of the city of Amisus, I have signed.

*[Letter from the council to Marcian]*<sup>205</sup>

98. *To the most pious, most faithful, and most Christian emperors and triumphant victors Valentinian and Marcian always Augusti from the holy and great council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by the grace of God and the decree of your piety.*

198 Doublet of 160.

199 Doublet of 157.

200 His representative Cossinius of Hierocaesarea presumably signed on his behalf, as at VI. 9.209. Cossinius signs on his own account at 159.

201 Doublet of 122.

202 Doublet of 86.

203 Doublet of 128.

204 Doublet of 93.

205 This letter, extant only in the Latin version, follows closely the verdict against Dioscorus pronounced by the papal legate Paschasinus at III. 94.

*Serious diseases need strong medicines and wise physicians. For this reason therefore the Lord of the universe placed your piety in charge of the diseases of the world as an expert physician, so that you should treat them with appropriate remedies; and you, most Christian ones, accepted the divine decree and have expended expert care on the churches before everything else, devising the medicine of harmony for the bishops. Assembling us from all quarters, you have provided every assistance to ensure an end to the dissension that had arisen and a confirmation of the faith of our fathers. We in session sought the cause of the storm that had rocked the whole world and discovered that its originator was Dioscorus, formerly bishop of Alexandria. First, when the most devout bishops were assembled at Ephesus, he forbade the reading of the letter sent by the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome to Flavian of blessed memory, then bishop of the city of Constantinople, and this after his promises and many oaths, as we who were present remember. Secondly, without waiting for a conciliar decree and uncanonically, he restored both priesthood and monastic authority to Eutyches, who was stricken with the impiety of Mani and had been lawfully deprived of office; this he did even though the most holy and blessed Leo archbishop of Great Rome had in the same letter issued an appropriate decree and condemned in writing the wicked deceit of Eutyches, who said, 'I acknowledge that our Lord Jesus Christ was from two natures before the union, but that after the union there is one nature.'<sup>206</sup> In addition, Dioscorus committed crimes against the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius; and again he received into communion on his own authority certain persons who had been duly condemned by various councils, even though the holy canons prescribe that one should not receive into communion those excommunicated by others.*

*He could perhaps have obtained forgiveness for so many and so terrible crimes, if by fitting repentance he had accepted the remedy from this ecumenical council; but instead, in addition to his other crimes he raged against the apostolic see itself and attempted to issue letters of excommunication against the most holy and blessed Pope Leo. He arrogantly persisted in his former crimes, and was insolent towards the present holy ecumenical and great council: when various charges had been brought against him, in utter contempt he did not deign to reply, but when summoned according to the canons a first, a second and a third time scorned to present himself. Therefore he has been appropriately stripped of the priesthood by*

206 See I. 527.

*the ecumenical council and formally deprived of episcopal dignity, in order to provide a sobering example of discipline for those who might try to commit similar offences, since the divine laws themselves declare openly, 'Drive out the wicked person from among yourselves.'<sup>207</sup> What could be worse than committing such outrages – trampling on the divine canons, filling the whole world with storm and tempest, dividing the members of the church, and arming them against one another? When someone sees a limb in the grip of incurable disease and infecting the whole body, he will turn to the physician, who will apply the knife and amputate the diseased part in order to confer health on the rest of the body.*

*Of these matters we inform your pious sovereignty, so that you may be aware of his wickedness and of the soundness of the just sentence passed upon him, and we say this with God for our witness. We trust that you, most pious and most Christian emperors, will be in agreement with us, since we know by experience the horror your venerable sovereignty feels towards the wicked and how great is the care you take for the peace of the church. In gratitude for this, we beg the God of the universe to preserve your sovereignty all the more, while you protect religion as before, govern the world in tranquillity, grant justice to each of your subjects, subdue the resistance of your enemies, and compel them to obey your rule.*

*In order that your most Christian sovereignty may know more fully what we have rightly decreed in accordance with the will of God and the holy canons, we have appended to this communication the attached text of the minutes together with the signatures of us all.*

99. *[Notification of] deposition sent by the holy and ecumenical council to Dioscorus<sup>208</sup>*

*The holy, great and ecumenical council, convoked by the grace of God and according to the decree of our most pious and God-beloved emperors in the city of Chalcedon in Bithynia in the martyrrium of the most holy and victorious martyr Euphemia, to Dioscorus.*

*On account of your contempt for the divine canons and your disobedience to this holy and ecumenical council, because, in addition to the other crimes for which you have been convicted, you did not present yourself even when summoned a third time by this holy and great council according*

207 1 Cor. 5:13.

208 We return to the Greek text. In the Latin version this document comes at 101, after both the two following documents.



*to the divine canons to answer the charges brought against you, know that on the present thirteenth day of the month of October you are deposed from the episcopate by the holy and ecumenical council and deprived of all ecclesiastical rank.<sup>209</sup>*

100. *To the clergy of Alexandria present at Chalcedon, on the deposition of Dioscorus<sup>210</sup>*

*The holy and ecumenical council, convoked by the grace of God and according to the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors in the city of Chalcedon in Bithynia in the martyrrium of the holy and victorious martyr Euphemia, to the most devout Charmsynus, presbyter and administrator, and Euthalius, archdeacon, and the other clergy who are there.*

*May your devoutness be informed that Dioscorus, formerly your bishop, has been found guilty in many ways of infringing the divine canons and ecclesiastical discipline, and furthermore of insulting this holy and ecumenical council after being summoned a third time according to the canons by scorning to present himself, and that in consequence yesterday, which is Saturday, the thirteenth day of the present month of October, by a decision of the holy and ecumenical council and in accordance with the decrees of ecclesiastical law he was deposed from the episcopate and deprived of all ecclesiastical rank. Therefore guard all church property, since you are going to render account to whomever by the will of God and the decree of our most pious and God-beloved emperors shall be ordained bishop of the church of the great city of Alexandria.*

101. *Public Notice against Dioscorus<sup>211</sup>*

*The holy, great and ecumenical council, convoked by the grace of God and according to the decree of our most pious and God-beloved emperors in the city of Chalcedon in the province of Bithynia in the martyrrium of the most holy and victorious martyr Euphemia, to all the Christ-loving people<sup>212</sup> of Constantinople and Chalcedon.*

*It has come to the knowledge of the holy and great council that, after having been deprived of the priesthood in conformity with the divine canons,*

209 The word in the Greek, θεσιμός (law), although it goes back to the edition represented in the Latin Acts, appears to be a mistake for βαθμός (rank), the word used in the same context in the following document.

210 We follow the Greek text. The Latin edition gives two translations of it, at 100 and 102.

211 We follow the Greek text. The Latin gives this document at 99, immediately after the letter to the emperors.

*Dioscorus, formerly bishop of the great city of Alexandria, has tried to spread a rumour that he has recovered the priesthood which, when he held it previously, he abused, [exercising it] not in the service of Christ who had bestowed it but to the infringement and detriment of the divine canons and ecclesiastical discipline. Therefore, so that all the nurslings of the sacred faith may be in no doubt about the just sentence of deposition passed on him by the holy and ecumenical council, we have thought it right to issue this letter, declaring that the one who because of his unpardonable crimes has been stripped of the grace of the priesthood by the Lord God and by so great a number of bishops has absolutely no hope of restoration, since his deposition has removed the stumbling blocks.*

*Relation of the holy council of Chalcedon to the Augusta Pulcheria of holy memory on the condemnation of Dioscorus.*<sup>213</sup>

103.<sup>214</sup> *To our daughter Pulcheria, most pious, Christ-loving and most dear to God, empress and Augusta, guardian of the catholic and orthodox faith, from the holy and great council which convened in the metropolis of Chalcedon in accordance with the grace of God and the sanction of your sovereignty.*

*May many blessings worthy of the Saviour who bestows them be granted to you who love Christ, daughter and Augusta. Speaking to a pupil of the faith, we must begin with prayer and then offer praise to God, because, according to the saying of the Lord in the gospel, the light of your merits shines before all men and, perceiving your good works, they give glory to your Father who is in heaven.<sup>215</sup> For, behold, the lustre of your piety radiates on all, the progress of apostolic teaching has been completed through you, and through the eagerness of your love the darkness of ignorance of God has been dispelled and the harmony of the faith made manifest. No more are we beset by the tares of the plague of heresy. We all concur with the teachings of*

212 The word is λαός, which could mean 'laity', but in this context is more likely to mean the whole Christian population, including clergy and monks.

213 This document is extant only in the Latin version. The Greek version of the third session closes at this point with the words, 'This completes the second act of the holy and blessed fathers assembled at Chalcedon. The end of the Acts of the First Book.' In this version the third session is presented as the second, and the minutes of the first and third sessions are placed together to form a single 'book', consisting of the minutes relating to the deposition of Dioscorus.

214 We omit 102, which is a second Latin translation of 100.

215 Cf. Mt. 5:16.

*piety; it is by your labours that we have achieved this. Through you our sheepfolds are full of the flocks of the faithful; through you those who were once dispersed now reassemble, the shepherds are restored to their sheep, and the teachers to their pupils. For he who was scattering them has been suppressed, the persecutor silenced, and the raiser of the storm cast out. The ships have sought out their own pilots for the journey, with Christ steering them safely into understanding – Christ who revealed the truth through the admirable Leo, and who employed him as an advocate just as he had used the wise Peter. It was our wish that each member [of the body of Christ] should unite with us in raising chants of joy in fraternal harmony; but because he alone who held the presidency of Alexandria chose to exclude himself from a share in such great blessings, we too in sorrow and tears have denied him a share in our communion, since even our Saviour, who ‘desires all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth’,<sup>216</sup> appropriately cast out from the royal hall the man he saw clothed in a dirty garment.<sup>217</sup> We found Dioscorus similar to him; this is why, contrary to our wishes, we pronounced him deprived of the dignity of priesthood. For in his wickedness he placed stumbling blocks before the brethren, and poured forth wickedness from his mouth, when through his deceitfulness he prevented the reading of the letter of the Roman pontiff. As a result, because he did not make himself an example for the virtuous, he has remained like a pillar of salt<sup>218</sup> to terrify offenders; for he made satisfaction to us his judges for what he had committed, when, not out of severity but actually stopping short of the demands of justice, we pronounced against him the verdicts of our sentence.*

*Therefore, having already issued these decrees, we make them known to your sovereignty, so that you may execrate him for his errors and confirm our sentence, by which, out of concern for the whole body, the putrid part has been amputated. Protect what is still unimpaired, and in your piety strengthen the faithful; make this repayment to the one who bestows divine protection on you, so that for this price you may obtain the honour that knows no end and purchase by means of your imperial crown a crown that is imperishable. For to those who conduct worldly affairs piously heavenly things are bound to be repaid – most of all to you, O most faithful one, for whom, despite the burdens of rule, the whole of life consists of prayer, whose days are filled with psalms, who while you exercise your dignity are yet*

216 1 Tim. 2:4.

217 Cf. Mt. 22:11–13.

218 Cf. Gen. 19:26.

*humble for God's sake,<sup>219</sup> who consider it a duty to be easily accessible, and have the heavenly desire to bestow on all who belong to your rule the fruit of the truth.*

219 The Latin version offers as an alternative translation 'who consider adorned with dignity those who humble themselves for God's sake', and includes the following words in Greek, which provide the original wording of much of the final sentence, 'and [to whom] in honour [is] humility for the sake of God, to whom in respect [is] accessibility, for whom in prayers [is] life.' The elliptical concision of the original explains the uncertainty of the Latin translators and their provision of two alternative translations (or rather paraphrases). For a contemporary tribute to Pulcheria's piety see Sozomen, *HE IX,3*.

## **THE FOURTH SESSION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The fourth session of the Council, of 17 October 451, returned after the trial of Dioscorus to the issue of the faith discussed in the second session. Half the session was taken up by bishops testifying to the perfect harmony between the Tome of Leo and the Nicene Creed. After the readmission of the five bishops who had been suspended at the end of the first session because of their role as assistants of Dioscorus at the Second Council of Ephesus (449), there followed the reception of two delegations of opponents of the programme of the council, one made up of Egyptian bishops and the other of Constantinopolitan monks. The former begged, and were granted, permission to keep out of the doctrinal debate until a successor to Dioscorus was appointed, while the latter criticized and defied the council. The admission to the council chamber of critics of the consensus around Leo's Tome was a government decision presumably intended to provoke the bishops into issuing a new definition of the faith; it illustrates how government could choose to manipulate a council rather than dictate to it, as it did at the second and fifth sessions.

### **COMMENTARY**

The resolutions of the second session had included the setting up of a committee to report on the definition of the faith (II. 6), which it did in the fifth session, and the holding of a meeting in the palace of Archbishop Anatolius of Constantinople, where the bishops could 'deliberate together about the faith' and in particular reassure those of their number who were still unhappy about the Tome of Leo (II. 31). The holding of such a meeting and its successful outcome were reported at the subsequent fourth formal session.

The session began with a reading by the secretaries of the decisions of the first and second sessions. Then the papal representatives reported on the

wishes of the bishops regarding the faith: the bishops approved the work of the three preceding ecumenical councils and in addition the Tome of Leo, and held firmly that nothing was to be added to them (IV. 6). Clearly they had not changed their minds since the second session, at which they had strongly opposed the drawing up of any new definition of faith (II. 3, 5, 7). The chairman then asked the bishops to confirm that they agreed that the Tome of Leo was in harmony with the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople. There follow in the minutes the statements of 158 bishops or their representatives (approaching half the total number of council fathers), all of whom affirmed that there was perfect harmony between Leo's Tome and the earlier documents (including the conciliar letters of Cyril of Alexandria),<sup>1</sup> and most of whom said they had already signed it (9. 1–158); the remaining bishops confirmed this judgement by acclamation (11). Most of the bishops who spoke did so individually (their statements make singularly monotonous reading), but the two groups of bishops who had expressed reservations about the Tome at the second session (II. 24–6), those of Illyricum and Palestine, produced joint statements: both of these groups assured the council that, despite their initial reservations, they had been fully reassured at the meeting in the episcopal palace of Constantinople, at which the pope's representatives gave verbal assurances that the pope did not separate the two natures in Christ, despite expressions in the Tome that could give the opposite impression (IV. 9, after §98 and §114).

It was surely unfortunate that the published minutes of the council were to contain little of this detailed analysis and defence of the Tome (only II. 24–6 are specific). The witness in the Acts to the orthodoxy of the Tome consists essentially of the bishops' affirmations in this fourth session, affirmations which were very general and which were compromised by the fact that many of the same bishops had only two years previously, at Ephesus II, condemned Flavian of Constantinople for holding the same views as Pope Leo.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent opponents of Chalcedon made much of the fact that the council had approved the Tome, whose compatibility with the Christology of Cyril is still disputed today. As propaganda on behalf of the council's approval of the Tome the minutes must be judged ineffective.

When the bishops who had not spoken individually were asked to acclaim the Tome (11), they took the opportunity to request the reinstatement

1 The reference was primarily to the Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius (I. 240), which was formally approved at the first session of the Council of Ephesus.

2 Honigmann (1942–3, 40) computes that, out of the bishops at Ephesus, 119 attended Chalcedon.

ment of the five bishops who had been deposed, or at least suspended, together with Dioscorus at the close of the first session – Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia in Isauria (I. 1068); these bishops had now made their peace with the government by signing the Tome. The chairman reported the matter to the emperor who, after the few hours required for messages to cross the Bosphorus and back, replied empowering the bishops to decide the matter themselves; the errant five were immediately admitted to the council and reinstated (14–18). This step was essential if not only these metropolitan bishops but also their suffragans were to play their part in the council; delaying their reinstatement would have weakened the voice of the council as representative of the mind of the whole church.<sup>3</sup>

The Illyrian and Palestinian bishops had now accepted the Tome; the only bishops still resistant were the Egyptians. After the condemnation of Dioscorus, 13 of the Egyptian bishops sent a statement of faith to the emperor in which they affirmed the Nicene Creed, condemned the most gross of the heresies attributed to Eutyches (the notion that the manhood of Christ came down from heaven and is unlike ours), though without mentioning Eutyches by name or affirming two natures after the union, and without referring to either Dioscorus or Leo's Tome (25). The emperor sent the bishops to the council (19–20), which rejected their statement of faith as inadequate and demanded anathematization of Eutyches and subscription to the Tome. The Egyptians duly anathematized Eutyches (42), but balked at the Tome. They argued that they could not commit themselves further until a new bishop of Alexandria had been elected, and (very reasonably) that if they did so it would not be safe for them to return to Egypt. Their fellow bishops were stony hearted in their response, but the chairman allowed them to postpone their submission to their council (60).

The council now turned its attention to rival petitions from two groups of Constantinopolitan archimandrites, who were admitted to the council in person (63–6). One group had written to the emperor before the council complaining about the harsh treatment that was being meted out to many monks in the imperial city, clearly as part of a campaign against the supporters of Eutyches (76). The emperor sent them on to the council, where

3 See p. 36 above for the absenteeism of these suffragan bishops from the third session. It is likely that attendance at the second and fourth sessions also suffered, to a greater extent than appears in their thoroughly unreliable attendance lists (see vol. 3, 200–1).

they presented a second petition, in which they claimed that the emperor had assured them before the council that its work would be simply to confirm the creed of Nicaea without any additions; they therefore rejected the condemnation of Dioscorus as unjust and demanded his reinstatement, threatening to break off communion with the bishops if they refused to comply (83, 88). Whether this petition should be commended for its heroism or censured for its insolence is a matter of personal opinion, but the petitioners must have known exactly what was in store for them. They were ordered to submit to the council, and a rival petition was produced in which a number of archimandrites demanded the punishment of the followers of Eutyches (105).<sup>4</sup> Since the supporters of Eutyches claimed that the emperor had told them that he would himself attend to their case (83), and the chairman informed the council that the emperor wished them to be given time for reflection (113), formal decision on their fate was postponed for three days, to allow them time for second thoughts and for the council to consult the emperor. It was, however, a few years before the Eutychian monks in Constantinople were brought to heel, for which see our commentary on the following session on Carosus and Dorotheus.

The supporters of Eutyches who signed the petitions and appeared at the council were a very mixed bag; the rival group of monks claimed that most of them were not real archimandrites at all (64). Why had the emperor sent them to the council? Up until their appearance, the session had gone smoothly, and it looked as if the doctrinal work of the council could be concluded by a near-unanimous approval of the Tome, particularly after the bishops 'had sacrificed Dioscorus as a scapegoat'.<sup>5</sup> The appearance of irreconcilable allies of Eutyches and Dioscorus was clearly contrived by the emperor to provoke the bishops into a stronger assertion of orthodoxy and in particular to bring home to them the need (in his eyes) for a new definition of the faith, in order 'to see every dispute resolved through the concord and agreement, harmonious exposition and teaching of all the sacred fathers' (II.2). The emperor's artful manipulation at this juncture contrasts with the open exercise of authority with which he was to get his way in the following session.

4 The counter-petition was not merely a government ploy: there had been fierce divisions among the monks of Constantinople between the supporters of Eutyches and those of Flavian ever since the Home Synod of 448, as is clear from the many letters of Pope Leo giving encouragement to the latter (*epp.* 50, 51, 59, 61, 71, 72, 74, 75).

5 Schwartz 1921, 141.



## PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Flavius Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, sixteen days before the Kalends of November,<sup>6</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia the most glorious officials, that is: (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) the most magnificent and glorious Tatian, prefect of the City, (4) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices, (5) the most magnificent and glorious Martialis, *magister*, (6) the most magnificent and glorious Sporacius, count of the hallowed *domestici*, (7) the most magnificent Genethlius, count of the divine *privata*; and also the glorious senate, that is: (8) the most magnificent and glorious Florentius, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (9) the most magnificent and glorious Senator, former prefect, and patrician, (10) the most magnificent and glorious Nomus, former *magister*, former consul, and patrician, (11) the most magnificent and glorious Protogenes, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (12) the most magnificent and glorious Zoilus, former prefect, (13) the most magnificent and glorious Theodore, former prefect of the City, (14) the most magnificent and glorious Apollonius, former prefect, (15) the most magnificent and glorious Romanus, former *praepositus*, (16) the most magnificent and glorious Theodore, former prefect of Illyricum, (17) the most magnificent and glorious Constantine, former praetorian prefect, (18) the most magnificent and glorious Artaxes, former *praepositus*.

There also assembled the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by divine decree, that is: (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most sacred and God-beloved Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most sacred archbishop of renowned Constantinople New Rome, and the other most sacred and devout bishops, that is: (5) Maximus of Antioch in Syria, (6) Quintillus of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, (7) Stephen of Ephesus, (8) Lucian of Bizye, representing Cyriacus bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (9) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (10) Peter of Corinth, (11) Florentius of Sardis, (12) Eunomius of Nicomedia, (13) Eusebius and Constantine, presbyters, representing Anastasius bishop of Nicaea, (14) Eleutherius of Chalcedon, (15) Meletius

6 17 October 451.

of Larissa, representing Domnus bishop of Apamea in Syria Secunda, (16) Amphilocheus of Side, (17) Julian of the city of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Rome, (18) Theodore of Tarsus, (19) Cyrus of Anazarbus, (20) Constantine of Bostra, (21) Photius of Tyre, (22) Theodore of Damascus, (23) Nonnus of Edessa, (24) Symeon of Amida, (25) John of Sebasteia, (26) Seleucus of Amaseia, (27) Constantine of Melitene, (28) Patricius of Tyana, (29) Peter of Gangra, (30) Atarbius of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus bishop of Neocaesarea, (31) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus bishop of Pessinus, (32) Romanus of Myra, (33) Critonianus of Aphrodisias, (34) Nunechius of Laodicea in Phrygia, (35) Marinianus of Synnada, (36) Onesiphorus of Iconium, (37) Pergamius of Antioch in Pisidia, (38) Epiphanius of Perge, (39) Atticus of Nicopolis in Epirus, (40) Martyrius of Gortyna, (41) Luke of Dyrrachium, (42) Constantine of Demetrius, representing Vigilantius of Larissa in Thessaly, (43) Francion of Philippopolis, (44) Basil of Trajanopolis, (45) Sebastian of Beroe, (46) Theoctistus of Beroea in Syria, (47) Gerontius of Seleucia in Syria, (48) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius of Laodicea in Syria, (49) Eusebius of Dorylaeum, (50) Sabas of Paltus, (51) Sophronius of Constantia, (52) Patricius of Neocaesarea, (53) Maras of Anasartha, (54) Romulus of Chalcis, (55) Leontius of Ascalon, (56) Anianus of Capitolias, (57) Zebennus of Pella, (58) John of Tiberias, (59) Beryllus of Aela, (60) Aretas of Elusa, (61) Musonius of Segor, (62) Pancratius of Livias, (63) Zosimus of Menois, (64) Polychronius of Antipatris, (65) John of Gadara, (66) Paul of Anthedon, (67) Photinus of Lydda, (68) Heraclius of Azotus, (69) Marcian of Gerara, (70) Stephen of Jamnia, (71) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis, (72) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis, (73) Theodore of Claudiopolis in Isauria, (74) Julius of Celenderis, (75) Epiphanius of Cestrus, (76) Aelianus of Selinus, (77) Gaius of Syedra, (78) Ammonius of Iotape, (79) Matalus of Philadelphia, (80) Mark of Arethusa, (81) Timothy of Balaneae, (82) Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum, (83) Eutychianus of Epiphaneia, (84) Paul of Mariamme, (85) Lampadius of Raphaneae, (86) Alexander of Sebaste, (87) Philip of Adana, (88) Hypatius of Zephyrium, (89) Theodore of Augusta, (90) Julian of Rhosus, (91) Polychronius of Epiphaneia, (92) John of Flaviopolis, (93) Indimus of Irenopolis, (94) Sophronius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Bassianus of Mopsuestia, (95) Proclus of Adraa, (96) Eulogius of Philadelphia, (97) Theodosius of Canatha, (98) Hormisdas of Philippopolis, (99) Damian of Sidon, (100) Theodore of Tripolis, (101) Olympius of Paneas, (102) Paul of Ptolemais, (103) Paul of Aradus, (104) Thomas of Porphyreon, (105) Porphyry of Botrys, (106) Phosphorus of Orthosia, (107)

Porphyry, archdeacon, representing Uranius of Emesa, (108) Joseph of Heliopolis, (109) Jordanes of Abila, (110) Valerius of Laodicea, (111) Thomas of Euaria, (112) Theodoret of Cyrhus, (113) Rufinus of Samosata, (114) John of Germanicia, (115) Timothy of Doliche, (116) Euolcius of Zeugma, (117) Athanasius of Perrhe, (118) Zebennus of Martyropolis, (119) Callinicus of Apamea, (120) Caiumas of Marcopolis, (121) John of Carrhae, (122) Abramius of Circesium, (123) Leucadius of Mnizus, (124) John of the nation of the Saracens, (125) Noah of Cephas, (125a) Hieracis,<sup>7</sup> (126) John of Polemonium, (127) Gratidianus of Cerasus, (128) Julian of Tavium, (129) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis, (130) Hyperechius of Aspona, (131) Acacius of Cinna, (132) Euphrasius of Lagania, (133) Cecropius of Sebastopolis, (134) John of Nicopolis, (135) Dorotheus, presbyter, representing Anatolius of Satala, (136) Atticus of Zela, (137) Antiochus of Sinope, (138) Eucharius, deacon, representing Paralius of Andrapa, (139) Paul, presbyter, representing Uranius of Ibora, (140) Acacius of Ariaratheia, (141) Heraclius of Comana, (142) Adelphius, *chorepiscopus*, representing {Adolius of Arabissus, (143) Euphronius, presbyter, representing}<sup>8</sup> Domnus of Cucusus, (144) Otrius, presbyter, representing John of Arca, (145) Theodosius of Nazianzus, (146) Aristomachus of Colonia, (147) Rhenus of Ionopolis, (148) Epiphanius, presbyter, representing Aetherius of Pompeiopolis, (149) Philotimus, presbyter, representing Themistius of Amastris, (150) Theodore of Heraclea, (151) Eulogius, presbyter, representing Genethlius of Creteia, (152) Pelagius, presbyter, representing Theophilus of Hadrianopolis, (153) Helpidius of Thermae, (154) Aquila of Eudoxias, (155) Mysterius of Amorium, (156) Longinus of Orcistus, (157) Docimasius of Maronea, (158) Serenus of Maximianopolis in Rhodope, (159) Aetherichus of Smyrna, (160) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (161) Cyriacus of Aegae, (162) Mamas of Aninetus, (163) Leontius of Magnesia on the Maeander, (164) Quintus of Phocaea, (165) Proclus of Algiza, (166) Thomas of Auliucome, (167) Olympius of Theodosiopolis, (168) Philip of Neaule, (169) Rufinus of Briulla, (170) Marcellinus of Metropolis, (171) Isaias of Elaea, (172) Paulinus of Theodosiopolis, (173) Julian of Hypaepa, (174) Hesperus of Pitane, (175) Proterius of Myrina, (176) Basilicus of Palaeopolis, (177) Maeonius of Nysa, (178) Peter of Dardanus, (179) Thalassius of Parium, (180) David of Hadrianeia, (181) Eulalius of Pionia, (182) Pionius of Troas,

7 A false entry: see II. 1.124a note.

8 The words in brackets are missing from the one MS that gives a complete list of the bishops, but can be restored through comparison with I. 3.177–8 and II. 1.140–41.

(183) Stephen of Poemanenum, (184) Theosebius of Ilium, (185) Hermias of Abydus, (186) Daniel of Lampsacus, (187) Patricius of Hadrianotherae, (188) Menecrates of Ceraseis, (189) Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, also representing Andrew of Satala, (190) Helias of Blaundus, (191) Polycarp of Tabala, (192) Patricius of Acrasus, (193) Paul of Tripolis, (194) Amachius of Saittae, (195) Leucius of Apollonoshieron, (196) Gemellus of Stratonicea, (197) Alcimedes of Silandus, (198) Dionysius of Attaleia, (199) Nicholas of Acarassus, also representing Stephen of Limyra, (200) Zenodotus of Telmessus, (201) Fronto of Phaselis, (202) Philip of Balbura, (203) Theodore of Antiphellus, (204) Leontius of Araxa, (205) Antipater of Caunus, (206) Andrew of Tlos, (207) Romanus of Bubon, (208) Nicias of Megara, (209) Athanasius of Opus, (210) Domninus of Plataea, (211) Onesimus of Argos, (212) Mark of Euroea, (213) Peregrinus of Phoenice, (214) Euty-chius of Hadrianopolis, (215) Claudius of Anchiasmus, (216) Soterichus of Corcyra, (217) Dionysius of Antioch, (218) John of Alinda, (219) Flacillus of Iasus, (220) Papias of Eriza, (221) Dionysius of Heraclea by Latmus, (222) Menander of Heraclea by Salbacus, (223) Eupithius of Stratonicea, (224) John of Amyzon, (225) Tynchanus of Apollonia, (226) Theodoret of Alabanda, (227) John of Cnidus, (228) Julian, presbyter, representing Calandion of Halicarnassus, (229) Daniel of Cadi, (230) Modestus of Sebaste, (231) Paul of Aristium, (232) Eulalius of Sibilis, (233) Chares of Dionysopolis, (234) John of Trapezopolis, (235) Gennadius of Mossyna, (236) Evander of Diocleia, (237) Gerontius of Basilinopolis, (238) Alphius of Myndus, (239) Theoctistus, presbyter, representing Diogenes of Orthosia, (240) Philotheus, presbyter, representing Zoticus of Harpasa, (241) Mirus of Eulandra, (242) Lucian of Ipsus, (243) Philip of Lysias, (244) Epiphanius of Midaem, (245) Abercius of Hieropolis, (246) Cyriacus of Eucarpia, (247) Eustochius of Docimium, (248) Aquila of Auroca, (249) Basil of Nacoleia, (250) Strategius of Polybotus, (251) Neoptolemus of Corna, (252) Paul of Derbe, (253) Plutarch of Lystra, (254) Eugenius of Cana, (255) Rufus of Hyde, (256) Tyrannus of Homanada, (257) Acholius of Laranda, (258) Eutropius of Adada, (259) Paul of Philomelium, (260) Paulinus of Apamea, (261) Theotecnus of Tyriaem, (262) Heorticius of Metropolis, (263) Cyrus of Sinethandus, (264) Libanius of Parlais, (265) Alexander of Seleucia, (266) Olympius of Sozopolis, (267) Fontianus [of Sagalassus], (268) Adelus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Messalinus of Laodicea, (269) Bassonas of Neapolis, (270) Florentius of Hadrianopolis, (271) Movianus of Limenae, (272) Euelpistus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Florentius of Tenedos, (273) Soteris of Theodosiane, also representing Heliodoros of Amathus and

Proechius of Arsinoe, (274) Epaphroditus of Tamasus, also representing Didymus of Lapethus, (275) Dionysius, deacon, representing Photinus of Chytri, (276) John of Messene, (277) Ophelimus of Tegea, (278) Irenaeus of Naupactus, (279) Cyril of Subrita, (280) Gennadius of Cnossus, (281) Eusebius of Apollonia, (282) Demetrius of Lappa, (283) Euphratas of Eleutherna, also representing Paul of Cantanus, (284) Sozon of Philippi, (285) Eusebius of Doberus, (286) Maximin of Serrhae, (287) Nicholas of Stobi, (288) Dardanius of Bargala, (289) John of Parthicopolis, (290) Honoratus of Thasos, (291) Theophilus of Ariassus, (292) Neon of Sillyum, (293) Diodotus of Lysinia, (294) Maras of Codrula,<sup>9</sup> (295) Paul of Pogla, (296) Marcellinus of Isinda, (297) Macedon of Magydus, (298) Eudoxius of Etenna, (299) Eugenius of Cotenna, (300) Marcellinus of Carallia, (301) Obrimus of Coracesium, (302) Peter of Echinaeum, (303) Aurelius the African, (304) Eustathius of the nation of the Saracens, (305) Restitianus the African.

2. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the most holy sanctuary, with the holy and undefiled gospel-book in the centre, the most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘So that we may determine what is to be done, let the decisions taken in the previous hearings be read.’

Constantine the hallowed *magistrrianus* and secretary read from a record of the proceedings at Chalcedon eight days before the Ides of October in the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, among the rest:<sup>10</sup>

3. *The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘On the question of the orthodox and catholic faith we decree that a more exact examination must take place more completely when the council meets after one day. But since the injustice of the deposition of Flavian of devout memory and of the most devout Bishop Eusebius has been proved by the scrutiny of the proceedings that have been read and the spoken testimony of some of the leaders at the then council, who have confessed that they erred and that they had no reason to depose them since they had not erred in the faith, it appears right to us according to the will of God, if it please our most divine and pious master, that Dioscorus the most devout bishop of Alexandria, Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius the most devout*

9 Represented by the presbyter Verus; see 9.37 below.

10 The two following passages are taken from the first session of 8 October (I. 1068, 1072). The texts contain very slight changes of wording, not all of which show up in translation.

*bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus, and Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, who had authority at that council and directed it, should be subjected to the same penalty and excluded from episcopal dignity in accordance with the canons. All these developments are to be reported to the divine head.'*

After the rest: *The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let each of the most devout bishops of the present holy council set out in writing what he believes, without any anxiety and with the fear of God before his eyes, recognizing that the beliefs of our most divine and pious master accord with the creed of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and the creed of the 150 fathers after that, with the canonical letters and expositions of the most holy fathers Gregory, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius and Ambrose, and with the two canonical letters of Cyril which were approved and published at the first council of Ephesus, and do not depart from their faith in any way. In addition it is a familiar fact that the most devout Leo archbishop of Senior Rome sent a letter to Flavian of devout memory concerning the dispute that Eutyches impiously stirred up in opposition to the catholic religion.'*

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary read from another record of the proceedings at Chalcedon {six} days before the Ides of October in the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, after the rest:<sup>11</sup>

4. *The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'The hearing will be adjourned for five days, so that in the meantime your holinesses may meet in the residence of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius and deliberate together about the faith, so that the objectors may be instructed.'*

After the rest: *The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'It is not necessary for you all to meet, but since it is appropriate to convince the objectors, let the most devout Archbishop Anatolius select from among the bishops who have signed those he considers competent to instruct the objectors.'*

<sup>11</sup> The following citations are from the second session of 10 October (six days is the reading of the Latin version), II. 31, 33, 45, with no significant variations of wording. The resolution of II. 6, setting up a committee to deliberate on the faith, is not mentioned, though this committee was in operation and reported at the fifth session.

After the rest: *The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'The proposals will be put into effect.'*

5. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Now that the decisions already taken have become clear, may the most devout council tell us what it has resolved concerning the holy faith.'

6. The most devout bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most devout presbyter Boniface, representatives of the apostolic see, said through the most devout Paschasinus: 'The holy and blessed council upholds and follows the rule of faith of the 318, issued by them at Nicaea. In addition the council of 150 that assembled at Constantinople under Theodosius the Great of blessed memory confirmed the same faith. The teaching of this creed, taught by the man Cyril of blessed memory at Ephesus, when Nestorius was condemned for his craftiness, it similarly embraces.<sup>12</sup> Thirdly, the letter sent by that most blessed {and apostolic}<sup>13</sup> man Leo, archbishop of all the churches, who condemned the heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches, reveals what is the true faith.<sup>14</sup> The holy council likewise holds fast to this faith and follows it, allowing nothing further to be added or subtracted.'

7. When this declaration had been translated into Greek by Veronicianus, the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory, the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'We all believe accordingly. We were all baptized, and we all baptize, accordingly. We have believed, and we believe, accordingly.'

8. The most glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Since we see the divine gospels displayed by your devoutness,<sup>15</sup> let each of the most devout bishops assembled state if the definition of the 318 fathers who met formerly at Nicaea and of the 150 who convened subsequently in the imperial city is in harmony with the letter of the most devout Archbishop Leo.'

9. (1) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of imperial Constantinople said: 'The letter of the most sacred and God-beloved Archbishop Leo

12 We translate the Latin text. The Greek runs, 'The teaching of this creed is likewise embraced by the council at Ephesus under Cyril of blessed memory at which Nestorius was condemned' – plus the word ἐξενεχθεῖσα ('issued'), agreeing with 'the council', which Schwartz emends to ἐξενεχθεῖσαν, agreeing with 'teaching'; this produces unsatisfactory syntax and word order.

13 Supplied from the Latin version.

14 This translates '*vera fides*' in the Latin version, which may be preferred to the Greek 'the faith of the truth'.

15 The reference is to the gospel-book in the place of honour in the middle of the assembly (see 2 above).

accords with the creed of our 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 who subsequently assembled at Constantinople and confirmed the same faith, and with the proceedings of the ecumenical and holy council at Ephesus under the most blessed Cyril, [now] among the saints, when it deposed the infamous Nestorius. Therefore I have both expressed agreement and signed willingly.’

(2–4) The most devout bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most devout presbyter Boniface, representatives of the apostolic see, said through the most devout Paschasinus: ‘It is clear and cannot be disputed that the faith of the most blessed pope of the apostolic see Archbishop Leo is one and in accord with the creed<sup>16</sup> of the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea, that it upholds both the creed of the 150 who convened at Constantinople and also the decrees of Ephesus under Cyril of holy memory when Nestorius was deposed on account of his errors; it differs from them in no way at all. Because of this it has been demonstrated that the letter of the most blessed pope, which renewed this faith because of the errors of Eutyches, accords with the same [creed], having one and the same spirit.’

(5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria said: ‘The letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of imperial Rome accords with the definitions of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, of the 150 at Constantinople New Rome, and with the faith defined at Ephesus by the most holy Bishop Cyril, and I have subscribed.’<sup>17</sup>

(6) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘The letter is in accord, and I have subscribed to it as being correct.’

(7) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘It is in accord, and I have signed it.’

(8) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus said: ‘It is in accord, and I have signed it.’

(9) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra in Arabia said: ‘It is in accord, and I have signed it.’

(10) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia in Armenia Prima said: ‘According to my understanding the meaning of the letter of the most holy

16 Literally ‘faith’ (πίστις), a word constantly used in the Acts both for sound belief and for a credal text. The more technical word for a creed – σύμβολον – is used far less often; an example occurred a few lines above in the speech of Anatolius.

17 Maximus’ signing of the Tome is mentioned in a letter of Pope Leo of June 451 (Documents before the Council 9). Agents of Marcian and Anatolius of Constantinople were active in collecting episcopal signatures before the council, and doubtless many bishops signed the Tome on their arrival for the council.



Leo bishop of Rome accords with the creed of the 318 and of the 150 who subsequently assembled at Constantinople, and with the decrees of Ephesus relating to the deposition of the impious Nestorius under the leadership of the most blessed Cyril, and I have subscribed the same letter.'

(11) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene in Armenia Secunda said: 'I am convinced that the letter of the most blessed and holy Pope Leo of Rome, which I have also signed, is in harmony with the definitions of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, of the 150 at Constantinople under Theodosius of divine memory, and of those at Ephesus under the most blessed Cyril bishop of Alexandria.'

(12) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia said: 'We have found that the conciliar letters of our most sacred father Cyril are in harmony with the faith defined by the 318 holy fathers, and likewise we have found that the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo accords with the 318 and with the teaching of the most holy Cyril.'

(13) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana said: 'We have found the letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of Rome to be in harmony with the 318 at Nicaea and with the 150 holy fathers who met subsequently in the imperial city, and I have signed.'

(14) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus said: 'There is no doubt that the letter of our most blessed and holy father Archbishop Leo accords with the definition of the holy fathers at Nicaea, just as the letters of the most blessed Cyril accord with the same definition, and I have signed it.'

(15) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: 'We find harmony with the faith defined by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea in the 150 holy fathers who met at Constantinople, in those who subsequently assembled at Ephesus under the most blessed Cyril, and in the letter of our most holy and blessed father Leo archbishop of Rome, and I have signed in my own hand.'

(16) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia said: 'The letter of Archbishop Leo of Rome is in harmony with the faith defined at Nicaea, with that of the 150, and with that defined at Ephesus under Cyril of blessed memory, and I have subscribed it.'

(17) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia said: 'I recognize that the letter of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Rome is in harmony and accord with the catholic faith of the 318 and the 150 holy fathers, and also with that of those who met subsequently under the most blessed Cyril in the city of Ephesus, and I have subscribed it.'

(18) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus said: 'We recognize that

the letter of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Rome agrees with the definition of faith of the 318 most holy bishops at Nicaea, with that of the 150 holy fathers who likewise met at Constantinople, and with that of those who met subsequently at Ephesus under the most blessed Cyril, and I have signed it.'

(19) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis in Thrace said: 'The letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo accords with the faith defined at Nicaea by the 318 holy fathers, with the council of the 150 fathers that took place in imperial Constantinople, and with the council at Ephesus which was led by the blessed Cyril, and I have signed it.'

(20) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'I judge the letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome to accord with the definition of the 318 fathers who assembled at Nicaea, with the council of the 150 who assembled in the great city of Constantinople, and with the council that took place at Ephesus under the blessed Cyril, and I have signed it.'

(21) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis in Lydia said: 'The letter of the most holy and blessed Pope Leo accords with the faith of the holy council convened at Nicaea, of that of the 150 assembled at Constantinople, and of that which met at Ephesus by the will of God because of Nestorius under the leadership of the blessed Cyril, and I have signed it.'

(22) Amphilocheus the most devout bishop of Side in Pamphylia said: 'The 150 holy fathers in great Constantinople New Rome and those of the holy council at Ephesus under Cyril of blessed memory composed what agrees with the pure and true faith defined by the holy fathers who gathered together at Nicaea. Of the same faith is the meaning, inspired by piety, of the letter of the wholly esteemed Leo archbishop of Rome, and I have subscribed.'

(23) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada said: 'I recognize the letter of the wholly sacred Leo archbishop of Rome to accord with the unique, blessed and God-beloved definition of the 318 and of the 150 who assembled in imperial Constantinople, and not only with them but also with the council that took place at Ephesus under Cyril of blessed memory because of Nestorius, and therefore I have signed it.'

(24) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge said: 'As I could recognize from the reading of the letter of the most God-beloved Leo archbishop of Rome, it agrees in meaning with the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 who subsequently convened in the imperial city, and with the council that took place at Ephesus because of the impious Nestorius under the leadership of the most blessed Cyril. Holding this opinion, I have signed the same letter.'

(25) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium said: ‘Seeing that the letter of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Rome is in no way discordant with the faith defined by the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and by the 150 who met in renowned Constantinople, and with the proceedings at Ephesus of our father Cyril of blessed and sacred memory to depose the impious Nestorius, I have signed the same letter of Pope Leo.’

(26) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra said: ‘We have accepted that the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo is in harmony with, and has the same meaning as, the faith which was confirmed for us by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, by the 150 assembled in imperial Constantinople, and subsequently by those at Ephesus, when the blessed Cyril led that holy council; and I have signed the letter.’

(27) Theodosius the most devout bishop of Canatha said: ‘The creed of the 318 is unshakeable. If anyone attempts to shake the unshakeable, he will himself be shaken, while not shaking the unshakeable. This creed we follow and believe, and also the definition defined by the 150 holy fathers who met at Constantinople, and that made at Ephesus because of the impious Nestorius under Cyril of blessed memory. The letter of our most holy archbishop and father Leo is in accord, and I have signed it.’

(28) Sabas the most devout bishop of Paltus in Syria said: ‘The 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea by the will of God and were instructed by the Holy Spirit defined our orthodox faith. This faith was followed by the holy orthodox fathers, and it was followed by the 150 who assembled at Constantinople. Likewise in harmony with it was the teaching of the blessed Cyril at Ephesus; also in harmony was the teaching of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Rome in his own letter. The whole world has been taught and instructed accordingly, and we too uphold and teach the same. I have signed it, and I anathematize those who either add or subtract anything.’

(29) The most devout presbyter Epiphanius, representing the most God-beloved Aetherius bishop of Pompeiopolis in the province of Paphlagonia, said: ‘By the mercy of Christ the Lord I was confirmed in the faith of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, which was subsequently confirmed by the 150 who assembled at the holy council at Constantinople and after that by those who assembled at Ephesus under the leadership of Cyril of sacred memory. I am convinced that the letter of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Rome is in harmony with the aforesaid definitions. The same most devout Bishop Aetherius has also signed the letter, and I follow the aforesaid holy faith.’

(30) The most devout presbyter Philotimus, representing the most God-

beloved Themistius bishop of Amastris in the province of Paphlagonia, said: 'I am in accord with the same.'

(31) Abramius the most devout bishop of Castra Circesium in Osrhoene said: 'Having heard the attestation of the aforesaid most devout bishops, I attest the same, and I have signed the letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of the city of Rome.'

(32) Eudoxius the most devout bishop of Etenna in Pamphylia said: 'That faith has a firm foundation which was established by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, by the 150 who assembled at Constantinople, and by the holy council that took place at Ephesus under the leadership of the most sacred Bishop Cyril. With this faith also accords the letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of Rome, which I have signed.'

(33) Eugenius the most devout bishop of Cotenna in Pamphylia said: 'I too agree, and I have subscribed the letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of Rome.'

(34) Obrimus the most devout bishop of Coracesium said: 'I too agree with the same, and I have signed the letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of Rome.'

(35) Neon the most devout bishop of the city of Silyum in Pamphylia said: 'The letter written by the most God-beloved and holy Leo archbishop of Rome accords in its meaning with the faith defined by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, by the 150 in imperial Constantinople, and by those who convened at Ephesus because of the impious Nestorius under the leadership of Cyril of blessed memory. Having held this opinion already for a long time, I have signed the same letter.'

(36) Theophilus the most devout bishop of the city of Ariassus in Pamphylia said: 'According to my grasp of the matter, the letter written by the most God-beloved and holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome accords in its meaning with the faith defined by the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, by the 150 who subsequently assembled at Constantinople, and by those who because of the impious Nestorius met at Ephesus, where the blessed Cyril held the presidency. I am manifestly of this opinion, and I have signed the letter of the same pope.'

(37) The most devout presbyter Verus, representing Maras the most God-beloved bishop of Codrula in Pamphylia, said: 'I attest on behalf of the most devout man just mentioned,<sup>18</sup> since he has been unable to come from Nicaea

<sup>18</sup> It is clear that each bishop began his statement by stating his name and (when appropriate) whom he was representing. Cf. III. 96.80n.

because of illness,<sup>19</sup> that the letter written by our most God-beloved and holy Leo archbishop of Rome is not discordant in meaning with the faith defined by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea, by the 150 who convened at Constantinople, and also by those at Ephesus.’

(38) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe said: ‘The letter of the lord Archbishop Leo is in complete accord with the definition of the 318 and the 150 holy fathers and with the proceedings of Cyril of blessed memory earlier at Ephesus. Satisfied by this letter, I have signed it.’

(39) Aristomachus the most devout bishop of Colonia in Cappadocia Secunda said: ‘The letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo is in complete accord with the definition of the 318 at Nicaea and the 150 holy fathers at Constantinople, and with the proceedings of the most holy Cyril at the earlier council of Ephesus, and I have already signed.’

(40) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos said: ‘The letter of our most holy Archbishop Leo is brilliant in its harmony with the 318 holy fathers and the 150 who assembled at Constantinople under Theodosius of divine memory, and with the proceedings of the most blessed Cyril bishop of Alexandria at Ephesus. In fidelity to them, I have signed.’

(41) Theodoret the most devout bishop of Cyrrhus said: ‘The letter of the holy archbishop the lord Leo accords with the faith defined at Nicaea by the holy and blessed fathers, with the symbol of faith composed at Constantinople by the 150, and with the letters of the blessed Cyril. I have accepted the aforesaid letter and signed.’

(42) Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis in Armenia said: ‘The letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of Rome accords with the definition of the 318 and the definition of the 150 holy fathers, and with the assent expressed by the holy and thrice-blessed Cyril earlier at Ephesus and confirmed by the [present] holy council. We have agreed with them and signed.’

(43) Acacius the most devout bishop of Ariaratheia said: ‘The letter of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Rome is in harmony with the definition of the 318 at Nicaea and of the 150 who assembled at Constantinople, and with the proceedings and affirmations earlier at Ephesus under the most holy Cyril. I have assented and signed.’

(44) Atticus the most devout bishop of Zela in the province of Helenopontus said: ‘The letter of the most holy Pope Leo accords with the definition

19 The bishops first assembled at Nicaea, where some fell ill (Documents before the Council 14).

of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 who assembled at Constantinople, and with the letter of the most holy pope Cyril which was examined and confirmed formerly at Ephesus. We have agreed with them and signed.'

(45) Heraclius the most devout bishop of Comana in the province of Armenia Secunda said: 'We say this, that the letter of the most holy Pope Leo is in complete accord with our holy fathers, I mean the 318 and the 150, and with the proceedings and affirmations of the most blessed Cyril earlier at Ephesus. I have agreed to the Tome and signed.'

(46) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa in the province of Syria Secunda, representing the most sacred Domnus bishop of Apamea, said: 'The letter of the most holy Leo archbishop of the church of Rome accords with the 318 and the 150 holy fathers, and also with the proceedings and affirmations of the most blessed Cyril at Ephesus at the earlier council. In agreement I have signed the same letter.'

(47) Olympius the most devout bishop of Paneas in the province of Phoenice Prima said: 'The letter of the most holy and religious Archbishop Leo accords in its content with the definition of the 318 and of the 150 holy fathers and also with the proceedings earlier at Ephesus under Cyril of blessed memory. In agreement I have signed the same letter.'

(48) Timothy the most devout bishop of Balaneae in Syria Secunda said: 'The letter written by our most holy archbishop and father Leo to Flavian of blessed memory is in accord with the meaning of the creed issued by the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea and that issued by the 150 who met subsequently at Constantinople, and is also in harmony with the proceedings and affirmations of the blessed Cyril earlier at Ephesus. In agreement I have signed the Tome.'

(49) Julian the most devout bishop of Rhosus in Cilicia Secunda said: 'The letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo accords with the definition of faith of the 318 and the 150 holy fathers, and with the proceedings and affirmations at Ephesus at the earlier council under the most blessed Cyril. In agreement I have signed the Tome.'

(50) Paul the most devout bishop of Mariamme in Syria Secunda said: 'The letter of the most holy and God-beloved Leo archbishop of Rome is in harmony with the faith defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and by the 150 subsequently at Constantinople, and with the writings of the blessed Cyril earlier at Ephesus. I have agreed to it and signed.'

(51) Atarbius the most devout bishop of the city of Trapezus in Pontus Polemoniacus said: 'Through both your faith in the consubstantial Trinity

and the wisdom conferred on you by God, your gloriousness perceives that the letter of the most sacred Leo is in harmony with the definition of faith of the 318 most holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 who assembled in the imperial city after the aforesaid council, and with the proceedings and affirmations earlier at Ephesus under Cyril of sacred memory. Therefore both we and the most God-beloved Dorotheus bishop of our metropolis Neocaesarea have subscribed, being of this opinion.'

(52) Photinus, deacon, representing the most devout Bishop Dorotheus of Neocaesarea in Pontus Polemoniacus, said: 'I too attest this.'

(53) John the most devout bishop of the city of Polemonium in Pontus Polemoniacus said: 'The letter of the most holy Pope Leo is in harmony with the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 who met at Constantinople and with the earlier council of Ephesus under the most blessed Cyril, and I have subscribed it.'

(54) Gratidianus the most devout bishop of Cerasus in Pontus Polemoniacus said: 'I have subscribed the letter of the most sacred archbishop Pope Leo, since it is in harmony with the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and the 150 who met at Constantinople and with the proceedings and affirmations at Ephesus under Cyril of sacred memory.'

(55) John the most devout bishop of the city of Carrhae in Osrhoene said: 'The letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo is in harmony with the definition of the 318 at Nicaea and of the 150 at Constantinople and with the proceedings and affirmations at Ephesus under Cyril of sacred memory, and I have subscribed.'

(56) Rhenus the most devout bishop of Ionopolis in Paphlagonia said: 'I have subscribed the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo, since it accords with the faith defined by the 318 and the 150 holy fathers and with the affirmations of the most sacred Cyril earlier at Ephesus.'

(57) Caiumas the most devout bishop of Marcopolis in the province of Osrhoene said: 'The letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo accords with the definitions of the 318 and the 150 holy fathers and with the affirmations of the blessed Cyril earlier at Ephesus, and I have signed it.'

(58) Athanasius the most devout bishop of Perrhe in Euphratensis said: 'The letter of the most blessed Leo archbishop of Rome is in harmony with the faith defined by the 318 and by the 150 at Constantinople and with the decrees of the first council of Ephesus under the most blessed Cyril, and I have signed the same letter.'

(59) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis in the province of Rhodope said: 'In conformity with the earlier decrees of the 318 holy fathers

at Nicaea and the subsequent affirmations of the 150 holy fathers who met at Constantinople, and also with the proceedings at Ephesus at the earlier council under Cyril of sacred memory, which were in harmony with them, I approve as having the same purpose the letter written to Flavian of sacred memory by the wholly sacred Leo archbishop of Rome, and I myself have subscribed.'

(60) Docimasius the most devout bishop of Maronea in Rhodope said: 'Seeing that the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and the 150 at Constantinople and also with the proceedings and affirmations earlier at Ephesus under the blessed Cyril, I myself, with everyone else, have subscribed it.'

(61) Serenus the most devout bishop of Maximianopolis in Rhodope said: 'Finding that the letter of the most divine Archbishop Leo accords with what was defined by the 318 holy fathers who formerly met at Nicaea and by the 150 who met subsequently at Constantinople and with the proceedings at the first council of Ephesus under the most holy Cyril, I myself, with everyone else, have signed it.'

(62) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Seleucia ad Belum in Syria Secunda said: 'Finding that the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo is in harmony with the definitions of the 318 and the 150 holy fathers and also with the proceedings and affirmations of the blessed Cyril at Ephesus at the earlier council, I have signed it.'

(63) Eusebius and Constantine, the most devout presbyters of the city of Nicaea, representing the most sacred Anastasius bishop of the same city, said: 'We certify that our most sacred Bishop Anastasius, having already read the Tome of the most holy Leo and found it to be in harmony with the definitions of the 318 holy fathers who assembled in our city and of the 150 who met in the imperial city and with the proceedings and at the earlier council at Ephesus under the blessed Cyril, has undersigned it.'

(64) Archdeacon Porphyry, representing Uranius the most devout bishop of Emesa in the province of Phoenice, said: 'Our most devout Bishop Uranius, who sent me to represent him, found the letter of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Senior Rome to be in harmony with the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 at Constantinople and with all the proceedings and affirmations of the most blessed Cyril earlier at Ephesus, and has signed it.'

(65) Theodore the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis in the province of Isauria said: 'The interpretation expounded by the most blessed Cyril and confirmed at the earlier holy council at Ephesus is in harmony with the creed



of the 318 and the 150; also in harmony is the interpretation contained in the letter of the most God-beloved Archbishop Leo, and I have signed it.'

(66) John the most devout bishop of Germanicia in Augustoeuphratesia said: 'In the faith of the 318 at Nicaea and of the 150 who convened at Constantinople in former times we were baptized and baptize. Finding in harmony with it both the teaching and affirmations of the most blessed Cyril at the earlier council at Ephesus and in addition the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo, we have signed it.'

(67) Euolcius the most devout bishop of Zeugma in Augustoeuphratesia said: 'The letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo accords with the definition of the 318 and the 150 holy fathers and with the proceedings and affirmations of the most holy Cyril earlier at Ephesus, and I have signed it.'

Likewise, (68) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea, representing the most holy Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, (69) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth the metropolis of Hellas, (70) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis the metropolis of Epirus Vetus, (71) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium the metropolis of Epirus Nova, (72) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna the metropolis of Crete, (73) Constantine the most devout bishop of Demetrias in Thessaly, representing Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa the metropolis of the same province, and the most devout bishops of Macedonia Prima, that is, (74) Sozon the most devout bishop of Philippi, (75) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Doberus, (76) Maximin the most devout bishop of Serrhae, (77) Nicholas the most devout bishop of Stobi, (78) John the most devout bishop of Parthicopolis, (79) Dardanius the most devout bishop of Bargala, (80) Honoratus the most devout bishop of Thasos, and those of Hellas, that is, (81) Nicias the most devout bishop of Megara, (82) John the most devout bishop of Messene, (83) Ophelimus the most devout bishop of Tegea, (84) Athanasius the most devout bishop of Opus, (85) Irenaeus the most devout bishop of Naupactus, (86) Domininus the most devout bishop of Plataea, (87) Onesimus the most devout bishop of Argos, and those of Epirus Vetus, that is, (88) Mark the most devout bishop of Euroea, (89) Peregrinus the most devout bishop of Phoenice, (90) Euty chius the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis, (91) Claudius the most devout bishop of Anchiasmus, (92) Soterichus the most devout bishop of Corcyra, and those of Epirus Nova, that is, (93) Peter the most devout bishop of Echinaeum, (94) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Apollonia, and those of Crete, that is, (95) Cyril the most devout bishop of Subrita, (96) Gennadius the most devout bishop of Cnossus, (97) Demetrius the most devout bishop of Lappa, and (98)

Euphratas the most devout bishop of Eleutherna, also representing Paul the most devout bishop of Cantanus, from a document in shorthand declared through Bishop Sozon of Philippi: ‘We uphold the creed of the 318 holy fathers as being our salvation and pray to depart from life with it; and that of the 150 is in no way in disharmony with the aforesaid creed. We also continue to uphold all the proceedings and decrees at the first council of Ephesus, whose teachers were the most blessed Celestine, president of the apostolic see, and the most blessed Cyril of the great city of Alexandria, and we are convinced that the most holy father and archbishop Leo is most orthodox. Concerning the letter sent by his beatitude all our doubts have been resolved by the most holy bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius, representing the apostolic see, who have explained to us what the wording seemed to separate;<sup>20</sup> for when in accordance with the decision of your authority we went to the most holy Anatolius archbishop of great Constantinople and to the most holy council in session with him, out of a need to be convinced about a few points on which we were in doubt,<sup>21</sup> we found their holinesses well able to resolve our doubts. For they anathematized every man who separates from the Godhead the flesh of our Lord, God and Saviour Jesus Christ, which he united to himself from the holy Virgin Mary the *Theotokos*, and who denies that he possesses both the divine and human attributes without confusion, change or division.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, having been convinced and being of the opinion that the letter is in complete harmony with the aforesaid holy fathers, we have agreed to it and signed.’

All the aforesaid most devout bishops said: ‘We of Illyricum have all made the same statement, which we all agree to.’

(99) Leontius the most devout bishop of Ascalon in Palestina Prima, (100) Photinus the most devout bishop of Lydda, (101) Paul the most devout bishop of Anthedon, (102) Heraclius the most devout bishop of Azotus, (103) Stephen the most devout bishop of Jamnia, (104) Polychronius the most devout bishop of Antipatris, (105) Pancratius the most devout bishop of Livia, (106) Zosimus the most devout bishop of Menois, (107) Anianus the most devout bishop of Capitolas in Palestina Secunda, (108) Zebennus the

20 The reference is to the apparent separation of the two natures in Christ in some sections of Leo’s Tome (II. 22). This had been discussed at the second session (II. 24–6).

21 At the second session the chairman had asked Archbishop Anatolius to hold a meeting where fuller reassurances could be given to those critical of Leo’s Tome (II. 31).

22 These are (in the Greek) three of the four famous ‘Chalcedonian adverbs’, denying both merging and division of the two natures in Christ, that were to feature memorably in the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 34).

most devout bishop of Pella, (109) John the most devout bishop of Tiberias, (110) John the most devout bishop of Gadara, (111) Beryllus the most devout bishop of Aela in Palestina Tertia, (112) Aretas the most devout bishop of Elusa, (113) Musonius the most devout bishop of Zoara, and (114) Marcian the most devout bishop of Iotane, making their declaration from a document, said through Bishop Anianus: 'All of us have always upheld and uphold the creed of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, and pray to depart from life with it, and we also follow that of the 150 fathers, that is discordant in no respect. We agree also to the proceedings and decrees of the most blessed Cyril of most holy memory, then bishop of Alexandria, at Ephesus at the first council; and when the letter of the most blessed and God-beloved Leo archbishop of Rome was read to us, we assented to most of it as correct and in accord with the aforesaid; but some statements in it struck us as implying a separation and division for those who wish to think that way. At first in the presence of your clemency we were in doubt about these statements; on being told to depart from your magnificence, we were informed by the most holy fathers, bishops and presbyters, who represent the most God-beloved and holy Archbishop Leo, that they teach no division in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ but one and the same Lord the Son of God. Therefore we have assented and signed the Tome. We think that these men, if bidden by your greatness, will now make the same attestation for the benefit of the whole world.'

All the aforesaid most devout bishops said: 'We all said the same and agreed to this.'

(115) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana said: 'The letter of the most blessed Leo which I have signed is in harmony with the definition of faith of the holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 who met at Constantinople and with the council at Ephesus which was led by our blessed father Cyril.'

(116) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa in Osrhoene said: 'The letter of the most blessed Leo is in harmony with the council of the 318 that took place at Nicaea and of the 150 at Constantinople under Theodosius of divine memory, and with the letter of Cyril of blessed memory that was confirmed in the metropolis of Ephesus.<sup>23</sup> I have subscribed to it.'

23 The reference, here and on the many subsequent occasions when a single letter is mentioned, is to the Second Letter to Nestorius (I. 240). Other statements in this sequence have referred to *letters* of Cyril (12, 41), adding the Letter to John of Antioch (I. 246). These were the 'two canonical letters' of Cyril (IV. 3), associated with the Council of Ephesus.

(117) Polychronius the most devout bishop of Epiphaneia in Cilicia said: ‘The common father of the faithful, the blessed Paul the apostle, who gave birth to us all through the gospel, bears witness to the faith of the Romans as proclaimed throughout the world.<sup>24</sup> That holy church has preserved this faith from of old, and the most holy Archbishop Leo has now and always proclaimed it, as it is in harmony with that of the holy fathers at Nicaea and all the orthodox. This faith we have upheld from of old and still uphold; in it we were both baptized and baptize.’

(118) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: ‘The definition of faith of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, which is correct and pious, was followed by the most religious Cyril bishop of Alexandria. In addition the council of 150 bishops that convened in renowned Constantinople under Theodosius of divine memory confirmed the same doctrine, and the most God-beloved Leo archbishop of Rome is shown to have followed it clearly. Innovating in no respect in the faith we received from the fathers, we have kept it by the grace of God, we keep it, and we shall keep it.’

(119) Alexander the most devout bishop of Sebaste in Cilicia Prima said: ‘The letter of the most blessed and sacred Leo archbishop of Rome is in harmony with the definition of the 318 that was issued at Nicaea, with that of the 150 fathers who assembled at all-fortunate Constantinople under Theodosius of divine memory, and with the letter of the most blessed and holy Cyril that was confirmed at Ephesus.’

(120) Callinicus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Bithynia said: ‘The council that was convoked at Nicaea by the 318 holy fathers, that of the 150 who gathered at renowned Constantinople to elect the most blessed Bishop Nectarius, and that which convened at Ephesus because of Nestorius all hold one belief, worshipping the Trinity, proclaiming the Trinity, and teaching the Trinity to the world. Therefore I myself assent to these holy councils, which I have both believed in and signed. I confess them and agree to them, and our most sacred father Leo of Rome has written what is equivalent to them.’

(121) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tripoli in Phoenice Maritima Prima said: ‘The letter of the most holy and sacred Bishop Leo accords with the correct and apostolic faith defined by the most blessed and holy fathers who met at Nicaea and also by the 150 who convened in imperial New Rome Constantinople, and with the letter of the most blessed Cyril the late bishop of Alexandria which was proclaimed at Ephesus.’

24 See Rom. 1:8.

(122) Apragmonius the most devout bishop of Tieum said: ‘I observe no difference in the definitions of the 318 most holy fathers who met at Nicaea nor in those of the 150, but I recognize that the letters of the most blessed Cyril and of the most sacred and God-beloved Pope Leo of Rome accord with them.’

(123) Cossinius the most devout bishop of Hierocaesarea in Lydia said: ‘The letter of our father and pope Leo is in harmony with our 318 fathers at Nicaea, as are the proceedings of our blessed father Cyril that took place formerly at Ephesus because of Nestorius and those of the 150 who assembled at all-fortunate Constantinople New Rome, and these we believe and teach.’

(124) Eulogius the most devout bishop of Philadelphia in Arabia said: ‘My own beliefs accord with the definitions of the 318 holy fathers who met in the city of Nicaea and of the 150 who met in the imperial city, and with the contents of the letter of our holy father Cyril and the contents of the letter of the most God-beloved Archbishop Leo, for they accord with the 318. And I have signed it.’

(125) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Cestrus in Isauria said: ‘The letter of our most sacred archbishop and father Leo contains no less than the definition issued by the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, the letter at Ephesus written by Cyril of blessed memory, and [the definition of] the 150 fathers who assembled in all-fortunate Constantinople New Rome, and I have signed it.’

(126) Andrew the most devout bishop of Satala in Lydia<sup>25</sup> said: ‘I find that the letter of our father Pope Leo contains no discrepancy with the faith defined by the 318 fathers, the letter of our blessed father Cyril, and the proceedings of the 150 fathers at all-fortunate New Rome Constantinople, and this we believe and teach. And I have signed it.’

(127) Julius the most devout bishop of Celenderis in the province of Isauria said: ‘We believe according to the faith given to us by our 318 fathers at Nicaea and the 150, and in the letters of the most holy Cyril of the city of Alexandria and of the most sacred and God-beloved Pope Leo of Rome, and I have signed it.’

(128) Patricius the most devout bishop of the city of Acrasus in the province of Lydia said: ‘Just as we were taught, I believe in the definition of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and of the 150 who assembled

25 At this session Andrew was represented by Cossinius of Hierocaesarea (1.189), who has already spoken on his own account (123 above) and now speaks on behalf of Andrew.

in imperial Constantinople and in the letter of most sacred and God-beloved Archbishop Leo, which I have signed, since these are in accord.’

(129) Dionysius the most devout bishop of the city of Attaleia in the province of Lydia said: ‘The 318 fathers assembled at Nicaea and the 150 fathers in imperial Constantinople issued a sure and unshakeable definition of faith in accordance with the gospel voice. The letter of the most blessed Cyril and the letter of the most sacred and holy Leo archbishop of Great Rome, which I have signed, accord with them all.’

(130) Helias the most devout bishop of the city of Blaundus in Lydia said: ‘With the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, that of the 150, and the letter of the most blessed Cyril accords the letter of the most sacred and God-beloved Pope Leo of Rome, which I have signed through the lord Constantine.’

(131) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia said: ‘I agree that the two letters, that is, of Cyril of sacred memory and of the most devout Archbishop Leo, speak in accord, but the holy and ecumenical council at Nicaea did not discuss these matters. All its definitions we both abide by and assent to, and we are unable to subtract or add anything.’

(132) Neoptolemus the most devout bishop of Corna in the province of Lycaonia said: ‘From of old and from the beginning our homeland, being pure of all heretical disease, has been unaccustomed to arguments and disputes of this kind. In simplicity of faith we have followed the creed issued by the fathers in the city of Nicaea, which was later interpreted by Cyril of blessed memory and again explained by the most holy and God-beloved Leo archbishop of the city of Rome, and again we do not contradict these definitions. If anyone thinks he has some ground for criticizing the definition of the most blessed Bishop Leo, then let him debate and dispute, but we will in no way contradict or oppose the definition of the 318 or the later creed of the 150 holy fathers.’

(133) Florentius the most devout bishop of Hadrianopolis in Pisidia said: ‘Before the interpretations of our most God-beloved and blessed father Cyril and the most blessed Archbishop Leo, we adhered to the definition of the holy fathers at Nicaea; so we believed and believe. In addition we assent to the creed of the 150, which clearly states that our Lord Jesus Christ was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin. In this creed of the holy fathers we believe as they have interpreted it, and we doubt nothing.’

(134) Eutropius the most devout bishop of Adada in Pisidia said: ‘In nothing does the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo differ from the

faith defined by the holy fathers at Nicaea and by the 150 who met subsequently at Constantinople or from the letter of Cyril of sacred memory, but it is in complete harmony. I too am necessarily in agreement and have signed it.'

(135) Fontianus the most devout bishop of Sagalassus said: 'I have been convinced by a whole number of things that the missive of our blessed father Leo accords with the creed issued by the most holy fathers at Nicaea and by the 150 in the all-fortunate city who defined the same faith, and with the letter from the most holy Cyril of sacred memory, the late bishop of the great city of Alexandria. Having assented, I have signed.'

(136) Paul the most devout bishop of Derbe in Lycaonia said: 'From the first we and our city have had no experience of this dispute; and we have faith in God's love for mankind that neither in future will a dispute occur, since through his goodness we are free of every plague of heresy. We have been taught and have inherited belief in the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 subsequently at Constantinople, and in the letter of the most blessed Archbishop Leo, which accords with the creed of the fathers and with the interpretation of Cyril of sacred memory; and we believe accordingly.'

(137) Acholius the most devout bishop of Laranda in Lycaonia said: 'We have found that the letter of the most holy Pope Leo differs in nothing from the definition of the 318 and of the 150 and the definition of the most blessed Cyril, and I have signed it.'

(138) Mirus the most devout bishop of Eulandra in Phrygia said: 'I assent to the letter now written by Archbishop Leo as being in complete harmony with the canons of the sacred fathers at Nicaea and of the 150 in the imperial city and with the definition of the most blessed Cyril, and I have signed.'

(139) Lucian the most devout bishop of Ipsus in Phrygia said: 'I assent to the letter of the most blessed and sacred Leo as agreeing with the letter of the most holy Cyril and with the definition of the 150 holy fathers in the imperial city, and I have signed.'

(140) Philip the most devout bishop of Lysias in Phrygia said: 'Having heard the letter of Archbishop Leo, I too am convinced that its interpretations are in harmony with the letter of the most blessed Cyril, of the 150 who assembled in the imperial city, and of the 318 holy fathers; and having assented, I have signed.'

(141) Eustochius the most devout bishop of Docimium in Phrygia said: 'The letter of the most blessed Archbishop Leo that has recently been read to

us<sup>26</sup> is in accord with the holy council of the 318 at Nicaea, with the 150 in imperial Constantinople, and with the letter of the most blessed Cyril. Therefore I too assent and have signed it.’

(142) Basil the most devout bishop of Nacoleia in Phrygia said: ‘I find a concordant faith in the letter written by the most holy Archbishop Leo that has been read to us, in that of the most blessed Cyril, and in the definition of the 318 holy fathers and that of the 150. Being fully convinced, I have assented to everything and have signed.’

(143) Cyriacus the most devout bishop of Eucarpia said: ‘I have found the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo to accord with the creed of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and of those who subsequently convened in the imperial city and with the letter of the most blessed Archbishop Cyril. Being in complete agreement, I have signed.’

(144) Abercius the most devout bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia said: ‘I have found that the letter written by Archbishop Leo accords with the definition of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and of the 150 who convened in the imperial city and with the letter written by Cyril of sacred memory. I believe accordingly, and being convinced in everything have assented and signed.’

(145) Strategius the most devout bishop of the city of Polybotus said: ‘Finding that the letter of the most blessed Archbishop Leo is not discordant with the definition of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and of the 150 who met in the imperial city and with the letter of Cyril of sacred memory,<sup>27</sup> I too assent and, since I believe accordingly, have signed.’

(146)<sup>28</sup> {Epiphanius bishop of Midaeum, likewise.}

(147) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria said: ‘Finding that the letter of Pope Leo accords with the definition of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, which was confirmed by the 150 who subsequently convened in the imperial city, and of which Cyril of sacred memory gave an harmonious interpretation at Ephesus, I assent to everything and have subscribed.’

(148) {John bishop of Amyzon, likewise.}<sup>29</sup>

(149) {Dionysius bishop of Antioch, likewise.}

26 At the second session (II. 22).

27 The MSS continue ‘and with the definition of the 318 and the subsequent 150 holy fathers’, an inept repetition, as Schwartz observes, and doubtless to be attributed to a copyist.

28 Supplied from the Latin version, whose numeration in Schwartz we now follow until the end of the list.

29 This and the following entry are supplied from the Latin version.



(150) Papias the most devout bishop of Eriza said: 'I have found that the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo accords with the definition of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and of the 150 subsequently in the imperial city and with the letter of Cyril of sacred memory. I follow it and assent.'

(151) Eupithius the most devout bishop of Stratonicea said: 'I too have found the letter of the most blessed archbishop in accord with the definition of the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea and of the 150 who subsequently convened in the imperial city and with the letter of Cyril of sacred memory. I assent to everything and have signed.'

(152) Theodoret the most devout bishop of Alabanda in Caria said: 'I too assent to the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo, as being in accord with the definition of the 318 fathers and of the 150 subsequently at Constantinople and with the letter of Cyril of sacred memory, and I have signed.'

(153) Menander the most devout bishop of Heraclea by Salbacus in Caria said: 'I have found that the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo accords with the definition of the 318 at Nicaea and the 150 at Constantinople and with the letter of Cyril blessed in memory. In assent to it, I have signed.'

(154) John the most devout bishop of Cnidus said: 'I believe in accordance with the definition of the holy fathers, both the 318 and the 150 at Constantinople, and the faith of the blessed Cyril, and I accept the letter of the most blessed Pope Leo as being in accord with them. In assent to it, I have signed.'

(155) Tynchanus the most devout bishop of Apollonia said: 'I have found that the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo accords with the definition of the holy fathers, the 318 and the 150 who assembled in imperial New Rome, and with the letter of blessed Cyril. Since I believe accordingly, I have signed.'

(156) Dionysius the most devout bishop of Heraclea by Latmus in Caria said: 'I too believe in accordance with the definition of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, its confirmation by the 150 holy fathers who assembled at renowned Constantinople, the teaching of the most blessed Cyril, and the letter which has been read out from the most holy Archbishop Leo, which is not discordant with their faith, and I have signed.'

(157) Gemellus the most devout bishop of Stratonicea said: 'I have found that the letter of the most holy and blessed Leo accords with the definition of the 318 holy fathers and of the 150 who convened in the imperial city. Since I believe accordingly, I have signed.'

(158) Leucius the most devout bishop of Apollonoshieron in the province of Lydia said: 'I have found that the definition of the 318 holy fathers and the 150, the letter of Cyril of sacred memory, and that which has now been read from the most sacred Archbishop Leo are in accord. Since I believe accordingly, I have signed the letter.'

(159) Polycarp the most devout bishop of Tabala in the province of Syria said: 'Since I believe in, and assent to, the definition of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea and the 150 in renowned Constantinople, and the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo that has been translated, I have signed.'

(160) John the most devout bishop of Alinda in the province of Caria said: 'The letter of the most holy Pope Leo accords with the creed of the 318 holy fathers and of the 150 who assembled in renowned Constantinople and with the letter of Cyril of blessed memory. Since I believe accordingly, I have signed.'

(161) Julian, the most devout presbyter of Halicarnassus, representing Calandion bishop of the same city, said: 'I have found that the letter written by the most holy Archbishop Leo is in accordance with the definition of the 318 and the 150 and the letter of Cyril of sacred memory. In assent to it, I have signed.'

10. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'If all the other most devout bishops who have not testified individually agree with what has been said by the most sacred fathers who have testified, let them indicate this with their own voice.'

11. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'We all agree. We all assent. We all believe likewise. We are all of the same opinion. Such is our opinion. Such is our faith. [Restore] the fathers to the council!<sup>30</sup> Those of the same belief to the council! Those who have signed to the council! Many years to the emperors! Many years to the Augusta! The fathers to the council! Those of the same faith to the council! Many years to the emperor! The like-minded to the council! Many years to the emperor! The five have signed the creed. As Leo believes, so they believe. Many years to the emperor!'

12. The most magnificent and glorious officials<sup>31</sup> said: 'We have referred

<sup>30</sup> The reference is to the five bishops listed below at 14 (Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra, Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, and Eustathius of Berytus) who, together with Dioscorus, were suspended at the end of the first session (I. 1068) and then capitulated by signing Leo's Tome. Their reinstatement had already been requested at the second session (II. 34).

<sup>31</sup> Here and in the subsequent headings referring to the imperial representatives the Latin version adds the words 'and the exalted senate', doubtless preserving the original text.

the matter to our most divine and pious master, and we await the response of his piety. But your devoutness will render an account to God regarding Dioscorus, who was deposed by you without the knowledge of the most divine head and of ourselves,<sup>32</sup> and regarding the five on whose behalf you are interceding, and all the proceedings at the holy council.'

13. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'God has deposed Dioscorus. Dioscorus has been justly deposed. Christ has deposed Dioscorus.'

14. After a few hours had passed in waiting for the response of our most divine and pious master, the most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Our most pious emperor, hearing of your petition, has assigned to your judgement to resolve what seems good to you regarding the most devout bishops Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil and Eustathius. It is therefore for your piety, knowing that you will answer to God for the consequences, to consider what should be done in their regard.'

15. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said: 'We ask them to enter.'

16. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'We invite them to enter. Those of the same belief to the council! The like-minded to the council! Those who have signed the letter of Leo, to the council!'

17. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let them enter.'

18. When the aforesaid most devout bishops had entered and taken their seats, all the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'The God who has done this is one. Many years to the emperors! To the great emperors many years! Many years to the senate! Many years to the officials! To the orthodox many years! This is perfect union, this is the peace of the churches.'

19. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Yesterday certain bishops of the Egyptian diocese, in a petition which they presented to our most divine and pious master, set out their faith, and it has pleased their<sup>33</sup> piety that this should be read out at your holy council. In obedience, then, to the orders of the divine and victorious head, we command that they enter, that their petition be read in their presence, and that your devoutness inform us of your pleasure in their regard.'

20. There entered the most devout Egyptian bishops Hieracis, Sabinus, Apollonius, Pasmius, Januarius, Eulogius, John, Isaac, Hero, Stephen,

32 The trial of Dioscorus at the third session had been conducted without the presence of the emperor's representatives, to create the semblance of a fair trial and of episcopal independence.

33 The use of the plural reflects the fiction that the decisions of Marcian involved his western colleague Valentinian III.

Theophilus, another Theophilus, and Isidore.<sup>34</sup> When they had taken their seats as bidden by all, the most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Have you presented a petition?’

21. The most devout bishops of Egypt said: ‘Yes, by your feet.’<sup>35</sup>

22. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Have you signed it?’

23. Having examined the signatures on the petition, the most devout bishops said: ‘Yes, by your feet, we recognize the signatures. We signed it; the writing is ours.’

24. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Let the petition be read.’

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read:

*25. To our most pious and Christ-loving emperors Flavius Valentinian and Flavius Marcian, triumphant victors always Augusti from all the bishops of your Egyptian diocese. The orthodox faith which from the beginning has been handed down to us by our holy and inspired fathers, St Mark the evangelist, the celebrated bishop and martyr Peter, and our holy fathers Athanasius, Theophilus and Cyril, who is among the saints, this we too preserve, this we advocate as the disciples of their confession, and this we hold, in accordance with the definitions of the 318 at Nicaea and of the most blessed Athanasius and Cyril, who is among the saints. We anathematize every heresy – those of Arius, Eunomius, Mani, Nestorius, and of those who say that the flesh of our Lord is from heaven and not from the holy Virgin Mary the Theotokos, being like us in all things except sin<sup>36</sup> – and in addition every heresy that holds or teaches what is alien to the catholic church.*

*The signatures:*

*Hieracis bishop of Aphnaeum, I have presented [the petition].*

*Sabinus bishop of Coptitae, I have presented.*

34 These are 13 of the 20 Egyptian bishops who had attended the first session; notably absent are the four Egyptian bishops who had spoken in favour of Flavian of Constantinople at the first session (293–6). No Egyptian bishops had attended either the second or the third session, since they felt unable to act in the absence of their patriarch, suspended at the end of the first session (I. 1068).

35 The full formula would be ‘by your feet to which we do obeisance’.

36 This is an echo of Heb. 4:15, ‘tempted in all things in likeness [to us] without sin’; the Egyptian bishops are affirming their belief in the true humanity of Christ, without going so far as to use the formula ‘consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood’ in the, to them suspect, Formula of Reunion. But, as immediately transpires, this did not satisfy the council fathers, who demanded an explicit anathematization of Eutyches.

*Apollonius bishop of Tanis, I have presented.*  
*Pasmius bishop of Paralus, I have presented.*  
*Januarius bishop of Leontopolis, I have presented.*  
*Eulogius bishop of Athribis, I have presented.*  
*John bishop of Psinchaus, I have presented.*  
*Isaac bishop of Taua, I have presented.*  
*Hero bishop of Thennesus, I have presented.*  
*Stephen bishop of Gerae, I have presented.*  
*Theophilus bishop of Erythrum, I have presented.*  
*Theophilus bishop of Cleopatris, I have presented.*  
*Isidore bishop of Sethroites, I have presented.*

26. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Why have they not anathematized the doctrine of Eutyches? They have presented their petition deceitfully. Let them sign the letter of Leo, anathematizing Eutyches and his doctrine. Let them assent to the letter of Leo. They wish to mock us and depart.’

27. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘The council took place because of Eutyches, surely not for any other reason? The archbishop of Rome wrote on account of him. We have all accepted the letter as following the creed of the holy fathers; let them also assent to the letter of the most sacred Leo.’

28. Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representatives of the apostolic see, said through Bishop Paschasinus: ‘Let them say if they will assent to the letter of the apostolic see and if they anathematize Eutyches.’

29. Acacius the most devout bishop of Ariaratheia said: ‘We require them to publicly anathematize Eutyches, who spoke of two natures of our Saviour before he became man and one after it.’

30. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: ‘Let them sign the letter of the most sacred Pope Leo, and let them anathematize Eutyches and his doctrine.’

31. Hieracis the most devout bishop of Egypt said, and the other Egyptian bishops through the same Hieracis: ‘If anyone holds different beliefs than those presented by us in the petition, either Eutyches or anyone else, let him be anathema. Regarding the letter of the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop Leo, all our most holy fathers know that in all matters we await the decision of our most sacred archbishop; we beg your philanthropy to await the decision of our president, for we will follow him in

everything. For this was laid down in a canon by the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, that the whole Egyptian diocese should follow the archbishop of the great city of Alexandria and that nothing should be done without him by any of the bishops under him.<sup>37</sup>

32. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘They are lying.’

33. Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis said: ‘Let them prove what they say.’

34. All {the most devout bishops}<sup>38</sup> exclaimed: ‘Publicly anathematize the doctrine of Eutyches. Whoever refuses to sign the letter approved by the holy council is a heretic. Anathema to Dioscorus and his friends! If their beliefs are not orthodox, how can they elect a bishop?’

35. The Egyptian bishops exclaimed: ‘The dispute is over the faith.’

36. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: ‘They don’t know what they believe. Are they now willing to learn?’

37. Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: ‘Do you accept the letter of the most blessed Leo archbishop of Rome which the ecumenical council has accepted and signed, or not?’

38. Paschasinus, Lucentius and Boniface, the most devout representatives of the apostolic see, said through Paschasinus: ‘Having grown old as bishops in their churches for so many years till this time, are they still ignorant of the orthodox and catholic faith, and expect to depend on the judgement of another?’

39. When the aforementioned statement had been translated into Greek, all the bishops exclaimed: ‘Whoever does not accept the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo is a heretic.’

40. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘How can someone who has no idea what he believes elect a bishop?’

41. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘He who does not anathematize Eutyches is a heretic.’

42. The most devout bishops of Egypt exclaimed: ‘Anathema to Eutyches and to those who give credence to him.’

43. The most devout bishops said: ‘Let them sign the letter of Leo. Whoever will not sign it is a heretic.’

37 This is Canon 6 of Nicaea: ‘Let the ancient customs prevail, those in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, with the effect that the bishop in Alexandria has authority over all these [places].’ The four Egyptian bishops who had deserted Dioscorus’ cause during the first session (I. 293–6) did, however, agree to anathematize Eutyches and sign the Tome, according to Liberatus, *Breviarium*, ACO 2.5 p. 123. 22–4.

38 Supplied from Rusticus’ edition of the Latin version.

44. The most devout bishops of Egypt exclaimed: 'We cannot sign without the approval of our archbishop.'

45. Acacius the most devout bishop of Ariaratheia said: 'It is absurd to despise the ecumenical council and look to a single person – he who is going to exercise episcopacy over the city of Alexandria. Just as at Ephesus they confused everything and scandalized the world, so their aim now is to disrupt this holy and great council. We request that they be refused permission and either assent to the letter or accept the penalty of the canons and recognize that they are excommunicate.'

46. Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: 'How can they attempt to carry out an ordination if they hold different beliefs than this ecumenical council? If indeed their beliefs are orthodox, let them reveal their understanding of the faith and accept the letter of the most holy Archbishop Leo. If they refuse to, they are excommunicate.'

47. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'This we all say. This we all think.'

48. The most devout bishops of Egypt said: 'We have already in a petition made our faith plain and have been seen not to hold beliefs contrary to the catholic faith. But since the most religious bishops of our diocese happen to be very many, while we, being easy to count, are not able to represent them, we entreat your pre-eminence and this holy and great council to have pity on us and wait for our archbishop, so that we may follow his decision according to ancient custom. But if we do anything without the approval of our leader, the whole Egyptian diocese will attack us as acting uncanonically and as not keeping but abolishing the ancient customs according to the canons. Have pity on our old age, have pity, and do not force us to end our lives in exile.'

49. The same most devout bishops threw themselves to the ground and said: 'Have pity on us, be compassionate.'

50. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: 'The ecumenical council is greater than the Egyptian diocese, and more worthy of respect. It is not right that ten heretics should be heard and one thousand and two hundred bishops be ignored.<sup>39</sup> We don't require them to express now their own faith on behalf of others, but we are telling them to assent to orthodoxy in their own person.'

51. The most devout bishops of the Egyptians exclaimed: 'We shall no longer be able to live in the province; have pity on us.'

39 The figure of 1,200 bishops represents the total number of bishops in the Roman Empire. See Jones, *LRE*, 712–18, 874–9.

52. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'These people are delegates of all the Egyptians, and they should agree with the ecumenical council.'

53. Lucentius the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: 'If they are in error, let them learn from your magnificence that ten men cannot prejudice a council of six hundred bishops and the catholic faith.'

54. The most devout bishops of the Egyptians exclaimed: 'We shall be killed.<sup>40</sup> Have pity on us.'

55. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Do you mark the testimony they make to their own bishops? They say, "We shall be killed."'

56. The most devout Egyptian bishops said: 'We shall die, by your feet; have pity on us. Let us die at your hands and not there; let us have an archbishop, and we shall sign and assent. Have pity on these grey hairs; let us be given an archbishop. The most God-beloved Archbishop Anatolius knows that the custom that has prevailed in the Egyptian diocese is that all the bishops obey the archbishop of Alexandria.<sup>41</sup> We are not disobeying the council, but we shall be killed in our native land; have pity on us. You have the power; we submit, we do not disobey. It is preferable for us to die at the hands of the master of the world, of your pre-eminence and of the holy council than there. For God's sake have pity on these grey hairs; spare ten men.'

57. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'These men are heretics.'

58. The most devout Egyptian bishops said: 'You have power over our lives; spare ten men. We shall die there; it is better to die here. The emperors are merciful. Archbishop Anatolius knows the custom. This is our position until we have an archbishop. Do they want our sees? Let them take them, we have no wish to be bishops; only let us not die. Produce an archbishop, and if we put up opposition, then punish us. We shall obey what your authority decrees, we shall not resist; but choose an archbishop. We shall wait here until he is appointed.'

59. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Let them sign the condemnation of Dioscorus.'

40 The reasonableness of this fear is shown by the fate of Proterius: imposed as patriarch after Dioscorus, he was lynched by an Alexandrian mob because of his loyalty to Chalcedon as soon as the emperor Marcian died. The surprisingly harsh reaction of the other bishops may be attributed to continuing resentment over the way in which the Egyptian contingent had dominated the Council of Ephesus of 449.

41 The reason for the Egyptian bishops singling out Anatolius for mention (here and at 58 below) is doubtless that, as Dioscorus' former representative at Constantinople, he was well informed about Egyptian customs.



60. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Since the most devout bishops of Egypt have for the time being deferred signing the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo not out of opposition to the catholic faith but on the grounds that it is the custom in the Egyptian diocese to do nothing of the kind without the approval and decision of the archbishop, and since they ask for a postponement until the appointment of the future bishop of the great city of Alexandria, it seems to us reasonable and compassionate that a postponement be granted to them, while they remain in the imperial city on their present footing, until the appointment of an archbishop of the great city of Alexandria.'<sup>42</sup>

61. Paschasinus the most devout bishop, representative of the apostolic see, said: 'If this is the order of your authority and you command that something be granted them out of compassion, let them provide securities that they will not leave this city until Alexandria gets a bishop.'

62. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the proposal of the most sacred Bishop Paschasinus be confirmed. Therefore the most devout Egyptian bishops, remaining on their present footing, shall either produce securities, if this is possible for them, or bind themselves by oath, while they await the appointment of the future bishop of the great city of Alexandria.'

63. On the orders of the most glorious officials, of the noble senate, and of the holy council, there entered the most devout presbyters and archimandrites Faustus, Martin, Peter, Manuel, Abramius, Job, Antiochus, Theodore, Paul, James, Eusebius, Trypho, Marcellus, Timothy, Germanus,<sup>43</sup> Peter, Asterius and John. When they had taken their seats, the most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'A petition has been presented to our most divine and pious master in the name of the most devout archimandrites Carosus and Dorotheus and of certain others. So let the names of those who have presented it be shown to the most devout men who have just entered, so that they may say whether they know them all to be archimandrites.'

64. After hearing the names of those who had presented the petition, the most devout archimandrites said through the most devout Faustus: 'Carosus and Dorotheus are archimandrites. Helpidius is the custodian of the martyrrium

42 This judgement (plus the words 'Therefore, remaining on their present footing, they shall either produce securities, if this is possible for them, or bind themselves by oath' from 62 below) appears in Byzantine canonical collections as 'Canon 30' of the council.

43 The 'Pergamius' of the MSS is clearly a mistake for Germanus (cf. 105 below and I. 552.52), though Schwartz in his names index distinguishes the two.

of Procopius.<sup>44</sup> As for Photinus, we don't know who he is. Euty chius is at the martyr ium of Celerine,<sup>45</sup> and doesn't have a monastery. Theodore is a custodian of a martyr ium. Moses we do not know. Maximus is an archimandrite, the teacher of Euty ches. Gerontius we do not know. Nemesinus we do not know, and his name puzzles us. We are puzzled at the name Theophilus. Thomas likewise we do not know. Leontius is a former bear-keeper. Hypses is a custodian of a martyr ium, and has two or three people at the Xylocircus.<sup>46</sup> Callinicus has ten people at the martyr ium at the Xylocircus. Paul the Bithynian lives on his own at a martyr ium. Gaudentius is a custodian of a martyr ium, and has five people at that of Philip.<sup>47</sup> Eugnomonius we do not know. We ask that some people be sent by your magnificence and the holy council to go and see their monasteries and find out if they have monasteries or if they are mocking and damaging the reputations of the archimandrites and should be punished by them, to prevent people living in martyr ia calling themselves archimandrites. We ask that those who call themselves monks and who are not recognized either by your magnificence or by the most holy archbishop or by us be expelled from the city as impostors, on account of the scandal they have tried to cause.<sup>48</sup>

65. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let the most devout monks who presented the petition enter.'

66. There entered Carosus, Dorotheus, Helpidius, Photinus, Euty chius, and the rest of the most devout monks mentioned above, and Barsaumas the monk, and also Calopodius the eunuch.

The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Your devoutness earlier presented a petition to the victorious head. So look at the petition that is being shown to you, and say if you recognize it to be the one you presented.'

67. Carosus and Dorotheus the most devout archimandrites and the others who had presented the petition said: 'This is the petition we presented.'

44 There were four churches dedicated to St Procopius at Constantinople; see Janin 1969, 443.

45 Otherwise unknown. The Latin version gives 'the basilica of Caelestina'.

46 The Xylocircus (or Xulokerkos) was the district by one of the southern gates of the Theodosian wall. The Synaxarion of Constantinople lists a monastery there dedicated to St Mamas or (in a variant version) St Theodora. See Janin 1950, 403, and 1969, 380.

47 Sources from the early sixth century refer to a 'monastery of St Philip at the *brephotropheion* (foundling-hospital)'. Janin (1969, 494) locates it at Neapolis on the west side of the Bosphorus.

48 For a discussion of this passage with reference to efforts by the authorities to force freewheeling monks into coenobitic monasticism see Caner 2002, 223–35.

68. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the petition be read.'

69. Before the reading Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said: 'Calopodius and Gerontius, who are the presbyters among them, were deposed some time ago. They are not permitted to enter.'

70. Gerontius and Calopodius said: 'No one told us we were deposed. Only now have they told us.'

71. Aetius archdeacon of the holy church at Constantinople went up to the eunuch Calopodius and said to him: 'The archbishop tells you, through me the archdeacon, that you are deposed. Get out.'

72. Calopodius said: 'For what cause?'

73. Aetius the archdeacon said: 'As a heretic.'

74. Calopodius said: 'I request that our petition be read.'

75. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let it be read.'

Veronicianus the hallowed *magistranus* and secretary of the divine consistory read:

*76. To the most pious and Christ-loving emperor the new Constantine Marcian from Carosus, Dorotheus, Helpidius, Photinus, Eutychius, Theodore, Moses, Maximus, Gerontius, Nemesinus, Theophilus, Thomas, Leontius, Hypses, Callinicus, Paul, Gaudentius, Eugnomonius, the most insignificant archimandrites, and all their company in Christ, and the rest of the clerics and monks and laymen.*

*Always, and especially since the time of the great and blessed Theodosius, the Roman empire has filled the world with calm by striving to defend the orthodox faith. But through each person seeking his own good and no longer that of his neighbour, as divine scripture prescribes,<sup>49</sup> everything has been undone and the faith of the apostles upset; and while the state of our enemies, we mean Jews and pagans, is one of peace, albeit of the worst sort, our state is one of truceless war. But the remedy for this is retained by your Christ-loving reign, to prevent schism occurring in orthodoxy and to ensure the strengthening of the faith by your divinity. Every form of justice befits every ruler and in a special degree an emperor, particularly a pious one, for this is the natural source of the securing of justice in legislation. We therefore entreat your piety not only to give orders for the holding of an ecumenical council, which out of concern for the salvation of all your piety has already deigned to decree, but also to put an end to*

49 1 Cor. 10:24.

*faction, to the collecting of signatures by force,<sup>50</sup> and to the harassment of ourselves practised every day by the clergy, which they attempt without your piety's knowledge.<sup>51</sup> We also beg your divinity that no one be expelled from a monastery or church or martyrrium until the just judgement of the holy council, lest through the indiscipline of others some people think to ascribe this to your piety – for we are convinced that you love peace and take thought for it above everything else –, so that, once the holy faith has again been strengthened by the holy fathers, we may be able, {living}<sup>52</sup> the rest of our lives in peace, soberly and righteously, to offer up the customary and ceaseless prayers for the continuance of your everlasting reign to Christ the Lord, who invisibly through his goodwill bestowed the empire on you, most divine Augusti.*

77. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: 'Barsaumas, who entered among them, slaughtered the blessed Flavian.<sup>53</sup> He was standing there and saying, "Slaughter him." Since he is not in the petition, why has he come in?'

78. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Barsaumas destroyed all Syria. He incited thousands of monks against us.'

79. The most magnificent and glorious officials said to the monks: 'In accordance with your request in the petition, our most divine and pious master gave orders both that the holy council should convene and that you should now gain entrance. So now that you have entered, have the patience to learn the decisions of the same most holy council concerning the faith.'

80. Carosus and Dorotheus the most devout archimandrites and the other monks said: 'We ask that the plaint we have brought be read out.'

81. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Drive out the murderer Barsaumas. The murderer to the stadium! Anathema to Barsaumas! [Send] Barsaumas into exile!'

82. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the plaint presented by the most devout monks be read out.'

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory took it and read:

50 Clearly monks were being compelled, like the bishops, to subscribe to Leo's Tome.

51 To this harassment of pro-Eutychean monks doubtless by Archbishop Anatolius, compare the earlier plaint addressed to Ephesus II against similar treatment by Anatolius' predecessor, Flavian (I. 887).

52 Supplied from the Latin version.

53 For Barsaumas, see I. 47n.

83. *To the holy council now in session here from the archimandrites and the whole brotherhood in Christ.*<sup>54</sup>

*We intended to come immediately to your holinesses at the first summons, but since our pious master told the most sacred archimandrite and presbyter Carosus that he was not to appear unless his piety was also present, we thought it pointless to come without him, since he is our father; through those you sent to us<sup>55</sup> the reason for our non-appearance was explained to your holinesses. But now that we have made our appearance,<sup>56</sup> we entreat your holinesses that the proper procedure be followed and that the most holy Archbishop Dioscorus and the most holy bishops with him be admitted to this assembly.*<sup>57</sup>

84. During the reading all the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Anathema to Dioscorus. Dioscorus has been deposed by Christ. Drive them out. Remove this outrage against the council. {[Report] our acclamations to the emperor!}<sup>58</sup> Remove this attack on the council. Remove this disgrace to the council.’

85. The most devout Faustus and the most devout archimandrites with him said: ‘Remove this outrage against the monasteries.’

86. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘It is not possible for the council to hear this petition. They have dared to call “bishop” someone who has been deposed by the entire council. Why are the canons trampled on?’

87. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Let the plaint be read without prejudice.’

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read what followed in the plaint:

88. *Indeed our most pious emperor, from the moment he proposed that this council should take place, told us that the faith defined by the 318 holy*

54 It is implied (64, 66, 80) that the signatories of this petition (83, 88) were identical to those of the earlier petition presented to the emperor (76).

55 The Latin version, followed here by Festugière, has ‘as we sent to your holinesses through letters’. But there is a reference later to a delegation of officials visiting the recalcitrant monks (111), which makes an accompanying delegation of bishops wholly credible.

56 According to the following session on Carosus and Dorotheus (4), the emperor refused to adjudicate between Carosus’ party and its opponents and ordered them to take their case to the council.

57 It appears that Carosus and his supporters had originally intended to come to Session II to support the demand for the reinstatement of Dioscorus and the other five bishops suspended at the end of Session I (II. 34, 41).

58 Supplied from the Latin version.

*fathers would simply be confirmed and nothing other than this would be moved or effected.<sup>59</sup> In the light of this decision, the deposition of the most holy Archbishop Dioscorus is completely unreasonable, since without either him or the most holy bishops with him we cannot say or do anything regarding the faith. Give orders therefore for the appearance of the same Archbishop Dioscorus and all the bishops with him, so that the scandals concerning the faith may be rooted out and the orthodox congregations have no schisms among themselves, since concern for this matter should be more important to you than all the things of this life. If your holinesses should oppose our proper demands and choose to exercise an authority contrary to what is beneficial, we shall call to witness Christ the Lord, the most pious emperor, the most glorious officials and the sacred senate, and your own consciences, and then shaking our garments break off communion with you; for if the symbol of the faith of the 318 is rejected, we cannot bear to be in communion with those who reject it.<sup>60</sup> For a more complete proof that we believe nothing contrary to the creed and that there is no occasion for any calumny being made against us, we have attached both the creed itself and the decree that confirms it and was enacted by the holy and ecumenical council that deposed Nestorius.<sup>61</sup>*

89. Aetius archdeacon of the holy and catholic church at Constantinople said: ‘There is this canon which together with the others was decreed by the holy fathers. Upholding them, the holy fathers the bishops give instructions that clerics, monks, and all Christians, if they come across people who are refractory or refuse to be obedient, are to apply this canon.’

And from a document he read the following:

59 The phrase ‘faith defined’ could equally mean ‘creed issued’. The emperor’s assurance that the council would simply confirm the faith of Nicaea (which did not exclude supplementing the creed to ‘clarify’ it) was understood by the monks to mean that the council would do nothing but reaffirm the Nicene Creed.

60 The petitioners treat the condemnation of Dioscorus as a rejection of the Nicene Creed, since Dioscorus had been deposed for having secured at Ephesus II the condemnation of Flavian of Constantinople, whose offence had been to ‘reject’ Nicaea by making improper additions to the profession of faith required of members of the church (see I. 962, 966).

61 The reference is probably to the minutes of the session of Ephesus I of 22 July 431 (given at I. 911–45), which contained both the Nicene Creed (914) and Canon 7, forbidding any additions to it (943).

90. *Regarding clerics or monks who separate themselves*<sup>62</sup>

*If any presbyter or deacon, in contempt of his own bishop, has separated himself from the church, held his own assemblies and set up his own sanctuary, and ignoring the summons of the bishop refuses to heed or obey a first and second summons from him, he is to be completely deposed, deprived of maintenance, and denied any recovery of his dignity. If he continues to cause turmoil and disturbance to the church, he is to be chastised by the secular authorities as a troublemaker.*

91. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘This is a just canon. This is the canon of the holy fathers.’

92. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘In accordance with your request, and despite the opposition of the most devout bishops, the plaint you presented has been read. So declare whether you are ready to accept the decisions of the entire most holy council.’

93. Carosus the most devout archimandrite said: ‘I recognize the creed of the 318 fathers who were at Nicaea, in which I was baptized, since I do not recognize any other creed. They are bishops; they have the power to excommunicate and depose, and if they want anything, they have the power. But I do not recognize any other creed beyond this. When the holy Timothy<sup>63</sup> baptized me at Tomi, he told me not to believe in anything else.’

94. Dorotheus the most devout archimandrite said: ‘I abide by the creed of the 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, in which I was baptized, and in the decree of those who deposed Nestorius at Ephesus. I believe accordingly, and I do not recognize any other creed apart from this.’

95. Barsaumas the most devout monk, speaking in Syriac through his own interpreter, said: ‘I believe in accordance with the 318, and I was baptized accordingly in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit according to the Lord’s teaching to the apostles.’

96. The monk Helpidius said: ‘I myself believe in accordance with the 318 fathers at Nicaea and those at Ephesus who deposed Nestorius, and I abide by the decree issued by the holy fathers.’

62 Canon 5 of Antioch (c.328). This canon was also cited at the following session (Session on Carosus and Dorotheus, 10), in a slightly variant version, which (reflecting fifth-century practice) specifies the ignoring of a *third* summons before the penalties come into force – as at the trials of Eutyches and Dioscorus.

63 This is the Timothy of Tomi who attended Ephesus I (I. 945.173). Most of the MSS give his name as Theotimus, confusing him, as does Schwartz’s names index (ACO 2.6 p. 31), with the Theotimus who became bishop of Tomi after Chalcedon.

97. The other monks said: 'We too say the same.'

98. Aetius archdeacon of the most holy church at Constantinople went up to him and said: 'The beliefs of this holy and great council accord with the definitions of the 318 holy fathers then assembled at Nicaea; this creed they uphold and teach to all those who come to them.<sup>64</sup> But in the meantime discord was sown by certain people, and in opposition to this the holy fathers Cyril and Celestine, and now the most holy and blessed Pope Leo, issued letters to interpret the symbol of faith, but without laying down a creed or dogma; these letters the whole ecumenical council welcomes and accepts, and transmits the interpretation they contain to those who desire to learn.<sup>65</sup> Does your charity heed this decision of the entire holy council, and anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches as innovators, or not?'

99. Carosus the most devout monk said: 'Why should I have to anathematize Nestorius, I who have already anathematized and condemned him once, twice, a third time, and more often still?'

100. Aetius the most devout archdeacon of the church at Constantinople said: 'Do you then anathematize Eutyches as the holy council does, or not?'

101. Carosus the most devout monk said: 'Do you not recognize the scripture, "Judge not, lest you be judged"?'<sup>66</sup> The bishops are in session, so why are you speaking?'

102. Aetius the most devout archdeacon said: 'Answer the question put to you by the holy council through me: do you obey the holy ecumenical council or not?'

103. Carosus the most devout monk said: 'I myself, as I have said, believe in accordance with the definition of the 318, as I was also baptized. If you say anything else to me, I do not recognize it. You have the power, you are bishops. Do you want to send me into exile? Do you want to degrade me? Whatever you want I accept from you. The holy apostle says, "If an angel from heaven should preach to you a gospel contrary to that you have received, let him be anathema."<sup>67</sup> What can I do? If Eutyches does not believe as the catholic church believes, let him be anathema.'<sup>68</sup>

64 That is, who ask to join the church, through baptism or reconciliation.

65 Aetius is concerned to ward off objections arising from Canon 7 of Ephesus I, which forbade the use of any creed apart from that of Nicaea, particularly in the reception of converts.

66 Mt. 7:1.

67 Gal. 1:8-9.

68 Like Dioscorus at the first session (I. 168), Carosus insists that the issue is the Nicene faith, not the orthodoxy of Eutyches.



104. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Let the petition submitted by the most devout Faustus and the other most devout archimandrites be read out.'

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read:

105. *To the most devout and Christ-loving lord and emperor Marcian, watched over by the undefiled Trinity, perpetual Augustus, a petition and supplication from the presbyters and archimandrites Faustus, Martin, Peter, Manuel, Abramius, Job, Antiochus, Theodore, Paul, James, Eusebius, Trypho, Marcellus, Timothy, Germanus, Peter, Asterius, and John.*<sup>69</sup>

*Your Christ-loving and pious rule, which has studied to increase and confirm the pure religion of the orthodox, has dispelled the turmoil in the most holy churches. Your Christ-loving power expelled Eutyches, who belched forth foul and profane statements about Christ the Saviour of us all and who contrived to sow many weeds in the church of God.<sup>70</sup> His disciples, however, refuse to subscribe to the orthodox and pious faith or follow the pious doctrines of the holy fathers, but have continued obstinately to deny and contradict the correct confession of the fathers, even though they have received many exhortations from the most God-beloved Archbishop Anatolius and the most God-beloved bishops and presbyters with him, and though the sacred doctrines have been read out to them, as our envoys have made clear to you. Because of this we ask your power to decree that their impiety should not thrive any longer, and to permit us to subject to the spiritual rules of the monks these people who have so shamelessly apostatized from our right faith, so that, if (as we pray) they are set right, they too may have their portion with the saved, while if they remain longer in their bad faith they may receive appropriate penance. And regarding the cave in which these beasts live and each day blaspheme Christ the Saviour of the universe, may your Christ-loving rule allow us to present a decree on which your divine annotation<sup>71</sup> would be communicated to us personally.*

69 These clergy had been the recipients of Pope Leo's *ep.* 71 of 16 July 450 (ACO 2.4 pp. 31–2, *ep.* 31), inciting them against their archbishop Anatolius, before Anatolius had made his peace with Leo.

70 Immediately on his accession Marcian degraded and detained Eutyches, who was inevitably ruined by the fall and execution of his patron Chrysaphius, quite apart from the need to mend fences with Rome. Marcian could not wait for a formal reversal of the decree of Ephesus II in Eutyches' favour.

71 For petitionary requests receiving imperial approval by a note written on the petition itself, cf. I. 573–5.

106. Dorotheus the most devout monk said: ‘Because they say that Eutyches asserted two natures before the union and one nature after it, and anathematize him as a heretic, Eutyches has posted declarations in every way and every place. Your magnificence has heard his declarations that the man [he himself] is orthodox and that they are calumniating him.’

107. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘Eutyches said that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ was not of our substance. What is your opinion on the matter?’

108. Dorotheus the most devout monk said: ‘I was baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, acknowledging Christ our Saviour, who came down and was enfleshed from the holy Virgin, and became man and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate – bear with me and if anything escapes me, correct me –, and we profess him to be of the Trinity. And our Lord himself, having been spat upon, pierced and struck, said to his holy disciples when he rose from the dead, “Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>72</sup> We profess that he who suffered is {one}<sup>73</sup> of the Trinity, and I do not acknowledge any other creed.’<sup>74</sup>

109. All the most devout bishops said: ‘Will you sign the letter or not?’

110. Dorotheus the most devout monk said: ‘I believe in the baptismal creed, but I will not sign the letter.’

111. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: ‘When our divine emperor sent the most magnificent officials and the most glorious senators to you, you promised to obey the decisions of the holy council. So are you instead refusing to accept at present the decrees of the holy council?’

112. Dorotheus the most devout monk said: ‘What at that time we said to the officials and the senate and asked of the emperor, on entering his presence, was that the present council should confirm the creed of the 318 holy fathers, in which we were baptized, together with the decree issued by the fathers themselves.’<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Mt. 28:19.

<sup>73</sup> This word is lacking in the Greek MSS and most of the Latin, but its presence in the oldest Latin version and independently in Trifolius, *ep. ad Faustum* (CCSL 85, 139), written in 520 and therefore older than all extant editions of the Acts, supports its authenticity.

<sup>74</sup> A rare early anticipation of the famous theopaschite formula ‘One of the Trinity suffered’, which was much debated in the period 518–34. See Grillmeier 1995, 320–33, esp. 326.

<sup>75</sup> Although the natural translation of the last phrase is ‘the same fathers’, this is surely a reference to the decrees of Ephesus I (cf. 115 below) rather than a pleonastic reaffirmation of the Nicene Creed.

113. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'Since our most divine master is pious and we follow his policy, if you wish to be given two or three days for reflection, we will request that this be granted you by the holy council, so that after reflection you may accede to the faith held by the holy fathers.'

114. Carosus the most devout archimandrite said: 'I am here. Why do you need to wait for two or three days? You already have the power to do what you like.'

115. Dorotheus the most devout monk said: 'I abide by the creed of the 318 holy fathers, in which I was baptized, and the decree of those at Ephesus, and I will not affirm anything else.'

116. The most magnificent and glorious officials and the exalted senate said: 'A judgement will be issued by the holy council.'<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Hefele-Leclercq, II.2, 710, interprets this to mean that, since the monks declined to avail themselves of the offered postponement (114), the officials instructed the council to come to an immediate decision. But the emperor's expressed wish for a postponement could not be overruled, and no immediate action was in fact taken.

## SESSION ON CAROSUS AND DOROTHEUS

### INTRODUCTION

The following session of 20 October 451, which was not included in the numbered sequence, took up the case of the monastic opponents of the council who had spoken so defiantly at the fourth session. They were given one month to submit, before the secular arm would be called upon to intervene.

### COMMENTARY

This session (*ACO* 2.1 pp. 458–60), of which the full title is ‘Act concerning Carosus and Dorotheus and those with them’, occurs in the Greek Acts after Session XVI (XVII in the Greek edition), and is omitted in the Latin version. Because of its position in the MSS Schwartz numbers it (in Arabic numerals) as ‘Act 18’;<sup>1</sup> chronologically, however, it followed the fourth session and completed its work. The minutes do not contain an attendance list; it is clear that none of the imperial representatives was present, and that the chairman was one of the bishops, who spoke in the name of the council and is not himself named.

The slightness and imprecision of the minutes, their absence from the Latin version, the lack of reference to them in the historian Evagrius, and certain confusing details (see our notes at 4, 7, 11) have led some scholars, from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, to doubt their authenticity.<sup>2</sup> Most of the apparent inconsistencies disappear, however, once we realize that these minutes and those of the fourth session make reference to a whole

1 It was doubtless omitted from the numbered sequence of Acts because it was not included in the original edition; see vol. 1, 81.

2 The problems are set out in Hefele-Leclercq, II.2, 711, n. 2, though Leclercq himself accepts their authenticity. Fliche-Martin 1937, 234, n. 1 quotes with approval Duchesne’s judgement that these minutes are a confused doublet of those of the last part of the fourth session.

series of different petitions to the emperor. We therefore follow the dominant scholarly opinion in favour of the text's authenticity.

At the fourth session of 17 October, Carosus, Dorotheus and the monks of their party, supporters of Eutyches and Dioscorus, were offered three days in which to reconsider their refusal to accept the decrees of the council (IV. 113); and the bishops themselves needed a delay in which to consult the emperor Marcian, since the monks claimed that he had promised that their case would not be settled without his participation (IV. 83).

The session began with a report from the priest Alexander whom the council had sent to Marcian. Alexander reported that the emperor had turned down a request from Carosus' party that he arbitrate between them and their monastic opponents and told them to go back to the council. A further petition from Carosus and Dorotheus to Marcian was read out (6); its text is not given, but it is clear from the comment on it made by Archdeacon Aetius of Constantinople (7) that it was a plea on behalf of Dioscorus, very similar to the monks' petition to the council read out at the fourth session (IV. 83, 88). After commenting on this petition acidly, Aetius read out two canons of Antioch (c.328) which penalized schismatic clerics. On the basis of these canons, even though they did not directly apply to the present case,<sup>3</sup> Carosus and his party were ordered to submit to the council – that is, to accept its decrees against Eutyches and Dioscorus. They were given one month to submit, before the secular arm would be called upon to intervene, doubtless by imposing exile or imprisonment.

However, no action was taken. In 454 Pope Leo had to write to the emperor Marcian to complain about Carosus' continued campaign in Constantinople against the authority of the council, and he wrote in 455 to compliment the emperor on removing Carosus and Dorotheus from their monasteries and transferring them to other monasteries where they could do no harm – in other words, imprisoning them in monasteries of their opponents.<sup>4</sup> Why did the emperor wait for so long before suppressing monks who had insulted and defied the council and continued to attack it after its dissolution? One can only suppose that their opposition enjoyed such wide support as to make the emperor reluctant to take provocative action.

3 Canon 4 of Chalcedon, issued at the end of the council, which places monks firmly under episcopal control, was to fill this gap in ecclesiastical legislation.

4 Leo, *opp.* 136 (ACO 2.4 p. 90, *ep.* 81) and 142 (ACO 2.4 p. 95, *ep.* 86).

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our most pious and Christ-loving emperor Marcian Augustus for the first time, thirteen days before the Kalends of November<sup>5</sup> there was seated the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the metropolis of Chalcedon by decree of our most pious emperors in the martyrdom of the holy and victorious martyr Euphemia.

2. Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* said: ‘The most devout presbyter and *periodeutes* Alexander was sent by your holinesses to our most pious and Christ-loving emperor regarding those with Carosus and Dorotheus and those in accord with the monk Eutyches, at one time archimandrite, who have apostatized from the orthodox faith. Having been ordered by their piety<sup>6</sup> to say certain things to your holinesses, he is now present and wishes to testify, and this indeed we propose, according to your pleasure.’

3. The holy council said: ‘Let the most devout presbyter and *periodeutes* Alexander, who is present, say what has been declared to the holy council by our most pious and faithful emperor.’

4. Alexander presbyter and *periodeutes* said: ‘Being sent by your holinesses and by the most magnificent officials and the sacred senate to the most pious and Christ-loving emperor, I told him that Dorotheus and those with Carosus have presented a petition in which they declared, “Your piety promised to assemble the monasteries, and us with them, and in the presence of the holy gospel-book to hear the case between both sides. So if your piety will order it, let it be done, since we are not able to go there.”<sup>7</sup> Hearing this, the master of the world declared to them through me and the lord John the decurion, “If I wished to take my seat in the midst of you and the other monks and hear the case between both sides, I would not have troubled the holy and ecumenical council here. But since they<sup>8</sup> have come about this matter and made a declaration to us concerning you, I have said that you should go and learn what you do not know, and by asking what you do not know learn from them. We therefore consider it right that you should go to the council; for you must know that, whatever the holy and ecumenical council may decree and transmit to me in writing, I shall agree with them, concur with them, and put my trust in them. Grasp this; you will not get any other answer from me.”’

5 20 October 451.

6 That is, by the emperors, specifically by Marcian.

7 This is not the petition to the emperor read out at the fourth session (IV. 76), which predated the council, but a fresh request in response to the petition sent to the emperor by their monastic opponents (IV. 105).

5. The holy council declared its assent: ‘Many years to the emperor! Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the orthodox!’

6. After this a petition presented to the most pious emperor by Carosus and those with him was read.

7. After the reading Aetius the archdeacon said: ‘Your holy, great and ecumenical council has heard the petition presented to our most pious and Christ-loving emperor, appointed by Christ the Lord, by the most devout monks Carosus and Dorotheus and those with them, who are limping as regards the faith, in that, acting recklessly, they have had the effrontery to give the title of bishop to Dioscorus, who was deposed by the holy and ecumenical council, and to request the most pious and God-beloved emperors to let him attend this holy council and speak for the faith with full freedom as if he were not under censure.<sup>9</sup> They have, therefore, been detected not only espousing heresy in this respect but also championing those who have been deposed. Since the divine canons lay down certain rules about clerics and monks who offend in this way, we shall read them, if you give the order, especially since they seem for a long time to have separated themselves from the most holy and catholic church and from their own bishop. In the complaints they have presented they have made their views clear.’

8. The holy council said: ‘Let the divine canons of the fathers be read, and inserted in the minutes.’

Taking the volume, Aetius archdeacon and *primicerius* of the Great Church read:

*Canon 83*<sup>10</sup>

*9. If any bishop who has been deposed by a council, or any presbyter or deacon or anyone on the list of clergy who has been deposed by his own bishop, should dare to celebrate the liturgy, whether a bishop according to his previous custom or a presbyter or deacon, he is in future to be allowed no hope of being restored at another council and no opportunity to defend himself. All those who remain in communion with him are also to be expelled from the church, especially if they dare to be in communion with them while knowing of the sentence pronounced against the aforesaid.*

8 The council fathers acting through the priest Alexander.

9 This is yet another petition, identical in content to the monks’ petition to the council fathers (IV. 83, 88), in which likewise they demanded the readmission of Dioscorus to the council and referred to him as ‘the most holy archbishop’.

10 Canon 4 of Antioch (c.328).

10. *Regarding those who separate themselves, another canon, 84<sup>11</sup>*  
*If any presbyter or deacon, in contempt of his own bishop, has separated himself from the church, held his own assemblies and set up his own sanctuary, and ignoring the summons of the bishop refuses to heed or obey a first, second and third summons from him, he is to be completely deposed, deprived of maintenance, and denied any recovery of his dignity. If he continues to cause turmoil and disturbance, he is to be chastised by the secular authorities as a troublemaker.*

11. After the reading of the divine and sacred canons the holy council said: ‘This holy and ecumenical council, imitating the clemency of Christ the Lord, has approved the most magnificent and glorious officials and the sacred and Christ-loving senate in their condescension towards the monks Carosus, Dorotheus, Barsaumas and those with them, to the effect that there be granted to the aforesaid, for reflection on complying with this holy and ecumenical council and its decrees on the true faith, a stay of execution of thirty days, that is to say, from the 15th of the present month of October<sup>12</sup> until the 15th of November. Accordingly clerics will be sent to them on the appointed day, to remind them that they must either walk upright in the truth and submit to all the decrees of this holy council for the suppression of every heretical false doctrine, or recognize that they, together with the clerics or at least monks with them, are stripped of their rank and of all priestly dignity and communion, together with exclusion from the headship of monasteries. If they attempt to evade this, this holy and ecumenical great council decrees that this penalty is confirmed against them, that is to say with the secular authorities enforcing the decree against the disobedient, in accordance with the divine and sacred canons of the fathers.’

11 Canon 5 of Antioch. This canon had already been read out at the fourth session (IV. 90).

12 Since the date of this session was 20 October, the specification of the 15th is puzzling and may be a textual error. Conceivably, however, it was the date of a preliminary demand for the monks’ submission, or was chosen as a conventional mid-month date.



## SESSION ON PHOTIUS AND EUSTATHIUS

### INTRODUCTION

The following minutes, of which the full title is ‘Act concerning Photius bishop of Tyre and Eustathius bishop of Berytus’, relate to the second item of business transacted at the council on 20 October 451. Shortly before his death the emperor Theodosius II had accorded metropolitan status to the see of Berytus (in Phoenice Prima), whose bishop proceeded to assume jurisdiction over a number of neighbouring cities, which had hitherto been subject to the bishop of Tyre, the provincial capital. The bishop of Tyre took advantage of the change of regime and convocation of the council to appeal for, and obtain at this session, a restoration of the full metropolitan rights of his see.

### COMMENTARY

This second session, or act, of 20 October 451 occurs in the Greek Acts after the session on Carosus and Dorotheus held on the same day (*ACO* 2.1 pp. 460–69) and is likewise omitted in the Latin version. Because of its position in the MSS Schwartz numbered it (in Arabic numerals) as ‘Act 19’;<sup>1</sup> chronologically, however, it occurred between the fourth and fifth sessions. In the lull before the anxiously awaited recommendations from the committee set up at the second session to draw up a Definition of Faith (II, 6, 45), this additional session was held to settle a dispute over jurisdiction.

The issue concerned the metropolitan rights of the see of Tyre in Phoenice Prima. The facts of the case, as we discover from the minutes, were as follows. Traditionally the bishop of Tyre consecrated all the bishops of the province, but at a date that followed the elevation of Anatolius to the see of Constantinople (late in 449) and preceded the death of Theodosius II (in July 450) the see of Berytus in the same province was elevated by an imperial

<sup>1</sup> It was doubtless omitted from the numbered sequence of Acts because it was not included in the original edition; see vol. 1, 81.

rescript (7) to metropolitan status; this was doubtless a reward for the role Eustathius of Berytus had played at the Council of Ephesus of 449 as a henchman of Dioscorus, for which Pope Leo erased his name from the diptychs;<sup>2</sup> at the same time it was a humiliation for Bishop Photius of Tyre, who had made enemies by his sympathetic treatment early in 449 of one of the most outspoken opponents of the Alexandrians, Ibas of Edessa.<sup>3</sup> The bishop of Berytus immediately claimed metropolitan rights over the sees lying to the north – Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia, Arca, and Antaradus (18) – which would leave the more southerly Tyre with the sees to the south. When Bishop Photius ignored Eustathius' claims and continued to consecrate bishops for these northerly sees, a Home Synod held at Constantinople under Anatolius' chairmanship confirmed the authority of Berytus over these sees, sentenced Photius *in absentia* to excommunication, and degraded two bishops he had consecrated to the rank of presbyter (19–27).<sup>4</sup> Photius himself was forced to sign the decree (7), doubtless as the price for the lifting of the excommunication (which implied deposition). The change of regime at Constantinople and the discrediting of Eustathius because of his role at Ephesus II (leading to his suspension at the end of the first session of Chalcedon, I. 1068) gave Photius the opportunity for a comeback. He appealed to the emperor (7), who passed the matter on to the Council of Chalcedon, with instructions that it should be decided by church law, regardless of imperial mandates (11). The bishops expressed particular disapproval for the way in which the Home Synod had degraded canonically ordained bishops to presbyteral rank (49–56), and duly restored the full metropolitan rights of the see of Tyre. Eustathius had to yield, though he determinedly signed the Definition as 'bishop of the metropolis of Berytus' (VI. 9.65).

The affairs of Phoenice Prima took on general importance when two bishops, Atticus of Nicopolis in Epirus and Cecropius of Sebastopolis in Armenia, proposed that the council's decision should apply to all provinces

2 See Leo, *ep.* 80 of 13 April 450 (*ACO* 2.4 p. 40. 3–9). At the first session of Chalcedon, Eustathius continued to express reservations about two-nature formulae (I. 267, 531).

3 See our commentary on Session X. The rescript (*CJ* XI.21.1) confirmed the rights of Tyre, but accorded Berytus 'similar dignity'.

4 The degraded bishops were Heraclitus of Arca and Peter of Byblus; Eustathius replaced them with (respectively) Antiochus and Rufinus, who represented these sees at Chalcedon. We may presume that, as a result of the decision at this session against Eustathius, Heraclitus and Peter recovered their sees; Photius drew attention to them by signing Canon 28 on their behalf (XVI. 9.110–11). Heraclitus reappears as bishop of Arca in the *Codex Encyclius* of 457–8 (*ACO* 2.5 p. 44. 27).

and to any situation in which ecclesiastical rights were affected by imperial mandates (42, 59); and this was accepted by the chairman (62). If this amounted to a voluntary limitation by the emperor of his power to reorganize the church on his own authority, it reflected awareness that corrupt influence could lead to the issuing of imperial rescripts by subordinate officials without genuine imperial approval.<sup>5</sup> It would in any case be a mistake to see this decision as weakening the connection between secular and ecclesiastical organization: one of the chief objections to allowing Berytus metropolitan status was the anomaly of having two metropolitans in the same province (40); the assumption behind this is that ecclesiastical and civil provinces had to coincide.<sup>6</sup>

An issue that surfaced at this session was the authority of the 'home synods' that met at Constantinople. From the reign of Theodosius I, the first emperor to make Constantinople his normal residence, the eastern emperors regularly delegated the hearing of ecclesiastical appeals addressed to them to the archbishop of Constantinople, who would deal with the cases by summoning an ad hoc assembly of whatever bishops happened to be staying in the imperial city at the time.<sup>7</sup> Until Canons 9 and 17 of Chalcedon assigned to the archbishop of Constantinople formal rights of appellate jurisdiction, the authority exercised by these synods over the affairs of other churches was without basis in church law. The lay chairman at this session raised the question of their authority, to which Archbishop Anatolius reasonably replied that it had become customary; the bishops accepted this, but insisted that these synods should not condemn a defendant in his absence, as had happened to Photius (28–33).

## PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, thirteen days before the Kalends of November<sup>8</sup> at Chalcedon, on the orders of our most divine and pious master, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and

5 See Jones, *LRE*, 472.

6 See Jones, *LRE*, 881–3 for this rule and also for exceptions to it. It had been challenged earlier in the century by Pope Innocent I (*ep.* 18.2), but it helped collaboration between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. For the principle that sees and cities should exactly coincide, see Canon 17 of Chalcedon with our annotation, vol. 3, 100.

7 See Hefele-Leclerq, II.1, 519–21.

8 20 October 451.

glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) and the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.<sup>9</sup>

2. There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople New Rome, (5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of the city of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (11) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (18) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Leo, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilocheus the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa, (29) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (30) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (31) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (32) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (33) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (34) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (35) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (36) Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus, (37) Apragmonius the most devout bishop of Tieum, representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of

9 The number of officials and senators attending now falls to three, which was to remain the pattern until the end of the council, apart from the sixth session.

Claudiopolis, (38) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (39) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (40) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia, (41) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (42) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (43) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (44) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (45) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (46) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (47) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (48) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (49) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (50) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (51) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (52) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (53) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (54) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John the most devout bishop of Rhodes, (55) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea in Syria, (56) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (57) Eusebius, presbyter, representing the most devout Macarius bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (58) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convened by decree of our most divine and pious master in the city of Chalcedon.

3. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the most holy sanctuary, Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: 'I have presented a petition to the most divine and Christ-loving emperor, and he has ordered your magnificence together with this holy and ecumenical council to hear the case and issue a decree on it. I therefore demand that my petition be read and my rights accorded me.'

4. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the petition of the most devout Bishop Photius be read.'

5. Before the reading Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: 'Our most pious and Christ-loving master, our most pious and Christ-loving mistress [Pulcheria], you the most glorious and Christ-loving officials and the great senate, and the holy and ecumenical council, which is led by our most God-beloved and sacred fathers Leo and Anatolius, have gathered us here together for the sake of the faith, and you gave orders that the definition should be composed before everything else, so that priority should be given to completing the issue of the faith.<sup>10</sup> But if you now give

10 See I. 1068 and II. 2.

orders for the investigation of my case, I shall not procrastinate but immediately make my defence.'

6. The most glorious officials said: 'Since our most divine emperor, when approached by Photius the most devout bishop of the metropolis of Tyre, gave orders that his case and that of the other bishops who claim that they have been wronged should be examined at the most holy council in our presence, let the petition of the most devout Bishop Photius be read.'

When it had been presented, Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read:

*7. To the masters of earth and sea and of every tribe and race of men Flavius Valentinian and Flavius Marcian perpetual and triumphant Augusti a petition and supplication from Photius bishop of the metropolis of Tyre of your province of Phoenice Prima.*

*All who wish to obtain their desire will not be able to do so other than by falling at your feet, from where they will be able to enjoy some fruit of their hopes, especially when their supplication is awarded its rights. Therefore I too have proceeded to this entreaty, having persuaded myself that I shall not be disappointed in the hope of my expectations, since justice is fighting on my side. What then is the reason for my petition, a brief account will indicate. To the most holy church of Tyre there have been assigned by the holy canons from ancient and immemorial times certain rights in ecclesiastical administration and in consecrations. These rights Eustathius the most devout bishop of the city of Berytus, supported by the opportune zeal of certain persons, tried to abolish, obtaining a divine rescript in the reign of Theodosius of divine memory, by means of which, claiming for himself the consecrations in certain cities, he intended to transfer some of the rights of the aforesaid church to himself. The aforesaid most sacred bishop used such determination in circumventing the rights of the church that he contrived that a synodical letter be sent to me, threatening deposition<sup>11</sup> if I did not subscribe the document. I subscribed it not out of free choice but in fear of the threat it contained, and indicated the compulsion applied to me in my signature; for I wrote that I had signed under duress, knowing that this in no way prejudiced my case, since both the godly and the divine laws<sup>12</sup> define that what is done not from free choice but from compulsion has no force. In*

11 In fact, a Home Synod at Constantinople had not simply threatened Photius but declared him excommunicate (see 24, 27 below).

12 τῶν θεικῶν καὶ τῶν θείων νόμων, that is, the laws both ecclesiastical and imperial.

*the reign of your piety all men who have had experience know well that groundless patronage does not prevail, and that anyone who wants to arrogate to himself by innovation something unrecognized in antiquity will not be able to do so. I therefore, prostrate at your feet, beg your celestial power to decree that everything assigned from of old to the aforesaid most holy church by the divine canons is to remain undisturbed, and that, if anything contrary to antiquity should be attempted by the above-mentioned or by anyone else acting for him,<sup>13</sup> it is vain and has no force, but that the rights of the most holy church at Tyre are to be restored inviolate, while everything procured by fraud by the above-mentioned is without validity, whether divine rescripts or even the decisions of whatever great law courts; and if on account of this there has occurred any consent on the part of any most holy bishops to the overturning of antiquity and the divine canons,<sup>14</sup> it is to have no force, while I am to suffer no prejudice from the subscription I made on the synodical document in the way I have described. Your divine and venerable pragmatic sanction on the matter is to be sent to the most magnificent and glorious prefects of your sacred praetorians, and to the most magnificent and glorious magister utriusque militiae in the East, the former consul and patrician Zeno, and to the most magnificent and glorious master of your divine offices;<sup>15</sup> and the holy and ecumenical council convoked at Chalcedon by the grace of Christ and your command is also to be informed of this, so that nothing will be able to proceed contrary to the decrees of your piety. (For in the nature of things the rights of sacred things are never lessened as a result of the slackness of those placed in charge.)<sup>16</sup> If I obtain this request, I shall constantly perform the customary prayers for your everlasting reign.*

8. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘What does the most devout Eustathius bishop of Berytus say in reply to this in his own defence?’

9. Bishop Eustathius said: ‘Bid him say whether he is raising the matter canonically or according to the laws?’

13 The reference is to Archbishop Anatolius of Constantinople, who had given every support to Eustathius’ claims.

14 The reference is to the Home Synod of Constantinople, which confirmed the imperial mandate and declared Photius excommunicate.

15 Vincomalus, for whom see I. 2.4n. He was one of the three officials presiding at this session.

16 Schwartz considered this sentence (lacking in the best manuscript) to be a marginal annotation that had slipped into the text.

10. Bishop Photius said: 'Having approached the most pious emperor so that the see of Tyre should recover its rights and because the most devout Bishop Eustathius sought to overturn ancient custom, ...<sup>17</sup> let the most holy lord bishops be asked. For I do not depart from the canons nor do I wish to overturn the decrees of the fathers, but I request that those rights be not overturned.'

11. The most glorious officials said: 'It has pleased the most divine master of the world that the affairs of the most sacred bishops should proceed not according to divine rescripts or pragmatic sanctions but according to the canons enacted by the holy fathers. Therefore, with every decision arising from divine mandates being treated as void, let the canons in force on this matter be read.'

12. Before the reading of the canons Bishop Eustathius said: 'By your feet, since he has falsely accused me of acting precipitately, I entreat this holy and ecumenical council to accept my assurances that nothing was perpetrated by me. For I am not so reckless as to go against the canons of the fathers.'

13. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the holy and ecumenical council say if it wishes the examination of this matter to be conducted according to the canons of the fathers or according to the divine mandates, concerning which we have already made known to all the pleasure of the divine head.'

14. The holy council said: 'Let no mandate have force contrary to the canons. Let the canons of the fathers prevail.'

15. The most glorious officials said: 'It is now time for us to be instructed by the holy council if it is permissible for other bishops to take away the rights of another's church according to a divine mandate.'

16. The holy council exclaimed: 'This is not permissible; it is contrary to the canons.'

17. The most glorious officials said: 'The reply given by the holy council is clear. Let the most devout Bishop Photius say from which church has a bishop subject to him as metropolitan been removed by the most devout Bishop Eustathius, or what has been perpetrated in regard to the consecrations that he has carried out?'

18. Photius bishop of Tyre said: 'He took Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia, Arca and Antaradus. I ask your philanthropy to order these [cities] to be restored to the see of Tyre, and [I ask] your greatness to hear about the other things that have happened.'

<sup>17</sup> Although not noted by Schwartz, the defect in both sense and syntax indicates a brief lacuna.



19. Eustathius the most devout bishop said: ‘A synod of most devout bishops took place at Constantinople, and a decree was issued which was also signed by Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch.’

20. Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch said: ‘A document was brought to me with the signature of the most sacred Archbishop Anatolius, and following him I too signed.’<sup>18</sup>

21. The most glorious officials said: ‘So was your devotedness present at the synod under the most sacred Archbishop Anatolius which decreed this, and did you assent to the proceedings?’

22. Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch said: ‘I was at Constantinople. When the synod on this matter took place I was not present, but a document was brought to me and I signed.’

23. Bishop Eustathius said: ‘I inform your authority and the holy council that I am now speaking not to defend myself over taking anything but to persuade you that he has calumniated me. For I myself did not present a petition to the most pious emperor to make Berytus a metropolis – it is customary for emperors to create metropolises –, and it was not I who took away the cities but the holy synod.<sup>19</sup> As now when a few assembled at Constantinople and the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo was sent to the metropolitans everywhere and signed, so then also the decisions of the most sacred bishops present were brought and signed.’<sup>20</sup>

24. Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: ‘A consecration was performed by me, accompanied by those [the bishops] of the province according to the ancient procedure. Notice of excommunication was first sent to me from there [Constantinople] in my absence, and I spent 122 days excommunicate. I again consecrated two bishops, and he deposed them and made them presbyters.’

25. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Who sent it?’

26. Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: ‘I don’t know. It was sent from there.’

27. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said: ‘He

18 Maximus had been ordained bishop of Antioch by Anatolius. He meekly followed Anatolius’ lead both at this juncture and later when at Marcian’s accession he signed the Tome of Leo, despite his earlier miaphysite leanings.

19 Anatolius of Constantinople will have petitioned the emperor and secured the support of the Home Synod on Eustathius’ behalf.

20 The Synod of Constantinople that approved the Tome of Leo was held on 21 October 450 (Chadwick 2001, 569). It was chaired by Anatolius of Constantinople, who busied himself with collecting further subscriptions to the Tome (see Documents before the Council 9).

perpetrated certain illegalities, and in its indignation the synod here, impelled by the canons, sent him notice of excommunication.’

28. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Let the holy council say if it was permissible for the most holy Archbishop Anatolius to send notice of excommunication to the most devout Bishop Photius in his absence and to give orders that certain churches in his province should be taken away from him, and if a gathering of people staying in the imperial city ought to be called a synod.’<sup>21</sup>

29. Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios said: ‘It is called a synod, and they come together, and the oppressed obtain their rights.’

30. Atticus the most devout bishop of Zela said: ‘But no one condemns someone in his absence.’

31. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘No one condemns someone in his absence.’

32. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said: ‘The custom has prevailed from of old that, when the occasion calls for it, the most holy bishops staying in the renowned city come together about church matters that arise, decide each one, and provide plaintiffs with a response. So I did nothing involving innovation, and nor did the most holy bishops who were staying here and assembled according to custom issue a novel decree. The acts that were drawn up prove the bishops’ presence.’

33. Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: ‘Your magnificence has asked us if it is permissible to condemn someone in his absence. To this I make reply. There is in the divine scriptures a Roman saying that runs as follows: “It is not the custom of the Romans to give up anyone before the accused meets the accusers face to face and receives an opportunity for defence against the charge.”’<sup>22</sup>

34. Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: ‘I ask for nothing else, and I entreat your just judgement that the canons stand, that those lawfully consecrated by me but then expelled and made presbyters be restored, and that I recover the churches.’

35. The holy council exclaimed: ‘This is a just request. Let the canons prevail. The request of the most devout Bishop Photius is just.’

36. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Let the canons be read.’

21 ‘Synod’ and ‘council’ both translate the same Greek word, *σύνοδος*.

22 Acts 25:16. We read *τόπον ἀπολογίας* (‘opportunity for defence’), according to the normal biblical text, rather than the meaningless *τύπον ἀπολογίας* (‘decree of defence’) printed in *ACO*.

Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus read:

*Canon 4 of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea*

37. *A bishop ought above all to be appointed by all the bishops in the province. But if this be difficult either because of some pressing necessity or on account of the length of the journey, at all events three should meet together, with the absentees also having a vote and agreeing by letter, and then the consecration is to be carried out. The confirmation of the proceedings is to be entrusted in each province to the metropolitan.*

38. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Were the bishops of the province then present when the most devout Bishop Eustathius performed the consecrations?’

39. Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘From the time when I became metropolitan, there were present with me those approved by me. Now the most pious emperor can give what orders he wants.’

40. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Let the holy council indicate its pleasure whether it is its will that in accordance with the canon of the 318 holy fathers there should be one metropolitan bishop with authority over the consecrations of the most devout bishops in each city of the province, or whether there should be two, with the consequence that they are permitted to perform consecrations in the cities separately.’

41. The holy council said: ‘We demand that according to the canons of the holy fathers there should be one metropolitan. We entreat that the canons of the holy fathers prevail.’

42. Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus said: ‘It is the intention of the canon of the 318 holy fathers that there should be one metropolitan in each province. We here and now supplicate that the force of the canons should prevail in respect of all matters and all the provinces, while everything that has happened as a result of solicitation and mandates, overturning what was decreed by the holy fathers spiritually and according to God, is void.’

43. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘In accordance with both the canons of the 318 holy fathers and the decree and judgement of the entire holy council, Photius the most devout bishop of the metropolis of Tyre will possess the whole authority to perform consecrations in all the cities of Phoenice Prima, while the most devout Bishop Eustathius is to claim nothing for himself on the basis of the divine pragmatic sanction more than other bishops in the same province. Let the holy council indicate if it assents to this.’

44. The holy council exclaimed: ‘This is a just judgement. This is the judgement of God. This is a just decree. Many years to the emperors! Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the officials!’

45. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘What is the pleasure of the holy council over the bishops who were consecrated by the most devout Bishop Photius but removed by the most devout Bishop Eustathius and after episcopacy told to be presbyters?’

46. The holy council said: ‘We demand that they be bishops. It is just for them to recover their episcopate and their cities since they were consecrated by the metropolitan. Let the consecrations of father Photius be deemed valid.’

47. Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe in Thrace said: ‘We all ask this to be restored to them – the dignity, episcopate, their sees, and the honour – since they were consecrated by the metropolitan.’

48. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘It is for the holy council to pronounce and decree definitively on the matter.’

49. Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the presbyter, representatives of the apostolic see of Rome, said: ‘To reduce a bishop to the rank of presbyter is a sacrilege. If some just cause deprives them of the exercise of episcopacy, they ought not to hold even the post of presbyter. But if they were deprived of their status without reference to any charge, they are to be restored to episcopal dignity.’<sup>23</sup>

50. When this speech had been translated into Greek by Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory,<sup>24</sup> Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said: ‘Those who are said to have been demoted from episcopal dignity to the rank of presbyter, if they are condemned on legitimate charges, are clearly not worthy of the honour of a presbyter either. But if they were degraded to the lesser rank without some legitimate charge, they deserve, if they prove innocent, to recover the dignity and priesthood of the episcopate.’

51. Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch said: ‘I too am in agreement with the most God-beloved and sacred archbishops concerning those degraded from bishops to presbyters.’

52. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘I too say the same about them.’

23 This statement was included in Byzantine canonical collections as ‘Canon 29’ of the council.

24 The preceding clause comes before 49 in the Greek text, a misplacement arising from the insertion of a Greek version of the Latin original of 49 and then the deletion of the Latin.

53. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'I agree with the decisions made in writing by the holy fathers, both the Romans and Anatolius of renowned Constantinople.'

54. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: 'I follow the decree of the aforesaid holy fathers and the verdict of their just judgement.'

55. Julian the most devout bishop of the city of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Rome, said: 'It is unlawful and sacrilegious that those who have been canonically consecrated as bishops and willingly accepted consecration should again hold the dignity of presbyter contrary to the whole order of the canons. But if, as may well be, they are under accusation, the holy synod [of the province] will determine the precise facts of the matter, and only when the truth is revealed will they be deprived<sup>25</sup> of episcopal honour. It is not possible for a lesser rank to be substituted for a greater dignity.'

56. Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: 'He who is unworthy to be a bishop cannot be worthy to be a presbyter either.'

57. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'The judgement of the fathers is just. We all say the same. The fathers have decreed justly. Let the decree of the archbishops prevail.'

58. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let the pleasure of the holy council be observed as valid for all time.'

59. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: 'So that your authority may not be saddled with receiving individual complaints, and so that we too should not be overburdened, we ask that the mandates procured by people in every province to the detriment of the canons should be incontrovertibly nullified, and that in all matters the canons should prevail – for in this way will both the faith be protected and each church have security–, and also that it should not be permitted to consecrate anyone contrary to the canons.'

60. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let the entire most holy council indicate if it agrees with the request of the most devout Bishop Cecropius.'

61. The holy council exclaimed: 'We all say the same. All the mandates

25 The ἐντὸς γενήσονται of the MSS, followed by Schwartz, (literally, 'they will become inside', i.e. they will recover) is emended in Mansi, VII. 96 to ἐκτὸς γενήσονται (literally, 'they will become outside', i.e. they will lose), which produces a smoother sequence of thought and superior Greek idiom.

should be null and void. May the canons prevail, and may this be brought about by you.'

62. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'In accordance with the decree of the holy council the provisions of the canons are to prevail in all the other provinces as well.'

63. The holy council exclaimed: 'Many years to the emperor! Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the officials! This is a just judgement. The just have judged justly.'

64. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let the resolutions be put into effect.'

## **THE FIFTH SESSION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

We come now to the most momentous session of the council – the fifth session of 22 October 451, which achieved the great work of the council, the production of a new definition of faith. The meeting began with the submission of a draft definition by the committee set up in the second session; this satisfied the great majority of the bishops, but was criticized by the Roman delegates and some of the Syrians for failing to teach unambiguously that there are two natures, Godhead and manhood, in Christ. The bishops were unimpressed by this criticism, but it was taken up by the imperial representatives who chaired the session. When deadlock ensued, the emperor was consulted, who told the bishops to agree to a suitable amendment of the draft, threatening otherwise to entrust the matter to a western council – that is, to a Roman council presided over by Pope Leo. The bishops yielded and the draft was accordingly amended, and approved by acclamation. The minutes bring out the politicization of doctrinal debate, with the result that the chief argument against the draft was that the disgraced Dioscorus could accept it, and the way in which even on a doctrinal issue episcopal wishes had to yield to imperial policy.

### **COMMENTARY**

The minutes of the fifth act, or session, give a frank and dramatic account of a session where the officials and the bishops were for a long time at loggerheads over the wording of the Definition. Despite the honesty of the record in this respect, it is clear that there are substantial omissions. The text of the draft definition is suppressed (3); the objections of John of Germanicia and of the Roman legates to the draft are not detailed (4, 9); no reply is recorded to Anatolius of Constantinople's objection that Dioscorus had not been condemned as a heretic (14); it is scarcely credible that after the production of the revised version of the draft the bishops were content

simply to approve it by acclamation (35). Above all, the sheer brevity of the minutes indicates that much of the discussion has simply been omitted. What we have, however, remains the most significant section in the entire Acts, both for an understanding of the significance of the Definition and for a revelation of the means by which the imperial will prevailed.<sup>1</sup>

### **The draft definition**

At the second session of 10 October the chairman had insisted that the task of the council was to ‘produce a pure exposition of the faith’ (II. 2) and that a committee of bishops was to be set up to ‘deliberate in common about the faith and then make their decisions known to all so that every dispute may be resolved’ (II. 6) – in other words, to draw up a doctrinal definition. The bishops reacted with apparently unanimous disapproval, through loyalty to the Creed of Nicaea as the definitive statement of the faith and also, doubtless, out of fear of what a new definition might contain. When, however, at the beginning of the fifth session the committee presented a draft definition, it was received by the council with enthusiasm. Anatolius of Constantinople (who presumably chaired the committee) referred to an informal meeting of the previous day, when the draft had been shown to the bishops and won general approval (7–8). Clearly, the vast majority of the bishops were hugely relieved to find that the Definition was not, in their view, contentious.

The text of the draft was not included in the published minutes, but it can be recovered with reasonable confidence. It is likely to have differed from the version finally approved (30–34) in only a few details, for two reasons: only a few changes were demanded, and the work of revision was carried out speedily, in the course of the session. Already in its draft form, the main sequence of the Definition will have followed uncontroversially from the proceedings of the second and fourth sessions, with their confirmation of the preceding ecumenical councils of 325, 381 and 431 (including the creeds of the first two and the two conciliar letters of Cyril of Alexandria associated with the third) and also of the Tome of Leo.<sup>2</sup> We may note a particular

1 The following analysis of the Definition concentrates on the stages of its redaction. For the broader theological context and the relation of the Definition to the theology of Cyril of Alexandria see General Introduction, vol. 1, 56–75.

2 The letters of Cyril called ‘canonical’ (I. 1072) or ‘conciliar’ (IV. 9.12; V. 34) were the two read out at the first and second sessions – the Second Letter to Nestorius and the Letter to John of Antioch (I. 240, 246; II. 18–19). The Tome of Leo is given at II. 22.



emphasis on the Nicene Creed and the letters of Cyril: since Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius (I. 240) was devoted to showing that the Nicene Creed itself proved Nestorius a heretic, the implication is that, as at the Council of Ephesus of 431, it was this letter, as an interpretation of the creed, that was seen as the key exposition of the church's faith in Christ.<sup>3</sup> To this the Definition added the contribution of the Tome of Leo in condemning Eutyches for his apparent denial of the true humanity of Christ and assertion of a blending of natures in Christ, leaving Christ neither truly divine nor truly human.<sup>4</sup> It was only after an extended account of these great authoritative texts and the heresies they condemned that the Definition proceeded to give a positive summary of sound Christological teaching. It was this alone that proved contentious; it is a mistake, however, to treat this final section as the true Definition and the rest as mere preamble.

Two criticisms of the draft definition are explicit in the minutes. The objection was made in episcopal acclamations that Mary's title of *Theotokos* had to be inserted into the Definition (8, 12). It may seem so odd that this could have been omitted that there is some plausibility in the suggestion, supported by some of the best scholars on the council, that the acclamations meant not that the title had been omitted but that it should be *retained* in the Definition despite a demand for its deletion made (conjecturally) by John of Germanicia (the birthplace of Nestorius), as spokesman for the Antiochene party (4).<sup>5</sup> But it is not probable that John proposed the deletion of the formula: moderate Antiochenes, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, John of Antioch and Theodoret, had never found *Theotokos* problematic, and it had been included in the Antiochene statement of faith drawn up in 431 (*ACO* 1.1.7 p. 70) that was to become the Formula of Reunion.<sup>6</sup> The most natural and plausible interpretation of the Greek remains that *Theotokos* was not included in the draft definition and that this is what displeased the bishops.<sup>7</sup>

3 Note how in the fourth session it was primarily the Second Letter to Nestorius that was treated as the authoritative non-credal document against which Leo's Tome was to be tested (see IV. 9n.).

4 See vol. 1, 116 for an argument that Eutyches had been wrongly interpreted and unfairly condemned, though it is notable that after Chalcedon the miaphysites did not continue to defend him.

5 So Chadwick 2001, 578, following de Halleux 1976, 156 and 166. The suggestion had been made many years earlier by Bolotov 1917, 289.

6 Some of the Syrians remained loyal to Nestorius and critical of *Theotokos* even after 433, but by 437 they had been silenced; see Chadwick 2001, 544–8.

7 The draft may well have mentioned rejection of *Theotokos* as one of the errors of Nestorius (the mention of this at the beginning of VI. 34 does not read like a late addition): what

The omission is certainly unexpected, but it can be explained as an accidental consequence of the draft's taking as the basis for its Christological formula, as we shall shortly argue, the confession of faith of Flavian of Constantinople, which likewise omitted *Theotokos*, doubtless because the propriety of the expression was no longer the point at issue.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, it is quite certain that the draft definition did not contain an unambiguous statement of the existence in Christ of two distinct natures, divine and human. At one point the chairman observed, 'Dioscorus said that the reason for Flavian's deposition was that he said there are two natures, but the Definition has "from two natures"' (3; see also 26–8). Since the Greek for 'from' is ἐκ, while it was replaced by ἐν (that Christ is 'in' two natures) in the formula finally approved, it has been wittily observed that the whole controversy ignited by the Definition was over a single letter. In fact both formulae were ambiguous. The 'from' formula could indeed be understood to teach the existence in Christ of two natures, which is what Flavian must have intended at I. 271 and which is why Eutyches was reluctant to accept the expression (see I. 489n.); but it could also be understood to imply the Alexandrian formula that Christ is 'one out of two' – that while Christ is constituted by the coming together of two distinct elements, the result of the union is a single identity which, despite its possession of a wide range of different and contrasting attributes, is not to be defined in terms of a continuing duality.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, subsequent developments within Chalcedonian Christology were to show that the 'in' formula was equally open to a variety of interpretations (see n. 15 below).

Finally, it has been observed that a key clause in the final version of the Definition – 'the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis' – is a genitive absolute clause that is syntactically intrusive, interrupting as it does a series of phrases in apposition in the accusative. This suggests that this clause was a last-minute addition – even if the formula 'one person and one hypostasis' is

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the bishops objected to was the absence of the title in the positive Christological formula with which the draft definition ended.

8 For an effective argument in favour of the view followed here, see Martzelos 1986, 94–8.

9 Talk of 'one out of two', of 'two before and one after the union', or of Godhead and manhood 'coming together' in Christ, did not mean that his manhood existed prior to the union, but that it can, for the sake of conceptual clarity, be analysed 'prior to' (that is, in abstraction from) the union in which alone it exists. Such analysis distinguishes two natures in Christ while respecting the fact that in reality they form a single existent.

likely, in a different syntactical context, to have been present already in this part of the draft definition, for a reason I am about to give.

If we take these three points together, and presume that little else in the draft was changed, they suggest as the wording of the draft definition something that is strikingly close to a previously existing document – the confession of faith that Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople read out at the Home Synod of 448 (I. 271):

We hold and have always held that our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, is perfect God and perfect man made up of a rational soul and body, begotten from the Father without beginning before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same at the end and in the last times for us and for our salvation born from Mary the Virgin in respect of the manhood, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and consubstantial with his mother in respect of the manhood. For we confess that Christ is from two natures after the incarnation, as we confess in one hypostasis and one person one Christ, one Son, one Lord.<sup>10</sup>

What could have been more appropriate for a council concerned to vindicate Flavian of Constantinople than for it to adopt his own confession of faith?

### **The revision of the draft**

Although the great majority of the bishops greeted the draft definition enthusiastically, the minutes inform us that there were two small but significant groups of dissentients – ‘the Romans and some of the Orientals’ (6). The latter group, consisting of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and his allies, the heirs of the Antiochene school (which by this date had limited support even in Syria itself), had as its spokesman at this session Bishop John of Germanicia, who made two recorded interventions, demanding amendments to the draft (4, 12; details of the amendments demanded are not given). His intervention served simply to anger the majority party, which responded by demanding the expulsion of the ‘Nestorians’.<sup>11</sup> Far more serious was the opposition of

<sup>10</sup> Flavian repeated the same credo in a letter sent to Theodosius II in December 448, where he supplemented it, however, with the statement, ‘We do not refuse to call the nature of God the Word one, albeit en fleshed and made man, because from both is one and the same Jesus Christ our Lord’ (*ACO* 2.1 p. 35. 20–22). Flavian’s tardy adoption of a miaphysite formula was a political manoeuvre, after his championship of the dyophysite cause at the Home Synod had exposed him to criticism.

<sup>11</sup> John of Germanicia (in Syria Euphratensis) had been an ally of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and a promoter of the dyophysite cause since the early 430s. The fathers of Chalcedon suspected him of Nestorianism, and he was obliged, like Theodoret, to utter an anathema against Nestorius in the eighth session (VIII. 28–9). See *DHGE* 20, 952–3 and Diepen 1953, 72.

the Roman delegates, who demanded that the draft be brought into line with the Tome of Leo and threatened to return home immediately if this was not granted (9). The lay chairman took up their objection: both Flavian of Constantinople and Leo of Rome had insisted that there are two natures in Christ, yet the formula used in the draft – ‘from two natures’ – was not only ambiguous: it had in addition been approved by the now disgraced Dioscorus. It was fatal for the draft that Dioscorus had said at the first session, ‘I accept “from two [natures]”; I do not accept “two”’ (I. 332).

Anatolius and his committee had held a meeting of bishops on the previous day at which the draft had been approved (7, 12). It is scarcely credible that he had not taken the trouble to secure the acquiescence of the Roman delegates before presenting the draft to the council; but if so, they must have been successfully lobbied by Theodoret’s faction in the meantime. Despite the unanimity with which the bishops had solemnly approved the Tome of Leo in the fourth session, they were now in no mood to let an appeal to the Tome force on them a Christological formula that could be seen as a victory for the ‘Nestorians’. The lay chairman Anatolius decided to resolve the impasse by an appeal to the emperor.<sup>12</sup> After the interval required for the secretary of the imperial consistory to cross the Bosphorus and back to elicit the imperial will, the emperor’s response duly arrived (22): he threatened the bishops that if they did not give way to the officials and the Roman delegates he would transfer the council to the west (i.e., to Rome), where it would of course be dominated by Pope Leo. Nothing is more amazing in the drama of this session than the fact that the bishops refused at first to yield to what was in effect an imperial command. But finally, and inevitably, the emperor’s will prevailed. The imperial representatives set up a new committee, consisting of themselves, the Roman delegates, Archbishop Anatolius, and 17 eastern bishops, who withdrew into a side-chapel (29) and after what cannot have been a long discussion returned to the nave to present their revision of the draft (30–34).<sup>13</sup>

What was the character of the membership of the committee (listed at 29)? Apart from Anatolius and the Roman delegates, no fewer than 13 of the remaining 18 had supported Dioscorus at Ephesus II, for which offence three of them (Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and

12 That Anatolius immediately sided with the Roman delegates, even before the emperor had been consulted (13), may reflect the fact that he was a personal friend of Theodoret (see I. 2.1n.).

13 Schwartz (1921, 142) suggests, quite implausibly, that the emperor sent a pre-prepared text for the bishops to rubber-stamp.

Eusebius of Ancyra) had been suspended at the end of the first session (I. 1068).<sup>14</sup> The only bishop from Syria was Maximus of Antioch, a belligerent supporter of Cyrillian theology, consecrated bishop by Anatolius while the latter was still supporting Dioscorus. The list contains no known allies of Theodoret, while one of the other members, Basil of Trajanopolis in Rhodope (Thrace), had in the first session expressed approval of his condemnation (I. 42). It is true that Eusebius of Dorylaeum, the prosecutor of Eutyches and Dioscorus, was also on the committee; he was, however, no ally of the Antiochenes, and in this fifth session had opposed amending the draft definition to satisfy the Roman delegates (19). This was not a group likely to break away from the consensus of the council fathers in favour of the teaching of Cyril of Alexandria, or to show any desire to accommodate the strongly dyophysite Christology of the Antiochene school.

The amending committee was obliged to assert a continuing duality in Christ, but the formula it used to do so – ‘acknowledged in two natures’ (replacing the ‘*from* two natures’ of the draft) – had been coined apparently by Basil of Seleucia (I. 169, 176, 301) on the basis of the assertion that Christ is ‘perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood’ in Cyril’s Letter to John of Antioch.<sup>15</sup> If the duality of natures in Christ had to be asserted, this was done by using, as far as possible, Cyrillian expressions – as in the following clause, ‘the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union’, taken from Cyril’s Second Letter to Nestorius (I. 240). The Definition proceeds to affirm Cyril’s doctrine of the unity of Christ by speaking of the two natures ‘coming together to form one person and one hypostasis’ – Cyril’s favourite doctrine (anathema to the Antiochenes) of ‘hypostatic union’ in Christ.<sup>16</sup> In all, the Definition attempted to take the

14 Prominent in this group was also Atticus of Nicopolis, for whose sympathies with Dioscorus see I. 298n.

15 The formula came later to be understood as equivalent to Cyril’s formula that Christ is two ‘in contemplation alone’, in other words that the duality arises in the mind that analyses Christ, while the reality is of a perfect unity of being; this interpretation was formally adopted in Canon 7 of the Council of Constantinople of 553 (*Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, vol. 1, 117) and is generally held by Eastern Orthodox theologians today. But it is clear from I. 170, 176, 303 that the formula was understood in the mid-fifth century to assert the distinction between the natures as not merely a mental construct but an objective fact (see de Halleux 1994, 464–6). This is why the formula satisfied the demand by the Roman delegates and the imperial representatives that the Definition had to define unambiguously that there are two natures in Christ, even if the exact meaning of ‘nature’ is not defined and admits a minimizing interpretation).

16 The words ‘the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together

sting out of its assertion of two natures in Christ, as required by the emperor and the Roman delegates, by expressing it in language taken from Cyril and placing it in the context of a strong assertion of Christ's oneness.<sup>17</sup>

But what of the objection to the production of a new formula that had been pressed by the bishops in the second session, namely that Canon 7 of the Council of Ephesus (I. 943) had forbidden the imposition of new creeds? Boldly, the framers of the definition, so far from shying away from it, actually incorporated this canon into the final section of the text. The meaning is that the Creed of Nicaea remains pre-eminent and indeed unique: the Definition is to be read as simply an authoritative exposition of what loyalty to Nicaea entails.

The minutes conclude with the bishops' approval of the new text by acclamation (35). Considering that the 'in two natures' formula was controversial, since it was understood to imply a real distinction between two elements in the incarnate Christ (see, for example, I. 169–70), this acceptance appears too easy, and one may suspect that the minutes suppress some expressions of dissent and some further debate.<sup>18</sup> As the text stands, the Definition in its final form is presented as a perfect formula that satisfied everybody. The aim of the emperor had now been achieved: the bishops had approved a new definition, and he would go down in history as the new Constantine, who supplemented the Nicene Creed with the normative formulation of the doctrine of the incarnation.

Accounts of this session by church historians used to gloss over the extent to which it testifies to the political reality of the council – the determination of the outcome by the imperial will, and the lack of episcopal freedom. The bishops had not originally wanted to produce a definition at all (see the second session); and when the draft was produced, few of them wished to amend it to please the Roman delegates. Yet the final outcome was

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into one person and one hypostasis' also echoes a clause in Leo's Tome, but note that the Greek word for 'comes together' (συντρεχούσης) is a piece of Cyrillian vocabulary, in contrast to the word used in the translation of Leo's equivalent word (συνισούσης), and that the key phrase 'and one hypostasis' is not in Leo.

17 See vol.1.69–70 for an argument that the Definition treats the two natures as two sets of attributes rather than two distinct existents. Note also that the emphasis in the key dyophysite clause, literally translated as 'one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures', would be more clearly conveyed by the paraphrase, 'It is one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, who is acknowledged in two natures'; even here the stress is on unity not duality.

18 It is possible, however, that the bishops were inhibited by fears that further opposition might lead the emperor to carry out his threat to transfer the council to Rome.

indeed a new definition, and one that, while Cyrillian in its expression, was so worded as to be acceptable to Rome.

With hindsight the church historian is bound to judge the production of a definition a tragedy for Christian unity, leading as it did to the schism between Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian churches that has continued to this day. At the same time, the emperor and his representatives were surely right to insist that the definition, if there was to be one, had to be acceptable to Rome. To have approved the draft definition would have been to repeat the disastrous outcome of Ephesus II; it would have initiated the great schism between east and west six centuries before it actually took place.

### **Appendix: the variant version of the Nicene Creed**

The authentic text of the Nicene Creed (N), as approved at the council of 325, was read out in the second session of Chalcedon (II. 11), and runs as follows:

We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father, God from God, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, both those on heaven and those on earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not', and 'Before being begotten he was not', and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.

This is the text that we would expect to have been incorporated in the Definition (at V. 32), and it is indeed the one that appears in the best Greek witnesses to the text (though sometimes with certain additions, such as 'from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin' and 'crucified for us under Pontius Pilate', taken from the Creed of Constantinople – C). However, we find a revision of the text in the Latin version of the Definition, which makes altogether more substantial changes in the first few lines:

We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all ages, true God from true God,

begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made, who for us men and for our salvation ...<sup>19</sup>

Schwartz (1926) argued that it is this text that represents the version of N originally included in the Chalcedonian Definition. His main evidence consisted of the early witnesses to the text, older than the extant Greek edition;<sup>20</sup> these include not only the Latin edition of the Acts, even before its revision by Rusticus, but also a summary of the sixth session, preserved independently in Latin translation in the *Collectio Vaticana*, which describes itself at the end of the document as ‘issued by Veronicianus and Constantinus dedicated *agentes in rebus*, secretaries of the sacred consistory’ – two officials who appear in the minutes of Chalcedon.<sup>21</sup> Schwartz suggested that this is the text that was sent by Bishop Julian of Cos to Pope Leo in response to his letter of 11 March 453 (*ep.* 113). If this deviant version is indeed the text inserted in the Definition, the question arises of why the drafters of the Definition should have thought it necessary to tamper with the text of N. Schwartz suggested that their purpose was to bring it into line with the wording of C (quoted in the Definition immediately afterwards). The claim made in the Definition itself is that C was produced ‘for the uprooting of the heresies which had then sprung up’ (31), which accounts well for its addition of a full article on the Holy Spirit but does not explain or justify its many small departures from N in the earlier sections of the creed.<sup>22</sup> By ironing out most of these anomalies, partly by small deletions from C (for which see n. 49 below) but mainly by changes to N, the drafters hoped to clarify what was new and significant in C.

A powerful riposte to Schwartz’s thesis was made a decade later by Joseph Lebon (1936). He queried the reliability of the text in the *Collectio Vaticana*, arguing that it cannot be the version of the Acts sent to Rome in response to Leo’s letter of 453, since Leo had asked for the full text of the minutes (translated into Latin), not just for a summary of two sessions,

19 Schwartz’s edition follows Rusticus in inserting ‘light from light’ before ‘true God from true God’, but the *versio antiqua* lacks these words.

20 Schwartz’s striking claim that *all* the witnesses to the text in the hundred years between Chalcedon and Constantinople II (553) give the variant form of the text is not, however, quite true: the authentic form comes in the *Florilegium Cyrillianum* (‘F’ in Schwartz’s apparatus), which cannot be later than 510.

21 *Collectio Vaticana* 6.2, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 107–9. For Veronicianus and Constantinus at Chalcedon, see our index of names.

22 Modern scholars consider C to be not a derivative of N but a parallel version of the creed, with some insertions from N. See Kelly 1972, 301–5.



which is all that this particular text provides.<sup>23</sup> He queried the coherence of Schwartz's account of why the texts of N and C were altered in the way he supposed: it is not clear why an assimilation of the two texts might have been thought necessary, and some of the changes (e.g., the deletion of 'light from light' from both N and C) are not accounted for by Schwartz's hypothesis and can only have been accidental. Finally, he argued plausibly that, if the fathers of Chalcedon had tampered with N so outrageously, this would certainly have been pointed out by subsequent critics of the Definition. He could have appealed to the incident in the first session of Chalcedon when Bishop Diogenes of Cyzicus accused Eutyches of heresy for not admitting the addition of 'from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin' after the words 'was enfleshed', to which the Egyptian bishops responded by insisting that no additions could be made to the creed (I. 160–63). Lebon's argument has been widely accepted.<sup>24</sup>

An important factor to bear in mind is that, as Lebon shows at length, N was already circulating in a variety of versions, of which indeed C is a prize example.<sup>25</sup> In an anthology of heretical passages from Nestorius read out at the first session of Chalcedon (I. 944.4) we find him citing N with the addition of 'from the Holy Spirit' (after 'enfleshed'); we have just noted the similar addition in the version of the creed to which Diogenes of Cyzicus appealed in the first session.<sup>26</sup> This consideration both strengthens and weakens Lebon's case. On the one hand, it makes it easier to understand how changes could have been made to the text *after* Chalcedon, almost accidentally. On the other hand, it undermines Lebon's initially plausible argument that the anti-Chalcedonians would have protested vociferously if the Definition had contained a variant version of N; as Lebon himself points out,<sup>27</sup> anti-Chalcedonian controversialists, such as Philoxenus, were happy to use expanded versions of N. It was, after all, the opponents of Chalcedon who at the end of the fifth century were the first to insert the creed into the

23 The argument is not wholly cogent. It is clear that the complete Acts were not translated into Latin at this date, yet some response must have been made to Leo's request; this document, which summarizes the third and sixth sessions, could have formed part of such a response.

24 See Hall 1997, esp. 23–8, and Chadwick 2001, 580.

25 A particularly interesting, and unusual, version was that adopted by the Church of Persia at the Council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410, which intriguingly contains the earliest occurrence in credal history of the *filioque*: 'We acknowledge the living and holy Spirit, the living Paraclete, who [is] from the Father and the Son.' See Bruns 2000.

26 Lebon 1936, 834–50 and 858–9 provides further evidence of the use of variant forms of N even before Chalcedon.

27 Lebon 1936, 866–70.

liturgy, and the text they adopted was not N but C, accepted not because of its authorization (actual or supposed) at the council of 381, for which they had no particular respect, but as an acceptable version of N.<sup>28</sup> Against this Lebon urges that anti-Chalcedonians who tolerated some additions to N would nevertheless have protested against changes as great as those made in the Definition according to Schwartz.<sup>29</sup> But why then did they insert C into the liturgy as an acceptable version of N?

At the end of the day one's choice between the positions of Schwartz and Lebon is likely to depend on one's judgement of the reliability of the Latin version of the Acts. The way in which, while preserving the authentic texts of N and C at II. 11–14, all the successive editions of the Latin Acts replace these texts with a variant version at V. 32–3, provides the strong kernel of Schwartz's case. The solid contribution of Lebon is, I would suggest, not his attempt to refute Schwartz but his demonstration that variant versions of N abounded. This makes it possible to offer an altogether less Machiavellian explanation of the changes. There is no reason to suppose that all that the drafters of the Definition had in front of them were the authentic texts read out in the second session. The changes they made are easier to explain if they had to hand an already existent text in which N had been altered in line with C; in preferring this conflated text to the version of N that we recognize as the more authentic, they were doubtless influenced by the consideration adduced by Schwartz (the desirability of reducing the differences between N and C to a minimum), but they will not have thought of themselves as altering the text of the creed. (They did make small changes to C, but this text was less familiar and less authoritative.) We may share Lebon's incredulity at it being thought necessary to tamper with the text, since the essential agreement of N and C is already unmistakable in their authentic versions; but all we need to conclude is that, with two alternative versions of N in front of them, the editors preferred the one closest to C.

## PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, ten days before the Kalends of November,<sup>30</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there

28 See Kelly 1972, 348–51.

29 Lebon 1936, 872, n. 1.

30 22 October.

assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the {sacred}<sup>31</sup> praetorians, and (3) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

There also assembled: (1–3) the most devout bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most devout presbyter Boniface, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople, (5) Maximus the most devout archbishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most devout bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (11) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Julian the most devout bishop of the city of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (18) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilochius the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa, (29) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (30) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (31) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (32) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (33) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (34) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (35) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (36) Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus, (37) Apragmonius the most devout bishop of Tieu, representing {Calogerus} the most devout bishop {of Claudiopolis},

31 Supplied from the Latin version.

(38) {Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing} Dorotheus {the most devout bishop}<sup>32</sup> of Neocaesarea, (39) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (40) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra, (41) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (42) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (43) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (44) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (45) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (46) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (47) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (48) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (49) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (50) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (51) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (52) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (53) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (54) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John bishop of Rhodes, (55) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (56) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (57) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (58) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by decree of our most divine and pious lord Marcian.

2. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, the most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Please make known to us what you have determined about the faith.'

3. Asclepiades deacon of the great church of Constantinople read out the definition, which it was decided not to include in these minutes.<sup>33</sup>

4. After the reading, while some raised objections, John the most devout bishop of Germanicia, {coming across to the centre,}<sup>34</sup> said: 'The definition is not a good one and needs to be made precise.'

5. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said to the holy council: 'Does the definition satisfy you?'

32 The bracketed words, from the Latin version (and cf. Session on Photius and Eustathius 2), fill a lacuna in the Greek.

33 When the minutes were edited, the decision was taken not to include the draft definition, since it could have provided ammunition for critics of the Definition in its final form. Chadwick 2001, 578 less probably takes this sentence to mean that a proposal not to include the draft in the Acts was actually put forward by Asclepiades and adopted by the bishops at this point in the proceedings.

34 Supplied from the Latin.

6. All the most devout bishops apart from the Romans and some of the Orientals exclaimed: ‘The definition satisfies us all. This is the faith of the fathers. Whoever holds a view contrary to this is a heretic. If anyone holds a different view, let him be anathema. Drive out the Nestorians. This definition satisfies everyone. Let those who do not anathematize Nestorius leave the council.’

7. Anatolius the most God-beloved bishop of Constantinople said: ‘Did the definition of the faith satisfy everyone yesterday?’

8. The most devout bishops said: ‘The definition satisfied everyone. We do not hold a different belief. Anathema to whoever holds a different belief. This is the faith of the fathers. The definition has satisfied God. This is the faith of the orthodox. May the faith not suffer from chicanery. Write “Holy Mary the *Theotokos*”, and add this to the creed.’<sup>35</sup>

9.<sup>36</sup> Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representatives of the apostolic see of Rome, said: ‘If they do not agree with the letter of the apostolic and most blessed man Archbishop Leo, order letters to be given us so that we may return home, and the council will be concluded there.’

10. The most glorious officials said: ‘If it seems good, let us – taking six of the most devout Oriental bishops, three from the diocese of Asiana, three from Pontica, three from Illyricum, and three from Thrace, accompanied by the most holy Archbishop Anatolius and the most devout men from Rome – retire together into the oratory of the holy martyrrium. When they have examined everything in order, their recommendations concerning the holy faith will be reported to you.’

11. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘The definition has satisfied everyone. [Report] our statements to the emperor. This is the definition of the orthodox.’

12. When John the most devout bishop of Germanicia again went up to the most glorious officials, the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Drive out the Nestorians. Drive out the fighters against God. Who they are has with difficulty been exposed. The world is orthodox. Yesterday the definition satisfied everyone. The emperor is orthodox. The Augusta is orthodox. The

35 By ‘creed’ (σύμβολον) is meant the Definition itself (see 12 below). For the omission of the term *Theotokos* from the draft definition see above, pp. 185–6.

36 The Greek version inserts: ‘Of these words in Latin the following is the Greek translation.’ The reference is to a Latin speech once included in the minutes of which the following paragraph is a translation.

Augusta expelled Nestorius.<sup>37</sup> The officials are orthodox. Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the emperor! Yesterday the definition satisfied everyone. Many years to the officials! We demand that the definition be signed on the gospels. It has satisfied everyone. Order the definition to be signed. Let there be no chicanery about the faith. Whoever will not sign the definition is a heretic. Holy Mary is *Theotokos*. Whoever does not hold this view is a heretic. You orthodox officials, protect the faith. Orthodox officials of orthodox emperors! No one disowns the definition. The Holy Spirit dictated the definition. The definition is orthodox. Let the definition be signed now. Whoever will not sign is a heretic. Drive out the heretics. The Virgin Mary is *Theotokos*. Drive out the heretic. “Mary the *Theotokos*” must be added to the definition. Drive out the Nestorians. Christ is God.’

13. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Dioscorus said that the reason for Flavian’s deposition was that he said there are two natures,<sup>38</sup> but the definition has “*from two natures*”.’

14. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople said: ‘It was not because of the faith that Dioscorus was deposed. He was deposed because he broke off communion with the lord Archbishop Leo and was summoned a third time and did not come.’<sup>39</sup>

15. The most glorious officials said: ‘Do you accept the letter of Archbishop Leo?’

16. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Yes, we have accepted and signed it.’

17. The most glorious officials said: ‘Then its contents must be inserted in the definition.’

18. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Another definition must not be produced. Nothing is lacking in the definition.’

19. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘Another definition must not be produced.’

20. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘The definition has confirmed the letter.<sup>40</sup> Archbishop Leo believes as we believe. Let the definition be

37 A reference to Pulcheria’s hostility to Nestorius and prime role in his downfall back in 431, after she had received massive bribes from Cyril of Alexandria. See Price 2004, 33–4.

38 See I. 299.

39 See our discussion of Session III (pp. 30–34 above) for an analysis of the charges against Dioscorus. The charge of heresy was neither pressed nor dropped. According to Facundus, *Defence of the Three Chapters* 5.3.31, Anatolius’ denial that Dioscorus was a heretic was used by Nestorians to argue that the council was not serious in its condemnation of Eutyches.

40 The letter of Pope Leo to Flavian of Constantinople (the Tome), of which the full text was given at II. 22.

signed. The definition contains everything. The definition contains the faith. Leo spoke the words of Cyril, Celestine confirmed those of Cyril, Xystus confirmed those of Cyril.<sup>41</sup> One baptism, one Lord, one faith! Exclude all chicanery from the definition.'

21. The most glorious officials said: 'Your acclamations will be reported to our most divine and pious master.'

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory went to the divine palace in accordance with the order of the most glorious officials. After a short time he returned and addressed the holy council as follows:

*Notification*

22. *Our most divine and pious master has issued the following commands. Either, in accordance with the decision of the most magnificent and glorious officials, six of the most devout bishops of the diocese of the Orient, three from Pontica, three from Asiana, three from Thrace, and three from Illyricum, in the company of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius and the most devout men from Rome, are to go into the oratory of the most holy martyrdom and produce a correct and unimpeachable definition of the faith so as to please everyone and leave not a single doubt. Or, if you do not approve this, each one of you is to make his faith known through his metropolitan so as likewise to leave no doubt or disagreement. If your holinesses do not want even this, you are to know that the council will have to meet in the western parts, since your religiousness is unwilling to issue here an unambiguous definition of the true and orthodox faith.*

23. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Many years to the emperor! Let the definition be confirmed or we shall leave. Many years to the emperors!'

24. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: 'We propose that the definition be read out and that those who dissent and will not sign it should leave. For we are agreed with what had been well defined, and raise no objections.'

25. The most devout bishops of Illyricum said: 'Let those who dissent

<sup>41</sup> Pope Celestine (d. 432) confirmed the decrees of Ephesus I, while his successor Xystus worked for, and supported, the subsequent compromise between Cyril and the Antiochenes expressed in the Formula of Reunion. Rusticus *ad loc.* tells us that his contemporary Bishop Primasius of Hadrumetum, one of the few African opponents of the Three Chapters, altered 'Xystus' to 'Christus', 'wishing through this falsification to exult the authority of the blessed Cyril against the letter of the confessor Ibas'.

make themselves known. The dissenters are Nestorians. Let the dissenters go off to Rome.’<sup>42</sup>

26. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Dioscorus said, “I accept ‘from two natures’, but I do not accept ‘two’.”<sup>43</sup> But the most holy Archbishop Leo says that there are two natures in Christ, united without confusion, change or separation in the one only-begotten Son our Saviour.<sup>44</sup> So whom do you follow – the most holy Leo, or Dioscorus?’

27. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We believe as Leo does. Those who object are Eutychianists. Leo’s teaching was orthodox.’

28. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Then add to the definition in accordance with the decree of our most holy father Leo that there are two natures united without change, division or confusion in Christ.’

29. At the request of all, the most glorious officials went into the oratory of the most holy martyr Euphemia together with Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople, and the most devout bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius, the presbyter Boniface, and Julian the most devout bishop of the city of Cos, the representatives of the apostolic see of the great city of Rome, and also Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, Quintillus, Atticus and Sozon the most devout bishops from Illyricum, Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, Leontius the most devout bishop of Magnesia, Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, Theodore the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria, and Francion, Sebastian and Basil the most devout bishops from Thrace.

After they had discussed the holy faith and all of them had come out and taken their seats, the most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘May the holy council, in its upholding of the faith, deign to listen in silence to what

42 The Illyrian bishops were formally under the jurisdiction of Rome (exercised through the Bishop of Thessalonica as papal vicar), and supported Rome in its opposition to Canon 28 on the privileges of Constantinople, in that none of them signed it (XVI. 9). Yet at the same time many of them were miaphysites (see I. 27 with our note, and p. 4 above) and here slanderously imply that Rome was sympathetic to Nestorianism.

43 See I. 332.

44 These words do not occur in Leo’s Tome (II. 22), but were used by the delegates of Leo when explaining the Tome to the Illyrian delegates (IV. 9, after 98).



has been defined in our presence by the holy fathers who have met together and expounded the definition of faith.’

Aetius archdeacon of the most holy church of Constantinople read:

30. *The holy, great and ecumenical council, assembled by the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors Valentinian and Marcian Augusti in the metropolis<sup>45</sup> of Chalcedon of the province of Bithynia and in the martyrrium of the holy and victorious martyr Euphemia, has issued the following definition:*

31. *Christ our Lord and Saviour, confirming for his disciples the knowledge of the faith, said, ‘My peace I give you, my peace I leave to you’,<sup>46</sup> in order that no one should disagree with his neighbour over the doctrines of piety, but that the message of the truth should be proclaimed uniformly. But since the evil one does not desist from choking with his weeds the seeds of piety, and is always inventing something new against the truth, for this reason the Lord, taking thought as usual for the human race, has stirred up the zeal of this pious and most faithful emperor and summoned to himself the leaders of the priesthood everywhere, in order through the operation of the grace of Christ the Lord of us all to dispel every corruption of falsehood from the flock of Christ and fatten it on the shoots of the truth.*

*This then we have done, having by a unanimous decree repelled the doctrines of error; renewed the unerring faith of the fathers, proclaimed to all the creed of the 318, and endorsed as akin the fathers who received this compendium of piety, that is, the 150 who subsequently assembled at great Constantinople and set their seal on the same faith. Upholding also on our part the order and all the decrees on the faith of the holy council that formerly took place at Ephesus, of whom the leaders were the most holy in memory Celestine of Rome and Cyril of Alexandria, we decree the pre-eminence of the exposition of the correct and irreproachable faith by the 318 holy and blessed fathers who convened at Nicaea under the then emperor Constantine of pious memory, and also the validity of the definition of the 150 holy fathers at Constantinople for the uprooting of the heresies which had then sprung up and for the confirming of our same catholic and apostolic faith.*

45 Marcian conferred titular metropolitan status on Chalcedon at the following session, Nicomedia remaining the metropolis of the province (VI. 21). The title must have been inserted in the Definition subsequently.

46 Jn 14: 27.

*The symbol<sup>47</sup> of the 318 fathers at Nicaea<sup>48</sup>*

32. *We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all ages, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed and became man, suffered, rose on the third day, ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit. Those who say, 'There was when he was not', and 'Before being begotten he was not', and that he came into being from things that are not, or assert that the Son of God is from another hypostasis or substance or is changeable or alterable, these the catholic and apostolic church anathematizes.*

*The same of the 150 holy fathers who assembled at Constantinople<sup>49</sup>*

33. *We believe in one God, Father, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all ages, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things came into being, who for us men and for our salvation came down, was enfleshed from the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin and became man, was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate and was buried, rose on the third day and ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end; and in the Holy Spirit, the lord and life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified together, who spoke through the prophets; and in one catholic and apostolic church. We confess one baptism*

47 σύμβολον ('symbol') is the technical term for a creed, πίστις ('faith') the more usual one.

48 We translate the text Schwartz provides, which has very limited support in the Greek MSS but is the text in the Latin version of the Acts. It contains several interesting departures from the original text of the Nicene Creed, as read out at the second session (II. 11) and as given in most of the Greek MSS of the Definition. The critical problems are discussed above on pp. 191–4, which defend Schwartz's preference for the version given here.

49 Here again we follow Schwartz's reconstruction, based on the Latin version. It differs from the authentic form of the Creed of Constantinople, as read out at the second session (II. 14), in omitting the following phrases: 'light from light' (restored by Rusticus, but absent from the earlier editions of the Latin), 'from heaven', 'suffered', 'in accordance with the scriptures' and 'holy' (before 'catholic and apostolic church').

*for the remission of sins. We await the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the age to come. Amen.*

34. *This wise and saving symbol of divine grace sufficed for the perfect knowledge and confirmation of piety, for on the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit its teaching is complete, while to those who receive it faithfully it also sets forth the incarnation of the Lord. Nevertheless those who try to set at nought the preaching of the truth by heresies of their own have propagated nonsense, some daring to destroy the mystery of the dispensation of the Lord on our behalf and denying to the Virgin the name of Theotokos, and others introducing confusion and mixture, mindlessly inventing that there is one nature of flesh and Godhead, and through confusion [of the natures] fantasizing that the divine nature of the Only-begotten is passible; for which reason this holy, great and ecumenical council now present, wishing to close off for them every device against the truth and expound the firmness of the proclamation from of old, has decreed first and foremost that the creed of the 318 holy fathers is to remain inviolate. Furthermore, it confirms the teaching on the essence of the Holy Spirit that was handed down at a later date by the 150 fathers who assembled in the imperial city because of those who were making war on the Holy Spirit; this teaching they made known to all, not as though they were inserting something omitted by their predecessors, but rather making clear by written testimony their conception of the Holy Spirit against those who were trying to deny his sovereignty. And because of those who attempt to destroy the mystery of the dispensation, shamelessly blathering that he who was born of the Holy Virgin Mary is a mere human being, the council has accepted as in keeping [with these creeds] the conciliar letters of the blessed Cyril, then shepherd of the church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and to those of the Orient, for the refutation of the madness of Nestorius and for the instruction of those who with pious zeal seek the meaning of the saving creed. To these letters it has attached appropriately, for the confirmation of the true doctrines, the letter written by the president of the great and senior Rome, the most blessed and holy Archbishop Leo, to Archbishop Flavian, [now] among the saints, for the confutation of the perversity of Eutyches, since it agrees with the confession of the great Peter and is a universal pillar against those with false beliefs. For the council sets itself against those who attempt to dissolve the mystery of the dispensation into a duality of sons, and it removes from the list of priests those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible; it opposes those who imagine a mixing or*

*confusion in the case of the two natures of Christ, it expels those who rave that the form of a servant which he took from us was heavenly or of some other substance, and it anathematizes those who invent two natures of the Lord before the union and imagine one nature after the union.*

*Following, therefore, the holy fathers, we all in harmony teach confession of one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood,<sup>50</sup> truly God and the same truly man, of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and the same consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like us in all things apart from sin,<sup>51</sup> begotten from the Father before the ages in respect of the Godhead, and the same in the last days for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary the Theotokos in respect of the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures<sup>52</sup> without confusion, change, division, or separation<sup>53</sup> (the difference of the natures being in no way destroyed by the union, but rather the distinctive character of each nature being preserved and coming together into one person and one hypostasis), not parted<sup>54</sup> or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, Only-begotten, God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ, even as the prophets from of old and Jesus Christ himself taught us about him and the symbol of the fathers has handed down to us.*

*Now that these matters have been formulated by us with all possible care and precision, the holy and ecumenical council has decreed that no one is allowed to produce or compose or construct another creed or to think or teach otherwise. As for those who presume either to construct another creed or to publish or teach or deliver another symbol to those wishing to convert*

50 'Perfect' is the standard translation of τέλειος, but in this context the word simply means 'complete'.

51 The same formula, based on Heb. 4:15 ('tempted in all things in likeness [to us] without sin'), was used by Basil of Seleucia at the Home Synod of 431 (I. 301) and in the petition of the Egyptian bishops (IV. 25).

52 The reading 'from two natures', which the Cyrillians would have preferred, appears in some Greek MSS, and was doubtless slipped into a sixth-century edition of the text in an attempt to appease the miaphysites.

53 These famous 'Chalcedonian adverbs' had first appeared in the council in a statement by the Roman delegates to assure the critics of the Tome of Leo that it did not separate the natures (IV. 9, after 98). This means that they were understood to stress the union of the natures and to qualify the force of 'in two natures'. Here again the emphasis is on unity rather than duality in Christ.

54 After the interruption of a long genitive absolute clause (which we place in brackets) it is 'one and the same Christ' that is the subject of this clause as well.

*to the knowledge of the truth from paganism or Judaism or from any heresy whatsoever, the council decrees that, if they are bishops or clerics, they are to be deposed, bishops from the episcopate and clerics from the clerical state, while, if they are monks or laymen, they are to be anathematized.*<sup>55</sup>

35. After the reading of the definition all the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘This is the faith of the fathers. Let the metropolitans sign at once. Let them sign at once in the presence of the officials. Let this splendid definition suffer no delay. This is the faith of the apostles. To this we all assent. We all believe accordingly.’

36. The most magnificent and glorious official said: ‘That which has been defined by the holy fathers and has pleased everyone will be made known to the divine head.’

<sup>55</sup> This final paragraph re-enacts Canon 7 of Ephesus I (1.943), forbidding the use of any creed apart from that of Nicaea; a modification is that the Creed of Constantinople was now recognized as an approved variant of the original Nicene text. The reference to monks is an addition, reflecting the opposition to the council from many monks in Constantinople (see IV. 83, 88, and our comment at p. 165 above).

## THE SIXTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

The sixth session, of 25 October 451, was a gala occasion at which the definition drawn up at the preceding session was solemnly read out and approved in the presence of Marcian and Pulcheria and of no fewer than 38 high officials of state. The emperor himself delivered a speech of self-congratulation, in both Latin and Greek, and the acclamations of the bishops were demonstrative and prolonged. At the end of the session the bishops begged the emperor to close the council, but he replied that they would have to stay on for a few more days to deal with the remaining items of business.

### COMMENTARY

It may be noted that Pulcheria's name is not present in the attendance list for this session in either the Greek or the Latin editions of the complete Acts and has to be supplied from an earlier Latin witness (see the note at 2, *init.*, below). Her importance finds testimony in the acclamations addressed to the imperial pair (11, 13, 15, 20). That she exerted, or was believed to exert, considerable influence over ecclesiastical affairs is shown by her prominence in the correspondence of Pope Leo (examples are Documents before the Council 3, 4, 11) and by the letter the council addressed to her on the condemnation of Dioscorus (III. 103). Nevertheless, in the public record represented by the Acts her role is not comparable to that of her consort Marcian. Modern historians often assert that Pulcheria, with her greater experience and long-standing involvement in church affairs, effectively dictated Marcian's ecclesiastical policy.<sup>1</sup> This is a plausible suggestion for the opening of his reign, when Marcian's rapid decision to give his backing to Pope Leo, despite the reluctance of the western emperor to recognize him,<sup>2</sup>

1 For example, Schwartz 1921 and 1927, and Holm 1982, 207–16.

2 The west did not recognize Marcian as eastern emperor until March 452 (Burgess 1993–4, 63).

is best attributed to her influence. But once the council was set in motion and religious affairs were conducted by Marcian in concert with the leading ministers of state, Pulcheria's role receded.

The session opened with an address by Marcian, delivered first in Latin (2) and then in Greek (4), in which he cited Constantine as his precedent for an emperor appearing at a church council. The text of the new definition was then read out. There follow the signatures of 457<sup>3</sup> bishops who subscribed the definition (9); the number was inflated by the inclusion of 114 names of absent bishops (9. 342–450) provided in block lists by their metropolitans.<sup>4</sup> The actual signing will have taken place partly before the session and partly at its close, with some bishops adding their signatures later still.<sup>5</sup> The pressure on bishops to sign is illustrated by the case of two leaders of the opposition, Amphilochius of Side and Eustathius of Berytus, both of whom signed the definition under duress (9. 21, 65 with our notes). Apart from the Egyptian bishops, whose refusal to take any further part in the council after Dioscorus' disgrace had been reluctantly accepted (IV. 60), all the bishops at the council were clearly required to sign.<sup>6</sup>

While the gathering of signatures extended over many days, the immediate response at the sixth session to the reading of the definition was its approval by acclamation (11). Marcian proceeded to issue a threat of disciplinary action to anyone in Constantinople who criticized the definition (14), a threat that was not carried out with any rigour.<sup>7</sup> The emperor proceeded to present three draft laws (17–19), which he had been asked to promulgate as imperial edicts but which he now entrusted to the council to

3 There are 452 numbered signatures in Schwartz's edition, but to them should be added 390a, 396a, 397a, 425a and 426a.

4 To this list we append, as VI. 9D, another version of the list, with the names in a different order and some additional ones, in an eastern canonical collection that survives in a Latin translation. For further discussion of these lists, see Appendix 2: Attendance and Ecumenicity, vol. 3, 193–203, where we conclude (n. 9) that the total number of bishops (or their representatives) present at Chalcedon who signed the Definition was around 350.

5 The implication of the words of Anatolius in a subsequent letter to Pope Leo (Documents after the Council 8), 'We signed this document in unanimity, and in the presence [of Marcian and Pulcheria] ... we presented it to their piety', is that the collecting of signatures began before the session; it may even have begun at the close of the fifth session (V. 35). Certainly late were the signatures of Ibas of Edessa (9.86) and Sabinianus of Perrhe (9.333), who did not recover their sees until 27 and 31 October respectively.

6 Cf. Ephesus II where, as some of the bishops subsequently complained, those who delayed signing were in danger of deposition (I. 855).

7 For the continued fomenting of opposition to the council by Eutychian monks in Constantinople, see p.165 above.

be issued as canons (16), and which were indeed included among the canons subsequently issued in the council's name. The council had proved obedient in yielding to imperial demands over the definition; the emperor was happy to continue to employ it as the agent of his wishes.

Marcian closed the session by telling the bishops that, now that the council had achieved its main purpose, they were free to raise lesser agenda items on their own initiative and were all to remain in the city until their work had been completed (23). The bishops indeed stayed on for another week and transacted business that related largely to disputes over individuals. But they were not free to set up their own agenda: of the remaining items of business, the great majority were initiated by the emperor himself, in response to petitions. All the others arose inevitably – the standing of Theodoret (Session VIII) and of Domnus (Session on Domnus), and the privileges of the see of Constantinople (Session XVI). Chalcedon was from first to last very much an imperial council.

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, eight days before the Kalends of November,<sup>8</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there assembled in the most holy church of the sacred and victorious martyr Euphemia the holy and ecumenical council which by divine decree had been convoked in the city of Chalcedon, that is: (1–3) the most devout bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most devout presbyter Boniface, representing the most sacred and God-beloved Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most sacred archbishop of renowned Constantinople, and the remaining most sacred and devout bishops, that is: (5) Maximus of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen of Ephesus, (10) Lucian of Bizye, representing Cyriacus of Heraclea in Thrace, (11) Eusebius of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (13) Peter of Corinth, (14) Florentius of Sardis, (15) Eunomius of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius of Nicaea, (17) Eleutherius of Chalcedon, (18) Julian of the city of Cos, himself also representing Leo of the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (19) Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius of Larissa, representing Domnus

<sup>8</sup> 25 October 451.



bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilochius of Side, (22) Theodore of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine of Bostra, (25) Photius of Tyre, (26) Theodore of Damascus, (27) Stephen of Hierapolis, (28) Nonnus of Edessa, (29) Symeon of Amida, (30) Epiphanius, representing Olympius of Constantia, (31) John of Sebasteia, (32) Seleucus of Amaseia, (33) Constantine of Melitene, (34) Patricius of Tyana, (35) Peter of Gangra, (36) Apragmonius of Tieum, representing Calogerus of Claudiopolis, (37) Atarbius of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus of Neocaesarea, (38) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus of Pessinus, (39) Romanus of Myra, (40) Critonianus of Aphrodisias in Caria, (41) Nunechius of Laodicea in Phrygia, (42) Marinianus of Synnada, (43) Onesiphorus of Iconium, (44) Pergamius of Antioch in Pisidia, (45) Epiphanius of Perge, (46) Atticus of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus, (47) Martyrius of Gortyna, (48) Luke of Dyrrachium, (49) Vigilantius of Larissa in Thessaly, (50) Francion of Philippopolis, (51) Sebastian of Beroe, (52) Basil of Trajanopolis, (53) Trypho of Chios, representing John bishop of Rhodes, (54) Theoctistus of Beroea in Syria, (55) Gerontius of Seleucia in Syria, (56) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius of Laodicea in Syria, (57) Eusebius of Dorylaeum, (58) Sabas of Paltus, (59) Peter of Gabbula, (60) Sophronius of Constantia, (61) Patricius of Neocaesarea, (62) Maras of Anasartha, (63) Romulus of Chalcis, (64) Eustathius of Berytus, (65) Leontius of Ascalon, (66) Anianus of Capitolas, (67) Zebennus of Pella, (68) John of Tiberias, (69) Antiochus of Arca, (70) Beryllus of Aela, (71) Aretas of Elusa, (72) Musonius of Segor, (73) Rufinus of Byblus, (74) Pancratius of Livias, (75) Zosimus of Menois, (76) Natiras of Gaza, (77) Polychronius of Antipatris, (78) John of Gadara, (79) Paul of Anthedon, (80) Photinus of Lydda, (81) Heraclius of Azotus, (82) Marcian of Gerara, (83) Stephen of Jamnia, (84) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis, (85) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis, (86) Theodore of Claudiopolis in Isauria, (87) Julius of Celenderis, (88) Tyrannus of Germanicopolis, (89) John of Diocaesarea, (90) Acacius of Antioch, (91) Epiphanius of Cestrus, (92) Aelianus of Selinus, (93) Ammonius of Iotape, (94) Matalus of Philadelphia, (95) Mark of Arethusa, (96) Timothy of Balaneae, (97) Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum, (98) Eutychianus of Epiphaneia, (99) Paul of Mariamme, (100) Lampadius of Raphanaeae, (101) Alexander of Sebaste, (102) Philip of Adana, (103) Hypatius of Zephyrium, (104) Theodore of Augusta, (105) Chrysippus of Mallus, (106) Julian of Rhosus, (107) Polychronius of Epiphaneia, (108) John of Flaviopolis, (109) Indimus of Irenopolis, (110) Sophronius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Bassianus of Mopsuestia, (111) Proclus of Adraa, (112) Eulogius of Philadelphia

in Arabia, (113) Theodosius of Canatha, (114) Hormisdas of Philippopolis, (115) Damian of Sidon, (116) Theodore of Tripoli, (117) Olympius of Paneas, (118) Paul of Ptolemais, (119) Paul of Aradus, (120) Thomas of Porphyreon, (121) Porphyry of Botrys, (122) Phosphorus of Orthosia, (123) Porphyry, archdeacon, representing Uranius of Emesa, (124) Joseph of Heliopolis in Phoenice, (125) Jordanes of Abila, (126) Valerius of Laodicea in Phoenice, (127) Thomas of Euaria in Phoenice, (128) Theodoret of Cyrrhus, (129) Rufinus of Samosata, (130) John of Germanicia, (131) Timothy of Doliche, (132) Euolcius of Zeugma, (133) Athanasius of Perrhe, (134) Zebennus of Martyropolis, (135) Caiumas of Marcopolis, (136) John of Carrhae, (137) Abramius of Circesium, (138) John of the Saracens, (139) Noah of Cephas, (139a) Hieracis,<sup>9</sup> (140) Callinicus of Apamea in Bithynia, (141) Leucadius of Mnizus, (142) John of Polemonium, (143) Gratidianus of Cerasus, (144) Julian of Tavium, (145) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis, (146) Hyperechius of Aspona, (147) Acacius of Cinna, (148) Euphrasius of Lagania, (149) Cecropius of Sebastopolis, (150) John of Nicopolis in Armenia, (151) Dorotheus, presbyter, representing Anatolius of Satala, (152) Atticus of Zela, (153) Antiochus of Sinope, (154) Eucharius, deacon, representing Paralius of Andrapa, (155) Paul, presbyter, representing Uranius of Ibora, (156) Acacius of Ariaratheia, (157) Heraclius of Comana, (158) Adelphius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Adolius of Arabissus, (159) Euphronius, presbyter, representing Domnus of Cucusus, (160) Otrius, presbyter, representing John of Arca, (161) Theodosius of Nazianzus, (162) Aristomachus of Colonia, (163) Rhenus of Ionopolis, (164) Epiphanius, presbyter, representing Aetherius of Pompeiopolis, (165) Philotimus, presbyter, representing Themistius of Amastris, (166) Theodore of Heraclea, (167) Eulogius, presbyter, representing Genethlius of Creteia, (168) Pelagius, presbyter, representing Theophilus of Hadrianopolis, (169) Helpidius of Thermae, (170) Aquila of Eudoxias, (171) Mysterius of Amorium, (172) Longinus of Orcistus, (173) Docimasius of Maronea, (174) Serenus of Maximianopolis in Rhodope, (175) Aetherichus of Smyrna, (176) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (177) Cyriacus of Aegae, (178) Mamas of Aninetus, (179) Leontius of Magnesia on the Maeander, (180) Quintus of Phocaea, (181) Proclus of Algiza, (182) Thomas of Auliucome, (183) Olympius of Theodosiopolis, (184) Philip of Neaule, (185) Rufinus of Briulla, (186) Marcellinus of Metropolis, (187) Isaias of Elaea, (188) Paulinus of Theodosiopolis, (189) Julian of Hypaepa, (190) Hesperus of Pitane, (191)

9 A false entry: see II. 1.124a note.

Proterius of Myrina, (192) Basilicus of Palaeopolis, (193) Maeonius of Nysa, (194) Peter of Dardanus, (195) Thalassius of Parium, (196) David of Hadrianeia, (197) Eulalius of Pionia, (198) Pionius of Troas, (199) Stephen of Poemanenum, (200) Theosebius of Ilium, (201) Hermias of Abydus, (202) Daniel of Lampsacus, (203) Patricius of Hadrianutherae, (204) Menecrates of Ceraseis, (205) Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, representing Andrew of Satala, (206) Helias of Blaundus, (207) Polycarp of Tabala, (208) Patricius of Acrasus, (209) Paul of Tripolis, (210) Amachius of Saittae, (211) Leucius of Apollonshieron, (212) Gemellus of Stratonicea, (213) Alcimedus of Silandus, (214) Dionysius of Attaleia, (215) Nicholas of Acarassus, also representing Stephen of Limyra, (216) Zenodotus of Telmessus, (217) Fronto of Phaselis, (218) Philip of Balbura, (219) Theodore of Antiphellus, (220) Leontius of Araxa, (221) Antipater of Caunus, (222) Andrew of Tlos, (223) Romanus of Bubon, (224) Nicias of Megara, (225) Athanasius of Opus, (226) Domninus of Plataea, (227) Onesimus of Argos, (228) Mark of Euroea, (229) Peregrinus of Phoenice, (230) Eutychiu of Hadrianopolis, (231) Claudius of Anchiasmus, (232) Soterichus of Corcyra, (233) Dionysius of Antioch, (234) John of Alinda, (235) Flacillus of Iasus, (236) Papias of Eriza, (237) Dionysius of Heraclea by Latmus, (238) Menander of Heraclea by Salbacus, (239) Eupithius of Stratonicea, (240) John of Amyzon, (241) Tynchanus of Apollonia, (242) Theodoret of Alabanda, (243) John of Cnidus, (244) Julian, presbyter, representing Calandion of Halicarnassus, (245) Daniel of Cadi, (246) Modestus of Sebaste, (247) Paul of Aristium, (248) Eulalius of Sibia, (249) Chares of Dionysopolis, (250) John of Trapezopolis, (251) Gennadius of Acmonia, (252) Thomas of Theodosiana, (253) Gennadius of Mossyna, (254) Evander of Diocleia, (255) Gerontius of Basilinopolis, (256) Alphius of Myndus, (257) Theoctistus, presbyter, representing Diogenes of Orthosia, (258) Philotheus, presbyter, representing Zoticus of Harpasa, (259) Mirus of Eulandra, (260) Lucian of Ipsus, (261) Philip of Lysias, (262) Epiphanius of Midaeum, (263) Abercius of Hieropolis, (264) Cyriacus of Eucarpia, (265) Eustochius of Docimium, (266) Aquila of Aurocra, (267) Basil of Nacoleia, (268) Strategius of Polybotus, (269) Neoptolemus of Corna, (270) Paul of Derbe, (271) Plutarch of Lystra, (272) Eugenius of Cana, (273) Rufus of Hyde, (274) Tyrannus of Homanada, (275) Acholius of Laranda, (276) Eutropius of Adada, (277) Paul of Philomelium, (278) Paulinus of Apamea, (279) Theotecnus of Tyriaeum, (280) Heorticius of Metropolis, (281) Cyrus of Sinethandus, (282) Libanius of Parlais, (283) Alexander of Seleucia, (284) Olympius of Sozopolis, (285) Fontianus of Sagalassus, (286) Adelus,

*chorepiscopus*, representing Messalinus of Laodicea, (287) Bassonas of Neapolis, (288) Florentius of Hadrianopolis, (289) Movianus of Limenae, (290) Euelpistus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Florentius of Tenedos, (291) Soterias of Theodosiane, also representing Heliodorus of Amathus and Proechius of Arsinoe, (292) Epaphroditus of Tamasus, representing {also Didymus of the city of Lapethus, (293) Dionysius, deacon, representing}<sup>10</sup> Photinus of Chytri, (294) John of Messene, (295) Ophelimus of Tegea, (296) Irenaeus of Naupactus, (297) Cyril of Subrita, (298) Gennadius of Cnossus, (299) Eusebius of Apollonia, (300) Demetrius of Lappa, (301) Euphratas of Eleutherna, also representing Paul of Cantanus, (302) Sozon of Philippi, (303) Constantine of Demetrias, (304) Eusebius of Doberus, (305) Maximin of Serrhae, (306) Nicholas of Stobi, (307) Dardanius of Bargala, (308) John of Parthicopolis, (309) Honoratus of Thasos, (310) Theophilus of Ariassus, (311) Neon of Sillyum, (312) Diodotus of Lysinia, (313) Maras of Codrula, (314) Paul of Poglea, (315) Marcellinus of Isinda, (316) Macedon of Magydus, (317) Eudoxius of Etenna, (318) Eugenius of Cotenna, (319) Marcellinus of Carallia, (320) Obrimus of Coracesium, (321) Peter of Echinaeum, (322) Aurelius the African, (323) Eustathius of the nation of the Saracens, (324) Restitianus the African.

2. There was present in the same most holy church our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus together with {the most devout and Christ-loving queen and Augusta Pulcheria, out of divine zeal and fervent faith, and also}<sup>11</sup> the most magnificent and glorious officials, that is: (1) the most glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) the most magnificent Tatian, prefect of imperial Constantinople New Rome, (4) the most glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices, (5–6) the most magnificent Martialis and Placitus, former *magistri*, (7) the most magnificent Sporacius, count of the *domestici*, (8) the most magnificent Genethlius, count of the divine *privata*, (9) the most magnificent Aetius, count of the *domestici* and of the divine stables, (10) the admirable Leontius, *primicerius* of the most illustrious tribunes and notaries, and also the most exalted

<sup>10</sup> Supplied from the Latin version.

<sup>11</sup> The words in brackets do not appear in either the Greek or Latin editions of the Acts (see *ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxiii) but are included in one Latin version of the minutes of this session that predates them (*ACO* 2.2 p. 97. 16–17). That Pulcheria attended the session is known from a letter from Anatolius of Constantinople to Pope Leo (Documents after the Council 8) and is confirmed by the archdeacon Aetius' address to 'the emperors' at VI. 6 and by the acclamations at 11, 13, 15 and 20.

senate, that is: (11) the most glorious Florentius, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (12) the most glorious Senator, former prefect, and patrician, (13) the most glorious Nomus, former *magister*, former consul, and patrician, (14) the most glorious Protogenes, former prefect, former consul, and patrician, (15) the most magnificent Antiochus, former prefect, and patrician, (16) the most magnificent Abgar, former prefect, (17) the most magnificent Romanus, former *praepositus*, (18) the most magnificent Zoilus, former prefect, (19) the most magnificent Theodore, former prefect of the City, (20) the most magnificent Apollonius, former prefect, (21) the most magnificent Antiochus, former prefect {of the City},<sup>12</sup> (22) the most magnificent Anysius, former prefect of the City, (23) the most magnificent Theodore, former prefect of Illyricum, (24) the most magnificent Artaxes, former *praepositus*, (25) the most magnificent Constantine, former prefect, (26) the most magnificent Parnassius, former prefect, (27) the most magnificent Eulogius, former prefect of Illyricum, (28–30) the most magnificent Apollodorus, Theodore and Menas, former quaestors, (31) {the most magnificent Severus, former count of the *privata*},<sup>13</sup> (32) the most magnificent Basil, former count of the largesses, (33) the most magnificent Julian, former count of the *privata*, (34) the most magnificent Trypho, former prefect,<sup>14</sup> (35) the most magnificent Polychronius, former quaestor, (36) the most magnificent Constantine, former count, (37) {the most magnificent Severianus, former count},<sup>15</sup> (38) the most magnificent Heraclian, former count, and also the admirable counts and tribune notaries.

He [Marcian] delivered the following address to the council first in Latin and after the address in Latin then in Greek:<sup>16</sup>

‘When first we were chosen to reign by divine judgement, among so many pressing matters of state no issue gave us greater concern than that the orthodox and true Christian faith, which is holy and pure, should be instilled without ambiguity in the souls of all. But it is a familiar fact that through the

12 Supplied from the Latin version.

13 Supplied from the Latin version.

14 *PLRE* 2 (896, 1130) notes that the position near the end of the list of Trypho and Polychronius implies that their posts were purely titular and that they had never exercised these functions.

15 Supplied from the Latin version.

16 We follow Rusticus’ edition of the Latin Acts, which at this point gives Marcian’s address in the original Latin (*ACO* 2.3 pp. 409–10 – the text is also preserved in the *Collectio Vaticana*, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 97–8). The other versions of the text, Greek and Latin, proceed immediately to 3.

avarice or factionalism of certain persons (while in the meantime some held divergent views and were teaching the congregations according to their own will and not as the truth and the teaching of the fathers requires) a very great number were led into error. For this reason we were eager that the holy council should take place, and may seem to have imposed a burden on you, with the intention, plainly, that after the dispelling of every error and obscurity, and in accordance with the will of the Godhead to reveal itself to mankind and with the teaching of the fathers, our religion, which is pure and holy, should be implanted in the minds of all and shine forth with the light of its truth, and that even in future no one should dare, on the subject of the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to argue in a way contrary to what the apostolic preaching and the concordant ordinances of the 318 holy fathers are known to have bequeathed to posterity, in accordance also with the testimony contained in the letter sent to Flavian of holy memory, bishop of the city of Constantinople, by holy Leo pope of the city of Rome, who governs the apostolic see. Therefore, through the removal of factionalism, the suppression of patronage, and the ceasing of avarice, may the truth become known to all. For it was to confirm the faith and not to exercise power of any kind that we wished to attend the council, according to the example of the religious prince Constantine, in order that the congregations should not be divided any longer by perverse teaching. For up till now the simple-mindedness of some people has easily been deceived by the ingenuity and superfluous verbiage of others, and it is a familiar fact that dissensions and heresies have been generated by the perverse persuasiveness of various people; but it is our concern that through true and holy teaching each congregation in common accord should return to the same religion and practise the true catholic faith which you have expounded according to the teaching of the fathers. Therefore with minds in concord may your sense of religion speedily so apply itself that, just as until very recent times errors were excised by the Nicene council and the true faith was known to all, so now also, when this holy council has dispelled the darkness that seems to have arisen in these [last] few years, as we said above, through the perversity and avarice of certain persons, what is decreed may be observed for all time. It will be for the Divine Majesty to maintain firmly in perpetuity that which, with a holy mind, we desire to come about.'

3. All exclaimed: 'Many years to the emperor! Many years to the Augusta! To the orthodox ones many years! He is the one son, Constantine. To Marcian the new Constantine!'

## A translation of the Latin address

4. Our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus delivered also in Greek the force of the preceding address, as follows:<sup>17</sup>

‘At the beginning of our reign, when we had been chosen for it by divine judgement, before all other cares, however pressing, we thought nothing so worthy of deliberation and exertion as that everyone should be of a common mind as regards the orthodox faith, which is holy and true, and that no doubts about it should find a home in the souls of men. Because some people, on the one hand through love of money and on the other through evil factionalism, held divergent views and expounded to the masses<sup>18</sup> teaching contrary to the faith of the holy fathers, the intermediate time has been found brimming with harmful error. Wishing to cure this, we have convoked your holy council, out of confidence that the great achievement of the labours of the journey will be the confirmation of true religion, so that the darkness which weighs on the minds of those in error may be dispersed and the human race may worship in accordance with the Godhead’s revelation of itself to mankind by its own will and the exposition in the teaching of the holy fathers of the most pure and authentic faith which illuminates the souls of all, and so that in future every wilfulness may be suppressed in those who dare, on the subject of the generation of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, to believe or argue in a way contrary to what was proclaimed by the holy apostles and has now been handed down in harmony by our 318 holy fathers at Nicaea, in the way signified also by the letter sent to Flavian of devout memory, bishop of imperial New Rome, by the most God-beloved Leo archbishop of imperial Rome, who governs the apostolic see. Therefore, through the removal of all vicious factionalism, the suppression of all patronage, and denial of any place for insatiability, may the truth become manifest in your teaching. For it was to confirm what is being transacted and not to make a display of power that we decided to attend the council, making Constantine of divine memory our example, in order that, once the truth is discovered, the masses should not, seduced by the evil teaching of some, any

17 We now translate the Greek version of Marcian’s address that was at this point delivered to the council, and which is preserved both in the Greek MSS and, in Latin retroversion, in the Latin MSS. In presenting both versions of the text in a single language we are following the example of Rusticus’ edition of the Latin Acts. There is no difference in content between the two versions, but because the Greek translation is free and stylish a comparison between the two may be of interest, even in translation.

18 Here, and below, the Greek understands the Latin *populi* to mean ‘the masses’, which is a possible rendering but perhaps less probable than ‘the congregations’, that is, the laity in the various churches.

longer be divided. For many, excited in their simple-mindedness by some people who try to introduce the superfluous and sophistical, have doubtless been deceived, for it is not in dispute that dissensions and many heresies have been planted by the ineffectual and wicked teaching of various people; but it is the concern of our serenity that all the communities, having one and the same opinion about the divine, should venerate the true and catholic religion and faith which you have expounded to them according to the doctrines handed down by the holy fathers. Therefore let it be the work of your devotedness that with unanimous soul, just as at the most sacred council of the fathers at Nicaea the faith when manifested freed men from error and when brought to light was recognized by all, so now likewise through your council every doubt that has been generated in this short time, as we have said, by the wickedness and insatiability of some may be eradicated and your judgements may be observed for ever. It will be for divine providence to ensure that what with pious intent we endeavour to bring about may be firmly upheld in perpetuity for the sake of the benefit that comes from you.'

5. All exclaimed: 'To Marcian the new Constantine! Many years to the emperor! Many years to the Augusta! To the orthodox ones many years! To Marcian the Christ-loving! May your rule continue throughout our lives, {may you rule us for ever,}<sup>19</sup> O you worthy of orthodoxy. Christ-loving ones, may abundance be yours.'

6. Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople said: 'Through the inspiration of grace from above and the Christ-loving zeal of your serenity, most pious and faithful emperors, who received from God authority over all, this holy, great and ecumenical council, convoked by your decree, has with the greatest possible application over many days and with holy diligence dispelled all dissent from our correct and blameless catholic faith that sprouted up in whatever way in the past, and silenced all vain prattle by the word of truth, as is shown by the recorded proceedings of everything that has taken place. It has now issued an unerring definition, fortified by the power of the divine scriptures and preserving in it the thought of the holy and most blessed fathers, for the precise instruction of those who read it sincerely and as an unageing crown of your pious reign. I have this to hand and, if it please the will of your serenity, I shall read it.'

7. Our most divine and pious emperor said: 'Read it.'

Aetius archdeacon of Constantinople New Rome read:

<sup>19</sup> Supplied from the Latin.



8. *The holy, great and ecumenical council, assembled by the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors Valentinian and Marcian Augusti in Chalcedon the metropolis of the province of Bithynia in the martyrdom of the holy and victorious martyr Euphemia, has issued the following definition:*

*Christ our Lord and Saviour, confirming for his disciples the knowledge of the faith, said, 'My peace I give you, my peace I leave to you.'*<sup>20</sup>

– The sequel is given in the acts that precede these acts, that is, the fifth session.

#### Signatures of the fathers<sup>21</sup>

9. (1) Bishop Paschasinus, representing my master the most blessed and apostolic Leo of the universal church, bishop of the city of Rome: I have signed what was read in Greek at the council.<sup>22</sup>

(2) Bishop Lucentius of the church of the city of Asculum,<sup>23</sup> representing my master that most blessed and apostolic man of all the church, Leo bishop of the city of Rome: I have signed what was read in Greek at the council.

(3) Boniface presbyter of the city of Rome, representing my master that most blessed and apostolic man of the ecumenical church, Leo bishop of the city of Rome: I have signed what was read in Greek at the council.

(4) Anatolius bishop of Constantinople New Rome, I have defined<sup>24</sup> and signed.

(5) Maximus bishop of Antioch, I have defined and signed.

(6) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, I have defined and signed.

(7) Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, representing the most holy Anastasius bishop of Thessalonica, I have defined and signed.

20 Jn 14:27. The full text of the Definition is given in the Latin Acts at this point, doubtless following the Greek archetype; it can be found at V. 30–34 above. We follow the extant Greek version in abbreviating, and in adding the following sentence to this effect.

21 The session proceeded immediately to the approbation of the Definition by acclamation (10–11). The collection of signatures in part preceded and in part followed the session (see p. 207, n. 5 above); they were inserted here in order to link them as closely as possible to the Definition. We restore in curling brackets from variant readings in Greek or Latin MSS some words lacking in Schwartz's text: 'bishop' at 24 and 88, and 'metropolis' at 12, 13, 21, 23, 26, 28, 31 and 33.

22 Paschasinus and the other Roman delegates signed, as well as spoke, in Latin; see III. 97G.1n.

23 Literally, 'of the city of the church of Asculum'.

24 The Greek is ὁρίσας, which here we translate as 'defined', but as 'decreed' at I. 552, III. 97G, and XVI. 9.

(8) Thalassius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, I have defined and signed.

(9) Stephen bishop of Ephesus, I have defined and signed.

(10) Lucian bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea, I have defined and signed.

(11) Eusebius bishop of Ancyra, I have defined and signed.

(12) Diogenes bishop {of the metropolis} of Cyzicus, I have defined and signed.

(13) Peter bishop {of the metropolis} of Corinth, I have defined and signed.

(14) Florentius bishop of Sardis, I have defined and signed.

(15) Eunomius bishop of Nicomedia, I have defined and signed.

(16) Anastasius bishop of Nicaea, I have defined and signed.

(17) Julian the most insignificant bishop and legate of the apostolic see, I have defined and signed.

(18) Eleutherius bishop of Chalcedon, I have defined and signed.

(19)<sup>25</sup> Basil by the mercy of God bishop of Seleucia the metropolis of Isauria, I have defined and signed.

(20) Meletius bishop of Larissa, making a declaration both on behalf of the most sacred Domnus bishop of Apamea in Syria Secunda and on my own behalf, I have defined and signed.

(21) {Amphilochius bishop of the metropolis of Side, I have defined and signed.}<sup>26</sup>

25 From this point onwards the list follows a clear geographical sequence. First, metropolitans of the diocese of Oriens (19–20, 22–9), Pontica (31–8), Asiana (39–45), Macedonia (46–9), Thrace (50–52), and then the suffragan bishops, as follows. Oriens: Syria I (54–6, 58, 60, 63–4), Palestine (66–9, 71–3, 75–83), Isauria (87–95), Syria II (96–101), Cilicia I (102–6), Cilicia II (107–11), Arabia (112–15), Phoenice I (116–23), Phoenice Libanensis (124–8), Euphratensis (129–34), Osrhoene (137–9). Pontica: Pontus Polemoniacus (142–4), Galatia I (145–9), Armenia I (150–52), Helenopontus (153–6), Armenia II (157–61), Cappadocia II (162–3), Paphlagonia (165–7), Honorias (168–70), Galatia II (171–5). Asiana: Asia (178–95), Hellespontus (196–200, 202–6), Lydia (207–18), Lycia (219–28). Macedonia: Achaea (230–33), Epirus Vetus (234–8). Asiana: Caria (239–50, 262–4), Phrygia Pacatiana (251–60), Phrygia Salutaris (265–74), Lycaonia (275–81), Pisidia (282–95), Islands (298–9). Cyprus (300–06). Macedonia: Achaea (307–9), Crete (310–11, 313–15), Macedonia (316–22). Asiana: Pamphylia I (323–9), Pamphylia II (330, 332–4).

26 This name, given in the Latin MSS, is absent from the Greek text. This doubtless accidental slip has a curious rightness to it in that Amphilochius ‘needed to be cuffed on the head by the archdeacon of Constantinople to be persuaded to sign’ (Chadwick 2001, 582–3, citing Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* III. 1) and he was the only metropolitan who, in response to the emperor Leo’s consultation of 457, dissented from the Chalcedonian Definition; see Evagrius, *HE* II. 10 (trans. Whitby, 92) and *ACO* 2.5 p. 24. 9n.

(22) Theodore bishop of the metropolis of Tarsus, I have defined and signed.

(23) Cyrus bishop of the holy church of God in the {metropolis} of Anazarbus, I have defined and signed.

(24) Constantine {bishop} of the metropolis of Bostra, I have defined and signed.

(25) Photius bishop of the metropolis of Tyre, I have defined and signed.

(26) Theodore bishop {of the metropolis} of Damascus, I have defined and signed.

(27) Stephen bishop of Hierapolis, I have defined and signed.

(28) Nonnus bishop of the {metropolis} of Edessa, I have defined and signed.

(29) Symeon bishop of the metropolis of Amida, I have defined and signed through Peter the presbyter.

(30) Olympius bishop of the metropolis of Constantia, I have defined and signed through Bishop Epiphanius.

(31) John by the mercy of God bishop {of the metropolis} of Sebasteia, I have defined and signed.

(32) Seleucus by the grace of God bishop of the metropolis of Amaseia, I have defined and signed.

(33) Constantine by the mercy of God bishop {of the metropolis} of Melitene, I have defined and signed.

(34) Patricius bishop of the metropolis of Tyana, I have defined and signed.

(35) Peter bishop of the metropolis of Gangra, I have defined and signed.

(36) Calogerus bishop of the metropolis of Claudiopolis, I have defined and signed through Bishop Apragmonius.

(37) Dorotheus bishop of the metropolis of Neocaesarea, I have defined and signed through Atarbius bishop of Trapezus.

(38) Theoctistus bishop of the metropolis of Pessinus, I have defined and signed through Photinus the archdeacon.

(39) Romanus bishop of the metropolis of Myra, I have defined and signed.

(40) Critonianus bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, I have defined and signed.

(41) Nunechius bishop of the metropolis of Laodicea, I have defined and signed.

(42) Marinianus bishop of the metropolis of Synnada, I have defined and signed.

(43) Onesiphorus bishop of the metropolis of Iconium, I have defined and signed.

(44) Pergamius bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, I have defined and signed.

(45) Epiphanius bishop of Perge the metropolis of Pamphylia, I have defined and signed.

(46) Atticus bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus, I have defined and signed.

(47) Martyrius bishop of Gortyna the metropolis of Crete, I have defined and signed.

(48) Luke bishop of the metropolis of Dyrrachium, I have defined and signed.

(49) Vigilantius bishop of the metropolis of Larissa in Thessaly, I have defined and signed.

(50) Francion bishop of the metropolis of Philippopolis, I have defined and signed.

(51) Sebastian bishop of Beroe, I have defined and signed.

(52) Basil bishop of the metropolis of Trajanopolis, I have defined and signed.

(53) Trypho bishop of Chios, I have defined and signed on behalf of John bishop of Rhodes.

(54) Theoctistus bishop of Beroea, I have defined and signed.

(55) Gerontius bishop of Seleucia, I have defined and signed.

(56) Macarius bishop of Laodicea, I have defined and signed through Eusebius presbyter of Antioch.

(57) Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum, I have defined and signed.

(58) Sabas bishop of Paltus, I have defined and signed through Thalassius the deacon.

(59) Lucian bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, I have defined and signed.<sup>27</sup>

(60) Peter bishop of Gabbula, I have defined and signed.

(61) Sophronius bishop of Constantia, I have defined and signed.

(62) Patricius bishop of Neocaesarea, I have defined and signed.

(63) Maras bishop of Anasartha, I have defined and signed.

(64) Romulus bishop of Chalcis, I have defined and signed by the hand of my fellow bishop Maras.

(65) Eustathius bishop of the metropolis of Berytus, I have defined and signed.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> This entry is a doublet of 10.

<sup>28</sup> Eustathius later claimed that he added in shorthand, 'I have signed this under pressure, not being in agreement' (Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* III. 1).

- (66) Leontius bishop of Ascalon, I have defined and signed.
- (67) Anianus bishop of Capitoliias, I have defined and signed.
- (68) Zebennus bishop of the city of Pella, I have defined and signed.
- (69) John bishop of the city of Tiberias, I have defined and signed.
- (70) Antiochus bishop of Arca, I have defined and signed.
- (71) Beryllus bishop of Aela, I have defined and signed.
- (72) Aretas bishop of Elusa, I have defined and signed.
- (73) Musonius bishop of Segor, I have defined and signed.
- (74) Rufinus bishop of Byblus, I have defined and signed.
- (75) Pancratius bishop of Livias, I have defined and signed.
- (76) Natiras bishop of the [church] at Gaza, I have defined and signed.
- (77) Polychronius bishop of Antipatris, I have defined and signed.
- (78) John bishop of Gadara, I have defined and signed.
- (79) Paul bishop of Anthedon, I have defined and signed.
- (80) Photinus the most insignificant bishop of Lydda, I have defined and signed.
- (81) Heraclius bishop of Azotus, I have defined and signed.
- (82) Marcian bishop of Gerara, I have defined and signed.
- (83) Stephen bishop of Jamnia, I have defined and signed.
- (84) Epictetus bishop of Diocletianopolis, I have defined and signed.
- (85) Romanus bishop of Eudoxiopolis, I have defined and signed.
- (86) Ibas bishop of Edessa, I have defined and signed.
- (87) Theodore bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria, I have defined and signed.
- (88) Julius {bishop} of Celenderis in Isauria, I have defined and signed.
- (89) Tyrannus bishop of Germanicopolis in Isauria, I have defined and signed.
- (90) John bishop of the city of Diocaesarea, I have defined and signed through my lector Nilus.
- (91) Aelianus bishop of the city of Selinus, I have defined and signed through my subdeacon Paul.
- (92) Acacius bishop of the city of Antioch, I have defined and signed.
- (93) Epiphanius bishop of the city of Cestrus, I have defined and signed.
- (94) Ammonius bishop of Iotape, I have defined and signed.
- (95) Matalus bishop of the city of Philadelphia, I have defined and signed.
- (96) Mark bishop of Arethusa, I have defined and signed through Timothy bishop of Balaneae.
- (97) Timothy bishop of Balaneae, I have defined and signed.

(98) Eusebius bishop of the city of Seleucia ad Belum, I have defined and signed through Paul bishop of Mariamme.

(99) Eutychianus bishop of Epiphaneia, I have defined and signed through Meletius bishop of Larissa.<sup>29</sup>

(100) Paul bishop of Mariamme, I have defined and signed.

(101) Lampadius bishop of the city of Raphanea, I have defined and signed through Januarius my deacon.

(102) Alexander bishop of the city of Sebaste, I have defined and signed.

(103) Philip bishop of the city of Adana, I have defined and signed.

(104) Hypatius bishop of the city of Zephyrium, I have defined and signed.

(105) Theodore bishop of the city of Augusta, I have defined and signed.

(106) Chrysippus bishop of the city of Mallus, I have defined and signed.

(107) Polychronius bishop of Epiphaneia, I have defined and signed.

(108) John bishop of Flaviopolis, I have defined and signed.

(109) Indimus bishop of Irenopolis, I have defined and signed.

(110) Julian bishop of the city of Rhosus, I have defined and signed.

(111) Sophronius *chorepiscopus* making a declaration of behalf of Bishop Bassianus, I have defined and signed.

(112) Eulogius bishop of the city of Philadelphia, I have defined and signed.

(113) Proclus bishop of the city of Adraa, I have defined and signed.

(114) Theodosius bishop of the city of Canatha, I have defined and signed.

(115) Hormisdas bishop of Philippopolis, I have defined and signed.

(116) Damian bishop of the city of Sidon, I have defined and signed.

(117) Theodore bishop of Tripolis, I have defined and signed.

(118) Olympius bishop of Paneas, I have defined and signed.

(119) Paul bishop of Ptolemais, I have defined and signed.

(120) Paul bishop of the city of Aradus, I have defined and signed.

(121) Thomas bishop of Porphyreon, I have defined and signed.

(122) Porphyry bishop of Botrys, I have defined and signed through

<sup>29</sup> Although the fact that a bishop's signature was provided by a colleague is not certain proof that he did not attend the council (consider the case of Aetherichus of Smyrna, signed for by a deacon at 178 below, but proved to have been present by I. 323–7), the evidence for Eutychianus' presence at the council is merely the attendance lists for Sessions I, II, IV and VI, which prove nothing since they are dependent on the present list of signatories (see Appendix 2: Attendance and Ecumenicity, vol. 3, esp. 196–201). The probability is that he did not attend the council.

Timothy the deacon.

(123) Phosphorus bishop of Orthosia, I have defined and signed through Timothy the deacon.

(124) Uranius bishop of the city of Emesa, I have defined and signed.<sup>30</sup>

(125) Joseph bishop of Heliopolis in Phoenice, I have defined and signed.

(126) Jordanes bishop of Abila, I have defined and signed.

(127) Valerius bishop of the city of Laodicea in Phoenice, I have defined and signed.

(128) Thomas bishop of Euaria, I have defined and signed.

(129) Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus, I have defined and signed.

(130) Rufinus bishop of Samosata, I have defined and signed.

(131) John bishop of Germanicia, I have defined and signed.

(132) Timothy bishop of Doliche, I have defined and signed.

(133) Euolcius bishop of Zeugma, I have defined and signed.

(134) Athanasius bishop of Perrhe, I have defined and signed.

(135) Zebennus bishop of Martyropolis, I have defined and signed.

(136) Callinicus bishop of Apamea, I have defined and signed.

(137) Caiumas bishop of Marcopolis, I have defined and signed.

(138) John bishop of the city of Carrhae, I have defined and signed.

(139) Abramius bishop of Circesium, I have defined and signed.

(140) Leucadius bishop of Mnizus, I have defined and signed.

(141) Noah bishop of Cephas, I have defined and signed.

(142) Atarbius bishop of the city of Trapezus, I have defined and signed.

(143) John bishop of Polemonium, I have defined and signed.

(144) Gratidianus bishop of the city of Cerasus, I have defined and signed.

(145) Julian bishop of Tavium, I have defined and signed.

(146) Meliphthongus bishop of Juliopolis, I have defined and signed.

(147) Hyperechius bishop of Aspona, I have defined and signed.

(148) Acacius bishop of the city of Cinna, I have defined and signed.

(149) Euphrasius bishop of Lagania, I have defined and signed.

(150) Cecropius bishop of Sebastopolis, I have defined and signed.

(151) John bishop of Nicopolis, I have defined and signed.

(152) Anatolius bishop of the city of Satala, I have defined and signed through Dorotheus the presbyter.

(153) Atticus bishop of the city of Zela, I have defined and signed.

30 Presumably through the archdeacon Porphyry, who appears in other lists as his representative at the council.

(154) Antiochus bishop of Sinope, I have defined and signed.

(155) Paralius bishop of the city of Andrapa, I have defined and signed through Eucharius the deacon.

(156) Uranius bishop of Ibora, I have defined and signed through Paul my presbyter.

(157) Acacius bishop of the city of Ariaratheia, I have defined and signed.

(158) Heraclius bishop of the city of Comana, I have defined and signed.

(159) Adolius bishop of the city of Arabissus, I have defined and signed through Adelphius the *chorepiscopus*.

(160) Domnus bishop of Cucusus, I have defined and signed through Euphronius the presbyter.

(161) John bishop of Arca, I have defined and signed by the hand of the presbyter Otrius.

(162) Theodosius bishop of the city of Nazianzus, I have defined and signed.

(163) Aristomachus bishop of Colonia, I have defined and signed.

(164) Apragmonius bishop of the city of Tieum, I have defined and signed.

(165) Rhenus bishop of Ionopolis, I have defined and signed.

(166) Aetherius bishop of Pompeiopolis, I have defined and signed through Epiphanius the presbyter.

(167) Themistius bishop of Amastris, I have defined and signed through Philotimus the presbyter.

(168) Theodore bishop of Heraclea in Pontus, I have defined and signed.

(169) Genethlius bishop of Creteia, I have defined and signed through Eulogius the presbyter.

(170) Theophilus bishop of Hadrianopolis, I have defined and signed through my presbyter Pelagius.

(171) Helpidius bishop of the city of Thermae, I have defined and signed.

(172) Aquila bishop of the city of Eudoxias, I have defined and signed.

(173) Mysterius bishop of the city of Amorium, I have defined and signed.

(174) Cyriacus bishop of Trocnades, I have defined and signed through Chrysippus the presbyter.

(175) Longinus bishop of the city of Orcistus, I have defined and signed.

(176) Serenus bishop of Maximianopolis, I have defined and signed.

(177) Peter bishop of the metropolis of Gangra, I have defined and signed on behalf of Polychronius bishop of Dadybra and Theodore bishop of



Sora.

(178) Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna, I have defined and signed through Paul the deacon.

(179) Eusebius bishop of the city of Clazomenae, I have defined and signed.

(180) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Aegae, I have defined and signed.

(181) Mamas bishop of the city of Aninetus, I have defined and signed.

(182) Leontius bishop of Magnesia on the Maeander, I have defined and signed.

(183) Quintus bishop of the city of Phocaea, I have defined and signed.

(184) Proclus bishop of the city of Algiza, I have defined and signed.

(185) Thomas bishop of Auliucome, I have defined and signed.

(186) Olympius bishop of Theodosiopolis, I have defined and signed.

(187) Philip bishop of Neaule, I have defined and signed.

(188) Rufinus bishop of the city of Briulla, I have defined and signed.

(189) Marcellinus bishop of the city of Metropolis, I have defined and signed.

(190) Isaias bishop of Elaea, I have defined and signed.

(191) Paulinus bishop of Theodosiopolis, I have defined and signed.

(192) Julian bishop of the city of Hypaepa, I have defined and signed.

(193) Hesperus bishop of the city of Pitane, I have defined and signed.

(194) Proterius bishop of Myrina, I have defined and signed.

(195) Basilicus bishop of Palaeopolis, I have defined and signed.

(196) Peter bishop of the city of Dardanus, I have defined and signed.

(197) Thalassius bishop of the city of Parium, I have defined and signed.

(198) David bishop of Hadrianeia, I have defined and signed.

(199) Eulalius bishop of the city of Pionia, I have defined and signed.

(200) Pionius bishop of the city of Troas, I have defined and signed.

(201) Maeonius bishop of the city of Nysa, I have defined and signed.

(202) Stephen bishop of Poemanenum, I have defined and signed.

(203) Theosebius bishop of Ilium, I have defined and signed.

(204) Hermias bishop of the city of Abydus, I have defined and signed.

(205) Daniel bishop of the city of Lampsacus, I have defined and signed.

(206) Patricius bishop of Hadrianutherae, I have defined and signed.

(207) Menecrates bishop of the city of Ceraseis, I have defined and signed.

(208) Cossinius bishop of the city of Hierocaesarea, I have defined and signed.

(209) Andrew bishop of Satala, I have defined and signed through

Bishop Cossinius.

(210) Helias bishop of the city of Blaundus, I have defined and signed.

(211) Polycarp bishop of the city of Tabala, I have defined and signed.

(212) Patricius bishop of the city of Acrasus, I have defined and signed.

(213) Paul bishop of Tripolis, I have defined and signed.

(214) Amachus bishop of Saittae, I have defined and signed.

(215) Leucius bishop of Apollonoshieron, I have defined and signed.

(216) Gemellus bishop of the city of Stratonicea, I have defined and signed.

(217) Alcimedes bishop of Silandus in Lydia, I have defined and signed.

(218) Dionysius Lydian bishop of Attaleia, I have defined and signed.

(219) Stephen bishop of Limyra, I have defined and signed through Nicholas bishop of the city of Acarassus because of my illness.

(220) Zenodotus bishop of the metropolis of Telmessus<sup>31</sup> and of the island of Macra, I have defined and signed.

(221) Fronto bishop of the city of Phaselis, I have defined and signed.

(222) Philip bishop of the city of Balbura, I have defined and signed.

(223) Theodore bishop of the city of Antiphellus, I have defined and signed.

(224) Leontius bishop of the city of Araxa, I have defined and signed.

(225) Antipater bishop of Caunus, I have defined and signed.

(226) Andrew bishop of the city of Tlos, I have defined and signed.

(227) Nicholas bishop of the city of Acarassus, I have defined and signed.

(228) Romanus bishop of the city of Bubon, I have defined and signed.

(229) Docimasius bishop of the city of Maronea, I have defined and signed.

(230) Nicias bishop of the city of Megara, I have defined and signed.

(231) Athanasius bishop of Opus, I have defined and signed.

(232) Dominus bishop of Plataea, I have defined and signed.

(233) Onesimus bishop of Argos, I have defined and signed.

(234) Mark bishop of the city of Euroea, I have defined and signed.

(235) Peregrinus bishop of the city of Phoenice, I have defined and signed.

(236) Euty chius bishop of Hadrianopolis, I have defined and signed.

(237) Claudius bishop of Anchiasmus, I have defined and signed.

(238) Soterichus bishop of the city of Corcyra, I have defined and signed.

(239) Dionysius bishop of the city of Antioch, I have defined and signed.

(240) John bishop of the city of Alinda, I have defined and signed.

31 The city's metropolitan status was honorary.

(241) Flacillus bishop of Iasus, I have defined and signed.

(242) Papias bishop of the city of Eriza, I have defined and signed.

(243) Dionysius bishop of the city of Heraclea by Latmus, I have defined and signed.

(244) Menander bishop of the city of Heraclea by Salbacus, I have defined and signed.

(245) Eupithius bishop of the city of Stratoneicea, I have defined and signed.

(246) John bishop of the city of Amyzon, I have defined and signed.

(247) Tynchanus bishop of the city of Apollonia, I have defined and signed.

(248) Theodoret bishop of the city of Alabanda, I have defined and signed.

(249) John bishop of Cnidus, I have defined and signed.

(250) Calandion bishop of the city of Halicarnassus, I have defined and signed through Julian the presbyter.

(251) Daniel bishop of the city of Cadi, I have defined and signed.

(252) Modestus bishop of the city of Sebaste, I have defined and signed.

(253) {Paul bishop of Aristium, I have defined and signed.}<sup>32</sup>

(254) Eulalius bishop of the city of Sibia, I have defined and signed.

(255) Chares bishop of Dionysopolis, I have defined and signed.

(256) John bishop of Trapezopolis, I have defined and signed.

(257) Gennadius bishop of Acmonia, I have defined and signed.

(258) Thomas bishop of Theodosiana, I have defined and signed.

(259) Gennadius bishop of the city of Mossyna, I have defined and signed.

(260) Evander bishop of the city of Diocleia, I have defined and signed.

(261) Gerontius bishop of the city of Basilinopolis, I have defined and signed.

(262) Alphius bishop of the city of Myndus, I have defined and signed.

(263) Diogenes bishop of the city of Orthosia, I have defined and signed through Theoctistus the presbyter.

(264) Zoticus bishop of the city of Harpasa, I have signed through Philotheus the presbyter.

(265) Mirus bishop of Eulandra, I have defined and signed.

(266) Lucian bishop of the city of Ipsus, I have defined and signed.

(267) Philip bishop of the city of Lysias, I have defined and signed.

(268) Epiphanius bishop of the city of Midaeum, I have defined and signed.

(269) Abercius bishop of Hieropolis, I have defined and signed.

32 Supplied from the Latin version.

- (270) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Eucarpia, I have defined and signed.
- (271) Eustochius bishop of the city of Docimium, I have defined and signed.
- (272) Aquila bishop of Aurocra, I have defined and signed.
- (273) Basil bishop of Nacoleia, I have defined and signed.
- (274) Strategius bishop of Polybotus, I have defined and signed.
- (275) Neoptolemus bishop of the city of Corna, I have defined and signed.
- (276) Paul bishop of the city of Derbe, I have defined and signed.
- (277) Plutarch bishop of the city of Lystra, I have defined and signed.
- (278) Eugenius bishop of the city of Cana, I have defined and signed.
- (279) Rufus bishop of the city of Hyde, I have defined and signed.
- (280) Tyrannus bishop of the city of Homanada, I have defined and signed.
- (281) Acholius bishop of the city of Laranda, I have defined and signed.
- (282) Eutropius bishop of Adada, I have defined and signed.
- (283) Paul bishop of Philomelium, I have defined and signed.
- (284) Paulinus bishop of Apamea, I have defined and signed.
- (285) Theotecnus bishop of Tyriaeum, I have defined and signed.
- (286) Heorticius bishop of Metropolis, I have defined and signed.
- (287) Cyrus bishop of Sinethandus, I have defined and signed.
- (288) Libanius bishop of the city of Parlais, I have defined and signed.
- (289) Alexander bishop of Seleucia, I have defined and signed.
- (290) Olympius bishop of Sozopolis, I have defined and signed.
- (291) Fontianus bishop of Sagalassus, I have defined and signed.
- (292) Messalinus bishop of Laodicea, I have defined and signed through Adelus the *chorepiscopus*.
- (293) Bassonas bishop of Neapolis, I have defined and signed.
- (294) Florentius bishop of Hadrianopolis, I have defined and signed.
- (295) Movianus bishop of Limenae, I have defined and signed.
- (296) Manasses bishop of Theodosiopolis, I have defined and signed.
- (297) John bishop of Bargylia, I have defined and signed.
- (298) Florentius bishop of Lesbos and Tenedos, I have defined and signed through Euelpistus the *chorepiscopus*.
- (299) Trypho bishop of the island of Chios, I have defined and signed.
- (300) Epaphroditus bishop of the city of Tamasus, I have defined and signed.
- (301) Soterias bishop of the city of Theodosiane, I have defined and signed.
- (302) Heliodorus bishop of Amathus, I have defined and signed {through Bishop Soterias<sup>33</sup>}.

33 Supplied from the Latin version.

(303) Didymus bishop of Lapethus, I have defined and signed {through Bishop Epaphroditus<sup>34</sup>}.

(304) Proechius bishop of Arsinoe, I have defined and signed through Bishop Soteras.

(305) Epiphanius bishop of Soli, I have defined and signed.<sup>35</sup>

(306) Photinus bishop of Chytri, I have defined and signed through Dionysius the deacon.

(307) John bishop of the city of Messene, I have defined and signed.

(308) Ophelimus bishop of Tegea, I have defined and signed.

(309) Irenaeus bishop of the city of Naupactus, I have defined and signed.

(310) Cyril bishop of the city of Subrita, I have defined and signed.

(311) Gennadius bishop of the city of Cnossus, I have defined and signed.

(312) Eusebius bishop of the city of Apollonia, I have assented and signed.

(313) Demetrius bishop of Lappa, I have defined and signed.

(314) Euphratas bishop of Eleutherna, I have defined and signed.

(315) Paul bishop of Cantanus, I have defined and signed through Chrysogonus the presbyter.

(316) Sozon bishop of the city of Philippi, I have defined and signed.

(317) Eusebius bishop of Doberus, I have defined and signed.

(318) Maximin bishop of Serrhae, I have defined and signed.

(319) Nicholas bishop of Stobi, I have defined and signed.

(320) Dardanius bishop of Bargala, I have defined and signed.

(321) John bishop of Parthicopolis, I have signed through Cyril the presbyter.

(322) Honoratus bishop of the city of Thasos, I have defined and signed.

(323) Theophilus bishop of Ariassus, I have defined and signed.

(324) Neon bishop of the city of Sillyum, I have defined and signed.

(325) Diodotus bishop of the city of Lysinia, I have defined and signed.

(326) Maras bishop of the city of Codrula, I have defined and signed through Bishop Marcellinus [of Isinda].

(327) Paul bishop of the city of Pogla, I have defined and signed.

34 Supplied from the Latin version.

35 The MSS add 'through Bishop Soteras', but Epiphanius, who signed at 30 on behalf of his metropolitan, had no need of a representative. The simplest correction is to presume that these words were repeated by error from the previous line.

(328) Marcellinus bishop of the city of Isinda, I have assented and signed.

(329) Macedon bishop of the city of Magydus, I have defined and signed.

(330) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Etenna, I have defined and signed.

(331) Aurelius bishop of Hadrumetum, I have assented and signed.

(332) Marcellinus bishop of the city of Carallia, I have defined and signed.

(333) Eugenius bishop of the city of Cotenna, I have defined and signed.

(334) Obrimus bishop of the city of Coracesium, I have defined and signed.

(335) Peter bishop of the city of Echinaeum, I have defined and signed through the hand of my fellow bishop Sophronius.<sup>36</sup>

(336) Eustathius bishop of the nation of the Saracens, I have defined and signed.

(337) Constantine bishop of the city of Demetrias, I have defined and signed.

(338) Restitianus bishop of Africa, I have assented and signed.

(339) Sabinianus bishop of Perrhe, I have defined and signed.<sup>37</sup>

(340) Eudoxius bishop of Choma, I have defined and signed.

(341) Palladius bishop of Corydalla, I have defined and signed through Eudoxius bishop of Choma.

Diogenes, bishop of the metropolis of Cyzicus [in Hellespontus], and on behalf of the absent bishops under me, that is, (342) Alexander of the city of Oce, (343) Gemellus of Melitopolis, (344) Eustorgius of Scepsis, (345) Eutychianus of Baris, (346) Acacius of Proconnesus, and (347) Timothy of Germe: assenting, I have signed.

Theodore, bishop of Tarsus the metropolis [of Cilicia Prima], and on behalf of the absent bishops under me, (348) Sallustius of Corycus, and (349) Matronianus of Pompeiopolis: assenting, I have signed.

Marinianus bishop of Synnada the metropolis [of Phrygia Salutaris], and on behalf of the absent most devout bishops under me, (350) Helladius of the city of Stectorium, (351) Paul of the city of Amadassa, (352) Auxanontus of the city of Prymessus,<sup>38</sup> (353) Otres of the city of Cinnaborium, (354)

36 Schwartz conjectures that, since the only Sophronius at the council was the bishop of Constantia in Osrhoene, this is a mistake for Soterichus of Corcyra. But the name may be entirely wrong, possibly even deriving from the 'Sophronius *chorepiscopus*' who signed for a bishop at 111.

37 Note that Athanasius had already signed as bishop of Perrhe (134), but in Session XIV of 31 October he lost his see to his rival Sabinianus, who now signs as the true bishop of the see. Likewise the two rivals for Edessa, Nonnus and Ibas, both signed (28 and 86).

38 Following our practice throughout the text, we give this name and that at 355 in the forms preferred by Jones 1971. The MSS (Greek and Latin) give them in the forms (respectively) of Promissus and Prymniassa.

Auxanon of the city of Bruzus, (355) James of the city of Praepenissus, and (356) Basil of the city of Otrus: assenting, I have signed.

Cyrus bishop of Anazarbus the metropolis [of Cilicia Secunda], and on behalf of the absent bishops under me, (357) Paregorius of Castabala, (358) Julian of Alexandria, (359) Eustathius of Aegae: assenting, I have signed.

Onesiphorus bishop of Iconium the metropolis [of Lycaonia], and on behalf of the absent bishops under me, (360) Eugenius of the city of Barata, (361) Diomedes of the city of Amblada, (362) Aetius of Isauropolis, (363) Eustathius of the city of Sauatra, (364) Hegemonius of the city of Gdammaua, (365) Conon of the city of Perta, (366) Harmatius of the city of Misthia, (367) Onesimus of the city of Ilistra, (368) Olympius of the city of Vasada: assenting, I have signed.

Basil bishop of Seleucia the metropolis of Isauria, I have defined and signed, also on behalf of the absent bishops under me, (369) Antony of Nephelis, (370) James of Anemurium, (371) Nunechius of Charadrus, (372) Diapherontius of Olba, (373) Antony of Domitiopolis, (374) Stephen of Dalisandus, (375) Paul of Hierapolis, (376) Menodorus of Irenopolis, (377) Conon of Zbide.

Nunechius bishop of Laodicea the metropolis [of Phrygia Pacatiana], I have defined and signed, also on behalf of the absent bishops under me, (378) Symmachius of the city of Attuda, (379) Philetus of the city of Ceretapa, (380) Epiphanius of the city of Colossae, (381) Evagoras of the city of Eluza, (382) Zosimus of the city of Themisionium, (383) Antiochus of the city of Sanaus, (384) Philadelphus of the city of Attanassus, (385) Arabius of the city of Synaus, (386) Heraclius of the city of Cidyessus, (387) Gaius of the city of Alia, (388) Matthias of the city of Temenothyrae, (389) Philip of the city of Peltae, (390) Tatian of the city, (390a) Philip of the city.<sup>39</sup>

Olympius bishop of [Constantia] the metropolis of Cyprus, I have defined and signed through Epaphroditus bishop of the city of Tamasus, also on behalf of the absent {bishops},<sup>40</sup> (391) Hermolaus of the city, (392) Carterius of the city, (393) Aristocles, (394) Tiberianus of the city, (395) Nicopolion of the city.

39 390 reads in the MSS, 'Tatian of the city of Philippopolis'. But there was no city of this name in Phrygia Pacatiana, and we follow the emendation of Honigmann (1942–3). From here to 406 (and at 425 and 449) 'of the city', without the city being named, 'is no doubt due to the destruction of the right margin of one leaf of the archetype of the existing codices' (Honigmann, p. 76). Philip's see was presumably Ancyra and Synaus (cf. 9D.337).

40 Supplied from the Latin version.

Symeon bishop of Amida the metropolis [of Mesopotamia], I have signed, also on behalf of {the absent bishops}<sup>41</sup> under me, (396) Eusebius of Ingilene, (396a) Marones of the city, (397) Caiumas of Sophene, (397a) Valarsecus of the city,<sup>42</sup> (398) Siricius of the city, through Peter the presbyter.

Pergamius bishop of Antioch the metropolis of Pisidia, I have signed, also on behalf of the absent most God-beloved bishops of the aforesaid province, (399) Apellius of the city, (400) Protogenes of the city, (401) Marcellinus of the city, (402) Maximin of the city [of Zorzela], (403) Timothy of the city, (404) Eutropius of the city, (405) Armenius of the city, (406) Musonius of the city.

Stephen bishop of Ephesus the metropolis [of Asia], and on behalf of the absent most religious bishops under me, that is, (407) Eutropius of the city of Pergamum, (408) Flavian of the city of Adramyttium, (409) Maximus of the city of Assus, (410) Aretianus of the city of Antandrus, (411) Chrysogonus of the city of Cyme, (412) Alexander of the city of Magnesia, (413) Eustathius of the city of Temnus, (414) Dracontius of the city of Erythrae, (415) Gennadius of the city of Teos, (416) Julian of the city of Lebedus, (417) Alexander of the city of Colophon, (418) Zoticus of the city of Anaea, (419) Isidore of the city of Priene, (420) Maximus of the city of Tralles, (421) Sabbatius of the city of Mastaura, (422) Eustorgius of the city of Dioshieron, (423) Gerontius of the city of Arcadiopolis, (424) Thomas of the city of Auliucome, (425) Rufinus of the city, (426) John of the city of Baretta, (425a)<sup>43</sup> Basil of the city of Sion, (426a) Alexander of the city of Monaule: I have assented and signed through Hesperus bishop of Pitane.<sup>44</sup>

Constantine bishop of the metropolis of Bostra [in Arabia], and on behalf of the most God-beloved bishops under me, (427) Placcus of the city of Gerasa, (428) Zosys of the city of Ebus, (429) Malchus of the city of Phaena, (430) Gautus of the city of Neila, (431) Nonnus of the city of Zeramena, (432) Chilo of the city of Neapolis, (433) John of the city of Erre, (434) Jovius of the city of Neve, (435) Gaianus of the city of Medaba, (436) Severus of the city of Maximianopolis, (437) Anastasius of the city of Eutime, (438) Solemus of the city of Constantine, (439) Maras of the city of Dionysias: I have assented and signed.

41 Supplied from the Latin version.

42 We follow the emendation of Honigmann 1942–3, 60, 76. The MSS read, '(396) Eusebius of Maronopolis, (397) Caiumas of Valarsecopolis'. The sees of Eusebius and Caiumas are given at 9D.113–4 below.

43 The repetition of the numbers 425 and 426 is a slip in Schwartz.

44 This is unexpected, since Stephen of Ephesus signed on his own behalf at 9 above.



Theodore bishop of the metropolis of Damascus [in Phoenice Libanensis], and on behalf of the bishops under me, (440) John of the city of Palmyra, (441) Dadas of the city of Chonochora, (442) Eusebius of the city of Iabruda, (443) Theodore of the city of Danaba, (444) Abramius of the city of Arlana, (445) Peter of the city of Corada: I have assented and signed.

Stephen bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis [in Euphratensis], and on behalf of the most God-beloved bishops under me, (446) Uranius of the city of Sura, (447) Maras of the city of Urima, (448) David of the city of Europus, (449) Cosmas of the city, (450) Marianus of the city of Resapha: I have assented and signed.

(451) Gregory bishop of Hadrianopolis, I have defined and signed.

(452) Jovian of Deultum, I have defined and signed.

9D.<sup>45</sup> (1) Bishop Paschasinus, representing my master the most blessed and apostolic Leo of the universal church, pope of the city of Rome: presiding over the council, I have decreed, assented and signed.

(2) Bishop Lucentius of the church of the city of Asculum, representing my master that most blessed and apostolic man of the universal church, Leo pope of the city of Rome: I have signed what was read in Greek at the council.

(3–4) Boniface presbyter of the holy Roman church and {envoy of my lord the most blessed and apostolic man of the universal church, pope} Leo of Rome: I have decreed and signed.<sup>46</sup>

45 We give the list of signatories of the Definition, set out according to province, that is preserved in the *Collectio Dionysiana* (ACO 2.2 pp. 157–69), an early sixth-century Latin version by Dionysius Exiguus of a Greek collection of conciliar decrees and canons; under each province the metropolitan is named first. As usual we regularize the form and spelling of the names; where the text is jumbled (at 11, 70–74, 94–100, 113–14, 141), we restore the correct order, according to the annotation of Schwartz (*ad loc.*) and Honigsmann (1942–3), based on VI. 9 and the Syriac version of the same list. We mark with an asterisk new entries additional to those in VI. 9. Of these new names three (15, 111 and 267) also occur in a list of signatories attached to the canons of the council in the *Collectio Prisca* (ACO 2.2 pp. 132–7) but manifestly deriving from a list of signatories of the Definition, while seven of them (15, 171, 176, 189, 267, 275 and 352) occur in the attendance list of the third session (III. 2).

46 This is my emendation and supplement of the MSS reading, ‘*Bonifatius presbyter sanctae ecclesiae Romanae statui et suscripsi. Leontius Romanus.*’ Schwartz 1937, 11 emends the second name to ‘Leo Romanus’ and transfers it to the head of the list. But surely it is more probably a corruption of Λέοντος τῆς Ρωμαίων (cf. I. 220) in the genitive; if so, it is surely to be transferred to the previous entry, with the addition of πρεσβευτῆς (‘envoy’): we may surmise that πρεσβευτῆς as the original reading was mistranslated or corrupted into *presbyter* (as at §153 below) and was then deleted as superfluous because of *presbyter* a few words back. Finally, we supply the honorific phrase that must have accompanied ‘Leo of Rome’ in the original text.

(5) Anatolius of Constantinople.

Of the province of Thrace [= Europa]: (6) Cyriacus of Heraclea through Lucian [of Bizye], (7) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis, (8) Lucian of Bizye.

Of the province of Thrace II: (9) Francion of Philippopolis, (10), Sebastian of Beroe, (11) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis.

Of the province of Rhodope: (12) Basil of Trajanopolis, (13) Docimasius of Maronea, (14) Serenus of Maximianopolis, (15)\* Macarius of Aenus.

Of the province of Haemimontus: (16) Jovian of Deultum.

Of the province of Illyricum [= Macedonia]: (17) Anastasius of Thessalonica through Quintillus bishop of Heraclea, (18) Sozon of Philippi, (19) Dardanius of Bargala, (20) Maximin of Serrhae, (21) Nicholas of Stobi, (22) Honoratus of Thasos, (23) Eusebius of Doberus.

Of the province of Hellas: (24) Peter of Corinth, (25) Nicias of Megara, (26) John of Messene, (27) Ophelimus of Tegea, (28) Athanasius of Opus, (29) Irenaeus of Naupactus, (30) Dominus of Plataea, (31) Onesimus of Argos.

Of the province of Syria I: (32) Maximus of Antioch, (33) Macarius of Laodicea through Eusebius presbyter of Antioch, (34) Theoctistus of Beroea, (35) Gerontius of Seleucia, (36) Romulus of Chalcis, (37) Peter of Gabbula, (38) Maras of Anasartha, (39) Sabas of Paltus, (40)\* Uranius of Gabala.

Of the province of Syria II: (41) Domnus of Apamea through Meletius of Larissa.

Of the province of Cilicia I: (42) Theodore of Tarsus, (43) Matronianus of Pompeiopolis through his metropolitan Theodore, (44) Alexander of Sebaste, (45) Philip of Adana, (46) Hypatius of Zephyrium, (47) Theodore of Augusta, (48) Chrysippus of Mallus, (49) Sallustius of Corycus through Philip of Adana.

Of the province of Cilicia II: (50) Cyrus of Anazarbus, (51) Polychronius of Epiphaneia, (52) John of Flaviopolis, (53) Indimus of Irenopolis, (54) Julian of Rhosus, (55) Bassianus of Mopsuestia through Bishop [*chorepiscopus*] Sophronius.

[Of the province of] Isauria: (56) Basil of Seleucia, (57) Theodore of Claudiopolis, (58) Julius of Celenderis, (59) John of Diocaesarea through Nilus the lector, (60) Epiphanius of Cestrus, (61)\* Pamprepius of Titopolis,<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> John Rufus, *Plerophoriae* (PO VIII), 44–5 tells us that Pamprepius left the council precipitantly after it had disowned Dioscorus and ‘received the heretics and the enemies of God who recovered their sees’. This should mean that he left the council after Session VII (when Theodoret was restored) and perhaps after Session X (which accepted Ibas), but Rufus’ information was probably not so exact. If there is any truth in Rufus’ story, he cannot have signed the Definition himself, and an embarrassed colleague must have signed on his behalf.

(62) Acacius of Antioch in Lamotis through Papas the deacon, (63) Ammonius of Iotape, (64) Aelianus of Selinus through Paul the subdeacon, (65) Matalus of Philadelphia, (66) Tyrannus of Germanicopolis.

Of the province of Phoenice [I]: (67) Photius of Tyre, (68) Damian of Sidon, (69) Paul of Ptolemais, (70) Olympius of Paneas, (71) Paul of Aradus,<sup>48</sup> (72) Thomas of Porphyreon, (73)\* Peter of Byblus through Photius,<sup>49</sup> (74) Eustathius of Berytus, (75) Theodore of Tripolis, (76)\* Heraclitus of Arca, (77)\* Alexander of Antaradus,<sup>50</sup> (78) Porphyry of Botrys through Timothy the deacon, (79) Phosphorus of Orthosia.

Of the province of Phoenice Libanensis: (80) Theodore of Damascus, (81) Uranius of Emesa, (82) Joseph of Heliopolis, (83) Thomas of Euaria, (84) Valerius of Laodicea, (85) Eustathius of the nation of the Saracens, (86) Jordanes of Abila.

Of the province of Arabia: (87) Constantine of Bostra, (88) Eulogius of Philadelphia, (89) Proclus of Adraa, (90) Theodosius of Canatha, (91) Hormisdas of Philippopolis, (92) Placcus of Gerasa through Constantine of Bostra.

Augustoeuphratesia [Euphratensis]: (93) Stephen of Hierapolis, (94) Theodoret of Cyrrhus, (95) Rufinus of Samosata, (96) John of Germanicia, (97) Timothy of Doliche, (98) Euolcius of Zeugma, (99) Sabinianus of Perrhe, (100) Patricius of Neocaesarea.

Of the province of Osrhoene: (101) Nonnus and Ibas of Edessa, (102) Caiumas of Marcopolis, (103) John of Carrhae, (104) Abramius of Circesium, (105)\* Daniel of Macedonopolis, (106)\* Damian of Callinicum, (107) Sophronius of Constantia, (108)\* John of the Saracens.

48 The name appears as 'Aradupolis': here, and elsewhere, the list adds 'polis' as a suffix, deriving from 'polis' (city) as a separate word in the original list.

49 This list gives here and at 76 Photius' two nominees for the sees of Byblus and Arca, while VI. 9 gives Eustathius' appointees, Rufinus (74) and Antiochus (70); see XVI. 9.110–13n.

50 For Alexander of Antaradus and Peter of Aradus (71 above), see *Syriac Acts of Ephesus II*, trans. Hoffmann, 126–9 and Schwartz 1937, 47. Aradus was an island off the coast of Phoenice I, and Antaradus the city on the mainland facing it. Alexander was made bishop of Antaradus by a pro-Cyrrillian faction perhaps in 442. Domnus of Antioch promptly had him arrested and imprisoned, when Antaradus was placed under Peter of Aradus. The fall of Domnus in 449 will have led to Alexander's release, and in 450 Eustathius of Berytus, exercising his newly acquired metropolitan rights, reinstated him in Antaradus. As a result of the decision at Chalcedon in the session on Photius and Eustathius to return the northern part of Phoenice to Photius of Tyre, Alexander (who may well have accompanied Eustathius to Chalcedon) will have been demoted to titular bishop.

Of the province of Mesopotamia: (109) Symeon of Amida, (110) Noah of Cephas, (111)\* Maras of Anzitene, (112) Zebennus of Martyropolis, (113) Caiumas of Sophene, (114) Eusebius of Ingilene.

Of the province of Palestine I: (115) Juvenal of Jerusalem, (116)\* Glycon of Caesarea through Zosimus bishop of Menois, (117) Leontius of Ascalon, (118) Photinus of Diospolis [= Lydda], (119) Paul of Anthedon, (120) Heraclius of Azotus, (121) Pancratius of Livias, (122) Polychronius of Antipatris, (123) Stephen of Jamnia.

Of the province of Palestine II: (124)\* Severianus of Scythopolis, (125) Anianus of Capitolas, (126) Zebennus of Pella, (127) John of Gadara.

Of the province of Palestine III: (128) Beryllus of Aela, (129) Aretas of Elusa, (130) Musonius of Segor, (131) Marcian of Iotane, (132) Natiras [of Gaza], (133)\* Marianus of Gaza.<sup>51</sup>

Of the province of Epirus Vetus: (134) Atticus of Nicopolis, (135) Mark of Euroea, (136) Peregrinus of Phoenice, (137) Euty chius of Hadrianopolis, (138) Claudius of Anchiasmus, (139) Soterichus of Corcyra, (140)\* Philoctetus of Dodona, (141)\* John of Photice though Zenobius of Buthrotum.

Of the province of Epirus [Nova]: (142) Luke of Dyrrachium, (143) Eusebius of Apollonia, (144) Peter of Echinaeum.

Of the province of Thessaly: (145) Constantine of Demetrias.

Of the province of Crete: (146) Martyrius of Gortyna, (147) Gennadius of Cnossus, (148), Cyril of Subrita, (149) Euphratas of Eleutherna, (150) Demetrius of Lappa.

Of the province of Bithynia in Pontica: (151) Eunomius of Nicomedia, (152) Anastasius of Nicaea, (153) Julian [bishop] of Cos and envoy of Archbishop Leo,<sup>52</sup> (154) Eleutherius of Chalcedon, (155) Callinicus of Apamea.

Of the province of Galatia I: (156) Eusebius of Ancyra, (157) Julian of Tavium, (158) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis, (159) Hyperechius of Aspona, (160) Acacius of Cinna, (161) Leucadius of Mnizus, (162) Euphrasius of Lagania.

Of the province of Galatia II: (163) Theoctistus of Pessinus through

51 The Syriac reads 'Natiras and Marianus of Gaza' (*ACO* II.6 p. 45). Natiras attended Ephesus I and Chalcedon, while Marianus is named at Ephesus II (see Names Index). We cannot tell whether Marianus was Natiras' assistant (as presumed by Schwartz 1937, 22, n. 2) or, on the contrary, his rival. Note that Gaza was in Palestine I, not III.

52 Julian's mistaken assignation to the province of Bithynia probably arose from his name coming between the bishops of Nicaea and Chalcedon at 9.17. See I. 3.19n. 'Envoy' translates *presbyter* in the text, manifestly a mistranslation or corruption of *προεβευτής* in the original Greek text.

Photinus the archdeacon, (164) Helpidius of Myrcia at Thermae, (165) Mysterius of Amorium, (166) Aquila of Eudoxias, (167) Cyriacus of Trocnades, (168)\* Pius of Petnissus, (169) Longinus of Orcistus.

Of the province of Cappadocia I: (170) Thalassius of Caesarea, (171)\* Musonius of Nyssa, (172)\* Firminus of Therma.

Of the province of Cappadocia II: (173) Patricius of Tyana, (174) Theodosius of Nazianzus, (175) Aristomachus of Colonia, (176)\* Cyrus of Cybistra.

Of the province of Armenia I: (177) John of Sebasteia, (178) Cecropius of Sebastopolis, (179) John of Nicopolis.

Of the province of Armenia II: (180) Constantine of Melitene, (181) Acacius of Ariaratheia, (182) Adolius of Arabissus through ...lochius the presbyter,<sup>53</sup> (183) John of Arca through Euphronius the presbyter.<sup>54</sup>

Of the province of Pontus Polemoniaca: (184) Dorotheus of Neocaesarea through Photinus the deacon, (185) John of Polemonium, (186) Gratidianus of Cerasus, (187) Atarbius of Trapezus.

Of the province of Helenopontus: (188) Seleucus of Amaseia, (189)\* Antonianus of Amisus through Olympius the deacon, (190) Paralius of Andrapa through Helpidius the presbyter,<sup>55</sup> (191) Uranius of Iborra through Paul the presbyter, (192) Atticus of Zela, (193) Antiochus of Sinope.

Of the province of Paphlagonia: (194) Peter of Gangra, (195) Aetherius of Pompeiopolis through Epiphanius the presbyter, (196) Rhenus of Ionopolis, (197) Polychronius of Dadybra, (198) Theodore of Sora.

Of the province of Honorias: (199) Calogerus of Claudiopolis, (200) Theodore of Heraclea, (201) Apragmonius of Tieum, (202) Theophilus of Hadrianopolis through Pelagius the presbyter, (203) Genethlius of Creteia through Eulogius the presbyter, (204)\* Olympius of Prusias through Modestus the presbyter.

Of the province of Hellespontus of Asiana: (205) Diogenes of Cyzicus, (206) Peter of Dardanus, (207) Thalassius of Parium, (208) David of Hadrianeia, (209) Eulalius of Pionia, (210) Pionius of Troas, (211) Stephen of Poemanenum, (212) Theosebius of Ilium, (213) Hermias of Abydus, (214) Daniel of Lampsacus, (215) Patricius of Hadrianutherae.

Of the province of Asia: (216) Stephen of Ephesus, (217) Aetherichus of

53 ‘...lochius’ in the Latin, Adolius in the Syriac, and Adelphius the *chorepiscopus* according to 9.159.

54 Otrius the presbyter according to 9.161.

55 Paralius was also represented by Helpidius in the third session. In contrast, at 9.155 and in the dependent attendance lists the deacon Eucharius is named as his representative.

Smyrna, (218) Thomas of Auliucome and Valentinianopolis, (219) Eusebius of Clazomenae, (220) Cyriacus of Aegae, (221) Mamas of Aninetus, (222) Leontius of Greater Magnesia, (223) Quintus of Phocaea, (224) Proclus of Algiza, (225) Basilicus of Palaeopolis, (226) Philip of Neaule, (227) Rufinus of Briulla, (228) Olympius of Augaza, (229) Isaias of Elaea, (230) Hesperus of Pitane, (231) Proterius of Myrina, (232) Maeonius of Nysa, (233) Paulinus of Perperene, (234) Marcellinus of Metropolis, (235) Julian of Hypaepa.

Of the province of Lydia: (236) Florentius of Sardis, (237) Menecrates of Ceraseis, (238) Patricius of Acrasus, (239) Polycarp of Tabala, (240) Paul of Tripolis, (241) Helias of Blaundus, (242) Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, (243) Amachius of Saittae, (244) Andrew of Satala, (245) Dionysius of Attaleia, (246) Gemellus of Stratonicea, (247) Alcimedes of Silandus, (248) Leucius of Apollonoshieron.

Of the province of Pamphylia [I]: (249) Epiphanius of Perge, (250) Theophilus of Ariassus, (251) Neon of Sillyum, (252) Diodotus of Lysinia, (253) Paul of Pogla, (254) Marcellinus of Isinda, (255) Macedon of Magydus, (256) Maras of Codrula.

Of the province of Pamphylia II: (257) Amphilocheus of Side, (258)\* Gaius of Syedra,<sup>56</sup> (259) Eudoxius of Etenna, (260) Marcellinus of Carallia, (261) Eugenius of Cotenna, (262) Obrimus of Coracesium.

[Of the province of Lycia:] (263) Romanus of Myra, (264)\* Aristocritus of Olympius, (265) Eudoxius of Choma, (266) Palladius of Corydalla, (267)\* Cyrinus of Patara, (268) Stephen of Limyra, (269) Zenodotus of Telmessus, (270) Fronto of Phaselis, (271) Philip of Balbura, (272) Theodore of Antiphellus, (273) Leontius of Araxa, (274) Antipater of Caunus, (275)\* Cratinus of Panormus, (276) Andrew of Tlos, (277) Nicholas of Acarassus, (278) Romanus of Bubon.

Of the province of Lycaonia: (279) Onesiphorus of Iconium, (280) Neoptolemus of Corna, (281) Paul of Derbe, (282) Plutarch of Lystra, (283) Eugenius of Cana, (284) Rufus of Hyde, (285) Tyrannus of Homanada, (286) Acholius of Laranda.

Of the province of Pisidia: (287) Pergamius of Antioch, (288) Eutropius of Adada, (289) Paul of Philomelium, (290) Paulinus of Apamea, (291) Theotecnus of Tyriaeum, (292) Heorticius of Metropolis, (293) Cyrus of Sinethandus, (294) Libanius of Parlais, (295) Alexander of Seleucia, (296)

<sup>56</sup> Syedra is assigned to Pamphylia here and in the Syriac version, but is listed with the Isaurian sees in the attendance lists of I, II and IV. Honigmann 1942–3, 69 suggests that the see was transferred from Isauria to Pamphylia ‘in 451 or a little later’.

Olympius of Sozopolis, (297) Fontianus of Sagalassus, (298) Messalinus of Laodicea, (299) Bassonas of Neapolis, (300) Florentius of Hadrianopolis, (301) Movianus of Limenae, (302) Maximin of Zorzela.

Of the province of Caria: (303) Critonianus of Aphrodisias, (304) Dionysius of Antioch, (305) John of Alinda, (306) Flacillus of Iasus, (307) Papias of Eriza, (308) Dionysius of [Heraclea by] Latmus, (309) Menander of Heraclea [by Salbacus], (310) Eupithius of Stratonicea, (311) John of Amyzon, (312) Tynchanus of Apollonia, (313) Theodoret of Alabanda, (314) John of Cnidus, (315) Calandion of Halicarnassus through Julian the presbyter.

Of the province of Phrygia Salutaris: (316) Marinianus of Synnada, (317) Eusebius of Dorylaeum, (318) Mirus of Eulandra, (319) Lucian of Ipsus, (320) Philip of Lysias, (321) Epiphanius of Midaeum, (322) Abercius of Hieropolis, (323) Cyriacus of Eucarpia, (324) Eustochius of Docimium, (325) Basil of Nacoleia, (326) Aquila of Aurocra, (327) Strategius of Polybotus.

Of the province of Phrygia Pacatiana: (328) Nunechius of Laodicea Trimitaria, (329) Daniel of Cadi, (330) Modestus of Sebaste, (331) Eulalius of Sibia, (332) Matthias of Temenothyrae, (333) Paul of Aristium, (334) Chares of Dionysopolis, (335) Gennadius of Acmonia, (336) Thomas of Theodosiana, (337) Philip of Ancyra and Synaus,<sup>57</sup> (338) John of Trapezopolis, (339) Evander of Diocleia, (340) Gennadius of Mossyna.

Of the province of the Islands: (341) John of Rhodes, (342) Florentius of Mytilene [= Lesbos], (343) Trypho of Chios, (344)\* Barachius of Naxos.

Of the province of Cyprus: (345) Olympius of Constantia,<sup>58</sup> (346) Epaphroditus of Tamasus, (347) Heliodorus of Amathus, (348) Soteris of Theodosiane, (349) Didymus of Lapethus, (350) Proechius of Arsinoe, (351) Photinus of Chytri.

Of the province of Africa: (352)\* Valerian of Bassianae,<sup>59</sup> (353)\* Aurelius of Pupput.<sup>60</sup>

57 The Latin '*Ageyras Sideras*' ('Ancyra Sideras') must be 'Ancyra and Synaus', as in the Notitiae cited by Jones 1971, 530.

58 The MSS add 'through Didymus of Lapethus', manifestly an error since Didymus was himself represented by Epaphroditus of Tamasus (9.303). Olympius was in fact represented either by Epaphroditus (9. before 391) or Epiphanius of Soli (9.30).

59 In fact in Pannonia.

60 The Latin reads '*Valerianus Afrus*', and is emended by Honigmann 1942–3, 74–5 on the basis of the Syriac '*Aurelius of Paphos*'. The emendation is convincing because Aurelius of Pupput attended the Home Synod of 448 (I. 552.28).

10. Our most divine and pious master said to the holy council: 'Let the holy council say whether the definition which has now been read has been pronounced in accordance with the consensus of all the most sacred bishops.'

11. All exclaimed: 'We all believe accordingly. One faith, one opinion! We all hold the same. We have all assented and signed. We are all orthodox. This is the faith of the fathers. This is the faith of the apostles. This is the faith of the orthodox. This faith has saved the world. To Marcian, the new Constantine, the new Paul, the new David! The years of David to the emperor! [Grant], Lord, a pious life to him, the new Constantine, the new Marcian. You are the peace of the world. [Grant], Lord, a pious life to him. Your faith will protect you. You honour Christ and he will protect you. You have strengthened orthodoxy. You believe as did the apostles. To the Augusta many years! You [two] are the luminaries of orthodoxy. Because of this there is peace everywhere; protect, Lord, the luminaries of peace. Protect, Lord, the luminaries of the world. Eternal memory to the new Constantine! God will protect her who is orthodox from birth. God will protect her who protects the faith. God will protect her who is always pious. God will protect the pious and orthodox one, who opposes the heretics. It is you [Pulcheria] who drove out all the heretics. It is you who drove out Nestorius and Eutyches. May envy be absent from your reign. You [two] are worthy of the faith, you are worthy of Christ, may envy be absent from your reign. Thus are faithful emperors honoured. God will protect your power. God will make your reign peaceful. Marcian the new Constantine! Pulcheria the new Helena! You have shown the faith of Helena. You have shown the zeal of Helena. {You defend the cross of Christ. Helena found it, Pulcheria rescued it.}<sup>61</sup> Your lives are the security of all. Your faith is the glory of the churches.'

12. Our most divine and pious master said to the holy council: 'If we have imposed labour and trials on your devotedness, we express the greatest thanks to God the saviour of all, that with the ending of the discord due to many being in error over the faith we have all come together in unanimity in one and the same religion, hoping that because of your prayers to the Almighty a peace that is both swift and universal will be granted to us by God.'

13. All exclaimed: 'This is worthy of your reign. This is proper to your reign. This is the achievement of your reign, you [Marcian] who are worthy of the faith, worthy of Christ, worthy of reign and of religion. Through this

61 Supplied from an early Latin witness (*ACO* 2.2 p. 101).



the world is at peace. This is worthy of your reign. Through you orthodoxy has been confirmed, because of you there is no heresy. Heavenly King, protect the one on earth; the faith is secure through you. Heavenly King, protect the Augusta; the faith is secure through you. It is the one God who has done this. Heavenly King, protect the Augusta. You [two] are worthy of peace. It is you [Pulcheria] who drove out the heretics. Anathema to Nestorius and Eutyches, anathema also to Dioscorus! Through you [two] is the faith, through you is peace. This is the prayer of the churches, this is the prayer of the pastors. To Nestorius, Eutyches and Dioscorus anathema!

14. Our most divine and pious master said to the holy council: 'Now that the pious and catholic faith has been made manifest by the holy and ecumenical council in accordance with the creed of the fathers, our serenity has judged it right and profitable that every future occasion for controversy over our holy religion should be removed. Therefore, if anyone, whether in private life or involved in government service or belonging to the clergy, publicly gathers a mob and under the pretext of holding a disputation about the faith causes a disturbance, let him know that if he is enrolled as a private citizen he will be expelled from the imperial city, while if he is a public servant or a cleric, he will endanger his service in the former case and his clerical rank in the latter and be subjected to other penalties.'<sup>62</sup>

15. All exclaimed: 'Many years to the emperor! To the Christ-loving emperor many years! To the pious one, to the Christian one! You have set right the churches, you have confirmed orthodoxy. To the Augusta many years, to her who is pious and Christ-loving! God will protect your reign. It is you [two] who expelled the heretics. To Nestorius, Eutyches and Dioscorus anathema! The Trinity condemned those three. The Trinity expelled those three. May your reign last for ever.'

16. Our most divine and pious master said to the holy council: 'There are certain articles which we have reserved for you out of respect for your devotedness, since we consider it proper that they should be decreed canonically by you in council rather than enacted by our laws.'

And at the order of our most divine and pious master, Veronicianus, the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory, read out the articles, as follows:<sup>63</sup>

62 The same penalties were enacted in the First Edict confirming Chalcedon (Documents after the Council 3).

63 The three articles that follow were subsequently adopted, with minor amendment, as, respectively, Canons 4, 3, and 20 of the council. For annotation see our notes on the canons, vol. 3, 94–101.

17. *To those who truly and sincerely enter on the solitary life we accord the honour that is owed to them. But since some people use a cloak of monasticism to disrupt both the churches and public affairs, it is decreed that no one is to found a monastery contrary to the will of the bishop of the city, nor on an estate contrary to the will of the master of the estate. Those who practise monasticism in each city and territory are to be subject to the bishop, and are to embrace tranquillity and devote themselves to fasting and prayer alone; they are not to cause annoyance in ecclesiastical or public affairs, unless indeed for some compelling need they be permitted to do so by the bishop of the city. Nor should monks have the authority to receive slaves or serfs into their monasteries contrary to the will of their masters.*

18. *Since some of those enrolled in the clergy or living the monastic life, being plagued by avarice, throw themselves into responsibility for worldly business, becoming lessees of estates or stewards or serving great houses as administrators, this holy and great council has decreed that no cleric is to lease estates or accept a stewardship, unless indeed they be entrusted by their own bishop with responsibility for church property. If after this decree anyone should dare to take out a lease himself or accept such responsibility through the agency of another person, he is to be subject to the ecclesiastical penalty, and if he remains obstinate, he is to be stripped of his dignity.*

19. *Clerics enrolled in a church are not to be appointed to the church of another city, but are to remain content with that church where they were deemed worthy to serve originally, except for those who have been forced to leave their own homelands out of necessity and so moved to another church. If anyone after this enactment should receive a cleric belonging to another bishop, it is decreed that both the person received and the one who receives him are to be excommunicated, until the absconding cleric returns to his own church.*

20. After the reading of these articles, which were entrusted by our most divine and pious master to Anatolius the most God-beloved archbishop of imperial Constantinople New Rome, all the most God-beloved bishops exclaimed: ‘Many years to the emperors! To [Marcian] the pious one, to the Christian one! Christ, whom you worship, will himself protect you. This is worthy of the faith. To the priest, to the emperor!’<sup>64</sup> It is you who have set right the churches, victor over the enemy, teacher of the faith. Many years to

<sup>64</sup> Compare the words of the emperor Leo III, on issuing his iconoclast edict of 725–6, ‘I am emperor and priest’ (Chadwick 2003, 72–4).

the Augusta! To the pious one, the Christ-loving one! To the orthodox one many years! God will protect your reign. You [two] have condemned the heretics. You have protected the faith. Abundance in your reign! May your reign last for ever.’

21. Our most divine and pious master said to the holy council: ‘In honour of the holy martyr Euphemia and of your sacredness we have decreed that the city of Chalcedon, in which the holy faith has been defined in council, shall have the rank of a metropolis, this honour being purely titular since the metropolis of Nicomedia will of course keep its own status.’

22. All exclaimed: ‘Just is the decision of the emperor. O you [Marcian] worthy of the holy one!’<sup>65</sup> One Easter for the whole world!<sup>66</sup> Put an end to the misfortunes of the bishops. The holy one will protect you. We beg you, dismiss us. You are pious, O emperor; dismiss us.’

23. Our most divine and pious master said to the holy council: ‘You are exhausted after enduring toil for a fair period of time. But remain three or four days longer, and in the presence of our most magnificent officials, move whatever proposals you wish; you will receive appropriate help. None of you is to leave the holy council until definitive decrees have been issued about everything.’

65 Both here and in the following line ‘the holy one’ (Schwartz’s preferred reading) is the martyr Euphemia, although the Greek MSS emend it to ‘the holy Trinity’.

66 A reference to the disagreements over the paschal calendar raised by Pope Leo (Documents before the Council 9).

## THE SEVENTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

This session, of 26 October, is numbered as the seventh act in the Latin Acts; it is numbered as the eighth in the Greek edition, as a result of its listing the 27 Canons (which we place after the sessions) as the ‘seventh act’. The need for the session arose from an appeal by Bishop Maximus of Antioch against the decrees of the Council of Ephesus of 449, which had stripped Antioch of its traditional authority over Palestine, Phoenice and Arabia and handed these provinces over to the see of Jerusalem, erected into an independent patriarchate. The business of the session was to receive and approve a compromise worked out between Maximus and Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem according to which Jerusalem’s independence of Antioch and authority over Palestine was confirmed but Phoenice and Arabia were to be restored to Antioch.

### COMMENTARY

Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem had from the beginning of his episcopate (c.422) worked to secure the elevation of his see to patriarchal status.<sup>1</sup> The Council of Nicaea (Canon 7) recognized the ‘proper honour’ due to the see, while insisting that the metropolis of the province (Palestine) remained Caesarea. Though Caesarea maintained its metropolitan rights, the status of Jerusalem as the cradle of the church and a great centre of pilgrimage was reinforced by the role played by its bishops in the doctrinal controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. Juvenal tried to have his see recognized at the Council of Ephesus of 431 as not only fully autonomous but also as enjoying jurisdiction over the provinces of Palestine, Phoenice and Arabia. Frustrated on this occasion,<sup>2</sup> he got his way at the Council of Ephesus of 449, which

1 For the development of the patriarchates generally, see General Introduction, vol. 1, 10–15, and Jones, *LRE*, 883–94. For Juvenal of Jerusalem, see Honigmann 1950.

2 It is notable, however, that at the Council of Antioch of 445 no bishops attended from

accepted his claims both to authority over these provinces and even to an elevated patriarchal dignity superior to that of Constantinople and Antioch.<sup>3</sup> On Marcian's accession, Maximus bishop of Antioch, which claimed patriarchal authority over all these provinces, appealed to the emperor against these decisions.

Neither contestant was in a strong position personally: Juvenal was discredited by his role at Ephesus II, which had led to his temporary suspension at the end of the first session (I. 1068), while Maximus of Antioch, until a decision in his favour at the tenth session (X. 144–9), was in danger of losing his see to his predecessor Domnus (see pp. 310–1 below). Both were therefore happy to come to a compromise; in Bolotov's words, they agreed that 'a bad peace is better than a good quarrel'.<sup>4</sup> The terms of the compromise were that Jerusalem was to become a patriarchate, but to rank below Antioch and to have jurisdiction over only the three Palestines, returning Phoenice and Arabia to Antioch.<sup>5</sup> The work of this session was the presentation of this compromise to the council by both Juvenal and Maximus of Antioch and its approval by the bishops.

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, seven days before the Kalends of November,<sup>6</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious master, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia the most glorious officials, that is: (1) the most magnificent and glorious patrician Anatolius, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, and (3) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

2. There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout bishop of renowned Constantinople New Rome, (5) Maximus the most

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either Palestine or Arabia (XIV. 15), which suggests a degree of independence from the patriarchate of Antioch even before 449.

3 This is shown by the position of his name in the attendance list of the first session of Ephesus II (I. 70).

4 Bolotov 1917, 302.

5 See Hefele-Leclercq, II.2, 735–40. The province of Arabia was subsequently transferred from Antioch to Jerusalem by the Council of Constantinople of 553.

6 26 October 451.

devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (11) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (18) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilocheus the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa, (29) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (30) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, {representing the most devout Bishop}<sup>7</sup> Olympius of Constantia, (31) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (32) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (33) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (34) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (35) Peter the most devout bishop of {Gangra, (36) Apragmonius the most devout bishop},<sup>8</sup> representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (37) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (38) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (39) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia, (40) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (41) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (42) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (43) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (44) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (45) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (46) Atticus the most devout

7 Supplied from the Latin version.

8 Supplied from the Latin version.

bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (47) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (48) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (49) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (50) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (51) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (52) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (53) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John bishop of Rhodes, (54) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (55) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (56) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (57) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by decree of our most divine and pious master.

3. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the most holy sanctuary, the most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Our most divine and pious master, at the request of the most sacred bishops Maximus and Juvenal, instructed us to discuss with them the proposals that have been moved. The aforementioned most sacred men had a meeting and drafted a joint proposal in unwritten form, which, as they made clear even to us, appears to have been drafted justly by agreement. We therefore thought it essential that both of them should also inform the holy council, so that by our judgement and your decree that which has found approval may be confirmed.’

4. Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria said: ‘After much rivalry the most devout Bishop Juvenal and I have decided in agreement that the see of the great city of Antioch, that of Saint Peter, should have the two Phoenices and Arabia, while the see of Jerusalem should have the three Palestines. And we ask that this be confirmed in writing by a judgement of your magnificence and of the holy council.’

5. Juvenal the most sacred bishop of the city of Jerusalem said: ‘I too have decided that the holy [church of the] Resurrection of Christ should have the three Palestines, and the see of Antioch the two Phoenices and Arabia. And I ask that this be confirmed by a judgement of your magnificence and of the holy council.’

6. This speech<sup>9</sup> was translated into Greek by Veronicianus the most hallowed *magistranus* and secretary of the divine consistory, as follows.

7. Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface presbyter, representing the apostolic see of Senior Rome, said {through the

<sup>9</sup> The reference is to a Latin speech once included in the minutes of which the following paragraph is a translation.

most devout Bishop Paschasinus }:<sup>10</sup> ‘We recognize that this proposal resulting from an agreement between our brothers Maximus the most devout bishop of the church of Antioch and the most devout and holy Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem was made for the sake of the benefit of peace,<sup>11</sup> that is, that the bishop of the church of Antioch should have the two Phoenices and Arabia and the bishop of Jerusalem the three Palestines. May it be confirmed in addition by the declaration of our humility, so that from now on no rivalry may remain between the aforesaid churches over this matter.’

8. Anatolius bishop of glorious Constantinople New Rome said: ‘May the agreement between the most God-beloved Maximus bishop of Antioch and the most God-beloved Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem be confirmed by my declaration also, that the most holy church of the great city of Antioch should have the two Phoenices and Arabia, and the most holy church of Jerusalem the three Palestines, so that in future the two churches should have no cause for dispute with each other over this question.’

9. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘The decision agreed between the most God-beloved and holy bishops Maximus and Juvenal we also approve.’

10. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘In accordance with the proposal of the most God-beloved and devout Maximus bishop of the city of Antioch and the most God-beloved Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, that the most holy church of the city of Antioch should have the two Phoenices and Arabia and the most holy church of Jerusalem the three Palestines, I too confirm their joint proposal, so that both churches in future will have no cause for rivalry.’

11. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘We give thanks to the Lord God that the dispute between the two fathers has been ended by a friendly agreement, and we therefore wish that the proposal agreed by both parties prevail.’

12. Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth said: ‘We are delighted by the peace and concord between these two fathers, and approve the proposal.’

13. Julian the most devout bishop of Cos said: ‘In accordance with the agreement between both parties, that is, the most devout Maximus bishop of Antioch and Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, that the most holy church of the great city of Antioch should have the two Phoenices and

<sup>10</sup> Supplied from the Latin version.

<sup>11</sup> Veronicianus’ translation of the speech so far is shockingly bad. The Latin version (a retroversion from the Greek rather than the original words of Paschasinus) represents an intelligent attempt to restore the syntax and our own translation is guided by it.



Arabia, and the most holy church of Jerusalem the three Palestines, I too pronounce that their joint proposal is confirmed, since the mediation of Christ's love has brought them both into unity.'

14. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: 'I approve the proceedings of the holy fathers.'

15. Amphilochius the most devout bishop of Side said: 'Since the divine dispensation has manifestly directed that the dispute between the most God-beloved bishops Maximus and Juvenal should be settled by a friendly agreement, I too give thanks to Christ the Saviour for this peace between them, and approve their splendid decision.'

16. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'We too say the same and agree with the statements of the fathers.'

17. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'This too is the work of the holy Trinity and of the policy of our most divine and pious emperor, so that the dispute between those who appeared to be rivals should be cut short by an agreed policy. The accord that has been reached, then, through agreement between Maximus the most holy bishop of Antioch and Juvenal the most sacred bishop of Jerusalem, as revealed in their joint proposal, now that it has been confirmed both by our judgement and by the decree of the holy council, will last for all time, that is, that the most sacred Bishop Maximus and the most holy church of Antioch is to have the two Phoenices and Arabia under its authority, while the most sacred Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem and the most holy church under him is to have the three Palestines under its authority. This decision abrogates, according to the command of our most divine and pious lord, all mandates and all rescripts otherwise procured by the two parties and the penalties contained in them relating to this matter.'<sup>12</sup>

12 Juvenal had obtained mandates from Theodosius II approving his claims.

## THE EIGHTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

This session, of 26 October 451, is numbered as the eighth in the Latin Acts and the ninth in the Greek. It took place on the same day as both the seventh and ninth sessions. According to the original nomenclature (as in Liberatus, *Breviarium, ACO* 2.5 pp. 120–23), these counted as three ‘acts’ transacted in a single ‘session’.

The business of the session was to restore Theodoret to his see of Cyrrihus of which the Council of Ephesus of 449 had deprived him because of his sympathy with Nestorius and critical stance towards the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria. The bishops agreed to reinstate him with manifest reluctance, refusing to let him present a detailed defence of his teaching and requiring him to anathematize Nestorius. Three further bishops were then required to anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches. The session has unusual importance in that subsequent critics of Chalcedon pointed to Theodoret’s reinstatement as evidence of its crypto-Nestorianism. It is for the reader to judge whether Theodoret was received back as a doctor of the church or as a repentant heretic.

### COMMENTARY

Theodoret of Cyrrihus had, since the death of Theodore of Mopsuestia in 428, been the leading theologian of the school of Antioch.<sup>1</sup> He was employed by his party in 431 as a controversialist in the campaign against Cyril of Alexandria both before and after the Council of Ephesus: when peace was restored between the rival factions in 433, he was notably reluctant to accept the condemnation of Nestorius. He was deposed at the Council of Ephesus of 449, but Pope Leo protested against this decision, and Marcian soon after

<sup>1</sup> See Young 1983, 265–89, with 220–29 on Theodoret’s polemical writing against Cyril of Alexandria.

his accession effectively reinstated him. The emperor insisted that he attend the Council of Chalcedon from the first session even before his condemnation at Ephesus had been formally reviewed (I. 26); he attended that session as a plaintiff (I. 194, 196), sitting apart from the other bishops (I. 36), a restriction not evident at subsequent sessions. Finally his case was resolved at this eighth session, at which he was formally restored to his see.

Since the council of 449 was now discredited, the reinstatement of Theodoret was inevitable, but the bishops still gave him a rough reception. He requested the opportunity to prove his orthodoxy by the reading out of two documents he presented, but the bishops refused to hear them (5–6); then, when he attempted to prove his orthodoxy by anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches jointly, he was repeatedly interrupted (7–12).<sup>2</sup> To conciliate the council fathers, he was obliged to add a further anathema directed at Nestorius alone (13). A joint condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches was simply an affirmation of the Chalcedonian Definition; an anathema directed specifically at Nestorius by a suspected Nestorian was equivalent, in the eyes of his critics, to an act of repentance by a heretic; this made Theodoret's submission both reluctant and humiliating.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the session, two more bishops suspected of Nestorian leanings, Sophronius of Constantia, one of the bishops condemned at Ephesus II,<sup>4</sup> and also John of Germanicia, who had boldly criticized the draft definition at the fifth session (V. 4, 12),<sup>5</sup> were likewise required to anathematize Nestorius, while Amphilochius of Side, a notably reluctant signatory of the definition (see VI. 9.21n.), was obliged to anathematize Eutyches (26–31). The chairman closed the session with an expression of satisfaction

2 Up to Chalcedon, Theodoret had been reluctant to condemn Nestorius by name, even when condemning the errors associated with him, as in his *ep.* 83 of 448 addressed to Dioscorus. But from Chalcedon onwards he was ready to condemn Nestorius in conjunction with Eutyches, as in his *EpiTome of Heretical Fables* IV. 12–13 (PG 83. 432–37).

3 Justinian had reason to comment, in a letter to the Council of Constantinople of 553, that Theodoret and Ibas were received back by the fathers of Chalcedon 'not as teachers or fathers but as penitents' (PG 86. 1087B). The way in which Theodoret was received back confirms the solidly Cyrillian loyalties of the Chalcedonian fathers, as noted by Diepen 1953, 89. The accord at Chambésy of 1990 between Oriental and Eastern Orthodox condemned the 'crypto-Nestorianism' of Theodoret; de Halleux 1991, 344–5 contrasts this to the 'proclamation' of Theodoret at Chalcedon as 'orthodox teacher' (VIII. 15), but it is manifest from the rest of the session that this acclamation did not express a general view.

4 For Sophronius' condemnation, see *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 189–99 (where his see is called Tella).

5 For John's close relations with Theodoret, see Theodoret, *ep.* 125.

that the bishops were now in harmony with one another (32). On the surface this was true.

The vindication of Theodoret at this session proved momentous in the subsequent reception of the council. Charges that the Chalcedonian Definition itself was Nestorian were always somewhat strained, but its critics could point to the council's support for Theodoret as proof of its Nestorian sympathies. It was to exclude this argument that the Council of Constantinople of 553 combined its reaffirmation of Chalcedon with a condemnation of the 'Three Chapters', which included the writings of Theodoret against Cyril and the Council of Ephesus and in defence of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius.<sup>6</sup> But Theodoret's person remained protected by his reinstatement at Chalcedon; he was spared the fate of posthumous condemnation as a heretic doled out to his master Theodore of Mopsuestia.

### PROCEEDINGS

1–2. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, seven days before the Kalends of November,<sup>7</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, and (3) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

3.<sup>8</sup> There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople New Rome, (5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace,

6 For Theodoret's *Refutation of the Twelve Chapters of Cyril, Pentalogium* (against Cyril and the Council of Ephesus) and *Defence of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, see Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 546, 549. For the Three Chapters controversy see pp. 271–3 below and Price 2006.

7 26 October 451.

8 In Schwartz's Greek text this is numbered 2 and there is no number 3.

(11) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing Leo of the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (18) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilocheus the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Epiphanius<sup>9</sup> the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (29) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (30) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (31) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (32) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (33) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (34) Apragmonius the most devout bishop [of Tieum], representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (35) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (36) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (37) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra, (38) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (39) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (40) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (41) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (42) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (43) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (44) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (45) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (46) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (47) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (48) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (49) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (50) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (51) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John bishop of Rhodes, (52) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (53) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (54) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout

9 The MSS give 'Nunechius', which is clearly a mistake: cf. VII. 2. 30.

bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (55) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by decree of our most divine and pious master.

4. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the most holy sanctuary, the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Let Theodoret pronounce an anathema now.'

5. Theodoret the most devout bishop came to the centre and said: 'I have submitted a petition to the most divine and pious emperor, and another document to the most devout bishops who represent the most devout Archbishop Leo.<sup>10</sup> If it please you, let them be read in your presence, and so learn what I think.'

6. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'We don't want anything to be read. Anathematize Nestorius now.'

7. Theodoret the most devout bishop said: 'I by the grace of God was raised among the orthodox, and both received and have passed on orthodox instruction. Not only Nestorius and Eutyches but every human being who holds unorthodox views I reject and consider alien.'

8. While he was still speaking, the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Say publicly, anathema to Nestorius and his teachings, anathema to Nestorius and his friends!'

9. Theodoret the most devout bishop said: 'In truth, I shall say nothing except what I know is pleasing to God. First I shall convince you that I am not concerned about a see nor am I after honour. I haven't come here for this reason; but since I was calumniated, I have come to prove that I am orthodox and that I anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches and everyone who says "two sons".'

10. While he was still speaking, the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Say clearly, anathema to Nestorius and to those who hold his views!'

11. Theodoret the most devout bishop said: 'If I may not expound what I believe, I shall not speak but simply believe.'

12. While he was still speaking, the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'He is a heretic. He is a Nestorian. Drive out the heretic.'

13. Theodoret the most devout bishop said: 'Anathema to Nestorius and to whoever does not say that the holy Virgin Mary is *Theotokos*, and to whoever divides the one only-begotten Son into two Sons. I have signed the

10 A number of the letters of protest that Theodoret wrote immediately after his deposition survive – including *epp.* 113, addressed to Pope Leo, and 119, addressed to the patrician Anatolius, the chairman of this session.

definition of the faith and the letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo, and I think accordingly. And after all this may you be preserved!’<sup>11</sup>

14. The most glorious officials said: ‘All remaining doubts about the most God-beloved Theodoret have been resolved. For he has anathematized Nestorius in our presence, and he has been received [into communion] by the most holy and God-beloved Leo archbishop of Senior Rome; he has willingly accepted the definition of the faith issued by your religiousness, and has signed it, as also the already mentioned letter of the most sacred Archbishop Leo. It therefore remains for a decree to be issued by your God-belovedness that he is to recover his church, just as the most sacred Archbishop Leo has also pronounced.’

15. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Theodoret is worthy of the see. Restore the orthodox one to the church. May the church receive back the shepherd. May the church receive back the orthodox teacher. Theodoret is worthy of the see. Many years to Archbishop Leo! Leo has judged with God. May the congregation receive back the one who is orthodox. You are worthy of the see. May the church be restored to the orthodox teacher Theodoret.’<sup>12</sup>

16. Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops, Boniface the most devout presbyter and also Julian the most devout bishop of the city of Cos, [all of them] representing the apostolic see, said: ‘The most holy and blessed Leo of the whole church, bishop of the city of Rome, received the most holy and venerable Bishop Theodoret into communion some time ago, as the letters sent by him to our humility testify.<sup>13</sup> If, then, [he holds] the catholic faith as he professes and, in relation to the aforesaid blessed bishop, has sent his signature in a plaint of his own, and has presented it again to our humility by presenting another document, and since he has also anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches not only in writing but also with his own mouth in the presence of the whole assembly, the most holy and venerable council and also our humility has in this judgement decreed that his own church should be restored to him.’<sup>14</sup>

11 An ironic ‘God bless you’. The Russian translation takes the last sentence to mean, ‘And after all this he added, “Good health to you!”’

12 ‘the orthodox teacher’ is the reading of the Latin version, where the Greek has ‘the bishop’. Schwartz detects in the Greek a change to the text in the light of the condemnation of Theodoret’s writings against Cyril of Alexandria at the Council of Constantinople of 553.

13 Leo never accepted the deposition of Theodoret at Ephesus II. His formal reception of Theodoret back into communion presumably followed the accession of Marcian.

14 The force of this statement is that the essential decision over Theodoret had already been made by Rome and that the task of the council was simply to confirm it.

17. Anatolius the most devout bishop of Constantinople said: 'The most devout Bishop Theodoret has been proved to be wholly orthodox, especially by his anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches. Deservedly therefore will he recover his own church.'

18. Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch said: 'Long ago and from the beginning I have known the most God-beloved Bishop Theodoret to be orthodox, having heard his teaching in the most holy church. Now all the more do I accept his sacredness, since he has now anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches and believes in accordance with the definition issued by this holy council. Therefore I too resolve that he should be bishop of the city of Cyrrhus according to custom.'

19. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: 'I too agree with the resolution of the most God-beloved Anatolius archbishop of Constantinople.'

20. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'I too ratify the decree of the holy fathers regarding the most God-beloved Bishop Theodoret.'

21. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: 'I too ratify the same as the holy fathers who have made a declaration regarding the most devout Bishop Theodoret.'

22. Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: 'I add my agreement to the decisions of our holy fathers and archbishops regarding the most devout Bishop Theodoret.'

23. Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra in Arabia said: 'I too assent to this correct and just decision regarding the most sacred Bishop Theodoret.'

24. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'This is a just judgement. This is a just decision. This is the judgement of Christ. We too agree to it. This we all say.'

25. The most glorious officials said: 'According to the judgement of the holy council the most sacred Bishop Theodoret will recover the church of the city of Cyrrhus.'

26. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Sophronius as well should pronounce an anathema.'

27. Sophronius bishop of Constantia said: 'Anathema to Nestorius and Eutyches and all who hold unorthodox opinions.'

28. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'John as well should pronounce an anathema.'

29. John the most devout bishop of Germanicia said: 'Anathema to



Nestorius and Eutyches and all who hold evil opinions.’

30. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Amphilochius should now anathematize Eutyches.’

31. Amphilochius bishop of Side said: ‘Anathema to the accursed Eutyches and to those who hold his opinions.’

32. The most glorious officials said: ‘Now that the holy council has been fully reconciled, the time has come for all to maintain concord.’

## THE NINTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

This the third session (or ‘act’) held on 26 October 451 is numbered as the ninth act in the Latin Acts and as the tenth in the Greek. Like the following tenth session, held on the next day, it was devoted to the case of Bishop Ibas of Edessa who had been condemned at the Council of Ephesus of 449. Ibas appeared at the ninth session as a plaintiff, appealing for reinstatement in his see. After a short preliminary presentation of some of the evidence the case was adjourned until the following day.

### COMMENTARY

At the beginning of this session Ibas, appearing as a plaintiff, related to the council fathers how he had been deposed at Ephesus II in August 449 and subsequently subjected to constantly changing places of exile or imprisonment (4). He appealed to an earlier ruling on his case in February 449 by two Oriental bishops (Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus) which had left him in possession of his see, while requiring him to take steps to reassure the critics of his episcopacy; he also appealed to the fact that the main charge against him, one of making heretical statements, had been rejected by ‘all’ his clergy. The council proceeded to hear the terms imposed at Tyre (7), which were interpreted by the Roman delegates as an acquittal of Ibas (6, 9); it was clearly hoped that the bishops would squash Ibas’ condemnation at Ephesus II and accept in its place the compromise worked out at Tyre. The bishops, however, maintained a stony silence (13); they were evidently reluctant to let off an alleged Nestorian so easily and wished to hear a fuller presentation of the evidence. Accordingly the case was adjourned until the tenth session on the following day.<sup>1</sup>

1 For a full account of the case, see our commentary on the tenth session.

## PROCEEDINGS

1–2. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, seven days before the Kalends of November,<sup>2</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) and the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

3. There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople New Rome, (5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (7) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (8) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (9) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (10) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (11) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (12) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (13) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (14) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (15) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (16) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (17) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (18) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (19) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea, (20) Amphilocheus the most devout bishop of Side, (21) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (22) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (23) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (24) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (25) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (26) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (27) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa, (28) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (29) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (30) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (31) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (32) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (33) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana,

(34) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (35) Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus, (36) Apragmonius the most devout bishop of Tieum, representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (37) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (38) Photinus [archdeacon], representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (39) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra, (40) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (41) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (42) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (43) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (44) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (45) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (46) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (47) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (48) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (49) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (50) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (51) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (52) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (53) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John bishop of Rhodes, (54) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (55) Gerontius the bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (56) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (57) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, (58) Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convened by decree of our most divine and pious lord Marcian in the city of Chalcedon.

4. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the most holy sanctuary, the most devout Ibas, formerly bishop of the city of Edessa, entered and said: ‘After being wronged by Eutyches and suffering intrigue, after being driven out of forty domiciles and deposed, I came here to seek mercy. I approached the divine and immortal head, who has ordered that your magnificence together with this holy and ecumenical council should examine my case. I therefore entreat you to take cognizance of the fact that I have suffered intrigue and have been falsely accused by certain clerics. Direct that the judgement delivered by the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius be read out. For Bishop Uranius of Hemerium, doing everything to please Eutyches, contrived that certain clerics should accuse me and that the case should be sent to himself and the aforesaid. But I was found innocent of the blasphemies charged against me, and a judgement was delivered by the aforesaid most devout bishops which refuted the accusations made against me calumniously and testified to my orthodoxy. Order

therefore that all the proceedings at Ephesus in my absence be declared void and that my rights be respected, since I have been found guilty of nothing, and that my episcopacy and my church be restored to me. For all the clerics of Edessa in what they wrote to the aforesaid bishops testified on my behalf that I am orthodox and am a stranger to the lawless blasphemy charged against me.<sup>3</sup>

5. The most magnificent officials said: ‘Now that the declaration of the most devout Ibas has been made public, what is the pleasure of the holy council?’

6. Paschasinus, Lucentius and Julian the most devout bishops and Boniface the presbyter, {representing the apostolic see,} said {through Paschasinus}:<sup>4</sup> ‘The proceedings which the most devout Ibas has mentioned and which cleared him in the judgement of the bishops from every accusation should be brought before us, so that from the reading of it we may know whether it is a formal verdict or if we need to make a decision.’

When the judgement had been presented by the most devout Ibas, Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read out:

*7. After the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Zeno and Postumianus, five days before the Kalends of March, in the consular colony of Tyre the most illustrious metropolis,<sup>5</sup> in the year 574,<sup>6</sup> on the tenth day of the month of Peritios, or according to the Romans the 25th of February of the first indiction,<sup>7</sup> we, Photius bishop of the metropolis of Tyre and Eustathius bishop of the beautiful city of Berytus, read out the following:*

*The most magnificent and esteemed tribune and notary Damascius, residing in the province of Phoenice, gave us pious letters from our emperor,*

3 The testimonial in favour of Ibas from his clergy was read at the next session (X. 141).

4 The supplements are from the Latin version.

5 Tyre was awarded the status of a Roman ‘colony’ in 198; see Millar 1990, esp. 34–7. The title ‘consular’ (ὕπατικός) in the Greek version, *consularis* in the Latin) is apparently unparalleled either for Tyre or for any other city. Millar has suggested to me that it may derive, by transference, from the fact that Tyre was the metropolis of Phoenice I, whose governor was styled *consularis*.

6 Of the era of Tyre, which started in 125 BC (Pauly-Wissowa, vol. VIIA, ‘Tyros’, 1897). Year 574 ran from September 448 to August 449 (Hefele-Leclerq, II.1, 495 n.).

7 The first indiction ran from September 447 to August 448. This implies a date for the document of 25 February 448. But the imperial mandate that led to the hearing in question here dates to 26 October 448 (X. 27), and the dating with reference to the era of Tyre excludes a date earlier than late 448 (see previous note); moreover Photius became bishop of Tyre only in September 448 (Hefele-Leclerq, II.1, 495 n). The indiction year must therefore be wrong, and the document date to 25 February 449.

*most pious and Christ-loving in all things, ordering us, together with the most devout Uranius bishop of the city of Hemerium, to act as arbitrators concerning the charges advanced against the most devout Ibas bishop of the city of Edessa by the most devout Samuel, Cyrus, Maras and Eulogius, and to make the decision that would seem most just to us. Acting in accordance with these pious instructions, we convoked the hearing. After the parties had been brought before us by the aforesaid most esteemed and admirable tribune and notary Damascius and a statement had been made by the same most esteemed man that made known the decree of our all-pious emperor, those who had the role of prosecutor were of necessity told to set out their case. When they had presented certain articles and had asked for there to be a careful examination of them, we read the articles and found in them some censure of the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas, to the effect that he was not orthodox but taught things contrary to the word of piety; this of necessity compelled us to proceed with great diligence to an immediate investigation. We therefore bade the accusers say what had been said by the most religious Bishop Ibas that was, as they claimed, contrary to the doctrines of piety. When they had made certain assertions and many matters had been raised, which are contained in the minutes, we abandoned for a short time the role of arbitrators and, having regard for the common good of the holy churches, made ourselves, instead of judges, mediators of peace between the two parties.*

*After much consultation, in which in every way piety was given priority and duly examined, we induced the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas (who himself embraced this in order to convince those who claimed to have been wronged) to set out in writing what he held and believed concerning our pious faith; and this he did. The aforesaid most God-beloved man undertook, even beyond the call of duty, to address the church in his own city and publicly anathematize Nestorius, the fomenter of wicked impiety, and those who shared his beliefs and cited his words or writings; he also undertook to profess belief in what is contained in the letter of accord between the most God-beloved and sacred in memory bishops John of the very great city of Antioch and Cyril of the very great city of Alexandria (a letter whose agent was Paul of blessed memory, bishop of the city of Emesa, and which established universal harmony), to assent to all the recent transactions of the holy synod that met in imperial and Christ-loving Constantinople, and to embrace everything that was decreed in the metropolis of Ephesus, as stemming from a council guided by the Holy Spirit, and to consider it equal to the one convoked at Nicaea, acknowledging no difference between them. We*

*strongly applauded his piety as he eagerly seized on the opportunity to heal those who, out of suspicion or some other cause, had suffered through their understanding of his teaching.*

*When these resolutions had been made and announced, and with the help of God the dividing-wall of enmity had been demolished,<sup>8</sup> it was necessary for us to summon the separated members and join them to their head in peace, harmony and love. After discussing what was needed we therefore persuaded the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas, putting before him the judgement of God, to accept the aforesaid men as his own children, and to cherish and support them, offering them a complete amnesty; we also persuaded the aforesaid men themselves to come to the same most God-beloved Bishop Ibas as to a father, and to promise a good will and disposition in all respects, now that with the help of God every unpleasantness had come to an end. In addition we exacted from the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas his solemn word that an amnesty would be granted to all those who had aggrieved him in this present affair or who had seemed to act against him, and that he would not wrong anyone nor deprive anyone of rank nor prefer those of lesser status to their superiors because of the distress he had suffered, but would treat them all, whether clerics or monks or laymen, as his own children, not making any discrimination between them but giving to all their due in respect of honours, favours, and ranks.*

*Regarding church income, and the revenues that accrue to the most holy church from whatever source, as people are moved to give, the same most God-beloved Bishop Ibas decided of his own free will to promise that in future, following the rule in the very great church of Antioch, affairs would be managed by administrators, promoted by his religiousness from among the clergy. It was also resolved that, if at any time the most religious Bishop Ibas should have good cause to think himself aggrieved and should wish to impose a penalty on one of the above-mentioned most devout men, Samuel, Cyrus, Maras or Eulogius, he should not punish them on his own authority but should do this only with the approval of the most God-beloved and holy Domnus, father and archbishop<sup>9</sup> – this on account of the quarrel that had broken out between them. Certain other articles were discussed orally and also settled, and both parties accepted our decisions.*

*The signatures: (1) Photius bishop of the city of Tyre: I have delivered judgement. (2) Eustathius bishop of the beautiful city of Berytus: I have*

8 Cf. Eph 2:14.

9 Domnus of Antioch is to exert patriarchal oversight over Ibas' treatment of his clergy.

*delivered judgement. (3) Samuel, presbyter: I accept the judgement. (4) Eulogius, presbyter: I accept the judgement. (4) Cyrus, presbyter: I accept the judgement. (5) Maras, presbyter, I accept the judgement.*

8. The most magnificent officials said: ‘The holy council has heard what has been read. So let it express its pleasure.’

9. Paschasinus and the other most devout men said through [Boniface] the presbyter of the apostolic see: ‘Let the most holy bishops who by their own sentence declared Ibas guiltless and clear of every accusation say now if they acknowledge their own verdict.’

10. Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre said: ‘Yes, this is our verdict.’

11. Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus said: ‘This is my composition.’

12. Paschasinus and the other most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Your beatitude<sup>10</sup> has heard what is contained in the judgement of the most holy bishops. Likewise may your holinesses deign to express your view also on the case of Ibas.’

13. As all the most devout bishops remained silent, the most magnificent officials said: ‘The holy council will express its opinion tomorrow.’

10 The lay chairman, the patrician Anatolius.



## THE TENTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

This session, of 27 October 451, is numbered as the tenth act in the Latin Acts and as the eleventh in the Greek. It consisted of a hearing of the case against Bishop Ibas of Edessa, which had been initiated at the ninth session of the previous day. The session included the reading of the minutes of a hearing at Berytus in February 449 where the charges against Ibas had been presented in detail and discussed. As part of these minutes the full text of a letter, highly critical of Cyril of Alexandria, that Ibas had sent to the Persian bishop Mari in 433 was read out; this document caused considerable embarrassment to later apologists for Chalcedon and was condemned at the Council of Constantinople of 553. The session concluded with the restoration of Ibas to his see and also with the annulment of the decrees of the Council of Ephesus of 449, at which Ibas (and others) had been condemned and deposed.

### COMMENTARY

The minutes of this session (plus the documents read at the previous session) are our main source for the history of the affair of Ibas, of which they give a disorganized account with a confused chronology;<sup>1</sup> some important additional details are provided in the rehearsal of much the same story in the Syriac Acts of Ephesus II.<sup>2</sup> The facts are as follows.<sup>3</sup> At the time of the

1 Two of the documents included in the Acts are wrongly dated: see IX. 7 and X. 28 with our annotation. The bracketed paragraph numbers in the following discussion all refer to the tenth session, unless otherwise stated.

2 See the translation in *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry 1881, 28–147. Most of this consists of the reading of the minutes of the hearing before Chaereas the governor of Osrhoene in April 449 referred to below. Perry's book is very rare, but a new translation by Robert Doran of the Ibas section of Ephesus II, in conjunction with the Lives of Rabbula, is due to be published by Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo.

3 See also Hefele-Leclercq, II.1, 490–98, and *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xxiv–vii.

Council of Ephesus of 431 Bishop Rabbula of Edessa became a keen supporter of Cyril of Alexandria, going so far as to issue soon afterwards a posthumous condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the effective creator of Antiochene Christology. There was opposition to him in his own diocese, led by the presbyter Ibas, who wrote to Mari the Persian giving an account of current troubles highly critical of both Cyril and Rabbula (138). On Rabbula's death in 435 Ibas became bishop of Edessa, to the lasting resentment of Rabbula's supporters. Four of these, the presbyters Samuel, Maras, Cyrus and Eulogius, prompted by one of the neighbouring bishops, Uranius of Hemerium, brought charges against him, first at Hierapolis in 445, where the Syrian bishops were assembled for the consecration of a new bishop (110), and later at Antioch in Eastertide 448 (37); it is clear that the main charge related to Ibas' Nestorianism, but financial improprieties were also alleged, particularly at Antioch where the plaintiffs were warned that if they brought charges relating to doctrine the case would simply be dismissed.<sup>4</sup> Failing to gain satisfaction at Antioch, they appealed to Theodosius II (29) and to Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople (31). On 26 October the emperor issued a mandate ordering that the case against Ibas (and also against his associates Bishops Daniel of Carrhae and John of Theodosiopolis) be heard in the province of Phoenice by a commission made up of three bishops – Uranius himself, Photius of Tyre, and Eustathius of Berytus (27).

Hearings followed in February 449 that began at Tyre and soon moved to Berytus (22); the Acts of Chalcedon reproduce a substantial part of the minutes (28–138). These contain a list of itemized charges (73), that include some scurrilities (particularly relating to Ibas' scapegrace nephew Bishop Daniel of Carrhae)<sup>5</sup> but also precise allegations of financial misconduct and a claim that Ibas 'is a Nestorian, and calls the blessed Bishop Cyril a heretic'. Invited to concentrate on the important charges, Ibas' accusers alleged that he had once said to his assembled clergy, 'I don't envy Christ becoming God, for inasmuch as he became God, so also have I' (81).<sup>6</sup> This

4 *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 128–31.

5 Note that Daniel was deposed at Ephesus II but, unlike his uncle, not reinstated after 450. Eustathius of Berytus testified at Ephesus II that he and the other judges had acquitted Daniel purely in order to hush up the scandal and that Daniel promptly sent in his resignation (*Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 156–9).

6 The remark is given in a slightly different form in the testimonial from Ibas' clergy (141): 'I don't envy Christ having become God, since I too, if I want, can become like him.' A fuller form of the remark appears in the *Syriac Acts* (trans. Perry, 97–103): 'I do not envy Christ becoming God; for in so far as he has become [God] I have become so, for he is of the same

was a provocative but defensible expression of the doctrine of 'deification', that human beings are called to share in the life of God through union with Christ. The doctrine was promoted by the Cappadocian and Alexandrian fathers, but is unexpected on the lips of Ibas, a representative of the Antiochene School that generally avoided the language of deification. Ibas can only have said this (if indeed he did) in an attempt to exploit his opponents' teaching; but they maliciously interpreted the statement to mean that he considered Christ 'divine' only in a weak sense attributable to other human beings. Ibas responded by asserting in the strongest possible terms that he had never made the offending remark (83, 115). The discussion proceeded to the charge that Ibas had accused Cyril of Alexandria of heresy (119); he replied that what he had said was that he, with the other Syrian bishops, would have considered Cyril a heretic, had he not 'explained' his Twelve Chapters (by agreeing to the Formula of Reunion). At this point his opponents produced his Letter to Mari the Persian (138), which revealed that even after the reunion he had expressed strong criticism of Cyril. After the text of this letter the minutes, as preserved in the Acts of Chalcedon, break off abruptly.

Taking into account the evasive summary of the proceedings by Photius (22, 24) and the evidence in the Syriac Acts of Ephesus II,<sup>7</sup> which confirms the impression that the judges did what they could to hamper the prosecution, it is clear that they were concerned to hush up the scandal of a bishop being accused by his clergy rather than to ascertain the truth.<sup>8</sup> It is significant that Uranius was effectively dropped from the bench of judges (as is clear from IX. 7), ostensibly because of his ignorance of Greek (33) but really, we may suspect, because he was hostile to Ibas (4). Eustathius, as

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nature as myself.' These Acts (in their record of the hearing in April 449 before the governor of Osrhoene) preserve other choice plums of Ibas' alleged preaching, such as 'The Jews should not boast, for they only crucified a mere man', and 'If God were dead, who [was] there to raise him to life?' (Perry, 105–8).

7 See especially *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 98–9.

8 The Syriac Acts reveal that the judges cooperated with Ibas in frustrating the hearing of witnesses (*Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 98–9) and declined to condemn Daniel of Carrhae on the grounds that the conviction of a bishop on charges relating to morality would scandalize the pagans (Perry, 156–9). Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxvii) even suggests that the chronological confusion in two of the documents (and also the omission of the consular date at X. 27) was a deliberate attempt in the editing of the record in the time of Marcian to obscure the true course of events in order to protect the reputation of Photius as a competent and impartial judge. But surely in the context of Ibas' acquittal at Chalcedon Photius' bias in his favour and imperfect execution of the mandate from Theodosius II (X. 27) was no longer an embarrassment.

a miaphysite, cannot have been sympathetic to him either, but Photius of Tyre, who as the senior judge dominated the proceedings, clearly won his cooperation by treating the case as one where the key issue was not doctrine but the maintenance of ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>9</sup>

Back in Tyre on 25 February Photius and Eustathius issued a compromise decision that took the form not of a judicial verdict but of a gentlemen's agreement between the parties (IX. 7). It left Ibas securely in his see, but at the same time required him to mend his ways, in a tacit acknowledgement that the charges against him were not without substance: he was told to anathematize Nestorius and accept the decrees of Ephesus I, which included the deposition of Nestorius and the endorsement of the conciliar letters of Cyril of Alexandria; in addition he had to agree to put the finances of his see into the hands of administrators, and finally had to swear not to take revenge on those of his clergy who had brought charges against him. This compromise broke down almost immediately: hostility towards Ibas in Edessa remained so intense that he could not return to the city, and as early as 12–16 April his accusers again presented accusations against him before Chaereas the governor of Osrhoene (resident at Edessa).<sup>10</sup> The report of the latter to Constantinople was critical of the bishop, and on 27 June he was deposed by imperial mandate.<sup>11</sup> This was confirmed by a decree of the Second Council of Ephesus of 22 August 449, which (uncanonically, as was later pointed out) condemned him in his absence.

After a year of exile and imprisonment (X. 1) the accession of Marcian enabled Ibas to appeal with effect against his deposition, and the emperor entrusted the case to the Council of Chalcedon. Some of his clergy were allowed to come before the council as his accusers (9–10); they insisted on a reading out of the minutes of the inconclusive hearing at Berytus (28–138), which contained the charges against him, including the Letter to Mari.<sup>12</sup> After the reading he produced a testimonial in his support signed by 65 of his clergy; at Berytus, however, his opponents had claimed all too plausibly

9 Photius' motivation was not the protection of suspected Nestorians. He asserted at Ephesus II, 'I shall use all diligence so as not to permit that any bishop or cleric infected with the [impieties] of Nestorius remain in the districts of Phoenicia' (*Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 183).

10 On the hearing under Chaereas see General Introduction, vol. 1, 34.

11 The text is in Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 756–7.

12 It is notable that, while at Ephesus II the evidence had been presented in the form of the hearing before the governor Chaereas, it was presented at Chalcedon in the form of the more inconclusive hearing at Berytus. This choice was made by Ibas' accusers (14), but was doubtless in response to guidance from officials concerned to assist Ibas.

that he had used terror tactics on an earlier occasion against those reluctant to sign a testimonial in his support (106, 109). The discussion turned, however, decisively in Ibas' favour when the lay president asked for the reading of the Acts of Ephesus II relating to his condemnation (143). The Roman legates immediately protested that the proceedings of Ephesus were null and void and should not be read. This gained the assent of the other bishops, in what constituted an annulment of the decrees of that council (145–59), conditional upon imperial confirmation.<sup>13</sup> (It was agreed, however, that the case of Domnus of Antioch, who had likewise been deposed at Ephesus, should not be reopened: he was in contented retirement and his successor Maximus enjoyed the support of both Pope Leo and Anatolius of Constantinople.)<sup>14</sup> The proceedings at Ephesus relating to Ibas had contained the same charges as those read out at Chalcedon, but had concluded with a judgement by which he was unanimously condemned for heresy and blasphemy; most of the bishops who had delivered this judgement also attended Chalcedon. The decision to annul the verdict of Ephesus without reading it out saved them from considerable embarrassment.

Judgement on Ibas had now to be given. The first verdict was delivered by the Roman delegate Paschasinus, who chose to interpret the adjudication pronounced at Tyre on 25 February 449 as a ringing endorsement of Ibas' innocence and the Letter to Mari as further proof of his orthodoxy (161). Since it was customary for the judges who spoke subsequently to endorse the verdict of the bishop who spoke first, this created an awkward situation. The ice was broken when Juvenal of Jerusalem declared that Ibas should be treated leniently 'because he is elderly' (164). This gave the bishops who spoke next the courage to say that he should be reinstated on the more judicious grounds that his judges at Tyre had not deposed him and he had anathematized Nestorius. No one asked whether he had in fact carried out his promise at Tyre to anathematize Nestorius and declare his acceptance of the full authority of the Council of Ephesus of 431 which he had derided in

13 The decrees of Ephesus II had been issued in an imperial constitution (for a translation of the extant Syriac text see Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 761–6). Therefore their abrogation was arguably beyond the power of the council and required imperial action, as was implied by Anatolius of Constantinople and Juvenal of Jerusalem (145–6). Marcian duly issued an edict which rehabilitated Flavian of Constantinople and quashed the depositions of Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Theodoret (Documents after the Council 6) but only on 6 July 452. The delay in the issuing of this edict may reflect a hope on Marcian's part that the conciliar decision would be seen as sufficient; it was his constant preference to act through the bishops.

14 See the following session on Domnus of Antioch.

his Letter to Mari; since he had been unable to return to Edessa after the hearings at Berytus and Tyre, we can only suppose that he had not done so. It is indicative of the unreality of the proceedings that only in the episcopal acclamations that followed the individual verdicts of 18 bishops was the obvious demand made that he renew on the spot his anathematization of Nestorius (179). This he promptly did, at which the chairman endorsed the decision of the bishops to reinstate him (180–81). It is evident that the desire to undo the work of Ephesus II took priority over the rights and wrongs of this particular case.

### **The Letter to Mari the Persian and the Three Chapters controversy**

A document read out at this session was to be of great importance in the subsequent history of the reputation of Chalcedon – the letter from Ibas to Mari the Persian (138), written soon after the compromise agreement between Cyril of Alexandria and the Syrian bishops expressed in the Formula of Reunion of 433. Although many modern historians would give an account of the First Council of Ephesus and its aftermath as critical as that in the letter, and speak with similar disrespect of the character and motives of Cyril of Alexandria, Ibas reveals his personal loyalties in his enthusiastic encomium of Theodore of Mopsuestia (who was arguably the father of Nestorianism), in his criticisms of Ephesus I, and in his highly tendentious account of the reconciliation between the warring factions in 433: he ignores the confirmation of the deposition of Nestorius, and interprets Cyril's acceptance of the Formula of Reunion as a capitulation which implied that he condemned his own Twelve Chapters and his teaching that there is one nature in Christ. Even though Chalcedon likewise condemned miaphysite language (V. 34), the fathers consistently treated Cyril with immense respect, confirmed the proceedings of Ephesus I, and treated the Formula of Reunion as a valid expression of Cyril's own theology.<sup>15</sup> They must therefore have found the Letter to Mari hugely embarrassing; yet, by restoring Ibas to his see immediately after a reading of the letter, they seemed to imply approval of it. This was often adduced by anti-Chalcedonians in the subsequent period as evidence that the bishops had in effect rejected Cyril and approved Nestorianism.

<sup>15</sup> See General Introduction, vol. 1, 62–5 for the Formula of Reunion as in accord with 'moderate' Cyrillianism. The last sentence of the formula, however, which distributes the sayings relating to Christ between the two natures, could not successfully be reconciled with Cyril's Christology.

The letter became even more of a liability with the development in the sixth century of what modern historians have called ‘Neo-Chalcedonianism’ – a reinterpretation of the Chalcedonian Definition, promoted by the emperor Justinian, which sought to harmonize it with the full Cyrillian Christology, in particular with the Twelve Chapters which Ibas, like Theodoret, had so fiercely attacked.<sup>16</sup> Even miaphysite expressions of one nature in Christ, correctly used, were now declared orthodox, in Canon 8 of the Council of Constantinople of 553.<sup>17</sup> This same council proceeded to issue a formal condemnation of the so-called ‘Three Chapters’ – the writings and person of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the anti-Cyrillian writings of Theodoret, and ‘the letter said to have been written by Ibas to Mari the Persian’ (Canons 12–14). How could this be reconciled with the apparent approval of the letter at this tenth session of Chalcedon? The solution adopted was a bold cutting of the Gordian knot: it was claimed that Ibas had denied the authenticity of the letter and that it was on this basis that the fathers of Chalcedon restored him to his see.<sup>18</sup>

Did the minutes of the session support or disprove this? There is evidence that they were tampered with at some date after 553 in the omission from the Greek edition (though not from the Latin) of a verdict by Eunomius of Nicomedia, which was open to the interpretation of commending parts of the Letter to Mari (173).<sup>19</sup> But there is evidence of more serious tampering in the curious presentation of the letter, which lacks a proper introduction (at 137); suppression of comments by the chairmen both at Berytus and at Chalcedon is beyond doubt (see our note *ad loc.*). Equally glaring is the lack of any discussion of the letter. The Syriac Acts of Ephesus II contain testimony given at Edessa before the governor of Osrhoene that

16 See Grillmeier 1995, esp. 438–62.

17 *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, I, 117–18.

18 This was argued at particular length in Pope Vigilius’ *Second Constitutum* of February 554 (ACO 4.2 pp. 138–68).

19 Eunomius’ words were in fact open to a more benign interpretation; see our note *ad loc.* Harder to explain away were the verdicts of two of the senior bishops at Chalcedon, the papal legate Paschasinus and Maximus of Antioch (161, 163), who cited the Letter to Mari as evidence of Ibas’ orthodoxy, a fact appealed to in defence of Ibas in around 550 by both Facundus, *Defence of the Three Chapters* 5.1.1–5, and Pope Vigilius, *First Constitutum*, PL 69. 105. It was argued not unreasonably at the Council of Constantinople of 553 that these two verdicts did not express the mind of the majority (ACO 4.1 p. 145). Vigilius in his *Second Constitutum* (which expresses the opposite position to that of the *First*) tried to argue that the letter that Paschasinus and Maximus had approved was not the Letter to Mari but the testimonial from Ibas’ clergy that follows it in the Acts (ACO 4.1 pp. 161–5).

during the hearing at Berytus Ibas repeatedly acknowledged the authenticity of the letter, and it is clear that this was reported in the minutes of the hearing.<sup>20</sup> The suppression of this and of other comment on the letter (whether made at Berytus or at Chalcedon) points to deletions in the Acts that it is natural to attribute to the reign of Justinian and the context of the Three Chapters controversy. This was Schwartz's original view, but he later argued that Justinian's own reaction to the problem was not to suppress but to explain (as in his discussion of Eunomius' verdict in PG 86. 1085), and that it was too late in his time to change the record without any traces of the truth remaining; he accordingly re-dated the distortion of the record to the time of Marcian, and attributed it, less plausibly, to a desire to cover up Photius' inadequacies as a judge (*ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxvii). It is true that all the witnesses to the text present the expurgated form, but none of them predates the Three Chapters controversy: the oldest is the first complete Latin version of the Acts, which, according to Schwartz, was produced in Constantinople in around 550.<sup>21</sup> Facundus of Hermiane used a Greek edition when composing his *Defence of the Three Chapters*, but this was between 547 and 550.<sup>22</sup> There is no evidence of the circulation of the minutes of this session at an earlier date. The hypothesis that excisions were made from the Acts at the time of Justinian's first edict against the Three Chapters (543) remains the most convincing.

Despite the element of desperation in the attempt under Justinian to disassociate the Letter to Mari from the reinstatement of Ibas, it would be equally tendentious to treat his reinstatement as evidence of sympathy on the part of the Chalcedonian fathers towards the aggressively anti-Cyrrillian Christology of Theodoret and Ibas. The politics of 451, with its reversal of the 'Robber Council' of Ephesus of 449, dictated that the victims of 449 had to be restored to their sees; and the reinstatement of Theodoret and Ibas at the eighth and tenth sessions of the council was indeed justified by the uncanonical character of their deposition at the Second Council of Ephesus of 449. But it was certainly not intended as an expression of approval for their theological teaching, which went against the pro-Cyrrillian loyalties of the vast majority of the council fathers, loyalties that were expressed in the

20 *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 120–23. Pope Vigilius, when arguing in his *Second Constitutum* against the authenticity of the letter, mentions that the Acts of Ephesus II contained testimony (which he dismisses as false) that Ibas had acknowledged the letter (*ACO* 4.1 p. 149. 3–12).

21 See General Introduction, vol. 1, 83–4.

22 Facundus, *Défense des trois chapitres*, vol. 1, 11–12.



wording of the Chalcedonian Definition as well as in the lack of enthusiasm with which the bishops received Theodoret and Ibas back into the fold.<sup>23</sup> It is true that the condemnations of 553 reflected developments subsequent to Chalcedon: it was the acceptance of Cyril's Twelve Chapters as a normative document that led to the anathematization of the writings of Theodoret and Ibas attacking those chapters. But the Acts of Chalcedon make clear how unacceptable were these writings already in 451. The condemnation of the Three Chapters in 553 was not therefore an undermining of the work of Chalcedon, as the (largely western) defenders of the Chapters claimed: it was rather the clarification of the doctrinal work of Chalcedon by correcting a major source of ambiguity. The condemnations of 553 are hard to reconcile with the proceedings at the eighth and tenth sessions of Chalcedon, but they served to secure what the fathers of 451 had intended when they approved the Definition.<sup>24</sup>

### PROCEEDINGS

1. Likewise, six days before the Kalends of November in the same consulship,<sup>25</sup> in the same most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia, there presided the same most magnificent and glorious officials and the same holy and ecumenical council, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus.

The aforesaid most devout Ibas entered and said: 'I have an entreaty to make to your magnificence and this holy ecumenical council. Eutyches plotted against me because of the faith: he did not allow me to attend the council,<sup>26</sup> and by a series of orders he has had me moved from forty domiciles. I have changed prisons twenty times or more, as if there were not a prison in Antioch under the authority of the count;<sup>27</sup> they said to me, "You have been deposed." If your magnificence and your holy council wish to annul the irregular proceedings in my case that took place in my absence, may this fall under your authority. For as I have already informed you, I

23 For a Cyrillian interpretation of the Definition, see General Introduction, vol. 1, 68–71. See Session VIII with our commentary for the way in which Theodoret was treated virtually as a repentant heretic.

24 For a fuller treatment of the sixth-century debate see Price 2006.

25 27 October 451.

26 Ephesus II, at which Ibas was condemned and deposed.

27 The Count of the Orient, who exercised a jurisdiction superior to that of the provincial governor. See Liebeschuetz 1972, 110–11.

approached the divine and immortal head over the matter, and he ordered your magnificence and the holy council to hear my case. You have learnt from the verdict that I was not found guilty of anything.'

2. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Yesterday an adjournment was granted to enable the most holy council to declare its decision about the most devout Ibas.<sup>28</sup> Let it make known its decision.'

3. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'No one condemns someone in his absence.'<sup>29</sup>

4. The most devout Ibas said: 'I entreat you. I was condemned in my absence, I was not present, I could not defend myself, I had no chance to speak.'

5. The most devout bishops exclaimed: 'Those who condemned him contrary to the canons acted wrongly. Let the proceedings against an absent person be annulled. This we all say: no one condemns someone in his absence.'

6. Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana said: 'The decision of those who were then appointed arbitrators, I mean the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius, was read out yesterday, and they ruled that he is a priest.<sup>30</sup> We all agree with their decision and wish him to be a priest.'

7. The Oriental<sup>31</sup> bishops exclaimed: 'This is a just judgement.'

8. Some of the bishops exclaimed: 'Objection! There are {accusers of him outside. They should be told to enter.'

9.<sup>32</sup> The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let them enter, }<sup>33</sup> those who wish to accuse the most devout Bishop Ibas.'

10. When Theophilus the deacon, Euphrasius, Antiochus and Abramius had entered, Theophilus the deacon said: 'We request a reading of the proceedings concerning Ibas<sup>34</sup> at Berytus, so that you may learn that he was justly deposed.'

11. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Have you [Theophilus] come to accuse the most devout Ibas, or are you seeking a reading of the proceedings in order to dispute about the faith?'

28 See IX. 13.

29 This principle had already been cited in the session on Photius and Eustathius, 30–31.

30 See IX. 7.

31 That is, of the diocese of the Orient, in the patriarchate of Antioch.

32 In Schwartz's edition of the Greek text 9–11 are erroneously numbered 8–10 and there is no 11. We follow the numeration in his edition of the Latin version.

33 Supplied from the Latin version.

34 The absence of any title or honorific indicates that Theophilus, unlike the officials and bishops at the council, accepted Ibas' degradation at Ephesus II.

12. Theophilus the deacon said: ‘The accusers are known, and are not here. I am a deacon, and I know the violence of the city. If I bring an accusation, the witnesses will not appear and it will be rejected.’

13. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Are you able to produce written proofs of anything?’

14. Theophilus the deacon said: ‘I have the minutes of the proceedings relating to him at Berytus and at Ephesus. Look, the lord the most religious Bishop Thalassius is also well informed, since he received the reports. He is present; let him be asked what the matter was that led him to effect his deposition. The lord Eusebius is also present and well informed.’

15. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘I didn’t receive a report, but I heard it read at Ephesus. The document is substantial, and contains the depositions of many people. If he has the minutes of the proceedings referred to in the petition, it is for him to produce them, for I like everyone else was simply part of the audience.’

16. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘We heard the same as everyone else.’

17. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Was the most devout Ibas present at your hearing at that time?’

18. The most devout bishops Thalassius and Eusebius said: ‘He was not present.’

19. The most devout bishops {of the East and of Pontus}<sup>35</sup> exclaimed: ‘No one condemns someone in his absence.’

20. Theophilus the deacon said: ‘Let the truth be revealed at the holy council. The lord Eustathius relates that they produced three, six, even twelve witnesses to his making the statement, “I don’t envy Christ becoming God.” Bishop Photius is here. Let the gospel-book be placed before him.’

21. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Let the most devout Bishop Photius, who has had experience of the council’s judgement, endeavour now also to observe the justice he discovered in his own case<sup>36</sup> by explaining to us how the case of the most devout Ibas proceeded.’

22. Photius the most devout bishop of the city of Tyre said: ‘I shall speak the truth, for it is wrong to lie about anything, least of all about a case of such major importance and which is being examined by your authority and by the ecumenical council. Presbyters and monks came from Mesopotamia and brought certain charges against him which they delivered to

35 Supplied from the Latin version.

36 The reference is to the session on Photius and Eustathius of 20 October.

him and about him, and which he then denied. But we, acting as mediators and in view of the quantity of the allegations and the importunity of the monks and presbyters, pressed them to leave Tyre. For the city, which had never before experienced or even heard of such an affliction, was in a state of shock. When subsequently he swore that he had said nothing, we took the opportunity to reconcile both parties and restore communion between them. The lord deacon Eulogius from Constantinople was also, I think, present. We made them friends.<sup>37</sup>

23. The most magnificent officials said: ‘So was the most devout Ibas proved guilty by those who accused him?’

24. Photius the most devout bishop said: ‘No, but three associates of the clerics who were abusing, dishonouring and opposing him said they had come to give evidence, but we said that associates of his enemies were not acceptable as witnesses.<sup>38</sup> So we made them friends: he and the presbyters received the holy gifts upstairs in the episcopal palace in communion with each other.’

25. Theophilus the deacon said: ‘By the prosperity of the emperors and their victoriousness, let the proceedings relating to him be read.’

26. The most magnificent officials said: ‘Let the record of the proceedings at Tyre<sup>39</sup> relating to the most devout Ibas be read.’

When they had been handed over, Constantine the hallowed *magistranus* {and assistant of the sacred consistory}<sup>40</sup> read:

*Mandate to Damascius the admirable praetorian tribune and notary*

27. *Knowing the disposition of your wondrousness and being aware how great is the zeal you show in devoting yourself to God and our piety [the emperor], we have decided that you are to accompany Uranius the most*

37 The account given here implies that the hearing which started at Tyre (the metropolitan see) was then transferred to Berytus (because of disorders at Tyre). The concluding verdict, delivered at Tyre and read out at the previous session (IX. 7), imposed terms of reconciliation on the two parties.

38 For the three witnesses produced, see 91–5; for the principle that three witnesses are necessary and sufficient, see 91 and 101. The syntax in the Greek sentence is odd, and puzzled the Latin translators, who rendered the beginning of the sentence, ‘but they said that there had come three associates of the clerics who ...’ That the judges refused to accept the three witnesses was one of the grounds for the subsequent appeal by Ibas’ accusers; see *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 98–9 and *ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxv.

39 Since the council sat at both Tyre and Berytus, the proceedings at Berytus (28–138 below) could also be ascribed to Tyre.

40 Supplied from the Latin.

*devout bishop of the city of Hemerium to the parts of the Orient, and that with the assistance of the local officials you are to arrange for Ibas the most devout bishop of the city of Edessa, Daniel the most devout bishop of the city of Carrhae, and John the most devout bishop of Theodosiopolis to go to the province of Phoenice so that the charges brought against the aforementioned most religious bishops by the most devout clergy of the aforesaid cities may there be investigated in the presence of the aforesaid most religious Bishop Uranius, Photius the most devout bishop of the city of Tyre, and Eustathius the most devout bishop of the city of Berytus. Therefore, in accordance with the good pleasure of our divinity, exert yourself to set out for the parts of the Orient, and arrange for the aforesaid most devout bishops to come to Phoenice, so that all the articles brought by the most devout clergy of the cities of Edessa, Carrhae and Theodosiopolis may be carefully investigated there by the aforementioned most religious bishops, and the sentence they pronounce be put into effect.*

*Issued on the seventh day before the Kalends of November<sup>41</sup> at Constantinople.*

*(Berytus)*

28. After the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Zeno and Postumianus, on the Kalends of September in the second indiction<sup>42</sup> in the Christ-loving colony of Berytus there assembled the most devout bishops Photius, Eustathius and Uranius in the new episcopal palace of the most holy new church of Berytus. There were also present Damascius the admirable tribune and notary of the divine palace and Eulogius the most God-beloved deacon of the most holy church in Christ-loving Constantinople.<sup>43</sup> Also present were the most religious bishops Ibas, John and Daniel. Standing<sup>44</sup> were Samuel, Cyrus, Eulogius, Maras, Ablabius, John, Anatolius, Caiumas, and Habib.

<sup>41</sup> 26 October 448.

<sup>42</sup> Since the second indiction ran from September 448 to August 449, this should mean 1 September 448. But Photius was only consecrated bishop on 9 September 448 (Perry 1881, 34) and the imperial mandate ordering the hearing is dated to 26 October 448 (X. 27), so the true date must have been early in 449, probably 1 February, since the final judgement was delivered at Tyre on 25 February (IX. 7). See *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xxiv–v.

<sup>43</sup> The hearing in Phoenice had been instigated by appeals from Ibas' accusers to both the emperor (represented at the hearing by Damascius) and the archbishop of Constantinople (represented by the deacon Eulogius).

<sup>44</sup> In other words, present as accusers or plaintiffs.

29. The admirable Damascius said: ‘The most devout clerics here present appealed to our most pious and divine master and brought accusations against the most devout Bishop Ibas, the most devout Bishop John, and the most devout Bishop Daniel. His piety has decreed, as is contained in the pious and divine letters to your religiousness,<sup>45</sup> that the persons accused should repair from Osrhoene to Phoenice and defend themselves from the charges brought against them before your religiousness. I have been instructed to bring them before you and put into execution what you decree. Both parties are present, according to your good pleasure.’

30. The most God-beloved bishops Photius, Eustathius and Uranius said: ‘May your magnificence deign to produce the pious mandate, so that we may follow the will of our Christ-loving emperor in everything. For it ought to have pride of place in our proceedings.’

31. When this had been done, Eulogius the deacon said: ‘The most devout clerics Samuel, Cyrus, Eulogius, Maras, Ablabius, John, Anatolius, Caiumas and Habib appealed to our most God-beloved and sacred Archbishop Flavian of the most holy church in imperial Constantinople Rome with accusations against the most religious bishops Ibas, John and Daniel. His holiness has decided that your religiousness should hear the case; I have brought a letter from him and delivered it to your holinesses. The parties are present, to await your good pleasure.’

32. The most God-beloved bishops<sup>46</sup> said: ‘Since we are at a loss how to conduct the interrogation of, and response to, those who have the role of accusers, let the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas inform us if any action was taken in their regard at the holy and great council which recently convened in the great city of Antioch.’<sup>47</sup>

33. Samuel said: ‘We ask that what is said be translated into Syriac for the sake of the most sacred Bishop Uranius, since he knows exactly what was written about us to the most God-beloved and holy Archbishop Flavian by the most God-beloved and holy Archbishop Domnus, for he was present at Constantinople.’<sup>48</sup>

45 ‘His piety’ (εὐσεβεία) is the emperor, while ‘your religiousness’ (θεοσεβεία) refers to the bishops.

46 Meaning Photius of Tyre, speaking on behalf of himself, Eustathius and Uranius.

47 Immediately after Easter 448.

48 During the initial hearing of the case at Antioch the plaintiffs appealed to the court of Constantinople. Uranius of Hemerium (near Edessa) followed them there, doubtless to give them support (see IX. 4).

34. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Let one of those able to interpret for the most God-beloved Bishop Uranius come forward.’

35. {The notaries said: ‘Maras is here, who can interpret for the most God-beloved Bishop Uranius.’}<sup>49</sup>

36. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘We have already made a request to you, most God-beloved Bishop Ibas, to inform us if anything was transacted in regard to the plaintiffs at the holy and great council that was recently convoked at Christ-loving Antioch,<sup>50</sup> so that we may conduct the interrogation and responses appropriately.’

37. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘These four standing here presented a plaint to the most religious bishop lord Domnus, and his holiness deigned to instruct us to present ourselves. Since it was Lent, he ordered us to meet on the following day, writing to me that they should be released from excommunication, for they were not in communion with me.<sup>51</sup> I followed the will of the archbishop in everything. The archbishop released them from excommunication on account of the feast, on the condition that they were not to leave Antioch until the case had reached a verdict; if they left before the case came to a verdict, they would be subject to the more severe penalty of deposition. Before we reached the city, Samuel and Cyrus departed and went off to the *comitatus*,<sup>52</sup> while Maras and Eulogius stayed behind. When the holy council assembled – for there were not a few bishops there –, he ordered the plaint to be read. The plaint was duly read; it contained the names of four accusers, but only two had presented themselves. He asked them: “Where are your companions who presented the plaint together with you?” They replied, “We don’t know, but we have heard they have gone off to Constantinople.”’

38. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Since your religiousness then attended, you must know the mind of that holy and great council, whether they definitively deposed them or issued this verdict ambiguously. It is clear that your holiness would not choose to represent as

49 Supplied from the Latin version.

50 In Eastertide 448.

51 Ibas had doubtless excommunicated them in order to prevent their being admitted as plaintiffs, since the excommunicate could not appear in a church court (as laid down in Canon 6 of the Council of Constantinople of 382); cf. *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 98, for his recourse to the same ploy at Berytus. For a similar attempt to misuse church discipline to suppress inconvenient plaintiffs, compare Anatolius of Constantinople at IV. 69–71.

52 The court at Constantinople.

transacted what was not in fact transacted by that holy council, since it would be easy to ascertain the truth.’

39. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I cannot know what is secret, but I think that it enacted their definitive deposition. But if you judge from their declaration that it did not enact their deposition, the question can be settled later.’

40. {The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Does your holiness have to hand the proceedings at that holy council?’

41. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I do, and they are here.’<sup>53</sup>

42. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Let the notaries receive and go through the section relating to those who absented themselves, so that we may be informed of the proceedings in their case.’

43. Samuel said: ‘We ask your devoutness to pronounce that our party is guaranteed every right of defence appropriate for us relating to the testimony of the most devout Bishop Ibas and to what you have ordered to be read.’

44. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘It was not to prejudice your case that we just now said the reading should take place.’

45. Samuel said: ‘Since the proceedings are proceeding appropriately and will perhaps impel us to raise new points and not these ones, we have asked that our right of defence be guaranteed. Our contention on the matter and what we can show is that we are not liable to deposition or excommunication, and that the action taken by our bishop Ibas was out of order and contrary to the canons.’

46. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Read the section of the minutes relating to the clerics who absented themselves at the hearing that took place recently at very great Antioch.’

47. *The holy council said: ‘Where are those who submitted a plaint together with you?’*

48. *The presbyters Maras and Eulogius said: ‘When they learnt of his intrigues, just as we did, they withdrew, but we don’t know the details.’*

49. *The holy council said: ‘Where are they now?’*

50. *The presbyter Maras said: ‘We don’t know exactly, but according to what we have heard, they have travelled to Constantinople. But we haven’t received letters from them, and we don’t know exactly.’*

51. *The most holy Archbishop Domnus said: ‘What intrigues did they*

53 40–41 are supplied from the Latin version.



*suspect? And indeed when I wrote to the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas on the matter, he wrote back to us granting everything: they were released together with you from the penalty of excommunication, your being in communion being dependent on the condition that, if any of you left before the conclusion of the case, he would be subjected to the ecclesiastical penalty. Therefore those who have absented themselves have manifestly acted in contempt both of their excommunication and of this apostolic see, and subjected themselves in addition to the more severe penalty of deposition.*<sup>54</sup>

52. Samuel said: 'I ask that the signed declarations of the bishops who were present there and signed be read and inserted in the proceedings.'

53. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'Let the declarations of the most God-beloved and holy bishops which are contained in these minutes be read and inserted.'

*Signed declarations*

54. *Domnus bishop of Antioch: I have pronounced sentence.*

*Symeon bishop of Amida: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

*Stephen bishop of Hierapolis: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

*Constantine bishop of Bostra: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

*Theoctistus bishop of Beroea: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

*Thomas bishop of Mopsuestia: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

*Placcus bishop of the holy church at Gerasa: I have pronounced the same verdict.*

*Euolcius bishop of Zeugma: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

*Daniel bishop of the city of Birtha: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

*Dadas bishop of Batnae: I have pronounced the same sentence.*

55. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'The sentence of our most God-beloved and holy father and archbishop Domnus is clear. So let the plaint which was submitted yesterday be read and inserted in the proceedings.'

<sup>54</sup> We learn from the Syriac Acts of Ephesus II (*Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 131) that the two plaintiffs who had gone off to Constantinople were indeed deposed while the other two were excommunicated.

*The Complaint*

56. *To the most holy, sacred in all respects and God-beloved bishops Photius, Eustathius and Uranius, a supplication from Samuel, Cyrus, Eulogius and Maras, presbyters of the most holy church at Edessa. We prayed to live the whole of our lives untroubled, but the outrages perpetrated by the most devout Bishop Ibas against our church and the pure faith of our fathers, which surpass injustice, have forced us to bring this accusation against him and against his nephew Daniel, who is himself bishop of the city of Carrhae. Appropriately and in accordance with the canons we have appealed to councils both in the Orient and in the West, and we have also been obliged to appeal on this matter to our pious and Christ-loving emperor. Since, moreover, our most holy Archbishop Flavian expressed agreement with our most pious and Christ-loving emperor and decreed that our case should be examined in the presence of your holinesses, we have presented ourselves and are ready to substantiate our case. We therefore come forward and request in this our complaint permission from your holinesses to initiate the suit.*

*Samuel, presbyter: I have presented this complaint together with my colleagues.*

*Cyrus, presbyter: I have presented this complaint together with my colleagues.*

*Eulogius, presbyter: I have presented this complaint together with my colleagues.*

*Maras, presbyter: I have presented this complaint together with my colleagues.*

57. The presbyter Samuel said: ‘We request another favour from your righteousness – that this be read out in Syriac for the benefit of the most God-beloved and holy Bishop Uranius, since he was present in Constantinople at the reading of the letter on the matter from Archbishop Domnus to Archbishop Flavian. He was again present at Antioch, when we were about to make a proposal on the matter. We ask him to say what he uttered to him on the matter and what he said to him.’<sup>55</sup>

58. The most God-beloved bishops Photius and Eustathius said: ‘Everything you have requested will be translated for Bishop Uranius into his own tongue by his assistant.’ – It was translated.

<sup>55</sup> The sense is that Uranius could bear witness to what Domnus had written to Flavian (cf. 33 above).

59. {The most God-beloved bishops Photius and Eustathius said:}<sup>56</sup>  
 ‘Let the most devout Maras inform us what the most religious Bishop Uranius has said in his own language.’

60. Maras said: ‘He said this: “A letter was read in the presence of the patricians, saying, ‘Since they were disrupting the council, we declared them excommunicate.’ But I was present as a judge and cannot act as a witness”.’

61. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘The lord Domnus in the letter he wrote to the most holy Archbishop Flavian made no mention of them, since they had been once for all deposed.’

62. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘We have said, “The sentence of our most God-beloved and holy father and archbishop Domnus is clear.” So let the plaint be read again.’ – It was read.

63. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘The plaint you have presented contains a general accusation. So let each of you declare in writing what accusation he has to make and which of the articles he wishes to press.’

64. Samuel said: ‘In the presence of your sacredness we shall make a verbal presentation of the articles in proper order, and we shall begin with this article ...’

65. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Let each of you state with his own voice if he wishes to press the accusation in respect of the articles presented.’

66. Samuel said: ‘I do.’

67. Maras said: ‘I do.’

68. Eulogius said: ‘I do.’

69. Cyrus said: ‘I do.’

70. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Let all the articles be read, and we shall carry out an examination of each accordingly.’

71. Samuel said: ‘We request that they also be inserted in the proceedings.’

72. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Let them be inserted.’

#### *The Articles*<sup>57</sup>

73. (1) *Although the city contributed the sum of 1,500 solidi for the redemption of captives and there was a sum of just over 6,000 solidi with*

56 Supplied from the Latin version.

57 The division and numbering of the charges, which is doubtless not original but editorial, is different in the Latin, where 6–9 are run together, as are 10–11; the second half of 14 (beginning ‘When Bishop Daniel’) is separated from the first half and combined with the following article.

*the treasurer, quite apart from the revenues his brother enjoys, he, having vessels of consecrated silver amounting to 200 pounds,<sup>58</sup> sold them, and sent, as we discovered, nothing beyond 1,000 solidi, appropriating the rest for himself.<sup>59</sup>*

*(2) A jewelled chalice of great value given to our church by a holy man eleven years ago was not placed by him in the church treasury, and we do not know what happened to it.*

*(3) He also gets money from ordinations.<sup>60</sup>*

*(4) One Abramius was a deacon in our clergy. When a magician called John was detected, whose friend and collaborator he was, he himself, in the presence of our most devout bishop and all the clergy who had been summoned for the hearing of the case of Abramius the deacon, was proved by John's confession to be an accomplice, with the consequence that he incurred the penalty of excommunication and was hated and hounded by all for a long time. Subsequently [Ibas], being won over (we do not know how), although he had put forward no defence, attempted to consecrate him bishop of the city of Batnae. On being hindered by his then archdeacon, he took offence and declared bishop on his own authority one guilty of a capital offence, while as for the one who had revealed the talk of the town and said that it was not right to do so, he stripped him of his office and excommunicated him, expelling him from the church as well. But when he failed in his designs, he was compelled to make him [Abramius] guest-master. Our most devout bishop is in possession of the sheet of magical incantations, which he ought to hand over as prohibited to the governor of the province in accordance with the laws.*

*(5) One Valentius, an infamous person, whom all his fellows denounced both in writing and orally for adultery and sodomy, he ordained presbyter and periodeutes. Those who made the denunciation he imprisoned and handed over to the governor, even though they showed him letters from the most God-beloved Archbishop Domnus.*

58 The late fourth-century writer of the *Historia Augusta* treats a 200-pound silver table service as comparatively modest (Sev. Alex. 34.1, 41.4).

59 As we learn from the Syriac Acts of Ephesus II (*Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 128–31) this was the main charge brought against Ibas at Antioch at Easter 448, the plaintiffs having been advised that if they raised matters relating to the faith Bishop Domnus of Antioch would dismiss the case.

60 See Canon 2 of the council with our annotation (vol. 3, 94) for the prevalence of simony in the eastern churches at this time.

(6) *He consecrated his nephew Daniel bishop of the city of the pagans,<sup>61</sup> when there was need of a holy father whose conduct could overawe them and induce them to come belatedly to the knowledge of the truth, although he was dissolute, utterly depraved and a mere youth. He did not require or even allow it ever to remain a secret, but almost constantly visited our city for the sake of a married woman called Challosa, taking her with him as he went from place to place, and giving himself up to debauchery with her.*

(7) *He diverts to his brother and his nephews all the revenues of the church, which are considerable and add up to an immense sum. We demand that he account for them before your sacredness.*

(8) *The bequests and the offerings, the contributions from every source, and the collection of dedicated crosses of gold and silver he diverts to his brother and his nephews.*

(9) *Money set aside for prison expenses<sup>62</sup> he spends on the households of his relatives.*

(10) *At a commemoration of the holy martyrs no wine was provided to be offered in the holy sanctuary, to be consecrated, and distributed to the people, except for a very small amount which was of poor quality, full of dregs, and only just harvested, with the result that those appointed to minister were obliged to buy wine of poor quality from a tavern, six pints of it, and even this was not enough. (11) In consequence, they told those who were distributing the holy body to come in<sup>63</sup> because there was no holy blood, while they themselves were drinking and had kept for themselves, as they always do, different wine of amazing quality. This was done while the one in charge of the ministers looked on and was informed so that he in his turn could inform the bishop frankly; but since on this occasion he did nothing, we had to inform the most devout bishop himself, who, so far from being stirred into action by our report, paid no attention to it, with the result that many in our city were scandalized.*

(12) *He is a Nestorian, and calls the blessed Bishop Cyril a heretic.*

(13) *Bishop Daniel has ordained as clerics some of his partners in depravity.*

(14) *When the presbyter Pirozus arranged his affairs in a properly executed will and left what property he had to churches which had no*

61 Carrhae. The majority of its inhabitants were still pagan a century later in the time of Procopius (*History of the Wars* II. xiii. 7).

62 The reference is the living expenses of prisoners, provided as alms by the church.

63 That is, to the sacristy from the church.

revenue, our Bishop Ibas took umbrage and said that he had a receipt from him for 3,200 solidi,<sup>64</sup> and this he showed to him, in order to frustrate his purpose and make him die of mortification. When Bishop Daniel made his will and left the abundant goods and property which he had acquired from church sources to the offspring of his lady-friend, and to Challosa herself, he neither took offence nor initiated proceedings.

(15) Challosa, Bishop Daniel's lady-friend, who previously owned nothing but misused the considerable ecclesiastical property at her disposal, lends out at interest sums of three hundred or two hundred solidi, which makes obvious how she amassed the money.

(16) One Abramius was a deacon and the *apantetes* of our church.<sup>65</sup> Having originally been poor and owned almost nothing, he engaged in all kinds of dealing and acquired from our church a quantity of possessions beyond description, which really belonged to our church. Bishop Daniel persuaded him to assign his estate to him in a written will, assuring him by oath that he would give it to the poor after Abramius' death, for this was contained in the will. But when Daniel came into the inheritance, not only did he not administer it as he was obligated and had sworn to do, but gave it to Challosa, the woman who served his depravity.

(17) When pagans commit the sin of offering sacrifice, Bishop Daniel accepts bribes from them and lets them off the offence, treating it as another opportunity for profit.<sup>66</sup>

(18) People cut wood from the estate of Laphargaritha, belonging to the church of Edessa, and took it to the estates of Challosa, Bishop Daniel's lady-friend, where they built what they wanted.

74. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'Whenever there occurs a scrutiny relating to an article [of accusation] that imperils the soul, we think examination of the other articles to be superfluous. Therefore first select and begin with the things that are by general agreement forbidden by both the canons and the laws and are clearly hateful to those who fear God. It is the following points that we think crucial: first, that he who has

64 This figure appears sometimes as 3,000 and sometimes as 1,200 in the Latin MSS.

65 The ἀπαντητής (a title which the Latin simply transliterates) was responsible for providing hospitality. Despite the identity of name and function, this Abramius is to be distinguished from the Abramius of 4 above (styled ξηνοδόχος).

66 Bishop Daniel will not have had any jurisdiction in this domain, but he could blackmail practising pagans with a threat of appealing to the governor for the enforcement of the anti-pagan laws.

been appointed to the priesthood must be of sound faith, then that he be free from all depravity, but also that he should not betray piety especially for the sake of money. If you are able to prove the transgression of any of these, then make your own oral declaration.'

75. Samuel said: 'As we already said, we request examination to be made of each article in turn, and if the first charge carries so great a penalty that it is sufficient on its own and nothing else need be raised, your sacredness will have judged rightly and we shall submit to this.'

76. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'Of the articles you have presented three are especially heinous, and are by their nature easier to test than the others.<sup>67</sup> If, therefore, you can sustain these, as we have said, make your own verbal declaration.'

77. Maras said: 'We shall raise first the question of the faith, and we shall raise the other articles {afterwards}<sup>68</sup>.'

78. The most religious bishops said: 'In proposing to you that you should begin with these three charges, we have not in advance refused an investigation of the rest.'

79. Maras said: 'We shall first raise the question of the faith.'

80. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'What is it you have to raise concerning the faith?'

81. Maras said: 'He said in a sermon, "I don't envy Christ becoming God, for inasmuch as he became God, so also have I".<sup>69</sup>

82. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'Let first the most religious Bishop Ibas confess if he said this.'

83. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: 'Anathema to who said this and whoever uttered this calumny! I myself did not say it; God forbid!'

84. Samuel said: 'We have witnesses to this, of whom some are here present. We ask that they be summoned by you and admitted and make an oral declaration if they didn't hear him say this.'

85. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: 'I would rather be beheaded countless times than say those words; God forbid that I should even think them! But I know that everyone is saved through confession.'<sup>70</sup>

86. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'Are you claiming that the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas said this in church?'

67 The reference is not to three specific items in the list of charges but to the three offences singled out by the bishops – heresy, depravity, and simony.

68 Supplied from the Latin version.

69 See p. 266, n. 6 for variant versions of this remark and its meaning.

70 In other words, salvation is through profession of the orthodox faith.

87. Samuel said: 'It is the custom on the holy day of Easter, or just before, for him to hand out to his clergy certain festive gifts; before doing this he first preaches and then presents his gifts. He preached this and said it in front of all the clergy who were present to receive these festive gifts. This is proved by some of the very clerics who are present here and who heard him say this.'

88. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'How long ago was it that you claim the most religious Bishop Ibas said this?'

89. Samuel said: 'Just over three years ago.<sup>71</sup> He said other things as well, but for the time being we shall prove this one, if it please you. If, however, you tell us to add the others as well, we will testify to them as well.'

90. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'In the meantime, who are those who can witness to this statement?'

91. Samuel said: 'There are many, since he said it in front of all the clergy; three of them are here, and three is acceptable to both the canons and the laws. But if more are needed and if it please you, we will give the names of others and they will appear in obedience to your command.'

92. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: 'Our clergy number just over two hundred or even more; I don't remember the number. All the clerics have testified whether I am a heretic or orthodox, in written depositions that were sent to the most holy Archbishop Domnus; they also wrote to your religiousness.<sup>72</sup> Whether the testimony of so many clerics agrees with that of the three witnesses he mentions, who accompanied them to Constantinople to lodge an accusation, and are with them now, is a matter for you to judge.'

93. Samuel said: 'It is for us, that is, for those who present the article or make an accusation, to provide proofs of what we say; it is not for the most religious Bishop Ibas to testify on his own behalf or through others. No one is asking him to make a denial. I have said that it happened; it is for me to prove it.'

94. The most God-beloved bishops said: 'Give the names of the witnesses you have brought who heard the most religious Bishop Ibas say this.'

95. Samuel said: 'They are David, deacon and one of the sacristans, the deacon Maras, and the deacon Sabas, who recites on occasion the compositions of the blessed Ephrem and is a man most wise among the Syrians.'<sup>73</sup>

71 That is, at Easter 445.

72 This deposition is given below at 141.

73 That is, either one of the wisest of, or considered to be most wise by, Syriac speakers.



96. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘Maras also came with them to Antioch, joined them in presenting a plaint, and went up to Constantinople with them. But Maras, to tell the truth, is not in communion with his own archdeacon (although he is not out of communion with me)<sup>74</sup> because he assaulted a presbyter; this is why the archdeacon broke off communion with him. They then found him nursing a grudge, and included him among the plaintiffs. How can they bring as witnesses people who went up [to Constantinople] against me and appealed to the emperor against me?<sup>75</sup> But in your case when you said, “The life died”,<sup>76</sup> did I not at once say to you, “Friend, if you mean that the flesh of the Lord is life-giving and that Christ is our life, I too acknowledge it; but if you allude to the Godhead, I don’t accept it”? Did you not remain in communion with me for ten years after that?’<sup>77</sup>

97. Samuel said: ‘If he summoned me privately, or reprimanded me, or held forth to me on this, am I answerable for what he says? – except that from that time he didn’t allow me to preach.’

98. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘The most religious Bishop Ibas has informed us that he summoned and gave you some advice; you yourself deny it. No one at all instructs or advises in the presence of witnesses. Let us therefore dismiss it as irrelevant and return to the matter in hand.’

99. Samuel said: ‘It is enough for me that the most religious Bishop Ibas has acknowledged in the presence of your sacredness that he reprimanded me over this.’

100. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I did not reprimand you;<sup>78</sup> I simply asked, “Friend, what did you mean by saying, “The life died”? Do you mean the Godhead or the life-giving flesh of God? For it is life and

74 In other words, the excommunication was imposed by the archdeacon and not by Ibas personally; cf. 112, ‘I myself did not exclude them.’ Ibas is denying he victimized his opponents.

75 The roles of plaintiff and witness had to be kept distinct, which is why the four plaintiffs could not themselves substantiate their accusation and had to produce additional witnesses.

76 In other words, Christ who is our life (Jn 11: 25) died. The statement is close to the theopaschite formulae (abhorred by the Antiochenes) that attributed the passion of the cross to the divine person of Christ rather than just to his human nature.

77 This implies that the offending sermon was delivered in 435, at the beginning of Ibas’ episcopate. After replacing the pro-Cyrrillian Rabbula, Ibas hastened to reveal his own dyophysite convictions, hostile to the theopaschite expressions.

78 Ibas mentions this episode in his previous relations with Samuel as evidence of his own moderation, in order to defend himself from the charge of terrorizing his clergy (see 106 and 109 below).

life-giving.” This is what I believe and confess with my lips, as God himself commanded, “Confess with your lips for salvation”.<sup>79</sup>

101. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘We asked you if the most religious Bishop Ibas pronounced in church what you claim he did, and you said that he uttered this doctrine in the dining-hall of the episcopal palace with all the clergy present. Since both the canons and the laws lay down that in the case of a shortage of witnesses a stated number is to be produced out of the total, but in the present case there is no shortage but rather a plethora of witnesses, as you yourselves testify, it is imperative not simply to credit those you have now produced, since the most religious Bishop Ibas has criticized them as being your fellow accusers, but also to question almost everyone who received a gift from him at that time, as you have informed us.’

102. Maras said: ‘Perhaps there are some who don’t remember hearing it, {but those with a precise memory}<sup>80</sup> of this are known, and we can produce them.’

103. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘How many presbyters were present there at the time?’

104. Maras said: ‘We don’t know.’

105. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘When gifts are being made, one would expect the whole body of the most devout clergy to attend.’

106. Eulogius said: ‘Very much so; but if some of them would have liked to come and speak, they haven’t come out of fear of his machinations. For many of them prefer not to cross him, out of fear for their lives. When one of the presbyters declined to append his signature to the testimonial in his support, when we presented our accusation against him at Antioch,<sup>81</sup> on his return from there he plotted against him, a man who has been orthodox for fifty years and has never washed since the time he renounced this life, and to whom the whole city bears witness. He brought an accusation against him through his own administrators but proved unable to sustain it, with the result that the judge, even though seeking his favour, because the defendant stood his ground and exclaimed, “Let the calumny against me be proved”, acquitted him;<sup>82</sup>

79 Rom. 10:10.

80 Supplied from the Latin version.

81 At a council held at Antioch in Eastertide 448 for which see 37–54 above.

82 The extant Greek text runs, ‘with the result that the official, to gratify him, did not want – although the defendant was standing his ground and saying, “Let the machination against me be proved” – to acquit him.’ But the judge clearly *did* acquit him. We therefore follow Schwartz

and the whole city received him from prison with candles and torches. As a result all the clergy show caution and choose not to testify against him.<sup>83</sup>

107. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘We do not think that, while [people] have the fear of God before their eyes and the faith is at issue, {anyone}<sup>84</sup> will choose to disregard his own salvation in order to win favour with men. Since you yourself have stated that the great mass of the most devout clergy were assembled when the most religious Bishop Ibas made his statement, we will not accept the declaration of these three witnesses you have produced, especially since they are suspect to the most religious bishop, as he has testified.’

108. Samuel said: ‘How is it possible to get the entire clergy to testify?’

109. Eulogius said: ‘When we were in Antioch, they composed a testimonial in his support and took it round the clergy for them to sign. Some of the clergy, some fifteen or eighteen, refused to sign, saying, “Perhaps we shall be asked something, and we won’t know what to say and cannot tell a lie.” Dragging them forcibly into the church, he made people shout them down as deserving to be driven out for not signing, excommunicated them in the presence of the whole church, and drove them out. For this reason they came to Antioch; but when they saw that we were in straits and denied our rights, and that the man had come back as if he had got the better of us, they were afraid to enter the city, and we have had to support them to this day because of their testimony.’

110. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘Our most holy and sacred archbishop went to Hierapolis for the enthronement of the lord Stephen the most religious bishop.<sup>85</sup> We wanted to do what is customary and go to Hierapolis to present our compliments. We were just setting out when we heard that Samuel and Cyrus had gone off to accuse us, taking the signed declarations of certain clerics. This I acknowledge: I summoned

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in excising ‘did not want – although’. The Latin version has recourse to free paraphrase: ‘even though the judge acted in his favour, while the defendant stood his ground and exclaimed, “Let the calumny against me be proved, or let me be acquitted”.’

83 In other words, Ibas’ prosecution of the holy presbyter, albeit unsuccessful, warned the other presbyters not to testify against him.

84 The Latin version runs, ‘We do not think, having the fear of God before our eyes and when the faith is at issue, that anyone will choose ...’ This is not wholly satisfactory, but it provides the subject required for ‘will choose’.

85 The discussion now goes back to an earlier appeal against Ibas in 445, shortly after Ibas had allegedly made his blasphemous remark before his clergy.

the clergy and said, “I have heard that Samuel and Cyrus have gone off to accuse me. But to you I say: if anyone in writing has joined them in their plaint, he is not to take communion, until he knows how the matter is concluded.” The others, stung by conscience, excluded themselves.’

111. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘How many were those who excluded themselves?’

112. The most God-beloved Bishop Ibas said: ‘There were slightly over fifteen who excluded themselves. I myself did not exclude them.’

113. Maras said: ‘No one<sup>86</sup> excluded himself except me alone and the presbyter Samuel. When we four – I, Cyrus, Samuel and Eulogius – made a plaint against him, two of us took the plaint and went to Hierapolis to await the archbishop, but the lord Samuel was unwell. He [Ibas] summoned us all to the consistory and said, “Since I have heard that Cyrus and Eulogius have gone off to accuse me, I have excluded them, so that you may know that they are excommunicate. If anyone worked with them on the plaint or is privy to it, since I hear that there are thirty clerics in league with them, I forgive him according to your<sup>87</sup> will.” No one left except only him and me, since the others were not in league with us but remained in communion with him.’

114. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Let the most religious Bishop Ibas say if he really said what they have claimed.’

115. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I didn’t say it, and I anathematize anyone who did. I haven’t heard this statement even from a demon.’

116. Maras said: ‘There are three witnesses here who witness for us; their names we can provide. And we have others at Edessa.’

117. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘It is imperative to add their names as well, since the investigation is not about things of little importance.’

118. Eulogius said: ‘We can provide them.’

119. Maras said: ‘Did you not call the blessed Cyril a heretic?’

120. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I am telling the truth: I have no memory of so doing. Even if I called him that when the council of the Orient<sup>88</sup> anathematized him as a heretic, I was following my primate.’

86 The Greek reads literally ‘if anyone’, imitating the biblical construction found, for example, in Ps. 95 (94): 11.

87 We understand αὐτῶν (normally ‘their’) to be short for ὑμῶν αὐτῶν (‘your’).

88 The Syrian bishops issued a condemnation of Cyril at Ephesus during the council of 431, and again at Tarsus on their way back to Syria, alleging that his Twelve Chapters (see following note) were heretical. See 138 below.

121. Maras said: ‘Did you not say, “If he had not anathematized his chapters,<sup>89</sup> we would not have accepted him”?’

122. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I said that if he had not explained himself and so been accepted by the council of the Orient,<sup>90</sup> then I along with my primate and the council of the Orient would have rejected him.’

123. Maras said: ‘Last year, when the matter was mooted in the consistory you said, “I considered the blessed<sup>91</sup> Cyril a heretic, and until he anathematized the chapters, I did not accept him”.’

124. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I really have no memory of saying that. Even if I said it, what I said was that truly, if the council of the Orient had not accepted him after he had explained his chapters, I would have held him to be a heretic.’<sup>92</sup>

125. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘If you are able to prove that the most religious Bishop Ibas called him a heretic after the union of the churches that took place under the most blessed and sacred in memory our father and bishop John and the most religious and holy in memory Bishop Cyril, then declare it.’

126. Maras said: ‘He said, “We held him to be a heretic until he anathematized the chapters”.’

127. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I am so far from anathematizing the man after he explained the chapters that I received letters from him and sent letters to him in which he held me to be in communion and I held him to be in communion.’

128. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘What did you say after you two had entered into communion?’

129. Maras said: ‘A year ago he said that he was a heretic until he issued his anathema.’

130. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘Until he explained himself,

89 These are the Twelve Chapters (or Anathemas) appended to Cyril’s Third Letter to Nestorius (of November 430), an aggressive and provocative statement of Cyril’s opposition to Nestorius. Text in Cyril, *Select Letters*, 28–33.

90 In 433, after Cyril had accepted the Formula of Reunion, the Syrian bishops withdrew their condemnation of him.

91 ‘Blessed’ in this context simply means ‘deceased’.

92 Cyril’s ‘explanation’ of his Twelve Chapters consisted simply in his acceptance of the Formula of Reunion. Thereafter the Orientals refrained from attacking them publicly but remained critical in private; in a letter of 449 Theodoret referred to the ‘poison’ and ‘heresy’ contained in them (*ep.* 112, to Domnus of Antioch).

since the council of the Orient called him a heretic and had deposed him for heresy, I too considered him a heretic. But after the union of the churches, when the blessed Paul went to Alexandria taking the creed of the Orientals and received from him an explanation of the chapters, we all held him to be in communion and orthodox, and no one called him a heretic.<sup>93</sup>

131. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘Repudiating heresy is certainly sufficient for piety, and the most religious Bishop Ibas has explained the reason why along with the entire holy council in the Orient he had considered Cyril most sacred in memory to be a heretic. But you say that he called him a heretic only a year ago; it is imperative that you prove it.’

132. Maras said: ‘A year ago he said, “I held him to be a heretic until he anathematized the chapters”.’

133. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘Until he whispered in the ears of the most blessed John and received from him the written confession of faith which he sent by the most blessed Paul, we all held him to be a heretic; but after he accepted it, we were in communion: he communicated with us and we with him.’

134. Samuel said: ‘The most devout bishop says this now in an attempt to correct his error. It is for us to prove that he called Cyril a heretic, and afterwards corrected himself and said, “Until he anathematized his chapters, he was a heretic”.’

135. The most religious Bishop Ibas said: ‘I have no memory of an anathema; I followed the council of the Orient. Do you want written testimony? Produce written testimony. Do you want oral testimony? Produce oral testimony.’

136. The most God-beloved bishops said: ‘If it transpires that after the death of the most blessed and holy Cyril the most religious Bishop Ibas called him a heretic and held him to be a heretic, prove it.’

137. Maras said: ‘We can prove it.’<sup>94</sup> ...<sup>95</sup>

The same hallowed secretary read out the following:

93 Justinian attempted to argue that this implies a denial of the authenticity of his Letter to Mari the Persian, written after the accord of 433 and yet critical of Cyril; see Facundus, *Defence of the Three Chapters* 5.2.4.

94 The bishops demand proof that Ibas called Cyril a heretic not merely after the reconciliation between the churches in 433 but after Cyril’s death in 444. But the real question is whether Ibas claimed that Cyril had been a heretic before 433 or followed the approved line that, once Cyril and the Orientals had come to a proper understanding of each other’s position, they realized that the charge of heresy had arisen only as a result of misunderstanding. It was

*Translation of a letter written by the most devout Ibas bishop of the city of Edessa to Mari the Persian*<sup>96</sup>

138. After the introduction – *In brief we have endeavoured to make known to your lucid understanding, which by means of little discerns much, what happened before this and what has happened here now, knowing, in writing this to your religiousness, that through your pains there will become known to all those there*<sup>97</sup> *our message that the scriptures given by God have not suffered any distortion. I shall begin my account with matters that you yourself know well.*

*Since the time your religiousness was here, a controversy arose between those two men, Nestorius and Cyril, and they wrote harmful tracts against each other, which were a snare to those who heard them. For Nestorius asserted in his tracts, as your religiousness knows, that the blessed Mary is not Theotokos, with the result that he was thought by most people to share the heresy of Paul of Samosata, who asserted that Christ was a mere man. Meanwhile Cyril, in his desire to refute the tracts of Nestorius, slipped up and was found falling into the teaching of Apollinarius: for like him he also wrote that the very God the Word became man in such a way that there is no distinction between the*

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therefore not unreasonable of Ibas' accusers to produce Ibas' Letter to Mari at this point, even though it was not directly relevant to the demand made by the bishops. It is not necessary to adopt Schwartz's suggestion (ACO 2.1.3 p. xxv) that the accusers' true response has been suppressed.

95 Some omissions may be detected here. The secretary would not have read out the Letter to Mari without instructions from the bishops. In addition, this sentence is followed in the Greek MSS by the words ἀνέγνων, ἀνέγνωμεν, ἀνέγνω, a formula of verification that often follows a speech by the chairman at Chalcedon (see II. 2n.); this implies, as Schwartz observes *ad loc.*, that an interruption by the chairman in the reading of the minutes of Berytus was at first recorded and then omitted. More serious is the omission of any introduction to, or discussion of, the following letter. This all points to editorial suppressions at the time of the Three Chapters controversy, for which see pp. 271–2 above.

96 This letter was written by Ibas, when still a presbyter, in the wake of the agreement between Cyril of Alexandria and the Syrian bishops expressed in the Formula of Reunion of 433; for the events narrated here, see General Introduction, vol. 1, 18–24. Van Esbroeck 1987 identifies Mari with a monk, probably a Persian refugee, of the Acoemete monastery at Constantinople; he sees this identification confirmed by the reference to 'day and night' exercises at the end of the letter. But Syriac sources from the sixth century identified him with a bishop in the Persian empire ('Mari' simply means 'my lord'), and the wording of the beginning of the letter suggests that he was living with his compatriots.

97 Ibas' letter was intended for wide circulation among the Christians of Persia, who indeed refused to follow the church in the Roman empire in condemning Nestorianism.

*temple and the one who dwells in it. He wrote the Twelve Chapters, as I think your religiousness knows, asserting that there is one nature of the Godhead and the manhood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that it is wrong, he said, to divide the sayings that were uttered, whether those spoken by the Lord about himself or by the evangelists about him.<sup>98</sup> How packed this is with every form of impiety, your holiness will know even before we say it. For how is it possible that 'In the beginning was the Word'<sup>99</sup> be taken to refer to the temple born from Mary, or that 'You have made him a little less than the angels'<sup>100</sup> should be said of the Godhead of the Only-begotten? What the church says, as your religiousness knows, and what has been taught from the beginning and confirmed by the divine teaching of the writings of the blessed fathers is this: two natures, one power, one person, who is the one Son and Lord Jesus Christ.*

*Because of this controversy the victorious and pious emperors ordered the senior bishops to assemble in the city of Ephesus, so that the writings of Nestorius and Cyril could be judged in the presence of all. But before all the bishops who had been ordered to assemble had reached Ephesus, Cyril acted prematurely and pre-empted the hearing of all with a spell that could blind the eyes of the wise; he had as his motive his hatred for Nestorius. Even before the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop John arrived at the council, they deposed Nestorius from the episcopate, without there being a trial and investigation. Two days after his deposition we arrived at Ephesus. When we learnt that on the occasion of the deposition of Nestorius, carried out by them, they had also proclaimed and confirmed the Twelve Chapters composed by Cyril, which are contrary to the true faith, and expressed agreement with them as if they were in harmony with the true faith,<sup>101</sup> all the bishops of the Orient deposed Cyril himself, and decreed a sentence of excommunication on the other bishops who had endorsed the Chapters. And after this chaos each returned to his own city; but Nestorius, since he was hated by his city and by the great men in it, was not able to return there.*

98 Ibas is citing the Third and Fourth Anathemas (or Chapters) appended to Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius (*Select Letters*, 28–31).

99 Jn 1:1.

100 Ps. 8:6, applied to Christ at Heb. 2:9.

101 It is doubtful whether the Chapters were formally approved at the first session of Ephesus I, but they were immediately inserted into the minutes, and other sources confirm that the Oriental bishops, on their arrival, understood them to have been promulgated by the council. See de Halleux 1992, esp. 445–54.



*The council of the Orient continued to refuse communion to those bishops who were in communion with Cyril. As a result there was much resentment among them, with bishops contending against bishops and congregations against congregations. The event fulfilled the words of scripture that 'the foes of the man' were 'those of his own household'.<sup>102</sup> As a result much abuse was directed at us by both pagans and heretics; no one dared to travel from city to city or from region to region, but everyone persecuted his neighbour as if he were an enemy. Many who did not have the fear of God before their eyes, under the pretext of zeal for the churches, hastened to put into action the hidden hatred they had in their hearts. One of these happened to be the tyrant of our city,<sup>103</sup> who is not unknown to you, who on the pretext of the faith avenged himself not only on the living but also on those who had formerly departed to the Lord. One of these was the blessed Theodore,<sup>104</sup> the herald of the truth and teacher of the church, who not only in his lifetime compelled the heretics to accept his true faith but also after his death bequeathed to the children of the church a spiritual weapon in his writings, as your religiousness discovered from meeting him and became convinced on the basis of his writings. But the one of limitless effrontery had the effrontery to anathematize publicly in church the man who, out of zeal for God, not only converted his own city from error to the truth but also instructed far distant churches by his teaching. A great search was made everywhere for his books, not because they are contrary to the true faith – indeed, while he was alive, he constantly praised him and read his books –, but out of the secret hatred he had towards him, because he had publicly reproved him at the council.<sup>105</sup>*

*While these evils were taking place, with each person, as it is written,<sup>106</sup> wandering off on his own, the God we must worship, who in his mercy at all times looks after the church, moved the heart of our most faithful and victorious emperor to send a great and notable man from his*

102 Mt. 10:36.

103 Bishop Rabbula of Edessa (412–35). He was initially a supporter of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, but changed over to the side of Cyril immediately after Ephesus I. This was crucial in the steady process of the marginalization of the Antiochene School.

104 Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), the greatest of the Antiochene theologians, on whom see Young 1983, 199–213.

105 According to Barhadbeshabba Arbaya, a Nestorian bishop writing c.600, Theodore had rebuked Rabbula at a council at Constantinople for beating one of his clerics (PO IV. 380–81).

106 Perhaps a paraphrase of Joel 2:7, 'Each man will journey on his own way.'

*palace to require the lord John the most holy archbishop of the Orient<sup>107</sup> to be reconciled with Cyril, who had been deposed by him from the episcopate. After receiving the emperor's letter, he sent the most holy and God-beloved Paul bishop of Emesa, recording through him the true faith, and instructing him to enter into communion with Cyril if he assented to this faith and anathematized those who say that the Godhead suffered and those who say that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood. And the Lord, who at all times looks after his church, which is redeemed by his blood, chose to soften even the heart of the Egyptian,<sup>108</sup> with the result that he assented to the faith without trouble and accepted it, and anathematized all those whose beliefs are contrary to it. Now that they were in communion with each other, controversy was removed from their midst, and peace returned to the church; no longer is there schism in it, but peace as before.<sup>109</sup>*

*As for what are the words written by the most holy and God-beloved Archbishop John and the reply he received from Cyril, I have attached the letters themselves to this one to your religiousness and sent them to your sacredness, so that when you read them you may discover, and inform all our brethren who love peace, that controversy has now ceased, the dividing wall of enmity has been demolished,<sup>110</sup> and that those who lawlessly assailed the living and the dead are shamefaced, apologizing for their errors and teaching the opposite of their previous teaching; for no one now dares to say that there is one nature of Godhead and manhood, but they profess belief in the temple and the one who dwells in it, who is the one Son Jesus Christ. This I have written to your religiousness out of the great affection I have for you, confident that your holiness exercises yourself day and night in the teaching of God, in order to benefit many.<sup>111</sup>*

107 Bishop John of Antioch (428–41/2). The official was the tribune and notary Aristolaus (PLRE 2, 146–7).

108 Ibas is comparing Cyril to Pharaoh of Egypt, whose heart the Lord repeatedly hardened until finally he yielded and let the Israelites depart from Egypt (Exodus 7–12). Cf. the acclamation at Ephesus II with reference to Nestorius and Ibas, 'Let none remain of the whole company of Pharaohs' (Syriac Acts, trans. Perry, 125).

109 For a full account of Paul's mission, from the meeting at Antioch to the restoration of peace between Cyril and the Syrian bishops, see Kidd 1922, III, 256–62.

110 Cf. Eph. 2:24. This echoes the opening of one of the letters Ibas is referring to, Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch (see I. 246 for the full text).

111 We do not know how the proceedings at Berytus/Tyre continued, except that they were clearly inconclusive and the judges decided to act as mediators rather than pronounce sentence as judges (IX. 7).

(*Chalcedon*)

139. Ibas the most devout bishop said: 'Let your clemency order that the letter from the clergy of Edessa be read, so that you may learn that I am a stranger to the charges brought against me and have suffered violence.'

140. The most magnificent officials said: 'Let the letter from the most devout clergy of Edessa be read.'

When it had been presented, Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read:

141. *A declaration and entreaty to the most God-beloved and sacred bishops Photius and Eustathius from all the clergy of the metropolis of Edessa.*<sup>112</sup>

*From many different people visiting us from Phoenice we have learnt of the doings of those who have risen up against the most God-beloved and sacred Bishop Ibas. We shuddered at the statement (for it surpasses what we have heard uttered by complete atheists, unbelievers, heretics, Jews and pagans) that the same our most God-beloved and sacred bishop said in the presence of all, 'I don't envy Christ having become God, since I too, if I want, can become like him.' All of us who are alleged to have heard this statement make known to your God-belovedness, as in the presence of the merciful God, that neither from him nor from anyone else have we heard such a statement ever being made, nor did anything of the kind ever reach our ears. We anathematize ourselves and make ourselves liable to the horrors of hell if we know of any such remark by him or of any other contrary to the orthodox faith; and if after such a statement we were to tolerate being in communion or concelebrating with the one who made it, we would be liable to the most extreme penalty for participating in such an abomination. We beg and entreat your wisdom speedily to induce the same our most God-beloved bishop to return to his flock, which is in danger of being scattered by all with no one able to guard it, especially since the saving feast of holy Easter is drawing near, when for catechetical instruction and for the sake of those deemed worthy of holy baptism there is need for his presence. We also request that this our declaration be inserted in the proceedings in the presence of your wisdom, so that it may escape the attention of no one.*

112 At the hearing at Berytus minuted above, Uranius of Hemerium was one of the judges (see 28), but by the time of the final adjudication at Tyre (IX. 7) he had been dropped. This dates the present declaration to the time of the final proceedings at Tyre. It is to be distinguished from the testimonial presented on behalf of Ibas by some of his clergy at the Council of Antioch of 448, referred to at X. 106–9.

*And the signatures*

- (1) *Phecidas, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (2) *Ursicinus, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (3) *Eulogius, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (4) *Libanius, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (5) *Rhodo, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (6) *Leontius, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (7) *Miccalus, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (8) *Eusebius, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (9) *Basil, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (10) *Abramius, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (11) *Patroïnus, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (12) *Arsenius, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (13) *Bassus, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (14) *Strategius, presbyter: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.<sup>113</sup>*
- (15) *Sabbatius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (16) *Nicias, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (17) *Martyrius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (18) *Eulogius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (19) *Sabas, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*

113 Half the Latin MSS add a second presbyter Leontius after this name.

- (20) *James, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (21) *Cyrus [son] of Leontius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (22) *Aphremius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (23) *Patricius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (24) *Acacius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (25) *Isaacius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (26) *Sabas, deacon, called the Physician: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (27) *Eusebius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (28) *Cyril, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (29) *Abramius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (30) *Lucian, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (31) *Abramius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (32) *Anysius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (33) *Habib, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (34) *Andrew, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (35) *Arbius, deacon: I have written on request on behalf of the most devout deacon Hypatius who professes to have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (36) *Dadoës, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (37) *Habib, deacon: I have written on request on behalf of the most devout deacon Valentinus because he was not able – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (38) *Eusebius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (39) *Eulogius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues, standing by it till death.*
- (40) *Abramius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*

- (41) *Romanus, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (42) *Paul, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (43) *Paul, deacon: I have written on request on behalf of the deacon Maras who has made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (44) *Cyril, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (45) *Caesarius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (46) *Apeneüs, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (47) *Marones, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (48) *Phecidas, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (49) *John, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (50) *Gerontius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (51) *Agapius, deacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (52) *Adelphius, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (53) *Sabas, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (54) *Bassus, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (55) *Restitutus, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues, standing by it till death.*
- (56) *Cyrus, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (57) *Restitutus, subdeacon: I have written on request on behalf of the subdeacon Habib who has made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (58) *Thomas, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*
- (59) *Bassus, subdeacon: I have written on request on behalf of the lector Habib who professes to have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (60) *Adelphius, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues.*
- (61) *Euphrasius, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*

(62) *Romulus, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*

(63) *Eusebius, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*

(64) *Poemenius, subdeacon: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*

(65) *Theophilus, lector: I have made this declaration together with colleagues – and the signature in Syriac.*

142. Theophilus the deacon said: ‘I have something to ask you. The one who brought this declaration (I don’t know the name of the deacon who brought it) after he was expelled from there, did he not testify before all the clergy that I had altered the wording in order to please the bishop? And afterwards a report was received from the whole city, and that wording comes in the report. Order inquiry to be made if the deacon has not testified that I altered the wording; he sent him from Berytus.’<sup>114</sup>

143. The most magnificent officials said: ‘What has been read is clear. But so that nothing may be omitted from what needs to be rightly judged, let there be read the final proceedings at Ephesus concerning the most devout Ibas.’<sup>115</sup>

144. Paschasinus, Lucentius and Julian the most devout bishops and Boniface presbyter of the apostolic see said through Paschasinus: ‘A council where those lawless crimes were read out cannot be approved, and for this reason it is clearly pointless to read out the proceedings there. If all the proceedings there have been made null by the most blessed and apostolic bishop of the city of Rome, it is manifest that the most holy bishop of the church of Antioch is exempt from them, since the most blessed bishop subsequently received him into his own communion.’<sup>116</sup> It is indeed imperative that we also petition the most mild and Christian emperor to decree in a sacred law of his own that this council is not even to be named.’

<sup>114</sup> The issue is the wording of the unorthodox statement alleged to have been made by Ibas, ‘I don’t envy Christ becoming God.’ For the variant versions, see p. 266 above, with n. 6. The report in question is that of the inquiry conducted by Count Chaereas in April 449 (for which see General Introduction, vol. 1, 34).

<sup>115</sup> These minutes are contained in the Syriac Acts (trans. Perry, 28–147). They consist largely of a reading of the hearing before Chaereas and conclude with Ibas’ condemnation.

<sup>116</sup> The one snag in rescinding the decrees of Ephesus was that this cast doubt on the lawfulness of the election of Maximus to the see of Antioch, which followed on the decree of Ephesus deposing his predecessor Domnus. Paschasinus is arguing that, by accepting Maximus into communion, Pope Leo had implicitly approved his election and Domnus’ deposition.

145. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople Rome said: ‘The late proceedings at Ephesus were instantly overturned, specially from the time when after this they received a correction that was very fine and pleasing to God. I therefore declare that none of the proceedings of that so-called council are to have force, except those regarding the most sacred Bishop Maximus at very great Antioch, since even the most holy Leo Bishop of Rome received him into communion and pronounced that he should govern the church of Antioch. Following this decree, I myself and the entire holy council here present have approved it,<sup>117</sup> and I therefore request our most pious and Christ-loving emperor to enact by a pious decree that the council that met at Ephesus after the first one is not to be mentioned and that none of its proceedings are to have force.’

146. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘What is pleasing to our most pious emperor on this matter, let his God-beloved authority decree.’

147. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘I too am of the same opinion as the most God-beloved and sacred Bishop Juvenal.’

148. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘My opinion and my verdict on this matter are in harmony with those of the most sacred Bishop Juvenal.’

149. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘I too judge that what was done contrary to the canons in the metropolis of Ephesus should be overturned, apart from the proceedings relating to Domnus bishop of Antioch, since the canonical election of the most God-beloved Bishop Maximus in his place in the metropolis of Antioch has been accepted by the most sacred Archbishop Leo and by the present holy and ecumenical council.’

150. Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth said: ‘I did not strip him of priesthood, since I did not take part in the council at Ephesus, and I follow the declaration of the representatives of the apostolic see and of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius.’

151. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘I too agree with the most sacred archbishops.’

<sup>117</sup> The council had implicitly approved Maximus’ election, especially at Session VII where it approved his compromise with Juvenal of Jerusalem over the boundaries of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Anatolius does not mention the fact that it was he himself who had consecrated Maximus, for which see Pope Leo’s comment in *ep.* 106 (Documents before the Council 9).



152. John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia said: ‘I too pronounce in agreement with the most God-beloved and holy Bishop Juvenal, entrusting everything to the authority of the most pious and Christ-loving emperor.’

153. Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra said: ‘I too assent to the declarations of the fathers.’

154. Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus said: ‘I too agree with all the just and sacred decrees of the fathers.’

155. Critonianus the most devout bishop {of Aphrodisias said: ‘I too assent to the decrees of the holy fathers.’

156. Romanus the most devout bishop<sup>118</sup> of Myra in Lycia said: ‘Everything our most pious and Christ-loving emperors have decreed concerning the so-called but spurious council we also readily accept.’

157. Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: ‘Whatever the holy council decides about the proceedings at Ephesus is pleasing to me also.’

158. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: ‘We ought not to mention that council.’

159. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘We all say the same.’

160. Since therefore the former proceedings at Ephesus were no longer read, the most magnificent and glorious officials said: ‘Let the holy council express its pleasure concerning the most devout Ibas.’

161. Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the presbyter, representing the apostolic see, said through Paschasinus: ‘Now that the documents have been read, we know from the verdict of the most devout bishops that the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent, and from the reading of his letter we have found him to be orthodox.<sup>119</sup> We therefore decree that both the honour of the episcopate and the church from which he was unjustly ejected in his absence should be restored to him. As for the most holy Bishop Nonnus who occupied his place for a short time, it is for the most devout bishop of the church of Antioch to decide what ought to be decreed about the matter.’<sup>120</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Supplied from the Latin version.

<sup>119</sup> The ‘verdict of the bishops’ is that of Photius and Eustathius at Tyre (IX. 7), a compromise that was in fact far from a declaration of Ibas’ innocence. Only Maximus of Antioch (163) follows Paschasinus in commending the orthodoxy of the Letter to Mari. Diepen 1953, 103–4 suggests that Paschasinus commended the letter because he had not understood it; it is a moot point to what extent the Roman delegates (apart from the bilingual Julian of Cos) could follow in detail the proceedings of the council.

<sup>120</sup> Facundus, *Defence of the Three Chapters* 5.1.2 gives a Latin version of much of this verdict that is different from that in the Latin Acts and is judged by Schwartz to be the original wording. The Greek version is entirely faithful.

162. Anatolius the most devout bishop of Constantinople Rome said: ‘The good faith of the most God-beloved bishops who sat in judgement and the reading of all the accompanying material prove the most devout Ibas innocent of the accusations brought against him. Therefore I shall now put aside all suspicion of him, since he has agreed and subscribed to the definition concerning the faith now issued by the holy council and to the letter of the most sacred Leo archbishop of Rome; and I judge him worthy of the episcopate and to take charge of the church where he was previously. As for the most devout Bishop Nonnus, the most devout Maximus bishop of Antioch will issue a decree.’

163. Maximus the most devout bishop of the city of Antioch said: ‘From what has just been read it has become clear that the most devout Ibas is guiltless of everything charged against him; and from the reading of the transcript of the letter produced by his adversary his writing has been seen to be orthodox. I therefore decree that he is to recover the dignity of the episcopate and his own city, as has been resolved by the most sacred archbishops representing the most sacred Archbishop Leo and by the most sacred Anatolius archbishop of the imperial city. Clearly the most God-beloved Bishop Nonnus who replaced him should retain the same dignity of the episcopate so that I with the most God-beloved bishops of the diocese<sup>121</sup> may come to a decision about him.’

164.<sup>122</sup> Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘Divine Scripture orders the receiving back of those who repent, which is why we also receive people from heresy. I therefore resolve that the most devout Ibas should receive clemency, also because he is elderly, so as to retain episcopal dignity, being orthodox.’

165. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: ‘The most God-beloved bishops Photius and Eustathius judged the case of the most devout Ibas and did not condemn him. In agreement with their opinion, I too wish him to retain the priesthood according to the judgement of the most holy presiding bishops, especially since in the minutes he

121 Meaning the civil diocese of the Orient, including Syria and Mesopotamia. What is envisaged is a council of bishops at Antioch to settle the matter of Nonnus’ pension as an honourably retired bishop.

122 Of the bishops who now proceed to deliver verdicts acquitting Ibas many had delivered verdicts condemning him at Ephesus II: Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Stephen, Diogenes, Constantine of Bostra, John of Sebasteia, Seleucus, Constantine of Melitene (by a representative), and Nunechius. See *Syriac Acts*, trans. Perry, 134–45.

promised to anathematize the statements that his accusers testified against him in writing.<sup>123</sup>

166. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: ‘The reading of the judgement pronounced in Tyre by the most holy bishops Photius and Eustathius has shown that in that court the most devout Ibas anathematized Nestorius and his impious doctrines, and assented to the orthodox doctrines. For this reason the aforesaid most devout bishops, having received this assurance, decided that he should retain the episcopate. And now that the same most religious Ibas anathematizes Nestorius and his impious doctrines, I wish him to retain the high priesthood.’

167. Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus said: ‘Since the most devout Ibas anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines, I too decree along with the holy fathers that he should be in the order of the episcopate.’

168. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘I judge the verdict pronounced concerning the most God-beloved Ibas by the most God-beloved bishops Photius and Eustathius to have force, especially since the accusers pressing the case have approved with their own signatures the decision issued and now read before this holy and ecumenical council.’<sup>124</sup>

169. Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra said: ‘I too assent to the fine decision of the holy council concerning the most God-beloved Bishop Ibas.’

170. Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus said: ‘I too assent to the proper and canonical decision of the holy fathers regarding the person of the most God-beloved Ibas.’

171. Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria said: ‘I too assent to the fine decision of the holy and sacred fathers concerning the most devout Bishop Ibas.’

172. Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia said: ‘Since the reliability of the documents that have been read has persuaded me, I too judge that the most devout Bishop Ibas should retain the priesthood, as the most holy archbishops have decreed, for the reason that he anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious beliefs.’

123 See IX. 7 for Ibas’ promise to his judges at Tyre to publicly anathematize Nestorius and accept all the decrees of Ephesus I. It is this to which the following speech by Eusebius of Ancyra also refers.

124 The reference is to the arbitration of the dispute conducted by Bishops Photius and Eustathius and accepted both by Ibas and by his opponents Samuel, Eulogius, Cyrus and Maras (IX. 7).

173. {Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: ‘Now indeed the most devout Ibas has been proved innocent from what has been read. For as regards the statements in which he seemed to accuse the most blessed Cyril by speaking ill of him, he made a correct profession in his final statements and rebutted those in which he had accused him. Therefore, since he has anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines and assented both to what was written by the most holy Archbishop Leo and to this ecumenical council, I too judge him worthy of the episcopate.’} <sup>125</sup>

174. John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, and Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, also representing the most devout Dorotheus bishop of Neocaesarea, said: ‘The judgement of the most devout bishops Photius and Eustathius has proved the most devout Ibas innocent, and likewise his denial has made us more ready to accept him, for clemency is ever dear to Christ the Lord. Therefore, in accordance with the judgement of the most holy presiding bishops and of the entire holy council, we also judge it right that he should recover the rank of episcopacy.’ <sup>126</sup>

175. Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis and Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis said: ‘Since he was not present at the trial and was not even summoned, we judge that he should in no way be penalized by the sentence passed against him.’

176. Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia said: ‘I agree to the decision of the holy fathers relating to the most devout Bishop Ibas.’

177. Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis in Lydia said: ‘I too agree the same as has already been pronounced relating to the most devout Bishop Ibas.’

125 This speech is supplied from the Latin version. Its omission from the Greek Acts is attributed by Schwartz to editorial revision after the Council of Constantinople of 553 which condemned Ibas’ Letter to Mari. Eunomius’ commendation of Ibas for correcting his earlier statements by his later ones was understood by some to refer to the final section of the Letter to Mari. Ibas’ critics at the council of 553 argued, however, that Eunomius was referring not to any part of the letter but to Ibas’ submission to Bishops Photius and Eustathius at the Council of Tyre (IX. 7); see the discussion in the conciliar acts (*ACO* 4.1 p. 146) and Justinian’s letter to the council (PG 86. 1085).

126 The Latin text ends here; the Greek continues, ‘since he anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches and their impious doctrines and agrees in everything with this holy council.’ It would appear that this was transferred from the end of 173 when the latter was deleted from the Greek edition.

178. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'Now that so many sacred fathers have restored the episcopate to the most devout Ibas, I too assent.'

179. All the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'We all say the same. Let him now anathematize Nestorius, and then anathematize Eutyches and his doctrine.'<sup>127</sup>

180. Ibas the most devout bishop said: 'I have already in writing anathematized Nestorius and his doctrine, and now I anathematize him countless times. For what has been done once with conviction, even if it be done countless times, does no harm.'<sup>128</sup> Anathema to him, and to Eutyches, and to whoever says one nature. And I anathematize everyone who does not believe as this holy council believes.'

181. The most magnificent officials said: 'The judgements of the holy council respecting the most devout Bishop Ibas shall have proper force.'

127 We follow the Latin version; the Greek is, 'Now let him anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches.' A further version was cited at the Council of Constantinople of 553, 'Let him now anathematize Nestorius. Let him now anathematize his doctrines' (*ACO* 4.1 p. 146. 26–7). Note the bishops' dissatisfaction in the eighth session with Theodoret's offer to anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches jointly and their insistence that he anathematize Nestorius separately (VIII. 7–13): the joint anathematization constituted a mere summary of the Chalcedonian Definition, but a separate anathematization of Nestorius by a bishop accused of Nestorianism was far more meaningful.

128 In other words, while one anathematism uttered with conviction is sufficient, it does no harm to repeat it.

# THE SESSION ON DOMNUS OF ANTIOCH

## INTRODUCTION

This act, or session, is preserved only in the Latin version (*ACO* 2.3 pp. 444–5).<sup>1</sup> The date given – 27 October 451 – shows that it was a continuation of the tenth session, which had concluded with an annulment of the decrees of the Council of Ephesus of 449. This raised potential doubts about the validity of the deposition of Bishop Domnus of Antioch at that council and the subsequent election of Maximus as his successor. In this session Maximus defended his position by presenting a proposal, agreed with Domnus, that the latter would drop all claim to the see if granted a pension. The bishops were happy to approve the proposal.

## COMMENTARY

Part of the agenda of Chalcedon was to undo the work of Ephesus II by restoring the bishops it had deposed – Theodoret of Cyrillus in the eighth session and Ibas in the tenth. Now Domnus of Antioch had also been deposed at Ephesus, leading to his replacement by Maximus. Maximus, however, had been consecrated by Anatolius of Constantinople and recognized as lawful bishop of Antioch by Pope Leo (X. 145). Domnus, moreover, was in disgrace after his capitulation at Ephesus, where he tried without avail to protect his own position by approving the depositions of his fellow bishops Flavian of Constantinople, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret of Cyrillus. He had returned to the monastery of Euthymius in Palestine, where he had originally been a monk, as we learn from Cyril of Scythopolis.<sup>2</sup> Domnus decided not to press for his own reinstatement, but simply to ask for a pension out of the revenues of his former see. This

1 The same text appears in virtually identical form in the *Collectio Vaticana*, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 111–12.

2 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius*, chs 16 and 20 (*Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, 21 and 29).

compromise Maximus was happy to accept and to place before the council – to protect himself from any questioning of the legitimacy of his own election.

The minutes of this act survive only in the Latin version and were unknown at the Council of Constantinople of 553, where it was claimed that Domnus had been condemned posthumously at Chalcedon, while Evagrius professes ignorance as to what became of him after his deposition.<sup>3</sup> This is not adequate grounds for doubting the authenticity of the text, especially since it coheres with the evidence from Cyril of Scythopolis already referred to.

### PROCEEDINGS

18.<sup>4</sup> In the consulship of the lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, six days before the Kalends of November,<sup>5</sup> at Chalcedon, by decree of our divine and most clement lord, there assembled in the holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred consistory, and (3) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the sacred offices.

19. There also assembled (1–3) the most devout men the bishops<sup>6</sup> Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most devout man the presbyter Boniface, the representatives of the holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) the most devout man Anatolius archbishop of renowned Constantinople, (5) the most devout man Maximus bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) the most devout man Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, and the rest of the holy council which was convened by decree of our most divine and clement master in the city of Chalcedon, whose names are written below.<sup>7</sup>

20. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, the most devout man Maximus bishop of Antioch said: ‘I entreat the most magnificent and glorious officials and this holy ecumenical council to exercise humanity towards Domnus formerly bishop of Antioch and to

3 Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE* I. 10 (trans. Whitby, 29). See Hefele-Leclercq, II.2, 753–5.

4 The numeration of paragraphs in Schwartz’s edition follows on immediately from the 1–17 of Session VII, according to the location of these minutes in some (but not all) of the Latin MSS.

5 27 October 451.

6 Comparison with the minutes of the other sessions shows that the original Greek, here and elsewhere, will simply have been ‘the most devout bishops’, ‘men’ or ‘man’ being a common addition in the Latin text.

7 The full attendance list is omitted in our Latin source for this session.

grant him certain expenses from the church which is under me.’

21. The most devout men the bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the presbyter Boniface, the representatives of the apostolic see, said through the venerable man Bishop Paschasinus: ‘The holy and most blessed pope, who confirmed the episcopate of the holy and venerable Maximus bishop of the church of Antioch, is seen to have approved his deserts by a satisfactorily just judgement – if indeed the aforementioned most devout man Bishop Maximus has by his own decision decreed that Domnus’ needs should be consulted, with the effect that his expenses should, from the motive of pity, according to his judgement, be met from his [Maximus’] own church, so that he should be satisfied with alms and in future keep the peace.’

22. This speech was translated into Greek by Veronicianus the most hallowed secretary of the sacred consistory.

23. The most devout man Anatolius bishop of Constantinople said: ‘I too praise the compassion of the most blessed Maximus bishop of Antioch, in that he has spontaneously offered such a gift<sup>8</sup> as to provide expenses for Domnus, formerly bishop of the holy church that is under him, who now that this has been discussed makes no further demands.’

24. Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem said: ‘I too approve the proposal of holy Maximus bishop of Antioch.’

25. The entire holy council exclaimed: ‘The benevolence of the archbishop is meritorious. We all praise his intention. This suits his reputation. The bishop’s intention is humane.’

26. The most magnificent officials said: ‘Since the holy council approves the decision which the religious man Bishop Maximus of Antioch has announced concerning Domnus, we too likewise give our assent, leaving aside the question of Domnus’ rank, which is for his decision.’

27. In another hand: Let this be published.

<sup>8</sup> The Latin is *tales precatorias* – presumably, gifts in response to requests (*preces*), as distinct from payments in response to a demand.



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Translated Texts for Historians  
Volume 45

# The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon

Translated with introduction and notes by  
RICHARD PRICE and MICHAEL GADDIS

*Volume Three*  
Sessions XI–XVI  
Documents after the Council  
Appendices  
Glossary  
Bibliography  
Maps  
Indices

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## NUMBERING OF THE SESSIONS

The numbering of the sessions is problematic. The Greek and Latin editions differ in the numbering and to some extent in the order of the acts of the council; this arises principally from the different placing and numbering of the ‘act’ consisting of Canons 1–27. Further complications are the existence of several acts outside the numbered sequence and the omission of some of the minor acts in either the Greek or the Latin version. The numbering we adopt arises from our decision to exclude Canons 1–27 from the numbered sequence, since there is no evidence that they were discussed or approved at a session of the council. Our numbering happens to be almost identical to that of the Latin edition, which has generally been followed in western treatments of the council (such as Hefele-Leclerq), except that we include the second act of 31 October as Session XV, where it conveniently replaces the canons and enables our numbering of the final session to coincide with that in the Latin Acts and Hefele and Leclerq.

Strictly, a distinction should be drawn between the ‘acts’ of the council, of which several could be transacted in one day, and the ‘sessions’ of the council, each lasting one day: the *Breviarium* of Liberatus, composed in Carthage in the early 560s, lists and numbers the sessions (*sessiones*, *conventus* or *secretaria*) accordingly, and details the acts (*actiones*) each one transacted.<sup>1</sup> A different numeration for ‘sessions’ and for ‘acts’ would therefore be both logical and traditional; but it would be confusing for the modern reader and is not adopted here.<sup>2</sup> Table 1 (*see over*) sets out the variations.

<sup>1</sup> *Breviarium* 13, *ACO* 2.5 pp. 119–23. Facundus in his *Defence of the Three Chapters* accordingly numbers the ninth and tenth acts of the Latin edition as falling in the seventh and eighth sessions (5.3.6); see A. Fraïsse-Bétoulières in Facundus, *Défense des trois chapitres*, vol. 2, pt 2 (SC 479), 242–5 nn.

<sup>2</sup> A solution would be to refer to the work of the council as a series not of ‘sessions’ but of ‘acts’. But the word ‘session’ is more natural to English ears and is too well established to be jettisoned.

**Table 1. Different Numerations of the Acts and Sessions**

<i>Agenda</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Session in Liberatus</i>	<i>Act in Greek edition</i>	<i>Act in Latin edition</i>	<i>Session in our edition</i>
Ephesus II	8 October	I	I	I	I
The Faith Trial of Dioscorus	10 October	II	III	II <sup>3</sup>	II
Tome of Leo	13 October	III	II	III	III
Carosus and Dorotheus	17 October	IV	IV	IV	IV
Photius and Eustathius	20 October	–	Unnumbered (‘18’ in <i>ACO</i> 2.1)	Omitted	Unnumbered
	20 October	–	Unnumbered (‘19’ in <i>ACO</i> 2.1)	Omitted	Unnumbered
The Definition Promulgation of Definition Antioch and Jerusalem	22 October	V	V	V	V
Theodoret	25 October	VI	VI	VI	VI
Ibas (1)	26 October	VII	VIII	VII	VII
Ibas (2)	26 October	VII	IX	VIII	VIII
Domnus	26 October	VII	X	IX	IX
Ephesus (1)	27 October	VIII	XI	X	X
Ephesus (2)	27 October	–	Omitted	Unnumbered	Unnumbered
Nicaea and Nicomedia	29 October	IX	XII	XI	XI
Perrhe	30 October	X	XIII	XII	XII
Letter of Leo	30 October	X	XIV	XIII	XIII
Canon 28	31 October	XI	XV	XIV	XIV
Canons 1–27	31 October	–	XVI	Omitted	XV
	1 November	XII	XVII	XVI	XVI
	–	XI	VII	XV	–

3 The oldest Latin edition, however, the *versio antiqua* (for which see vol. 1, p. 84), has the second and third acts in the same order as the Greek.



## ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AHC	<i>Annuario historiae conciliorum</i>
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
ByzZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CCC	<i>Creeeds, Councils and Controversies</i> , J. Stevenson, rev. W.H.C. Frend
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
ChH	<i>Church History</i>
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DR	<i>Downside Review</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEC	<i>Encyclopedia of the Early Church</i> , ed. A. Di Berardino
ep(p).	<i>epistola(e)</i>
ER	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
EThL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FC	The Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>

<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LRE</i>	<i>The Later Roman Empire</i> , A.H.M. Jones
NF	neue Folge
NPNF	Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana periodica</i>
<i>ODByz</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. P. Kazhdan
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. Migne
<i>PGL</i>	<i>Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , ed. G.W.H. Lampe
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne
<i>PLRE 2</i>	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. 2, ed. J.R. Martindale
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
<i>RSCC</i>	<i>Roman State and Christian Church</i> , ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton
<i>RThL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
SBAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SCH</i>	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SGLG</i>	<i>Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia</i>
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
{ }	Supplements to the Greek text, as annotated, from the Latin version
[ ]	Translator's additions, to clarify the meaning
I. 50	Session I, paragraph 50
50	Paragraph 50 of the session that is being annotated
50n.	Note at paragraph 50

## THE ELEVENTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

This session, of 29 October 451, is numbered as the eleventh act in the Latin Acts and the twelfth in the Greek. Like the following session it dealt with a dispute over episcopal elections at Ephesus, the metropolis of the province of Asia. Stephen appeared at Chalcedon as the sitting bishop, but his deposed rival Bassianus appealed to the emperor, who sent him to present his plea for reinstatement to the council. After a full debate the bishops accepted the proposal of the lay chairman that neither of the two rivals was acceptable and that a new bishop should be elected.

### COMMENTARY

The immediate cause of dispute went back to the episcopate of Memnon, who attempted in *c.*430 to thwart one of his priests, Bassianus, in his ambition to succeed him by forcibly ordaining him bishop of the insignificant see of Augaza (Theodosiopolis), since Canon 15 of Nicaea forbade the translation of bishops from one see to another.<sup>1</sup> Bassianus refused to have anything to do with his supposed see, and Memnon's successor Basil allowed him to stay in Ephesus and appointed a new bishop for Augaza. On Basil's death in *c.*443 Bassianus took possession of the see of Ephesus without a proper election, and tricked one bishop into consecrating him (31) – in contravention of the Fourth Canon of Nicaea (read out later at the council, XIII. 22), which required a minimum of three ordaining bishops with consultation of the rest. Proclus of Constantinople, however, reluctantly agreed to recognize Bassianus, who remained in full possession of the see for four years (14).<sup>2</sup>

1 Contrast the modern Russian saying, 'The one thing improved by translation is a bishop'.

2 The election of Bassianus to the see of Ephesus in contravention of Canon 15 of Nicaea was unwelcome to Proclus, since it reminded people that the same disqualification applied to him: appointed first to the see of Cyzicus, he did not take up his appointment and was later made bishop of Constantinople (in 434).

During this period he managed to alienate his clergy, and his misuse of funds intended for the poor led to a three-month investigation by an imperial official, the silentiary Eustathius, which (it is implied at 17) found against him but did not force his resignation. Finally the clergy took matters into their own hands, and forcibly deposed him in 447;<sup>3</sup> one Stephen was elected (by forty bishops, it was claimed, 13) to replace him. A subsequent imperial investigation approved the legality of Stephen's election, which was accepted by the other churches.<sup>4</sup> Stephen represented his see both at Ephesus II and at Chalcedon. But Bassianus took advantage of the change of regime in 450 to appeal to the new emperor (7), who sent his case, together with a supportive mandate, to the Council of Chalcedon (5). The case was heard and settled at the eleventh session. The clergy were divided on the issue – most of them favouring Bassianus (40–41, 46) but some favouring Stephen (43–4). The chairman proposed that *both* should renounce their claims and a new bishop be elected; Bassianus was discredited by the manifest irregularity of his consecration, while Stephen was compromised by his involvement in the clerical revolt that led to the violent deposition of his predecessor (47).<sup>5</sup> This compromise was agreeable to the bishops (48–52).<sup>6</sup>

However, it immediately raised one highly contentious issue: should the consecration of a bishop of Ephesus be conducted by the bishops of the province of Asia or by the bishop of Constantinople (53–61)? The question was of the rights of the see of Ephesus over against the ever-mounting power of the bishop of the capital city.<sup>7</sup> Ephesus claimed rights of supervision over the whole diocese of Asiana (western and southern Asia Minor), but in practice its authority was restricted to the provinces of Asia, Lydia and

3 'Four years' before Chalcedon (17, 39); a date early in 448 is not excluded.

4 See 14 for Bassianus' account of all these events, as supplemented by Stephen's account at 17; various details come in the rest of the minutes.

5 Cf. XIV. 10–11: Cyril of Alexandria and Proclus of Constantinople intervened in the affairs of the diocese of the Orient on behalf of the deposed Bishop Athanasius of Perrhe without investigating the grounds of his deposition simply because of the scandal (in their eyes) of the deposition of a bishop by his own clergy. See too Canon 18 of Chalcedon, with its severe penalizing of clergy who 'conspire' against their own bishop. Contrast, however, Bolotov's judgement (1917, 303): '[Stephen] was in the right but could not vindicate himself, because the raising of the matter took him by surprise' (for which see 37).

6 As the attendance lists in the subsequent sessions (see Names Index) show, it was accepted that Stephen would remain bishop of Ephesus until a new election took place. Stephen's successor was John II, who contributed in 457/8 to the *Codex Encyclius* of the emperor Leo (*ACO* 2.5 p. 23. 31).

7 See Jones, *LRE*, 890–92.

Caria. Meanwhile, Constantinople, on the basis of the primacy of honour it was accorded at the Council of Constantinople of 381, had begun to intervene in the affairs of the region. On occasion the bishop of Constantinople intervened directly in the affairs of the churches of Asia – most famously John Chrysostom, who in 400, in response to an invitation from the Asian bishops, chaired a synod at Ephesus, consecrated a new metropolitan, and replaced 13 bishops guilty of simony (as mentioned at 58). A number of bishops of Ephesus were appointed, or at least consecrated, by the bishop of Constantinople (59); one of these appointments, that of Basil, led to riots and bloodshed at Ephesus (57). Canon 28 of Chalcedon was to confirm that the bishop of Ephesus was to be consecrated by the bishop of Constantinople, after the due process of election had been carried out. Although this left the choice of a bishop to the local clergy and people, the implication was that in the case of a disputed election the decision would rest with the bishop of the imperial city; the canon also implied that appeals against the bishop of Ephesus would be heard at Constantinople and that he had no authority outside the province of Asia itself. It is not surprising that after Chalcedon some of the bishops of Ephesus allied themselves to the anti-Chalcedonian cause. In 474 Archbishop Timothy of Alexandria actually held a council at Ephesus, which ‘restored’ the full rights of the see. This helps explain, incidentally, why the manifestly irregular election of Bassianus was accepted at the time. In view of the anxiety expressed by the bishops of Asia in this session over the proposal that a new bishop for the see be consecrated at Constantinople (53), one may conjecture that they and the people of Ephesus had accepted Bassianus because at least he had not been imposed on them by Constantinople; this explains too why Proclus of Constantinople only accepted him under imperial pressure (14).

Because of the lack of consensus over where, and by whom, the consecration of a bishop of Ephesus should be conducted, the chairman adjourned the discussion until the following session, presumably hoping to combine the decision over Bassianus and Stephen with a clarification of the rights of the see of Constantinople.

## PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, four days before the Kalends of November,<sup>8</sup> at Chalcedon, by

<sup>8</sup> 29 October 451.

order of our most divine and pious master, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, and (3) the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

2. There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy and sacred Leo bishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople New Rome, (5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (7) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (8) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (9) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (10) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (11) Diogenes the most devout bishop of the city of Cyzicus, (12) Peter the most devout bishop of the city of Corinth, (13) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (14) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (15) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (16) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing Leo of the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (17) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (18) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (19) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (20) Amphilocheius the most devout bishop of Side, (21) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (22) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (23) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (24) Photius the most devout bishop of the city of Tyre, (25) Theodore the most devout bishop of the city of Damascus, (26) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (27) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa,<sup>9</sup> (28) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (29) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (30) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (31) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (32) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (33) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (34) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (35) Eustathius the most devout bishop of

<sup>9</sup> Despite Ibas' restoration as bishop of Edessa at Session X, Nonnus appears as bishop of the see in the attendance lists of Sessions XI, XIII and XIV, to be replaced by Ibas only in Session XVI. This is clearly an error by the compilers of the lists.

Berytus, (36) Apragmonius the most devout bishop [of Tieum], representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (37) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (38) Photinus, archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (39) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia, (40) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (41) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (42) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (43) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (44) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (45) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (46) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (47) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (48) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (49) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (50) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (51) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (52) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (53) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing the most devout bishop John of Rhodes, (54) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (55) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (56) Eusebius the most devout presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (57) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convoked in the city of Chalcedon by decree of our most divine and pious master.

3. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, the most devout Bassianus formerly bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus, accompanied by Cassianus the most devout presbyter, entered and said: ‘As a victim of violence, I appealed to our most pious emperor and petitioned him, and he sent a divine rescript to the most holy and ecumenical great council that I should be granted a hearing. Since the divine head has ordered that everything raised at the holy council should be investigated in the presence of your magnificence, I request your authority and the holy council to have the divine rescript read, to grant me a hearing, and to protect my rights.’

4. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the divine rescript be read.’

On receiving it, Veronicianus the hallowed *magistrrianus* and secretary of the divine consistory, read:

5. *The Autocrats and Caesars Valentinian and Marcian, victors, triumphant, most great, always august, to the holy council convened at Chalcedon by our divine decree.*

*The most devout Bassianus, who has suffered many wrongs which are contained in his petition attached to this our divine rescript, has asked that these be examined by your holiness. May therefore your devoutness on the receipt of this our divine rescript choose to investigate the matter and issue the decree that is pleasing to you.*

6. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the attached petition be read.'  
He read:

*7. To the lords of earth and sea and of every race and nation of men, the masters Flavius Valentinian and Flavius Marcian, perpetual Augusti, a petition and supplication from Bassianus, the humble and least of bishops.*

*After God it is your serenity that is the complete security for the oppressed, especially for the priests of Christ. It is for this reason that I too, prostrate at your feet, have come to make this supplication, that pity be taken on me over this. The outrages committed against me cause tears and groans and are indescribable, but I shall relate them briefly to your piety. Certain persons of priestly rank and some others have committed outrages against me that are terrible and forbidden by the laws and such as have never been perpetrated even by barbarians. Despising the fear of God and the power of the undefiled mysteries, which they had received from my humble hands by the mercy of God, they suddenly laid hands on me, after we had celebrated the liturgy of the undefiled mysteries, and dragged me from the holy church, subjecting me to blows as they drove and carried me into the public square; at one stage they kept me locked up and used the sword to coerce me. In the meantime, while I was in danger of my life, they pulled off the pallium of my priesthood and in their frenzy enthroned in my place a certain person who was actually one of those who had taken part in the outrages perpetrated against me. They then stripped me of all my property, movable and immovable, and divided it among themselves as they wished; on many of my household they wreaked death by various blows, with the result that some people actually laid out the corpses in front of the door of the holy church of God. Because, as God bears me witness, as do men of rank and devotion, I am the innocent victim of these allegations and outrages which they have perpetrated against me, I prostrate myself before your divine and undefiled feet and entreat your piety that your heavenly authority may deign, by sending a divine mandate of yours to the holy council, to decree that a hearing should be held [to decide] between my pitiable self and those who have acted in this way towards me and claim they*



*have something against me. I also beseech your divinity to decree that no one be permitted to contrive a plot against me until the proceedings between myself and my accusers have been concluded (since it is their habit to do this to prevent my prevailing over them), that their allegations against me and my statements before the bishops at the holy council be reported to your divine hearing, and that I be granted someone with responsibility for putting into effect the judgement they pronounce. If I obtain this, I shall constantly offer up to God the customary prayers for your everlasting reign.*

8. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the most devout Bassianus give the names of those he has accused.'

9. Bassianus the most devout bishop said: 'They are many, but the initiator of what took place is Stephen the present bishop, for it is he who occupies my see and property. I request that the whole matter be examined. The priesthood is more necessary than possessions. Let it be investigated whether I have sinned in any way. Our fathers will examine the matter and judge as they see fit.'

10. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the most devout Bishop Stephen reply to this.'

11. Stephen the most devout bishop said: 'The bishops of the diocese of Asiana are here: let them come and we shall stand up for ourselves. There is Leontius bishop of Magnesia, Maeonius bishop of Nysa, Proterius bishop of Myrina, and others who are here.'

12. The most glorious officials said: 'Give your own response in the meantime.'

13. Stephen the most devout bishop said: 'This man was not consecrated at Ephesus, but when the holy church was vacant he assembled a disorderly mob with swords and some other weapons, and forced his way in and installed himself. If your magnificence judges that he is a bishop, that is another matter. After he had been ousted in accordance with the canons and thrown out as he deserved, I was elected by the votes of forty Asian bishops, of the most illustrious officials and the leading men, of the whole most devout clergy and of the whole city. It is now fifty years that I have served in the clergy of Ephesus.'

14. The most devout Bassianus said: 'Don't try to circumvent me: I was indeed installed canonically, and I can prove it. I was not deposed by anyone, or charged by anyone, or convicted by anyone. From my youth I have lived for the poor; I founded an almshouse and put seventy beds in it, and housed all the sick and injured. Memnon, then bishop of Ephesus, out

of envy at this, since I was loved by all, did everything to get me expelled from the city, and laid on his hands to ordain me bishop of Augaza; this he actually did, though I refused it; but from the third hour till the sixth he belaboured me with blows at the altar, and the holy gospel-book was covered in blood and the altar itself. Since this was the situation, I persevered in the following course: I didn't leave for the city, nor communicate in any way with the church to which I had been nominated; I didn't see the city itself at all. So I persevered. And it happened that the same Memnon came to the end of his life, after which Basil was consecrated. He summoned the council of the province, and on learning from them of the violence I had suffered and that there had been intrigue, he consecrated another bishop in that city, while restoring me to communion and episcopal rank. It happened that he in his turn came to the end of his life, and I was enthroned with great coercion and compulsion<sup>10</sup> in the same city of Ephesus by the congregation, clergy, and bishops, one of whom, Bishop Olympius, is here. When he heard of this, our most pious emperor immediately confirmed it and at once published in a mandate the confirmation of my episcopate; subsequently he also sent Eustathius the silentiary with a *sacra* confirming my episcopate. I went to imperial Constantinople, where the emperor himself received me and also the then bishop of the same imperial city, Proclus, and made us friends; I communicated with him and with all the bishops who were there at the time. The same most sacred Proclus wrote and sent a synodical letter to the city, the bishops, and the clergy. I continued accordingly for a four-year period, with the result that I ordained ten bishops and many clerics. While we were living in peace, a fact which the same most sacred bishops and the most devout clergy communicated in reports to our most pious emperor and the perpetual Augusta, their piety received this with pleasure, and immediately wrote back to me and to the same most sacred bishops and the clerics; they sent this through a silentiary. When the divine letters were read, we all gave glory to God that their piety took such an interest in the peace of the churches. But on the very next day, after a general concelebration, they became murderous as soon as the celebration was over: they locked me up and forcibly stripped me of the pallium of priesthood and all my property; and taking one of their number, this Stephen, they made him bishop.'

15. The most devout Stephen said: 'Your authority will give the order.

10 Since it was not thought proper to seek episcopal office, it was customary for candidates to feign reluctance and claim that their electors used *force majeure*. Cf. XIV. 5 and XVI. 41.

The bishops are here: let them come and reveal the truth in the presence of your magnificence.’

16. The most glorious officials said: ‘Why do you appeal to the most devout bishops?’

17. The most devout Stephen said: ‘So that they can testify to everything that happened. Since Bassianus had forced his way into the most holy church with swords and weapons and firebrands,<sup>11</sup> and planted himself on the throne, he was ousted for this by the holy fathers – by the most sacred Leo of imperial Rome, the most blessed Flavian of imperial Constantinople, [now] among the saints, the [bishop] at Alexandria, and the [bishop] at Antioch. They ousted him by an ecclesiastical judgement, and installed my littleness. Everyone heard of it and gave their approval, including the emperor Theodosius, [now] among the saints, and the whole council.<sup>12</sup> With regard to this the emperor Theodosius, [now] among the saints, sent Eustathius the *primicerius* of the silentiaries to give judgement between him and the clergy and the poor he had wronged. The blessed<sup>13</sup> Eustathius came to Ephesus and devoted three months to investigating the matter, and issued a judgement; the verdict which the blessed Eustathius pronounced he accepted and wrote a confession; all this is known to the clergy, the poor and the church. The bishops are here: let them come {here and testify}<sup>14</sup> if I am not telling the truth. Your magnificence will order them to come. Was he not ordained with them? He forced his way in there ...<sup>15</sup> It is four years ago today.<sup>16</sup> The [bishop] of Rome deposed him, and the [bishop] of Alexandria deposed him. May your greatness look at the letter written by the most blessed Pope Leo.’<sup>17</sup>

11 The Greek is ξιφῶν καὶ ἐρραναρίων καὶ δάδων. The meaning of ἐρραναρίων, derived from the Latin *arenarius* (‘of sand’ or ‘of the arena’), is unclear (it occurs also at 13 above): ‘sandstone clubs’ is the suggestion of Lampe, *PGL*, 544, while the Russian translation, with equal implausibility, has ‘gladiators’. For δάδων the Latin version has ‘aliis’, which Schwartz prefers, emending the Greek to ἄλλων.

12 The reference is probably to a home synod at Constantinople, chaired by Bishop Flavian.

13 Here and elsewhere (e.g., 28 and 59 below) ‘blessed’ means ‘deceased’.

14 Supplied from the Latin version.

15 Schwartz detects a lacuna.

16 ‘Four years’ (which is confirmed at 39 below) takes us back to 447 or at least early 448 as the date of Stephen’s consecration.

17 This account confuses the chronology, better represented at 37, in order to give greater weight to Stephen’s recognition by other bishops. The probable sequence of events is that in 447/8, after a three-month investigation, the emperor and Flavian of Constantinople approved the deposition of Bassianus and the election of Stephen, who was then acknowledged as the rightful bishop of Ephesus by Leo of Rome, Dioscorus of Alexandria and other bishops.

18. The most glorious officials said: ‘Do you concede that for four years the most devout Bassianus occupied the most holy church of the city of Ephesus as bishop?’

19. The most devout Stephen said: ‘As a tyrant, not as a bishop. For how was he able to gain authority, when he hadn’t been elected but had forced his way in and installed himself with swords? Your magnificence will order the bishops to appear.’

20. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the most devout Bassianus prove if he was made bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus by a council of most devout bishops and according to the usual rules for consecration.’

21. The most devout Bassianus said: ‘I was never bishop of Augaza and never went there, but was nominated its bishop by force. There is something in the canons. Let the fathers say if being consecrated and not going there prejudices my case. Let them speak; they know the canons. I beseech you, listen to me. Meanwhile let the outrage of their seizing power and taking and locking me up be uncovered, and then we can investigate about the priesthood. Let the violence be investigated.’

22. The most devout Stephen said: ‘I ask for a reading of the canons that say that someone consecrated in one city cannot be installed in another.’

23. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the canons be read.’  
Leontius the most devout bishop of Magnesia read:

24. *Canon 95.<sup>18</sup> If any bishop in retirement should impose himself on a church with a vacancy and usurp the see without a full council, he is to be degraded, even if the whole congregation which he usurped should choose him.*

The same most devout Bishop Leontius read from the same volume:

25. *Canon 96.<sup>19</sup> If any bishop receives episcopal consecration and appointment to preside over a congregation but does not accept the appointment and refuses to go to the church entrusted to him, he is to be*

<sup>18</sup> Canon 16 of Antioch (c.328), numbered 95 in the collection of canons.

<sup>19</sup> Canon 17 of Antioch (c.328). The word χειροτονία, which we translate as ‘consecration’, can also mean ‘election’, and Byzantine canonists were uncertain about the scope of this canon. Balsamon argued that the meaning must be consecration since in the similar Apostolic Canon 36 mention is made not only of bishops but also of presbyters and deacons, who were not elected. This is the meaning that is required for the canon to apply to the case under discussion here.

*excommunicate until he is forced to accept it, or until a full council of the bishops of the province makes some decision about him.*

26. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the most devout Bassianus reveal who made him bishop.’

27. The most devout Bassianus said: ‘One of those who enthroned me is this Olympius. I don’t know the others, but I remember him.’

28. Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye said: ‘He was accepted by the blessed Proclus, who had the authority, and he was accepted by the blessed Theodosius the most pious emperor, who summoned them and made them friends. Why despite this was he expelled?’

29. The most devout Stephen said: ‘The blessed Flavian, [now] among the saints, ousted him.’

30. The most glorious officials said: ‘Since mention has been made of the most devout Bishop Olympius as having enthroned the most devout Bassianus, let the aforesaid most devout Olympius inform us if this is so.’

31. Olympius the most devout bishop of Theodosiopolis said: ‘At the death of the one who was at the time bishop in the city in which I was consecrated bishop of Theodosiopolis, I was living in it [Theodosiopolis]. The clergy of this same city of Ephesus wrote to me, saying, “Come here, so that the city may have a consecration canonically, since Basil of sacred memory, the former bishop, has passed away.” On receiving this letter I went along, assuming that other most devout bishops had also been summoned.<sup>20</sup> For three days before I was to go to the church and he was to be enthroned I stayed in a guesthouse and waited for the other most devout bishops, so that the consecration could be canonical according to custom. But after I had waited in the guesthouse for the first, second and third day, and no other most God-beloved bishop had turned up, finally some of the most devout clergy came and said to me, “There are no other bishops here; what should be done?” I replied, “If other bishops are not present, what can I do on my own, since it is contrary to the strictness of the canons for a single bishop to dispose of a church, specially of such a famous metropolis?” While they were holding this conversation with me, a huge crowd gathered round the house where I was, and – I know where I am standing, in the presence of such authority and before the altar – a certain Holosiricus (this

<sup>20</sup> Doubtless they had been, but they were too canny to be lured into Ephesus to take part in a disputed consecration.

was his name), who was, I think, one of the count's men,<sup>21</sup> came along with a naked dagger, and he and the whole crowd carried me off and took me to the church. And so with two or three hundred men they led him and me to the throne, and the enthronement took place. I know to this day how it happened.'

32. The most devout Bassianus said: 'He has lied.'

33. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the most devout clergy of the holy church at Constantinople inform us whether Proclus of sacred memory, then archbishop of imperial Constantinople, accepted the most devout Bassianus as bishop and communicated with him as bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus.'

34. Theophilus the most devout presbyter of the most holy church at Constantinople said: 'As in the presence of God, Proclus, [now] among the saints, received him into communion, and having honoured him with synodical letters sent him back to Ephesus, and inserted his name in the diptychs,<sup>22</sup> where it was read out until a short time ago.'

35. All the most devout clergy of the most holy great church of Constantinople said: 'We say the same. The blessed Proclus received him and communicated with him, sent synodical letters, and inserted him in the diptychs.'

36. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the most devout Bishop Stephen now say how according to his knowledge the most devout Bassianus was removed from the episcopate, and whether he himself was elected by a council.'

37. The most devout Stephen said: 'A reply was received from the bishop of the city of Alexandria, after the emperor Theodosius [now] among the saints had written there, and a letter was also brought from the most blessed pope the most holy bishop in Rome, to the effect that he should not be bishop; these letters are known. Order the notaries to come and reveal how he was deposed, how he was expelled, and how I was installed. We came because of the faith; how could I know that this could crop up? The matter was concluded once and for all. The silentary went there and spent three months judging between him and the clergy; his decision is known.'

38. The most devout Bassianus said: 'Stephen was my presbyter, for four years he celebrated with me, he was in communion with me, and received communion from me as from a bishop. On the very same day on

21 *comitianus* – on the staff of the *comes Orientis*, for whose role see Liebeschuetz 1972, 110–14.

22 That is, he included his name in the prayers of the liturgy – the public way of recognizing a bishop.

which they locked me up {we took communion together, and yet he seized me and locked me up,}<sup>23</sup> and I was subjected to this. By the powers of God, I asked for cold water and was not given it. For three months they kept me locked up; it was the very same bishops I had myself ordained who ordained him bishop, while I was locked up. If I am not a bishop, then neither ought those I ordained to be either bishops or clerics.’

39. Cassianus, presbyter, accompanying the most devout Bassianus, said: ‘On the Wednesday they forced us to accompany them into the baptistery, the most devout Bishop Stephen and Maeonius. They gave me the gospel-book and made me swear, saying to me, “Here, swear that you will not leave him but live with him and die with him and not betray him.” I said, “For twenty-five years I have been in communion, doing business in Constantinople, and, as God is my witness, I have never sworn an oath to anyone; would you force me to do so now when I am a presbyter?” They took the gospel-book and gave it to me, and I swore an oath to them. And on Easter Thursday<sup>24</sup> they took him and locked him up. As for me, they murdered me and crippled me with their kicks; they got three subdeacons to lift and carry me home that evening, where they left me half-dead with my veins cut open. To avoid perjury, I have now spent four years as a wandering beggar in Constantinople, to avoid perjury against the name of the Son of God.’

40. Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye came forward to the centre and said: ‘The other bishops seated with us have required each of us to say what he knows to be true and to contribute to piety. Even though it would be right for us to do this on our own initiative, yet we declare that for four years he laboured in the see without contention or controversy, that he ordained ten bishops and numerous clerics, and that Stephen himself, who is now bishop, communicated with him, being his presbyter, as did all the rest of the clergy. How can it now be right to depose Bassianus contrary to the canonical procedure, especially in view of the fact that the most blessed Proclus archbishop of imperial Constantinople communicated with him and by synodical letters confirmed his episcopate?’

41. Meliphthongus the most devout bishop of Juliopolis came forward to the centre and said: ‘A person who held episcopal office for a period of four years without contention should either be censured or not expelled in this way without trial. Since I too have been deputed by the bishops sitting

23 Supplied from the Latin version.

24 The reference is to Thursday in Holy Week rather than the modern ‘Easter Thursday’ in the week following Easter.

near me to come forward and say what distresses us all, as the mouthpiece for the other bishops near me and on behalf of them all I repeat to the holy council and to your authority what the most devout Bishop Lucian has said.’

42. The most devout Stephen said: ‘The most holy Archbishop Leo of Rome deposed him, because he was made bishop contrary to the canons.’

43. Cecropius the most devout bishop of Sebastopolis said: ‘Lord Stephen, recognize how great is the power of Bishop Flavian even after death.’<sup>25</sup>

44. All the most devout bishops and clergy of Constantinople exclaimed: ‘The truth is such; we all say the same. Eternal is the memory of Flavian. Eternal is the memory of the orthodox one. Mark the vindication, mark the truth. Flavian lives on after death. The martyr will pray for us. Flavian has expounded the faith after his death. Flavian is here; the orthodox one is here. Many years to the emperor! Flavian judges together with us.’

45. The most glorious officials said: ‘Now that all the proceedings regarding the most devout Bassianus and Stephen have been examined, and the canons read, let the holy council itself indicate its pleasure concerning the episcopate at Ephesus.’

46. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Justice nominates Bassianus. Let the canons prevail.’

47. The most glorious officials said: ‘It seems to us that neither the most devout Bassianus nor the most devout Stephen are worthy to be bishop of the city of Ephesus, since the former arrogated it to himself by violent assault, while the latter acquired the episcopate for himself through conspiracy and such intrigue. It therefore seems right that someone else should be chosen, who through his precise grasp of the faith and distinction in manner of life deserves to be the bishop. But we leave everything to the most holy council, to deliver the verdict it pleases on the matter.’

48. The holy council exclaimed: ‘This is a just judgement. This is the judgement of God. Christ has judged this case. God judges through you. This sentence is from God. It is you who uphold the canons and the laws. Many years to the emperors! Many years to the officials! Many years to the council!’

49. Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops, representing the apostolic see of Senior Rome, said: ‘The words of the whole council are unambiguous. As to what we approve concerning this matter or the persons, it is for both us and them to confirm the sentence.’

<sup>25</sup> Flavian of Constantinople had approved Stephen’s election (see 17 above).



50. Anatolius the most devout archbishop of Constantinople New Rome said: ‘Those who lawlessly betrothed themselves to the bride of Christ, I mean the most holy church at Ephesus, she has rightly and lawfully ejected from herself. Let therefore the most devout Bishop Bassianus, who usurped the see, and the most devout Bishop Stephen, who thrust himself irregularly upon it after him, withdraw from activity in that church and live in retirement. The metropolis of Ephesus is to be given a bishop singled out by God and elected for consecration in the church there by all those he is going to shepherd,<sup>26</sup> who shall correctly expound the word of truth. Clearly the aforementioned will retain only the dignity of the episcopate and communion, and receive appropriate consolation from the same most holy church.’<sup>27</sup>

51. The holy council said: ‘This is a just sentence. This is a just judgement.’

52. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘The incursion of the most devout Bassianus subverted the canons, as did the irregular consecration of Stephen. Accordingly, if it seems good, let both retire from the episcopate of the metropolis of Ephesus, and let a canonical bishop be consecrated for the aforesaid metropolis, distinguished in both faith and manner of life.’

53. The most devout bishops of Asia, prostrating themselves before the most holy council of the fathers, said: ‘Have mercy on us; we beg the holy council to have mercy on our children, lest they should perish on account of us and our sins, so that clemency may be accorded them and that [a bishop] be accorded to us, even if it were Bassianus, in a choice of evils. For if someone is consecrated here, our children will perish and the city will be ruined.’<sup>28</sup>

54. The most glorious officials said: ‘Since, according to the acclamations of the holy council, neither the most devout Bassianus nor the most devout Stephen are worthy to be bishops of the city of Ephesus, and since the bishops of Asiana who are here say that if another bishop is consecrated

26 In contrast to the election of Bassianus by a faction made up of his own supporters (31). Traditionally, the whole congregation assembled at the cathedral to take part in the election of a new bishop. But in large cities where there were rival candidates it could happen that both found a congregation and bishops to elect them, resulting in a schism which could last for years (cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVII.3.12–13 on the disputed Roman election of 366).

27 In other words, they are to receive a pension from their former see, according to the precedent set for Domnus of Antioch in the previous session.

28 This is a reference to the heavy consecration fees demanded by the bishop of Constantinople, for which see XVI. 37.

here the city of Ephesus will be in uproar, let the holy council say where the canons wish the bishop of the most holy church at Ephesus to be consecrated.’

55. The most devout bishops said: ‘In the province.’

56. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘This is indeed the custom, but if the bishop had come from Constantinople, these things could not have happened. There they consecrate pickle-sellers;<sup>29</sup> that is why ruin results.’

57. Leontius the most devout bishop of Magnesia said: ‘From Saint Timothy till now there have been twenty-seven bishops. They were all consecrated at Ephesus; only Basil was installed here by force, and bloodshed resulted.’

58. Philip the most devout presbyter of the holy great church at Constantinople said: ‘Bishop John of the great church of Constantinople, [now] among the saints, went to Asia and deposed fifteen bishops,<sup>30</sup> consecrating others in their place. Memnon was confirmed here.’

59. Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople said: ‘Castinus too was consecrated here. Heraclides and others were consecrated with the approval of the archbishop here. Basil was likewise consecrated by the blessed Proclus in the same way; the blessed emperor Theodosius was involved in the consecration, as was also the blessed Cyril bishop of Alexandria.’<sup>31</sup>

60. The most devout bishops exclaimed: ‘Let the canons prevail.<sup>32</sup> [Report] our acclamations to the emperor.’

61. The clergy of Constantinople exclaimed: ‘Let the decrees of the 150 fathers prevail. Do not destroy the privileges of Constantinople. Let the consecration be carried out according to custom by the archbishop here.’<sup>33</sup>

29 In other words, they ordain absolutely anyone.

30 This was in 400. The precise number of bishops deposed was thirteen (Chadwick 2001, 493).

31 The involvement of Proclus implies a *terminus post quem* for Basil’s consecration of 434, as the successor of Memnon. Heraclides was chosen and consecrated by John Chrysostom in 400 (to the anger of the people of Ephesus, according to one version of Socrates, *HE VI*. 11. 11), while Castinus was consecrated at Constantinople after Heraclides’ deposition at the Synod of the Oak of 403.

32 The bishops of Asia are appealing to Canon 4 of Nicaea, which entrusted the appointment of a bishop to the bishops of the same province.

33 The reference is to Canon 3 of Constantinople (381), which accorded the see of Constantinople an honorary primacy throughout the east. But this did not imply any canonical rights, and Canon 2 of the same council reaffirmed the rights of the bishops of the Asian diocese to administer their own affairs. For the text of these two canons, see XVI. 18.

62. The most glorious officials said: 'We perceive that the holy council needs to examine the issue of consecration to the episcopate at Ephesus. Therefore, if it seems good, let there be a final decision on this matter tomorrow.'

## **THE TWELFTH SESSION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This session, or act, of 30 October 451, is numbered as the twelfth act in the Latin Acts and the thirteenth in the Greek. It gave the bishops the opportunity to reconsider their verdict at the preceding session on the case of Bassianus and Stephen of Ephesus. They decided to confirm it.

### **COMMENTARY**

The session began with an expression of irritation by the imperial representatives over the interruption the council was causing to the conduct of public affairs (2). In reality the fault lay with the emperor for passing on for the decision of the entire council a whole series of miscellaneous appeals that had been addressed to himself. It would have been more practical to dissolve the council and deal with these matters through the usual channels, particularly meetings of the Home Synod of Constantinople; but where the issues had long-term implications (notably over the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople) it was advantageous for decisions to have full conciliar status.

At the previous session a discussion of the rival claims of Bassianus and Stephen to the see of Ephesus had led on to the subject of the rights of the see of Constantinople to consecrate bishops in the province of Asia; in view of the importance and controversial character of these privileges the chairman had postponed further discussion until the following session. It was therefore an anticlimax when at the beginning of this session the chairman set as its agenda simply a confirmation of the decision already reached on the rival claims of Bassianus and Stephen to the see of Ephesus (2). Clearly, he had discovered that more time was needed to achieve the desired decision on the more important issue: in fact, it did not come again before a formal session of the council until the final and sixteenth session, after a preliminary discussion among the bishops (see our commentary on Session XVI).

At the twelfth session there was scope for second thoughts about the claims of Bassianus and Stephen. A rival proposal was aired, that it should be left to the bishops of Asia to decide between the two (11, 15, 17); the council, however, decided to stick to its earlier decision that both claimants should stand down and a successor be elected. The one further detail that was now settled was the size of the pension that both Bassianus and Stephen were to receive (26).

### PROCEEDINGS

1. Likewise, three days before the Kalends of November<sup>1</sup> in the same consulship there were seated in the same most holy church the most magnificent and glorious officials recorded above and the same most holy and ecumenical council.<sup>2</sup>

2. The most glorious officials said: ‘The attention to public business necessary for the state is being neglected as a result of our having been ordered by the divine head to attend the council continually in this way for the sake of the faith. Since it is not possible for us to be dragged away from affairs necessary to the state for long and we are anxious that the inquiries should receive a speedy resolution, we ask the holy council to say in the first place if it has come to any further decision about the most holy church at Ephesus, whether it is necessary for another bishop to be consecrated for it, or if the most devout Bassianus should recover the episcopate, or if the most devout Stephen should be bishop. Everything relating to them, as this holy council knows, was fully investigated yesterday.’

3. Anatolius the most devout bishop of Constantinople said: ‘It is agreeable to me, if it is also the pleasure of the holy council, that neither of them should be bishop in that city and that someone else should be consecrated, because they seized the episcopate for themselves contrary to the canons – while, clearly, they should keep the dignity of the episcopate and be supported by the church.’

4. Paschasinus the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: ‘Bishops Bassianus and Stephen, as the inquiry has revealed, are both recognized to have seized control of the church of Ephesus in an irregular fashion. Because of this, if the entire most holy council concurs, let them be deposed and someone else be elected according to the canons.’

1 30 October 451.

2 In other words, the attendance was the same as at the previous (eleventh) session of the previous day.

5. Lucentius the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see, said: ‘The canonical solution is for both to be ejected.’<sup>3</sup>

6. Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see together with the Romans, said: ‘Neither of the two should hold [the see].’<sup>4</sup>

7. The most glorious officials said: ‘Since, although we have repeatedly spoken and asked for a sentence to be pronounced regarding the episcopate of the most holy church at Ephesus, a final response has not been given by all, let the sacred and undefiled book of the gospels be brought to the centre.’

8. When the gospel-book had been brought, the most glorious officials said: ‘We address the same request to the holy council, with the venerable gospels before us, urging it neither to wrong one of these two, if one of them is worthy to retain the episcopate, nor to wrong the aforementioned church, if both are unworthy, but to pronounce a decision according to God and according to what is right and appropriate and beneficial for the most holy church.’

9. Anatolius the most devout bishop of Constantinople said: ‘I have already spoken. It is pleasing to me, if it also seems good to the holy council, that neither of them should be bishop of the city of Ephesus, but that someone else should be elected to exercise the episcopate as the result of a choice by all those he is going to shepherd, since the two seized the episcopate for themselves contrary to the canons, and that they should, however, keep the dignity of the episcopate and communion, and be supported by the same most holy church.’

10. Paschasinus the most devout bishop, representing the apostolic see of Senior Rome, said: ‘The same sentence that I once declared I decree on the present occasion as well: each of the men mentioned took possession of the church of Ephesus irregularly, and therefore, if the whole council concurs, they ought to be deposed and someone else elected according to the canons.’

11. Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria said: ‘From the investigations yesterday both took possession of the episcopate contrary

3 The Greek reads, ‘It is canonical for both to hold [the see]’; the Latin reads, ‘It is not canonical for both to be [bishop]’, which implies that one of them should be. Both texts involve a judgement that would differ from that just given by the senior legate Paschasinus. We follow Schwartz’s suggested remedy of changing round the verbs at the end of 5 and 6.

4 The Greek and Latin read, ‘Both ought not to be ejected’. Again, it is not credible that a papal representative would contradict Paschasinus. We follow Schwartz’s tentative emendation (see preceding note).

to the canons. Which of them deserves to stay in the city out of clemency is for the most God-beloved bishops of the province to say.'

12. Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem said: 'If the holy council so decrees, I propose that they be supported by the church of Ephesus and that someone else be consecrated canonically.'

13. Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia said: 'I assent to the declarations of the most holy fathers.'

14. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia said: 'I agree with the fathers who have pronounced judgement.'

15. Julian, the most devout bishop of Cos and representative of the apostolic see, said: 'According to the canons neither of them should stay there, but out of clemency let the Asian council choose which of them ought to stay.'

16. Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum said: 'Believe me, the two were installed contrary to the canons.'

17. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: 'The most God-beloved bishops of the province are the best informed about them. So let them say, according to the devotion they have for the fear of God, who should rule Ephesus if the city is not to be rent by faction.'

18. Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia said: 'I assent to the decrees of the holy fathers.'

19. Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: 'I too agree with the decrees of the most holy bishops [who have spoken] before me.'

20. Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada said: 'Canonically, neither of them ought to stay there.'

21. Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon said: 'The investigation of these bishops has shown us that neither of them took possession of the episcopate of the most holy church at Ephesus canonically.'

22. The most glorious officials said: 'Is the holy council pleased with the proposal of the most God-beloved Archbishop Anatolius and the most God-beloved Bishop Paschasinus, representing the apostolic see of Rome, which says that the two of them should be deposed as having been installed contrary to the canons and that someone else should be consecrated, and that the aforesaid should keep their episcopal dignity and be supported by the most holy church at Ephesus?'

23. The holy council exclaimed: 'This is a pious proposal. This is according to the canons.'

24. Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: 'It is better than the others.'

25. All exclaimed: 'This is a just judgement. This is pleasing to all. The two were installed contrary to the canons. Let the provision of the canons regarding them prevail. Let the archbishops' proposal prevail.'

26. The most glorious officials said: 'Since all are pleased with the proposal of the most God-beloved Anatolius archbishop of imperial Constantinople and the most devout Bishop Paschasinus, representing the most God-beloved Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, recommending that since both were installed uncanonically neither of them should be recognized or lead the most holy church at Ephesus, and since the entire holy council has declared that they were consecrated uncanonically and has assented to the proposal of the most devout bishops, the most devout Bassianus and Stephen are to be deposed from the holy church at Ephesus, but let them keep their episcopal dignity and receive from the revenues of the aforementioned most holy church as maintenance and consolation the sum of two hundred gold pieces a year. Someone else is to be consecrated bishop for the same most holy church according to the canons.'

27. The entire holy council exclaimed: 'This is a just judgement. This is a pious decree. This is right.'

28. The most devout Bassianus said: 'Order the restitution of the property that was seized from me.'

29. The most glorious officials said: 'If the most devout Bishop Bassianus was deprived of what belongs to him either by the most devout Bishop Stephen or by other persons whomsoever, this will be restored to him after judicial proofs by those who purloined it or were responsible for the damage.'



## **THE THIRTEENTH SESSION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This the second session held on 30 October 451 is numbered as the thirteenth act in the Latin Acts and as the fourteenth in the Greek. It addressed a dispute between Bishop Eunomius of Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, and Bishop Anastasius of Nicaea in the same province, who had assumed jurisdiction in the neighbouring city of Basilinopolis on the strength of traditional links between the two cities and his enjoyment of honorary metropolitan status. The bishops decided that the rights of Nicomedia should be safeguarded.

### **COMMENTARY**

The business of the session was to resolve a dispute between Bishop Eunomius of Nicomedia and Bishop Anastasius of Nicaea; Eunomius had appealed to the emperor (5), who referred the matter to the council. The dispute was over ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the city of Basilinopolis, which had originally been a mere town in the territory of Nicaea but which a century earlier Julian the Apostate had raised to city status because it was the birthplace of his mother Basilina. Nicaea and Basilinopolis remained closely attached, and at times provided city councillors for each other. Did this justify the bishop of Nicaea's assuming jurisdiction in the church of Basilinopolis, consecrating bishops or excommunicating peccant clergy? The bishop of Nicomedia argued that, since he was the metropolitan of the province (Bithynia), the affairs of Basilinopolis came under his authority. In the course of the discussion the bishop of Nicaea produced an edict of the emperor Valentinian I that gave Nicaea metropolitan status, but the bishop of Nicomedia countered this effectively by producing an edict of the same emperor decreeing that the elevation of Nicaea in no way derogated from the rights of Nicomedia. This decided the council in favour of the claims of Nicomedia.

Of greater importance was the question of the authority of the see of Constantinople in Bithynia. Canon 28 was to enact that the bishop of Constantinople was to consecrate the metropolitans of the Pontic diocese, which included Bithynia. One of the documents to which the bishop of Nicaea appealed was a letter from John Chrysostom, then bishop of Constantinople, authorizing him to go and settle the affairs of the church of Basilinopolis (12). This the bishop of Nicomedia countered by citing a letter from a more recent bishop of Constantinople quashing the excommunications that the bishop of Nicaea had issued in Basilinopolis (17) and reproaching him for acting *ultra vires* (19). Archdeacon Aetius of Constantinople argued that nothing in the case between the bishops of Nicomedia and Nicaea should affect the right of the bishop of Constantinople to carry out consecrations in Basilinopolis (37). The chairman replied that the question of the rights of Constantinople would be discussed later. The bishop of Nicomedia responded with a qualified acceptance of the role of Constantinople 'subject to the canons' (40). Canon 28, with its specification that *only* the metropolitans were to be consecrated by the bishop of Constantinople, was shortly to present a more restrictive definition of his role.

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, three days before the Kalends of November,<sup>1</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious master, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) and the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

2. There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople, (5) Maximus the most devout archbishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout archbishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (8)

<sup>1</sup> 30 October 451

Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (11) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout archbishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing Leo of the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (18) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilocheus the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa, (29) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (30) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (31) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (32) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (33) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (34) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (35) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (36) Apragmonius the most devout bishop [of Tieum], representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (37) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (38) Photinus the most devout archdeacon, representing [Theoctistus]<sup>2</sup> the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (39) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra, (40) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias, (41) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (42) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (43) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (44) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (45) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (46) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (47) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (48) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (49) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (50) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (51) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe,

2 This name is accidentally omitted in the MSS.

(52) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (53) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John the most devout bishop of Rhodes, (54) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (55) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (56) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (57) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convened by decree of our most divine and pious master in the city of Chalcedon.

3. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, the most devout Eunomius bishop of Nicomedia said: ‘I have submitted a petition to the most pious master of the world, requesting that the canonical rights of the metropolis of Nicomedia be safeguarded according to the canons and customs in force from the beginning, and he has ordered your magnificence together with the holy council to grant a hearing and issue a decree on the matter. I therefore request that my petition be read, the matter be heard, and my rights be safeguarded.’

4. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the petition be read.’

Veronicianus the hallowed {*magistrrianus* and}<sup>3</sup> secretary of the divine consistory read:

*5. To the masters of earth and sea and of every race and nation of men, Flavius Valentinian and Flavius Marcian perpetual Augusti, a petition and supplication from Bishop Eunomius and all the clergy of the holy catholic church of God in the metropolis of Nicomedia.*

*God has justly granted you rule and authority over all things for the protection of the world and the peace of the holy churches. Therefore both before and together with everything else, most pious and Christ-loving emperors, you take thought for the doctrines of the orthodox and wholesome faith, extinguishing the raging of the heresies and bringing into the light the rights of the pious doctrines. We therefore fall at the feet of your authority, begging you to order an end to the injustice perpetrated against us by the most devout Anastasius bishop of Nicaea, so that, enjoying the peace appropriate to Christians, we may be able to perform the liturgical worship of God without distraction. The aforementioned most devout Anastasius, having neither the fear of God before his eyes nor respect for the laws of your piety, is {without precedent}<sup>4</sup> trying to upset and confound in the*

3 Supplied from the Latin version.

4 Supplied from the Latin version.

*province of Bithynia the imperial and canonical decrees that have been in force in the churches, usurping the rights that have been accorded to us by the laws of your piety and the ecclesiastical statutes. Not one of the bishops before him attempted to undermine or overturn these rights, but he alone has begun to overreach and harass us, thinking it glorious to be a force for evil. It is for this reason that we are presenting a plaint to the holy and ecumenical council. But since the hearing is being delayed and we are afraid of our rights lapsing as a result of a dissolution of the council, we request that by order of your authority a hearing take place without delay. If we are granted our petition, we shall offer up to the Lord God the customary prayers for your everlasting reign.*

6. The most glorious officials said: ‘What has the most devout Bishop Anastasius to say in reply to this in his own defence?’

7. Anastasius {the most devout}<sup>5</sup> bishop of the city of Nicaea said: ‘He has accused me of having in the meantime innovated or used force; let him prove a single one of his charges. I can prove the contrary, that he has seized parishes from me, and that he has done in my regard, and I have suffered, many things for which the bishop of Nicomedia has no precedent, while I have constantly pleaded with the archbishop [of Constantinople] and demanded the investigation of my rights according to antiquity and the canons, for I don’t ask for anything more.’

8. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the most God-beloved Bishop Eunomius say specifically how he has been wronged by the most devout Bishop Anastasius.’

9. Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: ‘According to the custom in force under his predecessors and mine I have subject to me the churches in the province of Bithynia, but the most devout Bishop Anastasius excommunicated clerics of the church in Basilinopolis, which is under my authority, something that is forbidden by the canons.’

10. Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea said: ‘First let him prove that Basilinopolis is under him, and then that I excommunicated clerics of its church; let him prove these two things. I can prove that Basilinopolis has always been under Nicaea, for it was one of its *regiones*,<sup>6</sup> as is known by the city councils; let him say under whom Basilinopolis has been, if it was not a *regio* of Nicaea.’

5 Supplied from the Latin version.

6 *Regiones* were districts in the territory of a city.

11. The most glorious officials said: ‘In what way do you claim to prove that the most holy church at Basilinopolis is under Nicaea? Is it according to the canons or in consequence of some customary right?’

12. Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea said: ‘Just as Tattaheus and Doris are *regiones* under Nicaea, so Basilinopolis also was hitherto under Nicaea. Some emperor – Julian or I know not which of his predecessors – made it a city,<sup>7</sup> and appointed councillors there whom he took from Nicaea. The custom that has prevailed from then till now is that, if a councillor is lacking in Basilinopolis, he is sent there from Nicaea, and conversely moves from Basilinopolis to Nicaea, and what was formerly a *regio* subsequently became a city in turn. It appears that after this the bishop of Nicaea consecrated a bishop there on one and a second occasion; there is a letter of the blessed John bishop of Constantinople to the bishop of Nicaea, telling him to go and set right the church, as belonging to him. I have a missive to the blessed Proclus.<sup>8</sup> I can show how many were consecrated from Nicaea; let him show how many were consecrated from Nicomedia.’

13. Eunomius the most devout bishop said: ‘He cannot show that he performed consecrations; even if he did so once through usurpation, nothing, according to the canons, can prejudice my case.’

14. Anastasius the most devout bishop said: ‘I did not, but my predecessor did.’

15. Eunomius the most devout bishop said: ‘Did he do so once, as you say, or many times? If he did so once by some usurpation – or it so happened that the metropolis of Nicomedia did not have a bishop at the time and so it had to be done by the bishop of Nicaea –, that does not, according to the canons, prejudice my case. For I can show that many were consecrated from Nicomedia; I do not know if you can show even one.’

16. Anastasius the most devout bishop said: ‘When Basilinopolis became a city, who was the first to perform a consecration?’

17. Eunomius the most devout bishop<sup>9</sup> said: ‘I can prove that he excommunicated clerics of Basilinopolis who were my subjects. I call as

<sup>7</sup> Julian the Apostate (361–3) gave the place city-status and renamed it after his mother Basilina.

<sup>8</sup> John Chrysostom was bishop of Constantinople 398–404, and Proclus 434–47.

<sup>9</sup> Schwartz oddly omits the word ‘bishop’, despite its presence in both the Latin and some of the Greek MSS. He queries likewise the equally well-attested presence of ‘bishop’ in the rubrics of 20.

witness the most holy archbishop of the great city, who received them and restored them to communion.’<sup>10</sup>

18. Anastasius the most devout bishop said: ‘You are not speaking the truth.’

19. Eunomius the most devout bishop said: ‘Produce the lord archbishop’s letter in which he restored them to communion and in which he wrote to you that you acted contrary to the canons. I can produce the resolutions of the Basilinopolitans in which they appealed about a bishop: show, if you can, where they asked Nicaea to give them a bishop.’

20. Anastasius the most devout bishop said: ‘Allow me to give you some information. I presented a plaint to the then archbishop, asking him to summon lord Eunomius the bishop and adjudicate on our rights. He sent letters both to me and to him, writing to us, “Neither of you is to innovate in any way but you must conform to tradition; for I am well aware how I ought to honour metropolitan sees.” I have such a letter; both he and I do. I received, as I have said, such a letter. The notaries are also aware of this; let others speak as well. The clergy of Basilinopolis came to see me about their bishop. Following the instructions of the archbishop, I said, “I cannot receive you, but go to the archbishop, and if he orders me, I will hear you.” But they, ignoring both me and him, went to his holiness lord Eunomius and presented him with a plaint against their own bishop. He at once sent and summoned the bishop of Basilinopolis; the bishop of Basilinopolis appealed to me.’

21. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the canons be read.’

Veronicianus the {hallowed *magistranus* and} secretary {of the divine consistory}<sup>11</sup> read from a volume provided by the most devout Eunomius:

22. *Canon 6.*<sup>12</sup> *A bishop ought above all to be appointed by all the bishops in the province. But if this be difficult either because of some pressing necessity or on account of the length of the journey, at all events three of them should meet together, with the absentees also having a vote and agreeing by letter, and perform the consecration. The confirmation of the proceedings will lie in each province with the metropolitan bishop.*

10 Since Anatolius, present at this session, does not respond, the reference is clearly to one of his predecessors, most probably Flavian (447–9).

11 Supplied from the Latin version and by comparison with 4 above.

12 The number is erroneous: this is Canon 4 of the Council of Nicaea, which had the same number in the consecutively numbered book of canons that is cited several times in the Acts of the council (see Bright 1882, 124). The same canon was cited, with small textual differences, in the session on Photius and Eustathius 37.

23. Anastasius the most devout bishop said: 'I conform to the canon. If I am not a metropolitan, not even I have a part to play here.'

24. The most glorious officials said: 'Show in what way you possess the rights of a metropolitan.'

25. Anastasius the most devout {bishop}<sup>13</sup> said: 'I ask that the law be read.'

26. The most glorious officials said: 'Let it be read.'

On receiving it from the most devout Bishop Anastasius, Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory and *magistrrianus* read:

*Translation of the law*

27. *The Autocrats and Caesars Flavius Valentinian and Flavius Valens, fortunate, pious, august, perpetual victors, address the people of Nicaea.*

*Even though our zeal has been clear and conspicuous to all, from the time when by the will of the Almighty we received the sovereignty of empire and the helm of public affairs, we shall still in addition to this cherish as the very origin of this good fortune the fact that your city, which was filled with exultation at our good fortune, was the cause of joy and happiness for the entire people.<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, since it was formerly called a metropolis, and this is contained in ancient laws, there can as a result of our legislation be no doubt but that this remains firm and unshaken and will increase in time to come ...<sup>15</sup> For the future, having crowned it, we decreed its issuing in your city.<sup>16</sup> Therefore let this custom be preserved for ever, and let your city be a metropolis, while maintaining the custom relating to official visits by the Bithyniarch;<sup>17</sup> and no one is to abolish any of the other [customary rights].*

<sup>13</sup> Supplied from the Latin version.

<sup>14</sup> Valentinian I was proclaimed emperor at Nicaea (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVI. 2) in 364. Valens' elevation occurred shortly afterwards at Constantinople (Ammianus, XXVI. 4).

<sup>15</sup> This is the text in the Latin version and the one preferred by Schwartz. The Greek MSS offer a different text: 'there can be no doubt that the same [rights] which the people of Nicomedia possess as a result of our legislation remain firm and unshaken and will increase in time to come.' Schwartz also notes that some of the text was omitted after this sentence, obscuring the sequence of thought.

<sup>16</sup> This sentence is problematic. 'It' must be the law conferring honours on Nicaea. 'Having crowned' is odd: the revised Latin versions presume corruption and offer 'ordaining' and 'setting out' as conjectural corrections. 'Issuing' translates *πρωτεύειν*, which is unidiomatic and is omitted in the Latin versions.

<sup>17</sup> For the role of the Bithyniarch, and the parallel officials in the other provinces, see Jones, *LRE*, 763–5. They were responsible for the imperial cult at provincial level under the principate; in the Christian empire their main role was to represent the provincial assemblies of



*By the will of the Almighty may the dignity of your city increase. Rejoicing therefore, redouble your prayers and take delight in the fact that this honour has been accorded to you, with every doubt having been laid to rest for the future, as you reflect how you have received perpetual kindness and forethought from our decrees.*

28. Eunomius the most devout bishop said: ‘I ask your magnificence to order a reading of the law granted subsequently to the people of Nicomedia.’

29. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let it be read.’

On receiving it from the most devout Bishop Eunomius, Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read:

30. *Valentinian, pious, fortunate, Augustus sends greetings to the people of Nicomedia.*

*The ancient custom that has long existed regarding the privileges of your city is to be preserved. Nor can the addition to the honour of the city of Nicaea harm your rights, since the dignity of the city of Nicomedia will actually increase if the city in second place receives the title of metropolis.*

31. The most glorious officials said: ‘Neither of these divine letters speaks of the episcopate, but each of them confers honour on the metropolitan cities. The divine letter of Valentinian and Valens of divine memory that then granted Nicaea metropolitan rights gives particular directions that nothing is to be taken away from the other cities, and the canon of the holy fathers speaks of one metropolitan in each of the provinces. What then is the pleasure of the holy council on this matter?’

32. The holy council exclaimed: ‘Let the canons prevail. Let the canons receive their due.’

33. Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus said: ‘The canon lays down that in each single province authority lies with the

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notables (note the reference here to *πρόοδοι*, ceremonial visitations of the several cities) and to provide games in the metropolis of the province. Their importance was enhanced by the increasing importance of the provincial assemblies in the late empire, Liebeschuetz 2001, 12–13, 38–9. Contrast the older and less plausible view of Pauly-Wissowa III, 540–41, which distinguishes between these officials and the provincial high priests, and suggests that the Bithyniarch in question here was simply an official of Nicaea who represented the city in the provincial assembly (comparing the plurality of Asiarchs in the province of Asia). Surely the point being made here is that Nicaea, despite its elevation to metropolitan status, is *not* to have a Bithyniarch of its own.

[bishop] of the metropolis, and that he installs all the bishops in the same province; this is the meaning of the canon. To the bishop of Nicomedia, since this was the metropolis from old, has been assigned the consecration of all the bishops in his province.’

34. The holy council said: ‘This we all want. This we all request. Let this prevail everywhere. This is pleasing to all.’

35. John, Constantine, Patricius, {Peter,}<sup>18</sup> and the other most devout bishops of the Pontic diocese {through one of their number John} said: ‘The canons recognize one metropolitan, the more ancient one, and it is clear that consecrations fall to the most God-beloved bishop of Nicomedia, since the laws, as your magnificence is also well aware, have honoured Nicaea with only the title of metropolis, and he has precedence over the other bishops of the province only in honour.’

36. The holy council said: ‘They have spoken canonically. They have spoken well. We all say the same.’

37. Aetius archdeacon of renowned Constantinople said: ‘We propose to your magnificence a request that there be no prejudice to the most holy see of Constantinople as a result of what is now being said by the most sacred bishops or in consequence of the dispute between the most God-beloved Eunomius bishop of Nicomedia and the most God-beloved Anastasius bishop of Nicaea, or from the decision in their case. For the most holy see of Constantinople either itself performs the consecrations at Basilinopolis with the other bishops or gives permission for them to take place, as the letters which go to and fro, or have often gone to and fro, will be able to prove. We ask that these letters be produced.’

38. The holy council said: ‘Let the canons prevail. Let the canons receive their due.’

39. The most glorious officials said: ‘The most devout bishop of Nicomedia is to have the authority of the metropolitan in the churches in Bithynia, while the bishop of Nicaea is to hold only the honour of metropolitan, being subordinate to the bishop of Nicomedia after the model of the other bishops of the province. This is the pleasure of the holy council. As to what is appropriate to the see of the most holy church in renowned Constantinople regarding consecrations in the provinces, this will be examined by the holy council in its proper turn.’

<sup>18</sup> This name and the bracketed words in the next line are supplied from the Latin version. The bishops listed here are John of Sebasteia, Constantine of Melitene, Patricius of Tyana, and Peter of Gangra.

40. Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia said: 'I give thanks for the just decision of your magnificence, and I welcome the archbishop of renowned Constantinople, subject to the canons.'

41. The most glorious officials said: 'Your words have been recorded.'

## **THE FOURTEENTH SESSION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This the first session of 31 October 451 is numbered as the fourteenth act in the Latin Acts and as the fifteenth in the Greek. It was devoted to the rival claims to the see of Perrhe (in Syria Euphratensis) of Bishops Athanasius and Sabinianus. Athanasius represented Perrhe at the earlier sessions of the council, but the bishops now heard an appeal from Sabinianus. The fact that Athanasius had been deposed at a council at Antioch in 445 according to a proper procedure and had only recovered the see at the ‘Robber Council’ of Ephesus in 449 was decisive against him, although it was decided that the definitive reinstatement of Sabinianus would have to wait until yet another council at Antioch investigated the matter.

### **COMMENTARY**

From the minutes of this session the following emerge as the facts of the case. Athanasius held the see until (in the early 440s) he was deposed by a revolt of his own clergy (10), who accused him of a number of crimes and financial improprieties (162). The case was taken up by Bishop Panolbius of Hierapolis, the metropolitan of the province, who sent Athanasius the usual threefold summons; Athanasius failed to appear (8–60), but in response to the third summons sent in his resignation (76, 123). He withdrew from the see to his estate in the neighbouring see of Samosata (62–6), but in the absence of a successor returned on at least one occasion to carry out ordinations (68–70). He made appeals in person (123) at Constantinople (where, he claimed, his plaint had reduced a home synod to tears, 10) and also at Alexandria, claiming that Panolbius was prejudiced against him. In response the archbishops Proclus of Constantinople and Cyril of Alexandria wrote in his support to Bishop Domnus of Antioch (10–11), who in 445, after the convenient demise of Cyril in the preceding year (8), called a council at Antioch to hear the case; minutes of this council were read out at

this fourteenth session of Chalcedon (15–150). It transpired that Athanasius had written to Panolbius when his trial was pending, calling him his friend (38–60) and expressing readiness to resign the see (76, 123). The Syrian bishops took this at face value, and deduced that Athanasius, in failing to appear for trial before a bishop he recognized to be his friend, had tacitly acknowledged his guilt. But it is surely obvious that, despite his wheedling words, Athanasius considered Panolbius prejudiced against him, as is confirmed in the letters from Cyril and Proclus to Domnus (10–11); in insisting on taking at face value Athanasius' professions to the contrary, the bishops revealed their own prejudice against him. They proceeded to dismiss the letters from Cyril and Proclus as based on misinformation, and confirmed Athanasius' deposition (76–95, 123–49).<sup>1</sup> It fell to Stephen, who became bishop of Hierapolis soon after the council, to consecrate Sabinianus as Athanasius' successor (5). However, Athanasius appealed successfully to Dioscorus and the Council of Ephesus of 449, which reinstated him and deposed Sabinianus (5). It was Athanasius who represented Perrhe at all the earlier sessions of Chalcedon.

At this fourteenth session the Acts of the Council of Antioch that had confirmed Athanasius' deposition were read out, and several of the bishops who had played a leading part there explained their decision, stressing Athanasius' failure to come to Antioch to defend himself (152–9). Athanasius defended his non-attendance on the ground that he knew Bishop Domnus to be prejudiced against him. The chairman thereupon gave his verdict: Sabinianus was to be reinstated for the time being,<sup>2</sup> but the case should be retried at a new hearing at Antioch, to be chaired by Domnus' successor Maximus (162). This the bishops agreed to. We have no direct information on the result of this final hearing, but the presumption is that Athanasius' deposition was confirmed.

The Acts are not very revealing on the case, since the charges against Athanasius were not read out. But it is significant that he was supported by Cyril and later by Dioscorus of Alexandria, while Theodoret of Cyrrhus was forbidden by imperial mandate from attending the council at Antioch that dealt with the case (158).<sup>3</sup> That Christological disagreement lay behind the

1 The requirement that a defendant should not be condemned *in absentia* until he had received and ignored a threefold summons was considered satisfied by the two letters Domnus had written summoning him to the council (96, 99) and a letter from the council that a deputation delivered in person (101–3).

2 Note that it was he not Athanasius who signed Canon 28 as bishop of the see (XVI. 9.148).

3 Note that the mandate was addressed to Athanasius rather than to the chairman Domnus,

case is confirmed by a letter of Theodoret, dating to the period after Sabinianus' deposition, which urges him not to make peace with his enemies since this would betray the anti-miaphysite cause.<sup>4</sup>

A point of some interest is the lack of a clear legal closure in cases of this kind. After his initial condemnation in the court of his metropolitan, Athanasius appealed successfully for a retrial at Antioch, which went against him, but was subsequently reinstated at Ephesus II. The Acts of Ephesus II were annulled at the tenth session of Chalcedon (X. 145–59), and this should have left in force Athanasius' condemnation at Antioch some years before. But instead the council agreed that yet another hearing was necessary before Athanasius' claims could be finally discounted.

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, one day before the Kalends of November,<sup>5</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) and the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

2. There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople, (5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (11) Eusebius

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and that the council evaded the prohibition by allowing the attendance (though not as formal members) of both the bishops named in the mandate, Theodoret and Panolbius' successor at Hierapolis, Bishop John. This suggests that the mandate had been procured by Athanasius through private influence during his visit to Constantinople and was not perceived as a reliable expression of the imperial will.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* 127, in Theodoret, *Correspondance*, III, 104–6.

<sup>5</sup> 31 October 451.

the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing Leo of the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (18) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilochius the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Nonnus the most devout bishop of Edessa, (29) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (30) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (31) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (32) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (33) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (34) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (35) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (36) Apragmonius the most devout bishop [of Tieuum], representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (37) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (38) Photinus archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (39) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra, (40) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (41) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (42) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (43) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (44) {Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (45) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (46) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (47) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (48) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (49) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (50) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (51) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (52) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (53) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John the most devout bishop of Rhodes},<sup>6</sup> (54) Theoctistus the most devout

6 The ten names in brackets are omitted by mistake in the Greek Acts (the Latin version lacks an attendance list) and are restored from the other similar attendance lists (e.g., XIII. 2).

bishop of Beroea, (55) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (56) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (57) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convened by decree of our most divine and pious master in the city of Chalcedon.

3. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, Sabinianus the most devout bishop said: 'Having been unjustly deposed from my episcopal see, I have submitted a petition to the divine and immortal head, and he has ordered your magnificence together with this holy and ecumenical council to examine my case. I have a declaration addressed to this holy council, and I ask your magnificence to order that both the declaration and the petition be read, and that my rights be safeguarded.'

4. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let the petition be read and also the declaration brought by the most devout Bishop Sabinianus.'

Constantine the hallowed assistant of the divine consistory read:

5. *To the most pious and Christ-loving Augusti Valentinian and Marcian, deservedly honoured by the God of the universe, a petition and supplication from Bishop Sabinianus.*

*The Lord of the universe, seeing the apostolic orthodox faith afflicted for a time by the indifferent and the whole world thrown into confusion, raised up your piety to direct and govern the inhabited world, to put a stop to the disturbances caused to the teaching of the saints by miscreants, and to confirm the radiance and certainty of orthodoxy. Appropriately with reference to your serenity would God say also to you: 'I have exalted one chosen from among my people, I have found David my servant, I have anointed him with my holy oil, for my hand shall assist him and my arm shall strengthen him.'<sup>7</sup> Believing therefore that it is by the will of God that your divinity has attained rule and dominion over the universe, I approach your piety, beseeching and entreating you to order that care be taken of me and my case investigated.*

*From my early years I administered a school of asceticism, a populous monastery, with no thought for the episcopate, let alone approaching someone in quest of this dignity.<sup>8</sup> But while I was occupied with caring for*

7 Ps. 88/9:20–22.

8 Candidates for episcopal election were standardly expected to have no personal ambitions and to accept election with reluctance; cf. XI. 14 and XVI. 41. The fullest development of this theme is in Gregory the Great, *Book of Pastoral Rule*, Bk I.



*the monks, the then bishop of the metropolis<sup>9</sup> suddenly descended on me, together with the bishops of the province, and consecrated me bishop of Perrhe, from which Athanasius had been deposed, since grave charges had been brought against him in writing and he was utterly unable to answer them, but kept on now renouncing the episcopate and now variously evading citations from councils summoning him to judgement. At the council at Ephesus, on instructions from the primate of Alexandria, he imposed himself on my church, while I who had been ordained against my will was expelled, even though the inhabitants of that city reacted to my departure with wailing and lamentation. I therefore beg your authority to order that my case be investigated in the presence of your piety and brought to an acceptable resolution, so that I along with everyone else may at all times perform the customary prayers for your everlasting reign, O most pious and victorious emperors.*

*Bishop Sabinianus: I dictated and signed and present this to your piety.*

Veronicianus the hallowed secretary {of the divine consistory}<sup>10</sup> read the declaration:

*6. To the in all respects most God-beloved and holy fathers Archbishops Leo, Anatolius and Maximus, and to all the rest of the holy council, a petition and supplication from Bishop Sabinianus.*

*Many and various are the benefits bestowed by Christ the Lord on the human race, but at the present time his solicitude for his holy churches is something special and outstanding, as the facts proclaim. For he has convoked your angelic council through the agency of our truly most pious and Christ-loving emperors, to note error, to undo the confusion and anarchy that occurred at Ephesus just over two years ago, and to proclaim truth and justice. Because I myself experienced that storm and turbulence, I fled to your calm harbour, to inform you that Dioscorus of Alexandria used his authority, or rather his tyranny, to oust me from the church of Perrhe, which had been entrusted to me according to the canons by our most holy bishop and metropolitan Stephen, and replaced me by Athanasius, a man who had been degraded in the great city of Antioch by a great number of most God-beloved bishops. What happened subsequently, and how the entire city, plunged in tears and wailing, proved inseparably attached to me and*

9 Stephen of Hierapolis, the metropolis of Syria Euphratensis.

10 Supplied from the Latin version.

*lamented my forcible expulsion, it is perhaps superfluous for me to say. I therefore beg and entreat your piety not to overlook the injustice done me but to give orders that I obtain my rights, so that on this occasion too the merciful God may be lauded by your angelic council, honoured by God, for abolishing error and proclaiming the truth.*

*Bishop Sabinianus: I have presented this petition which I dictated and signed.*

7. The most magnificent officials said: ‘Let Athanasius the most devout bishop of Perrhe give his answer.’

8. Athanasius the most devout {bishop of Perrhe}<sup>11</sup> said: ‘My case began a long time ago, and was heard by Cyril and Proclus of blessed memory, who indited certain decrees [on the case which they sent] to Domnus, then bishop of Antioch. He agreed to execute them, but when he learnt of the death of the blessed Cyril, he drew back and summoned me to judgement. I wrote in reply that if he intended to abide by the decrees issued by the archbishops I was ready [to come], but that if his intentions were different, I would not heed his summons, since the previous holy bishops had issued certain decrees once and for all. I brought an accusation against those who had plotted against me, and they ordered those I had accused not to appear at the hearing. I ask, if it please your authority, that the letters of the archbishops be read.’

9. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the letters of Proclus and Cyril of devout memory be read.’

On receiving the document from Bishop Athanasius, Veronicianus the hallowed secretary {of the divine consistory}<sup>12</sup> read:

*Copy of the synodical letter*

10. *To my lord, beloved brother, and fellow minister Domnus, Cyril sends greetings in the Lord.*<sup>13</sup>

*We must sympathize with our brothers if some of our fellow ministers assert that they have been wronged, and this at the hands of their own clerics, who ought to bend their heads as before a father and be submissive according to the will of God and the injunctions of the canons of the church. Is this not one of the most disgraceful of outrages? The most devout Bishop*

11 Supplied from the Latin version.

12 Supplied from the Latin version.

13 This is Cyril, *ep.* 77.

*Athanasius relates that he has suffered such things that he reduced the council meeting in imperial Constantinople to tears. For he tells how some of the clerics under him so exceeded their powers as to oust him from the priesthood and issue a decree of deposition against him, in so far as attempts have effect. Their intention was to expel the stewards of the church, that is, the administrators of church property, and to replace them according to their own will; in addition to this they even wanted to remove his name from the holy diptychs and perform other unseemly acts chock-full of impiety, as is contained in the force of the attached plaint. Since it is monstrous for clerics to commit such outrages against their own bishops and these things cannot be ignored, may your sacredness think it right, since the city whose administration fell to the aforementioned most God-beloved Bishop Athanasius is a long way from Antioch,<sup>14</sup> to write a letter delegating the hearing to others, so that those under accusation may be summoned to defend themselves and, if found guilty of the charges, be excluded from the most sacred ministry. What they perpetrated against their own father it would be just for them to suffer themselves, since they disregarded all good order and broke every law, thinking nothing of dishonouring their father's old age. They are said not now for the first time to have begun to be people of this type but to have been already notorious for many attempts that are even worse and indeed outrageous. He says that he has his suspicions about the man who has now obtained metropolitan rights in the region from where he is; and, as I have already said, it is no cause for resentment if those under suspicion are not allowed to judge him.*

*Greet the brotherhood with you: those with us send you greetings in the Lord.*

*Copy of the synodical letter*

*11. To the most sacred and God-beloved brother and fellow minister Domnus, Proclus sends greetings in the Lord.*

*Mutual affection, O most God-beloved, is in this time the greatest of gifts. God the supreme craftsman, uniting in concord the nature which he created, bonded it together through the will of the Word's dispensation, so that, as they treat as their own the sufferings and conduct of others, each person, measuring the experiences of another by reference to himself, should cleave to one of the same race in an indissoluble harmony of fellow feeling. Things that are separated necessarily hasten towards mutual decay,*

<sup>14</sup> The distance was a little under 200 miles.

*but things voluntarily united do not easily lose their own security. This is why the blessed Paul likened the multitude of the faithful and the fellowship of the church to a body, when he said, 'You are the body of Christ and limbs from limb',<sup>15</sup> in every way asserting the concord of the many and prohibiting the disease of quarrelsome antagonism on the basis of the harmony of the limbs.*

*Be patient for a moment while I tell you, most God-beloved, why I am writing this. The most God-beloved Bishop Athanasius of Perrhe has deplored an unbelievable tragedy that utterly stuns his hearers, telling how his clerics, rejecting any thought of subordination and supposing that the mere desire was sufficient to make them tyrants in sacred matters, ousted him from his church without any just ground and reached such a height of madness as to depose him, in so far as they could. They tried to prove by their actions that order in sacred things is secured by the wilfulness of the presumptuous and not by canonical decree, as they put in charge of the church stewards and administrators according to their own pleasure, removed the bishop's name from the sacred tablets, and, in a word, brazenly disrupted ecclesiastical good order. He added that the mistaken tolerance that had been accorded their previous unholy actions had fomented their recklessness in this regard, for by systematically following the same line of conduct before his time they had brought to a head their impulsion to still worse conduct, since they had not previously paid the due penalty, a fact that provided them with a reason for not reforming their ways. But you, O most God-beloved, we request in response to our entreaty to make your own (as you well can) the sufferings of a fellow priest, heeding in particular the cry of St Paul, 'If one limb suffers, all the limbs suffer with it'.<sup>16</sup> Since the city in which this drama took place is situated at a considerable distance from the great city of Antioch, have the case heard by some of the most God-beloved bishops who live nearby and are impartial, for he suspects the most God-beloved bishop of the metropolis, out of ill-will towards him, of feeding the flames of his opponents' fury. If those he denounces for imitating the notorious Absalom in madness should be convicted of the charges against them, they should receive like him the same penalty as did their model; for God so abominates those who take up arms against their fathers that throughout creation he pillories parricide.<sup>17</sup> I know, most God-beloved, that,*

<sup>15</sup> 1 Cor. 12:27.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Cor. 12:26.

<sup>17</sup> For Absalom's rebellion against his father David and ignominious death, see 2 Sam. 15–18. The extreme reluctance of the father in the biblical story to punish his son is not imitated here.

*embracing everyone with the compassion of Christ and being full of sympathy, you will befriend the old man, wipe away the tears of his affliction, and favour him with your hatred of evil, and that, subjecting the enemies of the priesthood to justified anger and an appropriate penalty, you will ensure their removal after their conviction, expertly excising the evil growth that impairs our common priesthood; for if anyone were to extend indiscriminate pity to those who perpetrate what they should not and who proceed to such a pitch of audacity as to dare to inflict insult on God through his priests,<sup>18</sup> when with appeals they seek mercy for their lawlessness, nothing would be left to all the leaders of the churches but to be a plaything for the instruments of the devil. But God appointed your religiousness for this purpose – to end injustice, to put a stop to presumption, to assist the ailing priesthood, to leave no opportunity for vain abuse, but after an investigation to aid the one calumniated, if indeed he has been calumniated, and to cut off the calumniator, if he really is a calumniator.*

*Your religiousness must not think that the aforementioned most God-beloved bishop betook himself hither out of disrespect for the see of the great city of Antioch: rather, because, as he says, he suspected some people of enjoying discord and serving their own passions, he has provided an opportune occasion for indignation. He does not cease to trumpet the forbearance, gentleness, and love of justice of your religiousness; he makes no other criticisms (God forbid!), but has simply made a strong request for his case to receive more venerable mediation. This is why both I and our fellow minister the most sacred Bishop Cyril have provided him with the present letters and bid him be confident that, because of the love that is strong in us and out of respect for the senders, you will give every assistance to the bearer.*

*I send many greetings to all the brotherhood with you.*

12. The most glorious officials said: ‘What happened subsequent to these letters?’

13. Sabinianus the most devout bishop<sup>19</sup> said: ‘I ask that the minutes be read, for they will inform you.’

14. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the statements in the minutes that have been brought be read.’

18 We follow the Latin version of the preceding clause. The Greek reads, ‘as to perpetrate even such actions as are an insult to the priesthood’.

19 Some of the Greek MSS (followed by Schwartz) omit the word ‘bishop’.

Constantine the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory, from a document given to him by Bishop Sabinianus, of which the opening was defective, read the following:

*(Antioch, 445)*

15. In the most holy church of Antioch, in the portico of the summer consistory, there took place a council, and there were seated the most holy bishops (1) Domnus of the same Antioch, (2) Theodore of Damascus, (3) Valerius of Anazarbus, (4) Pompeianus of Emesa, (5) Polychronius of Epiphaneia in Cilicia Secunda, (6) Damian of Sidon, (7) Iamblichus of Chalcis, (8) Theoctistus of Beroea, (9) Gerontius of Seleucia, (10) Joseph of Heliopolis, (11) Timothy of Doliche, (12) Venetius of Byblus, (13) Epiphanius of Arca, (14) Paul of Ptolemais, (15) Stephen of Epiphaneia in Syria Secunda, (16) Phosphorus of Orthosia, (17) Thomas of Mopsuestia, (18) Jordanes of Abila, (19) Paul of Antaradus, (20) Baranes of Alexandria, (21) Maras of Urima, (22) Sabas of Paltus, (23) Maras of Anasartha, (24) John of Theodosiopolis, (25) Daniel of Carrhae, (26) Sophronius of Constantia, (27) Uranius of Sura, (28) Marianus of Resapha.<sup>20</sup>

16. Tatian deacon and notary said: 'The clerics who have come from Perrhe have now again presented a plaint to your holiness against the most devout Bishop Athanasius.<sup>21</sup> Now that the holy council is present, I have the plaint to hand, and if your holiness gives the order, I shall read it.'

17. Bishop Domnus said: 'Where are the plaintiffs?'

18. Tatian the deacon said: 'They are outside.'

19. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let them enter.'

20. Tatian the deacon said: 'Isaacius, who presented the plaint, is standing here.'

21. Bishop Domnus said: 'Did Isaacius alone present the plaint, or did others present it with him?'

22. Tatian the deacon said: 'Isaacius alone presented the plaint.'

20 To these names should be added Valerius of Laodicea, who speaks at 86. Bishops came from the provinces of Syria, Cilicia, Euphratensis, Osrhoene, and Phoenice, all within the sphere of Antiochene authority. Two bishops sent apologies (105). Athanasius produced an imperial mandate forbidding the attendance of not only Theodoret of Cyrrhus but also his metropolitan John of Hierapolis; as a result these two bishops attended the council but not as voting members (158).

21 These are probably the 'thirteen clerics' referred to by Athanasius at 161 below.

23. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let Isaacius say if it was he who presented the plaint.'

24. Isaacius the chief lector said: 'Yes, I beg your holiness.'

25. Bishop Domnus said: 'Read it.'

And it was read.

26. Bishop Domnus said: 'Since mention was also made of John the subdeacon, let him also enter.'

27. Tatian the deacon said: 'John the subdeacon is also present.'

28. Bishop Domnus said: 'Now that they are present, read the combined plaint.'

And it was read.

29. Bishop Domnus said: 'Where is this plaint?'

30. Tatian the deacon said: 'I have it to hand.'

31. Bishop Domnus said: 'Read it also.'

And it was read.

32. Bishop Domnus said: 'When we sent the case to the most blessed Panolbius, at that time metropolitan of the province, so that he could hear the suit, what was the outcome?'

33. Tatian the deacon said: 'I have a letter from the same most blessed Panolbius in which he informed us of the outcome.'

34. Bishop Domnus said: 'Read this also.'

And it was read.

35. Bishop Domnus said: 'Do you have copies of the letters of excuse of the most devout Bishop Athanasius?'

36. Tatian the deacon said: 'I have to hand both copies and the originals, received from the most God-beloved Bishop John of the metropolis of Hierapolis.'<sup>22</sup>

37. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let the originals be read in due sequence.'

And it was read.

38. Theodore bishop of Damascus said: 'That the blessed Panolbius, at that time bishop of Hierapolis, was kindly disposed towards the most devout Bishop Athanasius, the same most devout Bishop Athanasius affirmed in his own letters of excuse. It is clear that he declined a trial and did not entrust the hearing of his case even to his friend.'

39. Valerius bishop of Anazarbus said: 'It is clear that the most devout Bishop Athanasius was uneasy in his conscience over certain things that

<sup>22</sup> John was briefly bishop of Hierapolis, between Panolbius, who first condemned Athanasius, and Stephen, who consecrated Athanasius' successor Sabinianus (see 6).

were charged against him, since he was not willing to plead before his friend the most blessed Panolbius, according to the letters of excuse that he wrote.'

40. Pompeianus bishop of Emesa said: 'Since the blessed Bishop Panolbius was his friend, it is clear that the most devout Bishop Athanasius acted in this way from a guilty conscience.'

41. Polychronius bishop of Epiphaneia said: 'Since the most devout Bishop Athanasius did not entrust the accusation against him even to his own friend, it is clear that he declined a trial because he had a bad conscience.'

42. Iamblichus bishop of Chalcis said: 'If the most devout Bishop Athanasius had confidence in himself, he would not have excused himself from the hearing by his friend Panolbius, as he himself has acknowledged in his letters of excuse to him. It was presumably his conscience that drove him to decline the summons by the aforesaid blessed Panolbius.'

43. Damian bishop of Sidon said: 'The most devout Bishop Athanasius did himself a grave disservice and made himself liable to the holy canons, when, after being summoned a third time by Panolbius of devout memory, at that time bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis, he excused himself a third time and failed to appear.'

44. Gerontius bishop of Seleucia said: 'The most devout Bishop Athanasius did himself a grave disservice when he did not accept even his friend the blessed Panolbius, and when, even after being summoned to plead, he declined the hearing, as his three letters of excuse have revealed.'

45. Venetius the most devout bishop of Byblus said: 'The reading of the most devout Bishop Athanasius' letters of excuse have informed us that Panolbius, his then metropolitan, in whose presence he was to have made his defence, was a true friend to him. He had therefore no need to decline the summons unless his conscience in some way impeded him.'

46. Theoctistus bishop of Beroea said: 'If the most devout Bishop Athanasius had had a clear conscience, he would not have excused himself from the judgement of the blessed Panolbius, who was his friend.'

47. Epiphanius bishop of Arca said: 'The most devout Bishop Athanasius has shown that he deprived himself of the episcopate of the church of Perrhe by writing three letters of excuse, even though the blessed Panolbius, then bishop of Hierapolis, was his friend and would have been able, but for his qualms of conscience, to give an appropriate verdict.'



48. Maras bishop of Urima said: 'By declining the judgement of the blessed Panolbius, at that time bishop of Hierapolis, it is clear that the most devout Bishop Athanasius was convicted by his own conscience.'

49. Baranes bishop of Alexandria said: 'The most devout Bishop Athanasius did himself a grave disservice by failing to heed the then metropolitan blessed Panolbius, even though he was his friend. It is therefore clear that he declined this judgement and had recourse to excuses because he was burdened by a guilty conscience.'

50. Stephen bishop of Epiphaneia said: 'I think it superfluous after three letters of excuse, and ones that involved an oath, to subject to examination the case concerning the most devout Bishop Athanasius. For how can he choose to plead before this holy council, when he turns out to have declined the judgement of his own friend the blessed Panolbius, as he himself has stated in his letters of excuse?'

51. Phosphorus bishop of Orthosia said: 'The letters from the most devout Bishop Athanasius to the blessed Panolbius, at that time bishop of Hierapolis, make it clear that by declining judgement he abandoned the episcopate of Perrhe.'

52. John bishop of Theodosiopolis said: 'I too concur with the holy council in your decisions.'

53. Daniel bishop of Carrhae said: 'The letters of excuse sent by the most devout Bishop Athanasius to the blessed Bishop Panolbius have made it clear that by excusing himself from judgement he deprived himself of the episcopate.'

54. Sophronius bishop of Constantia said: 'From the letters of excuse that have been read, it is clear that the most devout Bishop Athanasius was unwilling to come for judgement and renounced the episcopate.'

55. Joseph bishop of Heliopolis said: 'By excusing himself a third time and declining to appear, to plead and to free himself of the charges brought against him before his friend the blessed Panolbius, at that time the bishop of the metropolis, it is clear that the most devout Bishop Athanasius had a bad conscience.'

56. Timothy bishop of Doliche said: 'After being summoned a third time by Panolbius of blessed memory, at that time bishop of the metropolis, the most devout Bishop Athanasius should at the start have appeared and made the appropriate defence, since in the letters that have now been read he described him as his friend. Therefore, since he repeatedly sent excuses when summoned, he has made himself answerable for the charges brought against him.'

57. Paul bishop of Ptolemais said: 'I declare the same as the right and lawful verdict on him of the holy fathers who have spoken before me.'
58. Paul bishop of Aradus said: 'Since he was summoned to a hearing a third time by the blessed Panolbius the bishop of the metropolis, even though he was his friend, as we have learnt from the letters read out, and renounced the episcopate of the church of Perrhe a third time, it is clear that the most devout Bishop Athanasius avoided the court because he was struck by a bad conscience.'
59. Sabas bishop of Paltus said: 'After excusing himself a third time and affirming on oath that another should be consecrated in his place, what further justification does the most devout Bishop Athanasius have for raising the matter of the episcopate of the holy church of God at Perrhe, especially after failing to plead before his friend the blessed Panolbius, at that time bishop of the metropolis?'
60. Maras bishop of Anasaritha said: 'The most devout Bishop Athanasius has shown that he genuinely enjoyed the friendship of the most blessed Panolbius the bishop of the metropolis, in the letters of excuse he sent him. In declining a hearing in his presence he clearly acted from a bad conscience.'
61. Bishop Domnus said: 'After these letters of excuse where did the most devout Bishop Athanasius reside?'
62. Isaacius the chief lector said: 'He left the city and lived in the territory of Samosata on his own on his estate, and again moved to the city of Samosata. Since there are clerics here, I ask your holy council to admit them to let them say what they themselves know.'
63. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let them enter.'
64. When they had entered, Tatian the deacon said: 'The most devout clerics are standing here.'
65. Domnus the most devout bishop said: 'Let the most devout priests and the most devout deacons stand according to rank.'
66. Bishop Theodore said: 'After the letters of excuse where did the most devout Bishop Athanasius reside?'<sup>23</sup>
67. Bishop Domnus said: 'What do the rest of the clerics say?'
68. Bishop Theodore said: 'Did he then return to Perrhe?'
69. Bishop Domnus said: 'How many did he ordain?'
70. Bishop Theodore said: 'Do you say that he performed these ordinations after his three letters of excuse?'

23 Here and in the rest of the Acts the answers given by the clerical witnesses are omitted.

71. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let the rest of the clerics say what they know and what ensued after this.'

72. Bishop Domnus said: 'Why did you go off to Hierapolis?'

73. Bishop Domnus said: 'I too know that Bishop Athanasius has been abroad, since he brought me letters from the most God-beloved and holy bishops, the lord Proclus and the lord Cyril.'

74. Bishop Theodore said: 'As for the sacred letters that the most God-beloved Bishop Athanasius brought from the most holy and God-beloved bishops, may your holiness order them to be read before the holy council.'

75. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let them be read.'

And they were read.<sup>24</sup>

76. Bishop Theodore said: 'It is apparent that the most devout Bishop Athanasius gave entirely false reports to the most holy and God-beloved archbishops the lord Proclus and the lord Cyril, since before his then metropolitan the blessed Panolbius, who was also his friend, as he himself revealed in the letters of excuse he presented, he had renounced the episcopate of Perrhe. He was not driven out by the clergy, as he claimed; but rather, after being summoned a third time by the blessed Panolbius, he excused himself from a hearing of the charges brought against him and abandoned the city, adding this in his letters of excuse, that two or three years earlier he had himself decided to resign the episcopate.'

77. Bishop Valerius said: 'I too have come to the opinion that the most devout Bishop Athanasius gave false information to the most God-beloved and holy archbishops Proclus and Cyril. For by his own will he renounced the episcopate in writing, and after being summoned a third time by the blessed Panolbius he declined judgement in three letters of excuse. He left the city of his own free will and was not driven out by his own clergy.'

78. Bishop Polychronius said: 'It is clear that the most God-beloved Bishop Athanasius has been talking idly about his own affair and has calumniated the most devout clergy of his church. For having resigned ecclesiastical ministry and gone away on a long absence a considerable time ago, he has ascribed the blame to them.'

79. Bishop Pompeianus said: 'We too have come to the same opinion, that the most devout Bishop Athanasius lied and told one story after another to the most God-beloved and holy archbishops Proclus and Cyril.'

24 These letters are given at 10–11 above.

80. Bishop Iamblichus said: 'The letters of excuse delivered by the most devout Bishop Athanasius to the blessed Panolbius, at that time bishop of the metropolis, who was also his friend, as he himself has informed us, inform us that he falsely calumniated his most devout clergy before the most holy archbishops Proclus and Cyril, since he abandoned the episcopate of Perrhe on his own initiative and affirmed on oath that another should be consecrated bishop in his place.'

81. Bishop Timothy said: 'I too have come to the same opinion as the most God-beloved bishops.'

82. Bishop Damian said: 'I am amazed at how the most devout Bishop Athanasius resisted the summons from the bishop of the metropolis the blessed Panolbius to defend himself, and how, after three times renouncing the episcopate, he pestered the most God-beloved archbishops Proclus and Cyril with entirely false reports.'

83. Bishop Gerontius said: 'I too have come to the same opinion, that the most devout Bishop Athanasius gave entirely false information to the most holy and God-beloved bishops, I mean Proclus and Cyril.'

84. Bishop Theoctistus said: 'I too have come to the same opinion, that the most devout Bishop Athanasius gave false information to the most holy and sacred archbishops, I mean Proclus and Cyril.'

85. Bishop Stephen said: 'I too have come to very much the same opinion, that the most devout Bishop Athanasius lied to the most holy and God-beloved archbishops Proclus and Cyril. For it transpires that he was not driven out by the clergy but rather sent in his resignations of his own free will.'

86. Valerius bishop of Laodicea said: 'I too have come to the same opinion as the holy council.'

87. {Bishop Epiphanius said: 'I too have come to the same opinion as the holy council.}'<sup>25</sup>

88. Bishop Baranes said: 'I too concur with the holy council of the most God-beloved bishops, and agree to that view which they have decided to be right.'

89. Bishop Joseph said: 'I too have come to the same opinion as the most God-beloved and holy bishops.'

90. Bishop Paul<sup>26</sup> said: 'I too have come to the same opinion as the holy fathers who have spoken before me, and am in agreement with them.'

25 Supplied from the Latin version.

26 Either Paul of Aradus or Paul of Ptolemais.

91. Bishop Maras<sup>27</sup> said: ‘The most devout Bishop Athanasius has been convicted of giving false information to the most God-beloved bishops.’
92. Bishop Sabas said: ‘If the most devout Bishop Athanasius loved retirement,<sup>28</sup> he should not have pestered the most holy fathers and archbishops Proclus and Cyril after his resignation and his oaths.’
93. Bishop John said: ‘I too have come to the same opinion.’
94. Bishop Daniel said: ‘I too have come to the like opinion.’
95. Bishop Sophronius said: ‘I too concur with the most God-beloved bishops before me.’
96. Bishop Domnus said: ‘When I received the letters of the most God-beloved bishops Proclus and Cyril, I remember that I summoned him here and also the most God-beloved bishops of the province, so that this case could be examined. Read therefore both letters.’<sup>29</sup>
97. Bishop Domnus said: ‘What did the most devout Bishop Athanasius write in reply to this?’
98. Bishop Domnus said: ‘Read also the letter that was written by the most God-beloved John bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis.’
99. Bishop Domnus said: ‘I know that when I received the letter from the most devout Bishop Athanasius I immediately convened the holy council here present in accordance with his appeal, and wrote to him that he should appear as soon as the holy council was assembled. Read therefore the letter I wrote to him.’
100. Bishop Domnus said: ‘What did the most devout Bishop Athanasius write in reply to this?’
101. Bishop Domnus said: ‘Read also the synodical letter addressed to him.’
102. Bishop Domnus said: ‘Who delivered this letter to him?’
103. Bishop Domnus said: ‘What was said in addition orally by the most devout Bishop Athanasius?’
104. Bishop Domnus said: ‘Read also the letter written by him to the holy council.’

27 Either Maras of Anasartha or Maras of Urima.

28 See 123 below for Athanasius giving as his reason for resigning his see his desire for retirement (ἡσυχία, literally ‘tranquillity’).

29 The reference is not to the two letters from Proclus and Cyril (read out shortly before, at 75), but to Domnus’ letter to Athanasius and letter to the other bishops, summoning them to the council. Here, as in the following paragraphs, neither the documents read out nor the responses to Domnus are given.

105. Tatian the deacon said: 'I also have the letters of the most God-beloved bishops the lord Ibas and the lord Andrew<sup>30</sup> which they sent when summoned by your holiness and were unable to present themselves.'
106. Bishop Domnus said: 'Read them also in order.'
107. Tatian the deacon said: 'The most devout subdeacon Philip of the holy church of God at Perrhe has presented an additional plaint to the holy council, and if your holiness gives the order, I shall read it.'
108. Bishop Domnus said: 'Read it.'
109. Bishop Theodore said: 'Is the information contained in the plaint known only to you, or to others as well?'
110. Philip the subdeacon said: 'They are known as well to the most devout presbyter and former administrator Fronto.'
111. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let the most devout presbyter Fronto say what he knows about this matter.'
112. Bishop Domnus said: 'Who is this Domnica?'
113. Bishop Theodore said: 'Who knows this?'
114. Fronto the presbyter said: 'Theophilus the deacon, who stayed with the most devout Bishop Athanasius.'
115. Bishop Theodore said: 'What do you know about the matter of the silver columns, if it is true that you were with the most devout Bishop Athanasius at that time?'
116. Bishop Domnus said: 'Let those whom the presbyter Fronto has mentioned say what they know.'
117. Bishop Theodore said: 'If those whom the most devout {presbyter}<sup>31</sup> mentioned are here, let them testify what they know with their own voice.'
118. Tatian the deacon said: 'The deacons Maris and Theophilus are present.'
119. Bishop Theodore said: 'What do you know about the matter?'
120. Bishop Domnus said: 'Read it.'
121. Bishop Theodore said: 'It is as if what has already been said in testimony was not sufficient to scandalize the hearing of all.'
122. Bishop Domnus said: 'What is the opinion of your holy council as to what ought to be done?'

30 These bishops are the notorious Ibas of Edessa and possibly Andrew of Samosata, famous for his attacks on Cyril of Alexandria around the time of the First Council of Ephesus and still alive certainly in 444, though not by 449.

31 Supplied from the Latin version. All the MSS give the name of this presbyter as Maris, which must be a mistake for Fronto.

123. Bishop Theodore said: 'If Bishop Athanasius cared about his reputation, he would not have declined an examination of the charges brought against him, especially when the hearing had been assigned to the blessed Panolbius, then bishop of Hierapolis, who was his friend and kindly disposed towards him, as the same Athanasius has repeatedly indicated in his own letters. Summoned by him three times to the hearing, he failed to comply, but on the third occasion renounced the episcopate of Perrhe in writing, in a letter he sent to the same blessed Panolbius, in which he even requested it, saying that he wanted to embrace retirement. This he did not do, but made long journeys to pester the hearing of the most holy and God-beloved archbishops, I mean my lord Proclus and my lord Cyril, giving the aforementioned men entirely false information. Even after this, when repeatedly summoned both by our holy father and archbishop my lord Domnus and also by the holy council to clear himself of the charges brought against him, he refused to appear. What then do the ecclesiastical statutes require? That whoever is accused of outrageous conduct and fails to present himself after a third summons is to be stripped of his rank. It is apparent that the aforementioned Athanasius<sup>32</sup> has been summoned and failed to comply not only a third time but still more frequently, and has refused to answer the charges brought against him. Because of this I pronounce him deprived of the priesthood according to the ecclesiastical statutes, and I say that the most God-beloved bishop of Hierapolis, the lord John, should consecrate a bishop of Perrhe according to law as quickly as possible, so that the same city may at long last be at peace and be relieved from the tumult and disorder which it has suffered in this two-year period.'

124. Bishop Valerius said: 'Since it is apparent that the aforesaid Athanasius rejected an examination of his case some time ago and declined the judgement of the blessed Panolbius, and also of the one who subsequently became his metropolitan, and that now, when summoned according to law by the common father and archbishop Domnus and the holy council assembled here, he has likewise declined an investigation, pleading various reasons for postponement, it is clear that he should be condemned. Therefore I also have declared him deprived of the priesthood and the dignity of a bishop. Another bishop must certainly be

32 From this point onwards Athanasius is referred to without an honorific and either with no title or as 'former bishop'. His deposition took immediate effect as soon as the first bishop had pronounced his condemnation.

consecrated there, since this one has been degraded once and for all, so that there may now at last be an end to the orphaned state imposed on the city of Perrhe.’

125. Bishop Timothy said: ‘Right and just is the verdict passed by the holy council assembled here on the aforesaid Athanasius. After being summoned so many times according to lawful procedure by his metropolitan the blessed Panolbius, by the most God-beloved and holy Bishop John our metropolitan, by the holy council here present, and in addition by the most holy and God-beloved Domnus our bishop, he did not comply but contrived a variety of delays; so let him blame himself for his total loss of the high-priesthood. Therefore I too concur with the canonical and lawful verdict of your holy council, and urge that a bishop be consecrated for the holy church of Perrhe, so that both ourselves and the same holy church may be relieved of trial and tribulation.’

126. Bishop Maras<sup>33</sup> said: ‘I too concur with the same, and pronounce Athanasius, the former bishop of Perrhe, deprived of high-priestly honour, because he ignored a repeated summons, and I urge that a bishop be consecrated in his place for the church of Perrhe as soon as possible.’

127. Bishop Pompeianus {of Emesa}<sup>34</sup> said: ‘With the canonical and ecclesiastical verdicts of the most holy and God-beloved metropolitans Theodore and Valerius, I too concur, since their judgement is just, and I too have given sentence that Athanasius the former bishop of Perrhe is entirely deprived both of the episcopate and of high-priestly rank, and I urge that another be installed in his place as bishop of the same city, so that the same holy church of God at Perrhe may now at last be relieved of disorder and disturbance.’

128. Bishop Iamblichus said: ‘I too confirm the lawful and canonical decrees of the most God-beloved bishops, I mean the metropolitans Theodore and Valerius, concerning Athanasius, the one-time bishop of Perrhe. I therefore ask the most holy Bishop John his metropolitan, now that he has forfeited the episcopate according to your decision, to give another leader to the holy church of Perrhe.’

129. Bishop Uranius {of Sura}<sup>35</sup> said: ‘Since Bishop Athanasius was summoned to answer the serious and criminal charges brought against him and failed to comply with the lawful summons of our archbishop the

33 There is no way of determining which of the two bishops called Maras (of Anasartha or Urima) speaks here and which at 141.

34 Supplied from the Latin version.

35 Supplied from the Latin version.



most God-beloved and holy Domnus and the present holy and great council because of his qualms of bad conscience, I too pronounce him to be unworthy and deprived of every ecclesiastical ministry and of the title of bishop.'

130. Bishop Damian said: 'Athanasius, the former bishop of the church of Perrhe, when accused of certain charges and summoned by the most blessed Panolbius his then metropolitan, who was concerned about him, ought to have complied and made use of his rights. This he did not do, but went on long journeys to pester the hearing of the most God-beloved bishops Proclus and Cyril, and brought letters, because of which he was again summoned by the most sacred Domnus our archbishop and the holy council, and refused to comply. Because of his failure to do so I too have given sentence that he is deprived of high-priestly dignity, and that the most God-beloved Bishop John, bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis, should appoint a leader for the holy church of Perrhe in his place.'

131. Bishop Polychronius said: 'Athanasius, who was formerly bishop of Perrhe, has caused us wailing and lamentation. For when accused on various charges he declined judgement when summoned a third time by the blessed Panolbius bishop of Hierapolis, even though he was his friend, as he himself declared in his letters of excuse. And now too, though summoned many times by the most God-beloved and holy archbishop the lord Domnus and the council assembled here, he has refused to comply with the summons, and has persisted for a long time in mocking and trampling on the ecclesiastical statutes. In consequence of his behaviour he has cut himself off from priestly ministry and from the title of bishop, and may he be deposed by my sentence as well. Another is to be consecrated bishop for the holy church in Perrhe, one able to free the city of the evils that have befallen it.'

132. Bishop Theoctistus said: 'I concur with the right and lawful decrees of the holy council to deprive Athanasius, the former bishop of Perrhe, of high-priestly honour, and I decree that a replacement should be consecrated bishop for the holy church of Perrhe.'

133. Bishop Venetius said: 'I concur with the canonical verdicts of the holy council, and I myself pronounce that Athanasius, who was bishop of Perrhe, is deprived of the high-priesthood for the future, and that his replacement should be appointed leader for the church of God.'

134. Bishop Gerontius said: 'Since Athanasius the former bishop of Perrhe was summoned many times by his metropolitan the blessed Panolbius, by the most God-beloved John bishop of the metropolis of

Hierapolis, by our all-holy archbishop Domnus, and in addition by the holy council here present, and yet failed to appear, I too pronounce him deprived of the episcopate according to the ecclesiastical statutes, and urge that a bishop be consecrated in his place for the holy church of God at Perrhe as soon as possible.’

135. Bishop Stephen said: ‘Since, when accused on serious charges and summoned many times, Athanasius the former bishop of the city of Perrhe failed to comply on a single occasion but chose to go on a long journey and pester the hearing of the most God-beloved bishops Proclus and Cyril, and, when in consequence he was summoned again by the primate of the diocese of the Orient and the assembled holy council, he did not comply even then, he deserves to be degraded from the high-priesthood, with another being installed in his place as leader for the aforesaid holy church.’

136. Bishop Joseph said: ‘Athanasius the former bishop of the church of Perrhe ought to have presented himself to answer the charges brought against him, but since despite repeated summonses he failed to do so, the present holy council has pronounced sentence on him in accordance with the ecclesiastical statutes. I too concur with all its lawful decrees and give sentence that he is deprived of the high-priesthood, and that another should be installed in his place as leader for the holy church of God at Perrhe.’

137. Bishop Phosphorus said: ‘I too agree with the lawful decrees of the holy council, and I have given sentence that the aforesaid Athanasius is deprived of the episcopate, and urge and confirm that another should be appointed in his place as bishop for the church of Perrhe.’

138. Bishop Thomas said: ‘The accusers of Athanasius used frequently and of old to trouble the blessed Panolbius the then bishop of the metropolis, the most holy lord Domnus our archbishop, and now the holy council, and there were many summonses so that an examination of the charges might be held. By failing to present himself Athanasius has deposed himself from the functions of the high-priesthood; and after the verdict of the holy council, the holy church of God at Perrhe, after remaining so long without a protector, will of necessity obtain a leader properly ordained by the most God-beloved metropolitan and the most God-beloved bishops of the province.’

139. Bishop Paul {of Ptolemais}<sup>36</sup> said: ‘I concur with the sentence of this holy council, and pronounce the aforesaid Athanasius deprived of

36 Supplied from the Latin version.

the episcopate, and pronounce that his replacement for the holy church of God at Perrhe should be consecrated immediately.’

140. Bishop Paul {of Aradus and Antaradus}<sup>37</sup> said: ‘I am in accord with the ecclesiastical and canonical decrees of the holy council, and declare Athanasius the former bishop of Perrhe deprived of high-priestly honour, and pronounce that another should be quickly appointed in his place for the same holy church of God.’

141. Bishop Maras said: ‘I too concur with the same, and declare Athanasius the former bishop of Perrhe deprived of high-priestly honour, since he ignored a repeated summons, and I pronounce that another should be consecrated in his place for the holy church of God at Perrhe.’

142. Bishop Baranes said: ‘I too speak in harmony with the lawful decrees of the most God-beloved bishops present, and declare the same Athanasius totally deprived of high-priestly honour and the dignity of a bishop, and pronounce that another should be consecrated in his place for the holy church of God at Perrhe.’

143. Bishop Epiphanius said: ‘I concur with the fine and lawful verdicts of the holy council, and declare Athanasius the former bishop of Perrhe deprived of high-priestly honour, and pronounce that another should quickly be consecrated for the same church of Perrhe, able to administer it according to the will of God.’

144. Bishop Jordanes said: ‘I concur with the fine verdicts that the holy council has delivered according to the ecclesiastical canons, and declare Athanasius the former bishop of Perrhe deprived of high-priestly honour, and pronounce that another should be consecrated in his place for the holy church of God at Perrhe.’

145.<sup>38</sup> Bishop John {of Theodosiopolis}<sup>39</sup> said: ‘I too concur with the canonical and lawful verdicts of the divine council, and pronounce Athanasius deprived of the episcopate, and resolve that another should be appointed leader for the church of Perrhe.’

146. Bishop Daniel said: ‘I agree with all the canonical decisions of the holy council, and pronounce Athanasius deprived of the episcopate, and declare that another should be consecrated in his place for the city of Perrhe.’

37 Supplied from the Latin version.

38 For the rest of the session we follow the numbering of the Latin edition: Schwartz’s edition of the Greek repeats the numbers 142–4.

39 Supplied from the Latin version.

147. Bishop Sophronius said: 'Following the canonical and lawful decrees of the holy council, I too pronounce Athanasius deprived of the episcopate, and resolve that another should be appointed in his place for the holy church of God at Perrhe.'

148. Bishop Sabas said: 'I concur with everything that has been said and agree with the verdict of the holy council; I have resolved that Athanasius is deprived of high-priestly honour, since, when summoned by the whole province, by his metropolitans, by our most holy father and teacher, and by the entire holy council here present, he failed to comply. And I resolve that another should be appointed bishop in his place for the holy church of God at Perrhe, one able to free the city of the evils that have befallen it.'

149. Bishop Domnus said: 'It was repugnant to me to pronounce such a sentence against a bishop. But since the holy council has agreed that Athanasius is deservedly deprived of the episcopate according to the ecclesiastical statutes on the grounds that, when accused of many charges and grave ones too, he always declined judgement and an examination of the case, I too confirm this and agree with the common decision of all, pronouncing him deprived of the priesthood, and I entrust to the most God-beloved Bishop John and the most religious bishops of the province the consecration of another in his place as bishop for the holy church of God in Perrhe.'

150. The signatures of the bishops recorded above.

*(Chalcedon)*

151. The most glorious officials said: 'If any of those who joined Domnus at that time in deposing the most devout Bishop Athanasius are seated in the most holy council, let them come forward to the centre.'

152. When there had come forward to the centre Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia, Damian the most devout bishop of Sidon, Joseph the most devout bishop of Heliopolis, Sabas the most devout bishop of Paltus, and Sophronius the most devout bishop of Constantia, the most glorious officials said: 'Let the most devout and holy bishops say for what reason they deposed at that time the most devout Bishop Athanasius.'

153. Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus said: 'Clerics of the church of Perrhe had brought charges against him, and when summoned he failed to appear, saying that he had certain enemies. When summoned a

second time, he again failed to appear. When the third summons was issued in his regard and he failed to comply, a sentence of degradation was pronounced upon him according to the canons.’

154. Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea said: ‘When summoned a third time by the council that met at Antioch, the most devout Bishop Athanasius failed to appear and was condemned for failing to appear.’

155. Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia said: ‘We deposed him because he was canonically summoned a third time and failed to present himself. He was deposed in accordance with the canons by all those then assembled. For there were grave charges in the complaints against him and he was canonically summoned but failed to present himself.’

156. Damian the most devout bishop of Sidon said: ‘When summoned a third time by the holy council convoked at Antioch, the most devout Bishop Athanasius did not comply. He was deposed in accordance with the canons by all those then assembled.’

157. Joseph the most devout bishop of Heliopolis said: ‘When summoned a first, a second and a third time to the holy council that met in the audience-hall at Antioch, the most devout Athanasius failed to appear and was subjected to deposition.’

158. Sabas the most devout bishop of Paltus said: ‘I was in the courtroom; Athanasius produced an imperial mandate to the effect that neither the lord Theodoret nor the metropolitan John should take their seats in court. The two took their seats in the court, and I said to them, “If you are judges, then hear the case; if you are not going to sign, then simply leave.” A dispute erupted, and they did not want to sign.<sup>40</sup> Finally he was summoned a third time and failed to come, and for this we deposed him.’

159. Sophronius the most devout bishop of Constantia said: ‘None of the charges against him was examined, and nothing was examined in his presence face to face, but it was those of one faction who accused him. But we did not trust that one faction, because the accusers say what they like and one should not give entire credence to those bringing the accusation. For this reason he was summoned once; he gave the ground for failing to appear which is contained in the minutes. He was again summoned a second time, and again summoned a third time. It was because he failed to comply with the third summons that a sentence deposing him was pronounced.’

40 Because of the imperial mandate excluding them, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and John of Hierapolis, though present at the council, did not count as formal participants, and accordingly declined to sign the conciliar Acts.

160. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the most devout Bishop Athanasius say why, when summoned a third time by the holy council at Antioch, he failed to present himself to make his own defence.'

161. Athanasius the most devout bishop said: 'Because the judge, the [bishop] of Antioch, was himself my enemy. I request that this be read out and the truth revealed. The thirteen clerics had departed, and they passed sentence reluctantly.'<sup>41</sup>

162. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Since the most devout Bishop Sabinianus was appointed by the council of the province after the deposition of the most devout Athanasius, he ought to remain, as we decree, in possession of the episcopate of the city of Perrhe: it is not right that he be deposed by one faction and be judged in advance, since neither was he summoned nor has his right to defence been respected. Athanasius, who was deposed for failing to heed the summonses but was later directed by Dioscorus at the behest of one faction to claim the episcopate, should, as we decree, remain in retirement for the time being. We require the suit involving charges against him to be investigated before the most sacred Bishop Maximus of Antioch and his council in such a way that within eight months from today an examination takes place of those who have already brought accusations against him and of anyone else who is pressing the case. If he be convicted of having committed all the criminal and financial misdeeds charged against him and recorded in the minutes, or just one of them, if it deserves deposition, he is not only to be deprived of the episcopate itself but also answer to the laws of the state. If, however, within this time limit he is either not indicted or indicted but not convicted, as has already been said, then Athanasius is to receive back the episcopate and church of the same city from the most sacred Bishop Maximus of the great city of Antioch, while the most devout Sabinianus is to retain the dignity of episcopacy and be supported as someone replaced,<sup>42</sup> according to whatever the most devout Bishop Maximus of Antioch may decree in the light of the means of the most holy church at Perrhe. Having heard this, let the most holy council say if it will endorse this decree, or decree something else.'

41 Athanasius appears to be referring to his letters to Domnus and the council at Antioch, which were read out (after 97, 100 and 104) but not included in the minutes. The 13 clerics were presumably the plaintiffs and witnesses against him who feature in the minutes of the council of Antioch at 16–31, 62–72 and 107–21 above.

42 That is, receive the appropriate pension for a bishop in retirement. Compare the provision made for Domnus of Antioch (in the session on Domnus) and for Bassianus and Stephen of Ephesus (XII. 26).

163. Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch said: 'Nothing could be more just than this.'

164. Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus said: 'God has spoken through you.'

165. The holy council said: 'Nothing could be more just, nothing more exact. This is a just judgement, this is a just verdict. Let this decree be put into effect. You judge with the help of God.'

166. The most magnificent and glorious officials said: 'Let what we have resolved and the holy council decreed remain in force.'

## THE FIFTEENTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

This the second session held on 31 October 451 is numbered as the sixteenth act in the Greek Acts and omitted from the Latin version. It consisted of no more than the presentation by the Roman delegates, and the reading to the council, of a letter from Pope Leo, dating to late June 451, in both the Latin original and a Greek translation. The minutes end abruptly after the reading of the letter, and it is unclear why it was read to the council at this late stage of the proceedings.

### COMMENTARY

Hefele-Leclerq commented, 'One is at a loss to explain why this letter reached the council so late and at a time when for the assembled fathers it served no useful purpose.'<sup>1</sup> Evangelos Chrysos has suggested that these minutes are fictitious, contrived to fill a gap in the record when it was decided to suppress the minutes of the session held on this day at which the privileges of the see of Constantinople were discussed and decreed for the first time.<sup>2</sup> The reason for the suppression, he opines, is that the minutes contained the arguments of those opposed to the claims of Constantinople. The letter from Pope Leo that was used to fill the gap (in this theory) states the competence of the pope's representatives, containing as it does the words, 'In these brethren, that is, Bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the presbyters Boniface and Basil, who have been despatched by the see of the apostles, let your fraternity deem me to be presiding over the council.' Chrysos suggests that the reason for its inclusion at this point in the Acts was to undermine the claim of the Roman delegates that they could not approve the bestowal of new privileges on the see of Constantinople since 'they had not received such a mandate' (XVI. 6). However, a more likely reason for the

1 Hefele-Leclerq, II.2, 766.

2 Chrysos 1971, 276–7, 283–4. For the session in question, see XVI. 4–9.



omission of the minutes of this session is that, since neither the imperial nor the papal representatives took part, its status was uncertain and, after the following session, which covered the same ground more authoritatively, its inclusion in the Acts would have served no purpose. As for the letter, once the papal representatives had adopted the more forthright position of rejecting the validity of the new decree (XVI. 4.45), it was pointless to attempt to refute their earlier position. Chrysos' suggestion fails to convince.

One could with more plausibility suggest that the Roman delegates were aware that a proposal, unwelcome to Rome, on the privileges of the see of Constantinople was about to come up and presented this letter at this juncture as a timely reminder of the authority of Pope Leo and his representatives. The link between the delegates' authority and their resistance to the pretensions of Constantinople was later made directly in a letter from Leo to Anatolius of Constantinople (Documents after the Council 10), 'Our brethren despatched by the apostolic see, who presided in my stead at the council, resisted these unlawful attempts persistently and commendably.'

But all such suggestions are mere speculation. The minutes break off abruptly after the reading of the letter, which makes it hazardous to guess the context of what, after all, is a mere fragment.

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, one day before the Kalends of November,<sup>3</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) and the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

2. There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople, (5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy archbishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius the

<sup>3</sup> 31 October 451.

most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, (11) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see of Rome, (18) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilocheus the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (29) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (30) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (31) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (32) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (33) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (34) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (35) Eustathius the most devout bishop of Berytus, (36) Apragmonius the most devout bishop [of Tieum], representing Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (37) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (38) Photinus archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (39) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra in Lycia, (40) Critonianus<sup>4</sup> the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (41) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (42) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (43) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (44) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (45) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (46) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus, (47) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (48) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (49) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (50) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis,

4 The MSS wrongly give this name as Nunechius and the following as Critonianus (cf. XIV. 2.40–41 and similar lists).

(51) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (52) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (53) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John bishop of Rhodes, (54) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (55) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (56) Eusebius, presbyter, representing Macarius bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (57) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convened by decree of our most divine and pious master in the city of Chalcedon.

3. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, Boniface the presbyter, representing the apostolic see of Senior Rome, said: 'The apostolic bishop and [bishop] of the apostolic city of Rome, my master Leo, has sent a letter to the most holy council; order that it be received and read.'

4. The most glorious officials said: 'Let the letter of the most devout Leo archbishop of Rome be read.'

5. When Julian the most devout bishop of the city of Cos, himself also representing the apostolic see, had presented the original Latin letter and also the translation of it, Constantine the hallowed secretary read it out, as follows:

6.<sup>5</sup> *Bishop Leo to the holy council at Chalcedon,<sup>6</sup> greetings to his beloved brothers in the Lord.*

*It was my prayer, beloved, according to the disposition pertaining to our fellowship, that all the priests of the Lord would be allied in a single zeal for the Catholic faith, and that no one, choosing the wrong in view of favour, or fear, of worldly power, would be diverted from the way of truth. But because many things often come to pass that can generate repentance, and the mercy of God surpasses the faults of offenders, and punishment is for this reason placed in suspense that there can be a place for amendment, it is right to embrace the plan, full of piety, of the most serene emperor, by which he willed your holy fraternity to convene for the frustration of the intrigues of*

5 Leo, *ep.* 93. We translate the Greek version, read out at the council and preserved in the Greek Acts of this session. The Latin original was also read out, and is preserved in the *Collectio Grimanica* of the letters of Leo; for a translation, see Documents before the Council 10. Apart from the heading and the date, for which see the following two notes, there are no discrepancies between the two versions.

6 The original text as given in the Greek and Latin letter collections (*ACO* 2.1 p. 31; 2.4 p. 51) is addressed to the council at Nicaea, since the letter was written (in late June) before the place of meeting was changed to Chalcedon.

*the devil and the restoration of the peace of the church, while the rights and honour of the most blessed Peter the Apostle were safeguarded to the extent of his inviting us also in his letters to bestow our presence on the holy council. This, however, is permitted neither by the pressure of the times nor by any precedent; yet in these brethren, that is, Bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the presbyters Boniface and Basil, who have been despatched by the see of the apostles, let your fraternity deem me to be presiding over the council. You are not deprived of my attendance, since I am present in my representatives and through the preaching of the catholic faith do not fail to ensure that you cannot be in ignorance of what we believe about ancient tradition or in doubt as to what is our desire.*

*Therefore, most dear brethren, through banishing impudent argumentation against the faith divinely revealed, may the futile infidelity of the erring cease, and may no one defend what it is not meet to believe, since, in accordance with the authority of the gospels, the sayings of the prophets and the teaching of the apostles, the letter which we sent to Bishop Flavian of blessed memory has already declared most fully and most lucidly what is the pious and pure confession of the mystery of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

*Because we know that through some vicious factionalism the condition of many churches was disrupted and that a great number of bishops were expelled from their sees and sent into exile because they would not accept heresy, and others were put in the place of those still alive, before everything else the remedy of justice should be applied to these wrongs, and no one should be so deprived of his own that another enjoys what is another's; for if, as is agreeable to us, all abandon error, no one need lose his rank, but those who have laboured on behalf of the faith should have their rights restored together with all their privileges. Let there, however, remain in force the decrees specifically against Nestorius of the earlier council of Ephesus, at which Bishop Cyril of holy memory then presided, lest the impiety then condemned should in any way deceive itself because Eutyches has been struck down through being justly anathematized. For the purity of faith and teaching, which we proclaim in the same spirit as did our holy fathers, condemns and prosecutes equally the heresy of both Nestorius and Eutyches together with their leaders.*

*Fare well in the Lord, most dear brethren.*

*Issued five days before the Kalends of July.<sup>7</sup>*

7 27 June [451]. The Latin text reads 'six days before the Kalends of July', i.e., 26 June.

## THE SIXTEENTH SESSION

### INTRODUCTION

This session is numbered as the sixteenth act in the Latin Acts and the seventeenth in the Greek.<sup>1</sup> Both texts give as its date 28 October 451, which is certainly wrong; an argument for 1 November will be advanced at the end of our commentary. The session heard an appeal from the Roman delegates against a decree (later called ‘Canon 28’ of Chalcedon), adopted at an informal meeting of the bishops on the previous day, which recognized Constantinople as the first see in the east, ranking above Alexandria and Antioch, and assigned it authority over the bishoprics in Thrace, Asia and Pontus. The Roman delegates objected that this contravened the canons of the Council of Nicaea (which, of course, had met before Constantinople was even founded). They could not believe that the bishops had freely agreed to the decree and attempted to veto it as an insult to the Roman see, which had not been consulted and was hostile to the innovation. The council thereby ended on a sour note.

### COMMENTARY

The session opened with a complaint from the Roman representatives that at an informal meeting of the council in their absence, and also without the participation of the imperial representatives, a canon was approved ‘in contravention of the canons and ecclesiastical discipline’ (4); the Roman legates had themselves chosen not to attend (6), perhaps out of fear that in the absence of the emperor’s representatives they would be unable to make

<sup>1</sup> Rusticus *ad loc.* informs us that the MS in the Acoemete monastery at Constantinople that he consulted called this session the ‘eighth act’. Even though he says that it was placed *after* the session on Theodoret (our Session VIII), this must mean that it originally came immediately after the 27 Canons (which in both this and the other Greek MSS were numbered as the ‘seventh act’). This position was doubtless intended to give greater prominence to Canon 28 by placing it as near as possible to the Definition, as is noted by Chrysos 1971, 275.

their voice heard.<sup>2</sup> The archdeacon of Constantinople replied that the meeting had been held with the knowledge and approval of the imperial representatives.<sup>3</sup> The controversial canon was then read out (8). It was the famous ‘Canon 28’ of Chalcedon (as it came to be called), according privileges to the see of Constantinople, namely a ranking second only to the see of Rome and concretely the right to consecrate the metropolitan bishops of the Thracian, Asian and Pontic dioceses.<sup>4</sup> To the canon were appended the signatures of 182 bishops; the bishops of Illyricum, who owed allegiance to the papacy, are conspicuous by their absence. The canon begins by referring to the decree (Canon 3) of the Council of Constantinople of 381 on the status of the see of Constantinople: the Roman delegates promptly denied its authority.<sup>5</sup> The chairman asked both sides to present the canons that supported their case; the Romans presented the western version of Canon 6 of Nicaea on the privileges of the major sees (16), while the archdeacon of Constantinople presented the authentic version of the same canon and in addition the decree of 381 just mentioned (17–18). If discussion ensued (as surely it must have done), it is not recorded in the minutes.

Instead the minutes proceed immediately to the action of the chairman in asking the eastern bishops who had signed the new canon to testify whether they had done so willingly or, as the papal representative Lucentius claimed, under duress. Of the 16 Thracian, Asian and Pontic metropolitan bishops

2 For this anxiety, see Documents before the Council 14. In a subsequent letter to Pope Leo (Documents after the Council 8) Anatolius of Constantinople expressed surprise that the Roman delegates opposed the decree even though ‘they had often been instructed by us on the matter’: clearly he had briefed them and understood their absence from the meeting to imply consent. Compare the situation over the Definition where it is plausible to suppose that Anatolius did not anticipate that the draft text, approved at a preliminary meeting (V. 7–8, 12), would be rejected by the Roman delegates.

3 It is actually described as the second *actio* of the ‘eleventh session’ (i.e., that of 31 October) in the summary of the proceedings of the council in Liberatus, *Breviarium*, *ACO* 2.5 p. 123. 8–12.

4 The right may seem trivial, since the actual election of each metropolitan was to take place in the province according to the traditional norms, as is stated at the end of the canon and was confirmed by the chairman at the close of the formal session (43). But, apart from the financial benefits in being the consecrator (see 37), the bishop of Constantinople would be able to block candidates of whom he disapproved, and, more importantly, he would be the supreme arbiter over appeals brought against the provincial metropolitans.

5 Note that the canons of Constantinople were not included in the collection of canons often cited at the council (see p. 94, n. 6 below). Yet Eusebius of Dorylaeum claimed that earlier in the same year he had read out the offending canon to Pope Leo, who had not objected to it (31).

who were present (in person or represented) and had signed the canon, 10 testified individually that they had done so freely (20–30) and none dissented;<sup>6</sup> it is clear from the bishops' comments that it was already common practice for the bishop of Constantinople to consecrate the metropolitans in these dioceses.<sup>7</sup> The chairman then asked for the views of those present who had not signed, who included 10 metropolitans in the dioceses affected (34).<sup>8</sup> Just two responded, in weasel words. Eusebius of Ancyra, while insisting that he had no desire personally to perform consecrations, pointed out that it had been customary for the bishop of Ancyra to consecrate the bishop of Gangra, the metropolis of Paphlagonia (35); the implication was that it was Ancyra, not Constantinople, that had traditionally possessed authority over the churches of the Pontic diocese. He also objected to the extortionate consecration fees that had at times been exacted by the bishop and clergy of Constantinople (37), though he hastily added that he brought no charge against Bishop Anatolius personally (39).<sup>9</sup> The other metropolitan in this category who responded to the chairman's question was Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who gave an evasive reply (42). Yet the issue was contentious, if we bear in mind the acute distress expressed by the bishops of the province of Asia at an earlier session (XI. 53–60) at the prospect of their metropolitan being appointed by Constantinople, and also such earlier incidents as the rejection by the church of Cyzicus of the bishop, Proclus, appointed for them by Atticus of Constantinople. It is manifest that, while a majority of the bishops directly affected seemed content with the new canon, there was a sizeable minority who had no liking for the measure but recognized that it would be impolitic to oppose it. Again the lack of free debate at the council is striking.

The chairman proceeded to express his support for the canon, expanding on the proper procedures for episcopal election and consecration (43): he pointed out how, according to the canon, the bishop of Constantinople was to ordain the metropolitans in the Thracian, Asian and Pontic dioceses but

6 I omit Chalcedon (25), since its new metropolitan status was only titular (VI. 21).

7 See also Jones, *LRE*, 890–92. The whole of Jones's discussion of the development of patriarchates in this period, 883–94, provides a valuable commentary on the issues.

8 The bishops of Ancyra, Caesarea, Ephesus, Melitene, Neocaesarea, Nicomedia, Perge, Sebasteia, Side and Tyana.

9 Compare the fear of the bishops of Asia that, if a new metropolitan were to be consecrated at Constantinople, 'our children will perish and the city will be ruined' (XI. 53). For the fixing of consecration fees (paid to both the ordaining bishops and the assistant clergy) by the emperor Justinian, see Jones, *LRE*, 909–10. There was a thin dividing line between such fees and simony, condemned in Canon 2 of the council.

not the other bishops – a restriction that had hitherto often been breached.<sup>10</sup> At this point the papal representative Lucentius uttered his *contradicitur* – a formal protest rejecting the canon (45).<sup>11</sup> Pope Leo was subsequently to confirm this, in letters to Marcian, Pulcheria, and Bishop Anatolius of Constantinople.<sup>12</sup>

At the end of the sessions the bishops pleaded for the dissolution of the council (44). The imperial representatives had already at the beginning of the twelfth session expressed their impatience with the way that the council was being dragged out by business of secondary importance (XII. 2). The debate over Canon 28 at least enabled the council to end on a high note. There was still work to be done – Canons 1–27 had to be issued and the decrees of the council had to be promulgated and promoted –, but this fell, first and foremost, to the government and the see of Constantinople. The bishops at Chalcedon had completed their work.

### **The Roman objections**

What was the reason for the strong Roman objection to a canon to which there was no effective opposition in the east? The Roman delegates had certainly been slow to wake up to the importance of the issue. At the first session the chief Roman delegate, Bishop Paschasinus, had criticized Ephesus II for not according the bishop of Constantinople first place among the eastern bishops (I. 72), while the authority of the see of Constantinople in Asia Minor had surfaced at subsequent sessions without the Roman delegates registering disapproval.<sup>13</sup> Lucentius, when pressed as to what in his instructions made him object to the canon, quoted a document that forbade any derogation from the honour of the Roman see (14). It has often been asserted that, by linking primacy to the status of an imperial city, shared by both Rome and Constantinople, the canon challenged Roman

10 An example is the consecration of the bishops of Basilinopolis at Constantinople (XIII. 37), linked to the active role of Constantinople in the affairs of the neighbouring diocese of Nicaea (see our commentary on Session XIII); for further examples see Jones, *LRE*, 891. Defending the canon in a letter to Pope Leo, Anatolius of Constantinople was to point out that it reduced, rather than increased, the number of bishops to be consecrated at Constantinople (Documents after the Council 8).

11 Note how Lucentius asked the chairman to annul the canon and, failing that, informed the council that the pope would issue an appropriate judgement. He did not claim to be able to veto the canon himself.

12 See Documents after the Council 9, 10, 13.

13 See XI. 53–61; XIII. 7, 12, 19, 20, 37, 39, 40.



primacy, even if it specified that Constantinople ranked second to Rome. But this is a misunderstanding. The 'equal privileges' with those of Rome that the canon awards to Constantinople meant simply a comparable authority over subordinate metropolitan sees: they did not undermine the primacy of Rome as the first see of Christendom. Nor did the stress on the status enjoyed by Constantinople as one of the two imperial cities mean that the Petrine authority of the Roman see was ignored;<sup>14</sup> it was simply a device to justify attributing primacy in the east to Constantinople over both Alexandria and Antioch. It is therefore no surprise that the letters of Leo criticizing the canon, as well as the letters in reply that defended it,<sup>15</sup> made no reference to the relative standing of Rome and Constantinople. When at the end of the sixteenth session the Roman delegates declared that 'the apostolic see ought not to be humiliated in our presence' (45), their protest was not at Roman primacy being directly challenged but at the council's overruling the Roman view on the question at issue, and this question was the status and authority of the see of Constantinople over against other sees in the east. The bone of contention that dominated discussion in the session was the jurisdiction exercised by the eastern capital in the adjacent dioceses of Thrace, Asiana and Pontica. In the letters of protest that Leo wrote after the council (Documents after the Council 9, 10) the main issue became the standing of Constantinople over against Antioch and Alexandria: the canon accorded Constantinople primacy throughout the east, and this was rejected by Rome as an innovation that derogated from the dignity of two more ancient sees.<sup>16</sup>

Particularly to be noted is the stress Leo placed on the Petrine status, and therefore the Roman links, of both Antioch and Alexandria: Peter had first preached at Antioch, and the founder of the see of Alexandria was St Mark, the disciple of St Peter.<sup>17</sup> When Dioscorus became bishop of Alexandria, he

14 Anatolius, for example, wrote to Rome in December 451 recognizing her as the 'father' of his own see (Documents after the Council 8).

15 See the letter from the council fathers to Leo (Documents after the Council 2) and the letter from Anatolius to Leo of December 451 (Documents after the Council 8).

16 De Halleux in two important articles on this debate (1988 and 1989) argues that Rome could accept Constantinople's primacy of honour in the east and even her jurisdiction in the three neighbouring dioceses but balked at the way in which the new canon based this jurisdiction on primacy, thereby changing this primacy from one of honour to one of authority. This would account for the slowness with which the Roman representatives woke up to the issue, but not for their rejection of the canons of Constantinople (12).

17 Leo, *ep.* 106, PL 54. 1007B. This theme appears already in Pope Damasus in 382, apparently also in reaction to the claims of Constantinople, PL 13. 374C–376A.

received a letter from Pope Leo (*ep.* 9) stressing the Petrine link between their sees and arguing that Alexandria should therefore follow Roman customs on such details as the proper day for ordinations and the propriety of celebrating more than one Eucharist on a major feast-day. Historically, Antioch and Alexandria had often looked to Rome. It was Leo's fear that, while in earlier centuries eastern churchmen had often appealed to the Roman see, such appeals would in future be directed to the emperor or archbishop at Constantinople, with the result that the status of Rome would be effectively reduced to that of the patriarchal see of the western provinces. In this sense rivalry for influence between Rome and Constantinople was the root cause of the debate over Canon 28; it remains the case that the actual debate was not focused on this issue.

### **The date of Session XVI**

Finally, what is the correct date of this sixteenth session, wrongly dated by the manuscripts to 28 October? Schwartz argued for 30 October, pointing out that '*five days before the Kalends*' (1) is most likely on palaeographic grounds to be a slip for '*three days before the Kalends*'. But a later date is required if we are to fit in the meeting of the bishops, in the absence of the imperial representatives and the Roman delegates, at which Canon 28 on the privileges of the see of Constantinople was first approved; this meeting, we are told (4, 45) took place on the day preceding the sixteenth session at which the canon was formally enacted. The informal meeting of bishops cannot have been earlier than the thirteenth session of 30 October, where the question of the rights of Constantinople was still an open issue and where the chairman concluded, 'As to what is appropriate to the see of the most holy church in renowned Constantinople regarding consecrations in the provinces, this will be examined by the holy council in its proper turn' (XIII. 39). Now we are told that the informal meeting of bishops took place immediately after a formal session, as soon as the imperial and papal representatives had left the church (XVI. 4), which means that its earliest possible time is late on 30 October, following the thirteenth session, which was itself the second session, or act, of the day. This would produce a date of 31 October for the sixteenth session, the same date as that of the fourteenth and fifteenth sessions. However, the agenda of the fifteenth session were set by the Roman delegates, who made the subtle diplomatic move of presenting an old letter from Pope Leo confirming their mandate. But if the informal meeting of bishops that adopted Canon 28 had already taken place, the

Roman delegates would surely have registered their protest immediately at this fifteenth session. It is far more likely that the preliminary meeting that approved Canon 28 occurred not before but immediately after the fifteenth session, which implies that the sixteenth session took place on the following day, 1 November.<sup>18</sup>

### PROCEEDINGS

1. In the consulship of our lord Marcian perpetual Augustus and the one to be designated, five days before the Kalends of November,<sup>19</sup> at Chalcedon, by order of our most divine and pious lord Marcian perpetual Augustus, there assembled in the most holy church of the holy martyr Euphemia (1) the most magnificent and glorious Anatolius, *magister militum*, former consul, and patrician, (2) the most magnificent and glorious Palladius, prefect of the sacred praetorians, (3) and the most magnificent and glorious Vincomalus, master of the divine offices.

There also assembled (1–3) Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops and Boniface the most devout presbyter, representing the most holy Leo archbishop of Senior Rome, (4) Anatolius the most devout archbishop of renowned Constantinople, (5) Maximus the most devout bishop of Antioch in Syria, (6) Juvenal the most devout bishop of Jerusalem, (7) Quintillus the most devout bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, representing Anastasius the most holy bishop of Thessalonica, (8) Thalassius the most devout bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, (9) Stephen the most devout bishop of Ephesus, (10) Lucian the most devout bishop of Bizye, representing Cyriacus the most God-beloved bishop of Heraclea, (11) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, (12) Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus, (13) Peter the most devout bishop of Corinth, (14) Florentius the most devout bishop of Sardis, (15) Eunomius the most devout bishop of Nicomedia, (16) Anastasius the most devout bishop of Nicaea, (17) Julian the most devout bishop of Cos, himself also representing Leo of the apostolic see of Senior Rome, (18) Eleutherius the most devout bishop of Chalcedon, (19) Basil the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, (20) Meletius the most devout bishop of Larissa, representing Domnus the most

<sup>18</sup> This date is widely accepted, e.g. by Hefele-Leclercq, II.2, 767–9, 829 and de Halleux 1989, 28 n. 2, following Chrysos 1971, 277–80. But these scholars confuse the issue by endeavouring to fit in at this stage of the council a formal approval by the bishops of the 27 Canons, for which there is no evidence (see pp. 92–3 below).

<sup>19</sup> 28 October 451. This date is erroneous; see our discussion immediately above.

devout bishop of Apamea in Syria, (21) Amphilochius the most devout bishop of Side, (22) Theodore the most devout bishop of Tarsus, (23) Cyrus the most devout bishop of Anazarbus, (24) Constantine the most devout bishop of Bostra, (25) Photius the most devout bishop of Tyre, (26) Theodore the most devout bishop of Damascus, (27) Stephen the most devout bishop of Hierapolis, (28) Ibas the most devout bishop of Edessa, (29) Symeon the most devout bishop of Amida, (30) Epiphanius the most devout bishop, representing Olympius the most devout bishop of Constantia, (31) John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia, (32) Seleucus the most devout bishop of Amaseia, (33) Constantine the most devout bishop of Melitene, (34) Patricius the most devout bishop of Tyana, (35) Peter the most devout bishop of Gangra, (36) Calogerus the most devout bishop of Claudiopolis, (37) Apragmonius the most devout bishop of Tieum, (38) Atarbius the most devout bishop of Trapezus, representing Dorotheus the most devout bishop of Neocaesarea, (39) Photinus archdeacon, representing Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Pessinus, (40) Romanus the most devout bishop of Myra, (41) Critonianus the most devout bishop of Aphrodisias in Caria, (42) Nunechius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia, (43) Marinianus the most devout bishop of Synnada, (44) Onesiphorus the most devout bishop of Iconium, (45) Pergamius the most devout bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, (46) Epiphanius the most devout bishop of Perge, (47) Atticus the most devout bishop of Nicopolis, (48) Martyrius the most devout bishop of Gortyna, (49) Luke the most devout bishop of Dyrrachium, (50) Vigilantius the most devout bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, (51) Francion the most devout bishop of Philippopolis, (52) Sebastian the most devout bishop of Beroe, (53) Basil the most devout bishop of Trajanopolis, (54) Trypho the most devout bishop of Chios, representing John the most devout bishop of Rhodes, (55) Theoctistus the most devout bishop of Beroea, (56) Gerontius the most devout bishop of Seleucia in Syria, (57) Eusebius presbyter, representing Macarius the most devout bishop of Laodicea in Syria, (58) Eusebius the most devout bishop of Dorylaeum, and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council convened by decree of our most divine and pious master in the city of Chalcedon.

2. When all had taken their seats in front of the rails of the holy sanctuary, Paschasinus and Lucentius the most devout bishops, representing the apostolic see, said: 'If your greatness gives the order, we have a statement to make.'

3. The most glorious officials said: 'Say what you wish.'

4. Paschasinus the most devout bishop, representing the [bishop] of

Rome, said:<sup>20</sup> ‘The masters of the whole world, striving for the catholic and orthodox faith, through which their empire is resplendent and will increase, have deigned to decree that one faith is to be held by all the churches for the good of peace. Out of a yet greater concern relating to the future their tranquillity has deigned to make provision that no altercation or schism or scandal may again arise among the priests of God. Yesterday, after your authority and our humility had departed, certain proceedings are reported which we consider to have been transacted in contravention of the canons and ecclesiastical discipline. We therefore request that your magnificence direct that they be read out, so that all the brethren may examine whether the proceedings were proper or improper.’

5. {When this speech had been translated into Greek by Veronicianus, the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory,}<sup>21</sup> the most glorious officials said: ‘If there are minutes of the proceedings after our departure, let them be read.’

6. Before the reading Aetius archdeacon of the church of Constantinople said: ‘It is agreed that the question of the faith has received an appropriate decree. But it is usual at councils, after the most pressing matter of all has been settled by decree, to examine and settle other essential agenda. We, that is to say the most holy church of Constantinople, had certain matters to transact. We asked the lord bishops from Rome to take part in the proceedings, but they declined, saying that they had not received such a mandate. We then approached your magnificence, and you directed the holy council here present to examine the matter. When your magnificence had departed, the most holy bishops, since the matter under discussion was of common concern, stood up and demanded that the matter be dealt with. They are present here. Nothing was transacted in secret or in a fraudulent manner; the proceedings were regular and canonical.’

7. The most magnificent officials said: ‘Let the proceedings be read.’

On receiving a document from Aetius archdeacon of the church of Constantinople, Veronicianus the hallowed secretary of the divine consistory read:

*(Acts of the previous meeting)*

8. *Following in all things the decrees of the holy fathers and acknowledging the canon just read of the 150 most God-beloved bishops who*

20 We translate the Latin version, which Schwartz judges to be largely the original text rather than a retroversion from the Greek. The extant Greek text is not significantly different.

21 Supplied from the Latin version.

*assembled under the then emperor Theodosius the Great of pious memory in imperial Constantinople New Rome,<sup>22</sup> we too define and decree the same regarding the privileges of the most holy church of the same Constantinople New Rome. The fathers appropriately accorded privileges<sup>23</sup> to the see of Senior Rome because it was the imperial city and, moved by the same intent, the 150 most God-beloved bishops assigned equal privileges to the most holy see of New Rome, rightly judging that the city which is honoured with the imperial government and the senate and enjoys equal privileges with imperial Senior Rome should be exalted like her in ecclesiastical affairs as well, being second after her, with the consequence that the metropolitans alone of the Pontic, Asian and Thracian dioceses, and also the bishops from the aforesaid dioceses in barbarian lands, are to be consecrated by the aforesaid most holy see of the most holy church at Constantinople, while, of course, each metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses, together with the bishops of the province, ordains the bishops of the province, as is laid down in the divine canons. As has been said, the metropolitans of the aforesaid dioceses are to be consecrated by the archbishop of Constantinople, after elections by consensus have taken place according to custom and been reported to him.*

#### 9. Signatures

- (1) Anatolius bishop of Constantinople New Rome, I have decreed and signed.
- (2) Maximus bishop of Antioch in Syria, I have decreed and signed.
- (3) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem, I have decreed and signed.
- (4) Cyriacus bishop of the metropolis of Heraclea, I have decreed and signed through Lucian bishop of Bizye.
- (5) Diogenes bishop of the metropolis of Cyzicus, I have decreed and signed.
- (6) Florentius bishop of the metropolis of Lydia, I have decreed and signed.
- (7) Romanus bishop of the metropolis of Myra, I have decreed and signed.

22 The reference is to the decree of the Council of Constantinople of 381 that is read out at 18 below.

23 As in the line above, the Greek for 'privileges' is τὰ προεβέβητα and the Latin *privilegia*. Modern translations of this canon often say 'primacy' at this point, which is indeed what is meant, but the word itself is more vague.

- (8) Basil by the mercy of God bishop of the metropolis of Seleucia, I have decreed and signed.
- (9) Cyrus bishop of the metropolis of Anazarbus, I have decreed and signed.
- (10) Eleutherius bishop of the metropolis of Chalcedon, I have decreed and signed.
- (11) Theodore bishop of the metropolis of Tarsus, I have decreed and signed.
- (12) Calogerus bishop of the metropolis of Claudiopolis in Honorias, I have decreed and signed through the presbyter Stephen.
- (13) Seleucus by the grace of God bishop of the metropolis of Amaseia, I have decreed and signed.
- (14) Peter bishop of the metropolis of Gangra, I have decreed and signed.
- (15) Photius bishop of the metropolis of Tyre, I have decreed and signed.
- (16) Theodore bishop of the metropolis of Damascus, I have decreed and signed.
- (17) Constantine bishop of the metropolis of Bostra, I have decreed and signed.
- (18) Meletius bishop of Larissa making a declaration on behalf of both the most sacred bishop Domnus of Apamea in Syria and myself, I have decreed and signed.
- (19) Stephen bishop of the metropolis of Hierapolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (20) Basil bishop of Trajanopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (21) Francion bishop of the metropolis of Philippopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (22) Nunechius bishop of the metropolis of Laodicea, I have decreed and signed.
- (23) Marinianus bishop of the metropolis of Synnada, I have decreed and signed.
- (24) Onesiphorus bishop of the metropolis of Iconium, I have decreed and signed.
- (25) Pergamius bishop of Antioch in Pisidia, I have decreed and signed.
- (26) Critonianus bishop of the metropolis of Aphrodisias, I have decreed and signed.
- (27) Eutychianus bishop of Epiphaneia in Syria Secunda, I have decreed and signed through Meletius bishop of Larissa.
- (28) Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum, I have decreed and signed.

- (29) Lucian bishop of Bizye and Arcadiopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (30) John bishop of Rhodes, I have decreed and signed through Trypho bishop of Chios.
- (31) Ibas bishop of Edessa, I have decreed and signed.
- (32) Abramius bishop of Circesium, I have decreed and signed.
- (33) Theodore bishop of Claudiopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (34) Antiochus by the mercy of God bishop of Sinope, I have decreed and signed.
- (35) Rufinus bishop of Samosata, I have decreed and signed.
- (36) Uranius bishop of Ibora, I have decreed and signed through Paul the presbyter.<sup>24</sup>
- (37) Callinicus bishop of Apamea, I have decreed and signed.
- (38) Timothy bishop of Balaneae, I have decreed and signed.
- (39) Mark bishop of Arethusa, I have decreed and signed through Timothy bishop of Balaneae.
- (40) Proclus bishop of the city of Adraa, I have decreed and signed.
- (41) Theodosius bishop of the city of Canatha, I have decreed and signed.
- (42) Hormisdas bishop of Philippopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (43) Paternius *chorepiscopus* for Jordanes bishop of Abila, I have decreed and signed.
- (44) Meliphthongus by the mercy of God bishop of the holy church of God at Juliopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (45) Joseph bishop of Heliopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (46) Damian bishop of the city of Sidon, I have decreed and signed.
- (47) John bishop of the city of Flaviopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (48) Indimus bishop of Irenopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (49) Julian bishop of the city of Rhosus, I have decreed and signed.
- (50) Aretas bishop of Elusa, I have decreed and signed.
- (51) Beryllus bishop of Aela, I have decreed and signed.
- (52) Olympius bishop of the city of Paneas, I have decreed and signed.
- (53) Uranius bishop of Emesa, I have decreed and signed.
- (54) Theodore bishop of Tripolis likewise.
- (55) Paul bishop of Aradus, I have decreed and signed.
- (56) Daniel bishop of Lampsacus, I have decreed and signed.

24 We follow the Latin Acts. The words 'through Paul the presbyter' are wrongly attached to the name Callinicus (37) in the Greek edition.



- (57) Leontius bishop of Ascalon, I have decreed and signed.
- (58) Lucian bishop of the city of Ipsus, I have decreed and signed.
- (59) Alexander bishop of Seleucia in Pisidia, I have decreed and signed.
- (60) Stephen bishop of Poemanenum, I have decreed and signed.
- (61) Polycarp bishop of the city of Tabala, I have decreed and signed.
- (62) Leucius bishop of the city of Apollonoshieron, I have decreed and signed.
- (63) Natiras bishop of the church at Gaza, I have decreed and signed.
- (64) Gennadius bishop of the city of Mossyna, I have decreed and signed.
- (65) Alphius bishop of the city of Myndus, I have decreed and signed.
- (66) Gennadius bishop of Acmonia, I have decreed and signed.
- (67) Dionysius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Antioch, I have decreed and signed.
- (68) John the most insignificant bishop of the city of Alinda, I have decreed and signed.
- (69) Dionysius the most insignificant bishop of the city of Heraclea by Latmus, I have decreed and signed.
- (70) John the most insignificant bishop of the city of Cnidus, I have decreed and signed.
- (71) Eusebius bishop of Seleucia ad Belum, I have decreed and signed through Paul bishop of Mariamme.
- (72) Paul bishop of the city of Mariamme, I have decreed and signed.
- (73) Polychronius bishop of the city of Epiphaneia, I have decreed and signed.
- (74) Romanus bishop of Eudoxiopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (75) Aurelius bishop from the parts of Africa, I have witnessed and subscribed.
- (76) Patricius bishop of Acrasus, I have decreed and signed.
- (77) Bassianus bishop of the city of Mopsuestia, I have decreed and signed through Sophronius *chorepiscopus* of Anazarbus.
- (78) Rhenus bishop of Ionopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (79) Zenodotus bishop of the city of Telmessus and the Island of Macra, I have decreed and signed.
- (80) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Antiphellus, I have decreed and signed.
- (81) Philip by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Balbura in the province of Lycia, I have decreed and signed.
- (82) Andrew bishop of the city of Tlos the city in Lycia, I have decreed and signed.

- (83) Romanus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Bubon in the province of Lycia, I have decreed and signed.
- (84) Thomas bishop of the city of Euaria, I have decreed and signed.
- (85) Theoctistus bishop of the city of Pessinus, I have decreed and signed through Photinus my archdeacon.
- (86) Florentius bishop of Lesbos, Tenedos, Poroselene, and the Shores, I have decreed and signed through Euelpistus my *chorepiscopus*.
- (87) Trypho bishop of the holy church at Chios, I have decreed and signed.
- (88) Docimasius bishop of Maronea, I have decreed and signed.
- (89) Serenus the most insignificant bishop of Maximianopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (90) Euphrasius bishop of Lagania, I have decreed and signed.
- (91) Eustochius bishop of Docimium, I have decreed and signed.
- (92) Basil bishop of the city of Nacoleia, I have decreed and signed.
- (93) Pionius bishop of the city of Troas, I have decreed and signed.
- (94) Peter the most insignificant bishop of the city of Dardanus, I have decreed and signed.
- (95) Theosebius bishop of the city of Ilium, I have decreed and signed.
- (96) Eulalius bishop of Pionia, I have decreed and signed.
- (97) Eutropius the most insignificant bishop of Adada in Pisidia, I have decreed and signed.
- (98) Olympius bishop of Sozopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (99) Movianus bishop of Limenae, I have decreed and signed.
- (100) Philip bishop of Lysias, I have decreed and signed.
- (101) Gemellus bishop of the city of Stratonicæa, I have decreed and signed.
- (102) Cyrinus bishop of the city of Patara, I have decreed and signed.
- (103) Eulalius bishop of the city of Sibliæa, I have decreed and signed.
- (104) Modestus bishop of the city of Sebaste, I have decreed and signed.
- (105) Epiphanius bishop of the city of Midæum, I have decreed and signed.
- (106) Thomas bishop of Theodosiana, I have decreed and signed.
- (107) Paul bishop of the city of Aristium, I have decreed and signed.
- (108) John bishop of Trapezopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (108a) Gennadius bishop of the city of Mossyna, I have decreed and signed.<sup>25</sup>

25 A doublet of 64.

- (109) Tynchanius bishop of the city of Apollonia, I have decreed and signed.
- (110–13) Photius bishop of the metropolis of Tyre, I have signed also on behalf of Peter bishop of Byblus and Heraclitus bishop of Arca, on behalf of Phosphorus bishop of Orthosia, and on behalf of Porphyry bishop of Botrys.<sup>26</sup>
- (114) Papias bishop of the city of Eriza, I have decreed and signed.
- (115) John the most insignificant bishop of Amyzon, I have decreed and signed.
- (116) Theodoret the most insignificant bishop of Alabanda, I have decreed and signed.
- (117) Calandion bishop of Halicarnassus the city in Caria, I have decreed and signed through Julian my presbyter.
- (118) Neoptolemus bishop of Corna in the province of Lycaonia, I have decreed and signed.
- (119) Paul bishop of the city of Derbe, I have decreed and signed.
- (120) Plutarch bishop of the city of Lystra, I have decreed and signed.
- (121) Eugenius bishop of the city of Cana, I have decreed and signed.
- (122) Rufus bishop of the city of Hyde, I have decreed and signed.
- (123) Acholius bishop of Laranda, I have decreed and signed.
- (124) Tyrannus bishop of Homanada, I have decreed and signed.
- (125) Thomas bishop of Porphyreon, I have decreed and signed.
- (126) Evander bishop of the city of Diocleia, I have decreed and signed.
- (127) John bishop of the city of Bargyia, I have decreed and signed.
- (128) Dionysius bishop of the city of Attaleia in Lydia, I have decreed and signed.
- (129) Andrew bishop of the city of Satala, I have decreed and signed through bishop Dionysius.
- (130) Sabas bishop of the city of Paltus, I have decreed and signed through Acholius bishop of the city of Laranda.
- (131) Mirus bishop of the holy church of God at Eulandra, I have signed by my own hand.

26 Peter and Heraclitus were Photius' appointees to the sees of Byblus and Arca respectively; see Session on Photius and Eustathius 24 for their consecration in 450 and degradation soon afterwards. Photius' vindication at that session will have led to their reinstatement, as is proved for Heraclitus by his appearance as bishop of Arca in the *Codex Encyclius* of 457/8 (*ACO* 2.5 pp. 42, 40, 44, 27). A deacon signed the Definition for Porphyry of Botrys (VI. 9.122), which shows that he did not attend the council. It is clear that Photius is here presenting, and publicizing, the names of four absent suffragans.

- (132) Abercius the most insignificant bishop of Hieropolis the city in Phrygia Salutaris, I have decreed and signed.
- (133) Cyriacus bishop of Eucarpia, I have decreed and signed.
- (134) Aquila the most insignificant bishop of Aurocra, I have decreed and signed.
- (135) Eulogius bishop of Philadelphia, I have decreed and signed.
- (136) Alexander bishop of the city of Sebaste, I have decreed and signed.
- (137) Philip bishop of the city of Adana, I have decreed and signed.
- (137a) {Hypatius bishop of Zephyrium likewise.}<sup>27</sup>
- (138) Theodore bishop of Augusta, I have decreed and signed.
- (139) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Trocnades, I have decreed and signed through my presbyter Chrysippus.
- (140) Polychronius bishop of Antipatris, I have decreed and signed.
- (140a) {John bishop of Carrhae likewise.}<sup>28</sup>
- (141) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Choma in Lycia, I have decreed and signed.
- (142) Stephen bishop by the mercy of God of Limyra in Lycia, I have decreed and signed.
- (143) Patricius bishop of Hadrianutherae, I have decreed and signed.
- (144) Hermias the most insignificant bishop of the city of Abydus, I have decreed and signed.
- (145) David bishop of Hadrianeia, I have decreed and signed.
- (146) Heraclius bishop of Azotus, I have decreed and signed.
- (147) Leontius bishop of Araxa, I have decreed and signed.
- (148) Sabinianus bishop of Perrhe, I have decreed and signed.
- (149) Paulinus bishop of Apamea, I have decreed and signed.
- (150) Tyrannus bishop of Germanicopolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (151) Daniel bishop of Cadi, I have decreed and signed.
- (152) Atticus by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Zela, I have decreed and signed.
- (153) Noah bishop of Cephas, I have decreed and signed by my own hand.
- (154) Valerius bishop of Laodicea in Phoenice, I have decreed and signed.
- (155) Cyrus bishop of the city of Sinethandus, I have decreed and signed.
- (156) Bassonas bishop of Neapolis, I have decreed and signed.

27 Supplied from the Latin version.

28 Supplied from the Latin version.

- (157) Eupithius the most insignificant bishop of Stratonicea in Caria, I have decreed and signed.
- (158) Heorticius bishop of Metropolis in Pisidia, I have decreed and signed.
- (159) Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus, I have decreed and signed.
- (160) John bishop of Germanicia, I have decreed and signed.
- (161) Timothy bishop of the city of Doliche, I have decreed and signed.
- (162) Thalassius bishop of Parium, I have decreed and signed.
- (163) Gerontius bishop of Seleucia, I have decreed and signed.
- (164) Theoctistus bishop of Beroea, I have signed through Gerontius bishop of Seleucia.
- (165) Peter bishop of Gabbula, I have decreed and signed.
- (166) Euolcius bishop of Zeugma, I have decreed and signed.
- (166a) Leontius bishop of the city of Araxa, I have decreed and signed.<sup>29</sup>
- (167) Fontianus bishop of Sagalassus, I have decreed and signed.
- (168) Restitianus the African bishop, I have decreed and signed.
- (169) Anianus bishop of Capitolias, I have decreed and signed.
- (170) Zebennus bishop of the city of Pella, I have decreed and signed.
- (171) John bishop of the holy church in Tiberias, I have decreed and signed.
- (172) Menecrates bishop of the city of Ceraseis, I have decreed and signed.
- (173) Pancratius bishop of the holy church of Livias, I have decreed and signed.
- (174) Cossinius bishop of Hierocaesarea, I have decreed and signed.
- (175) Alcimedes the most insignificant bishop of Silandus, I have decreed and signed.
- (176) Amachius bishop of the city of Saittae, I have decreed and signed.
- (177) Aetherius bishop by the grace of God of Pompeiopolis, I have decreed and signed through Epiphanius presbyter by the mercy of God.
- (178) Themistius bishop of Amastris, I have decreed and signed through Philotimus presbyter.
- (179) Paul the most insignificant bishop of Tripolis, I have decreed and signed.
- (180) Musonius bishop of Zoara, I have decreed and signed.
- (181) Manasses bishop of Theodosiopolis in Greater Armenia, I have decreed and signed by my own hand.

29 A doublet of 147.

(182) Fronto bishop of Phaselis, I have decreed and signed.

(183) Diogenes bishop of the metropolis of Cyzicus, I have decreed and signed the decree also on behalf of the absent most God-beloved bishops under me, Timothy of Germe, Alexander of Oce, Philostorgius of Scepsis, Gemellus of Miletropolis, Eutychianus of Baris, Acacius of Proconnesus.

(184) Stephen bishop of Hierapolis, I have signed the decree also on behalf of the absent most God-beloved bishops under me, Uranius, Maras, David, Cosmas, Marianus.

(185) Nunechius bishop of the metropolis of Laodicea, I have signed the decree also on behalf of the most God-beloved bishops under me, Symmachius, Heraclius, Philip, Philadelphus, Philetus, Tatian, Antiochus, Zosimus, Epiphanius, Arabius, Gaius, Evagoras.

*(Session XVI)*

10. Lucentius the most devout bishop and representative of the apostolic see said: 'Let your gloriousness first examine what deception was practised on the holy bishops to compel them to sign the unrecorded canons of which they have made mention.'<sup>30</sup>

11. {When this statement had been translated by Veronicianus the most hallowed secretary of the divine consistory,}<sup>31</sup> the most devout bishops exclaimed: 'No one was compelled.'

12. Lucentius the most devout bishop and representative of the apostolic see said: 'It adds to the sum that, while the decrees of the 318 have been set aside, they have manifestly made mention only of [the decrees of] the 150, which are not among the conciliar canons. Let them assert that these were decreed almost eighty years ago; if then they enjoyed this privilege in those times, what are they in need of now? If they never enjoyed it, why do they ask for it?'<sup>32</sup>

30 Here and at 12, 14 and 16 we translate the Latin version, which differs here and at 12 significantly from the Greek. Schwartz judged the Latin to be the words originally uttered, and held the Greek version to date as early as Marcian's publication of the Acts (*ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxiv). The Greek of 10 runs, 'Has your gloriousness already examined what was transacted in the presence of the bishops, to make sure that no one was forced by compulsion to sign the aforementioned canon?' In the Latin version Lucentius is denying the authenticity of the decree of Constantinople (381), which provided a precedent for according primacy in the east to the bishop of Constantinople (see 18 below); this is suppressed in the Greek.

31 Supplied from the Latin version.

32 The Greek versions runs, 'It is manifest that the canon now mentioned has been tagged on to the definitions of the 318 and to those of the 150 [who met] subsequently, and they are

13. {When this statement had been translated into Greek by Constantine the most hallowed secretary of the divine consistory,}<sup>33</sup> Aetius archdeacon of the church of Constantinople said: ‘If they have received any mandate regarding this article, let them present it.’

14. Boniface the most devout presbyter said: ‘That most blessed and apostolic man the pope, among other things, gave us this injunction’<sup>34</sup> – and he read from a document:

*Do not allow either the constitution issued by the holy fathers to be violated through temerity, preserving in every way the dignity of our person in you whom we sent in our stead; and if perchance any, relying on the splendour of their cities, attempt to usurp anything for themselves, you are to repel this with the firmness it deserves.*<sup>35</sup>

15. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let each side present the canons.’ Paschasinus the most devout bishop and representative read:

*Canon 6 of the 318 holy fathers*<sup>36</sup>

16. *The church of Rome has always had primacy. Egypt is therefore also to enjoy the right that the bishop of Alexandria has authority over everything, since this is the custom for the Roman bishop also. Likewise both the one appointed in Antioch, and in the other provinces the churches of the larger cities, are to enjoy primacy. It is entirely clear that, if anyone were to be ordained bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, this holy council has decreed that he ought not to be bishop. But certainly, if the common consent of all is rightly approved and determined according to the*

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asserting as having been decreed what is not contained in the conciliar canons. If then they enjoyed this privilege in those times, why are they now demanding what they enjoyed contrary to the canons?’ Again the Greek suppresses the Roman rejection of the decrees of the council of 381. Lucentius rightly points out that the canons of Constantinople were absent from the standard edition of canons repeatedly cited at the council (see p. 94, n. 6 below).

33 Supplied from the Latin version.

34 Again we follow the Latin version. The Greek is the same, except that for ‘man the pope’ it has ‘bishop’.

35 When Leo wrote this, he will have had in mind the ambitions of Dioscorus of Alexandria and Juvenal of Jerusalem rather than those of Anatolius of Constantinople.

36 This is the western version of Canon 6 of Nicaea, which we translate from the Latin version. The authentic Greek version is given below (17); it differs in not asserting Roman primacy. This was not actually crucial for the issue in debate at this session, which concerned not the relative standing of Rome and Constantinople but the jurisdiction of the latter in the east.

*ecclesiastical rule, and some two or three oppose it through their own contentiousness, that decision is to prevail which has the support of the priests who are greater in number. Since ancient custom and old tradition has held that deference is to be shown to the bishop of Aelia, that is, Jerusalem, he is consequently to enjoy this honour, saving, however, the proper dignity of the metropolitan.*

Constantine the {most hallowed} secretary {of the divine consistory} read from a codex presented by Aetius archdeacon {of the most holy church of Constantinople}:<sup>37</sup>

*Canon 6 of the 318 holy fathers*

*17. Let the ancient customs in Egypt prevail, namely that the bishop of Alexandria has authority over everything,<sup>38</sup> since this is customary for the bishop of Rome also. Likewise in Antioch also and in the other provinces let the privileges be preserved in the churches. It is clear that if anyone should become a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great council has decreed that he ought not to be a bishop. But if however the common vote of all, being reasonable and according to the ecclesiastical canon, is opposed by two or three through their own contentiousness, let the vote of the majority prevail.*

The same secretary read from the same book:

*18. Synodicon of the first council under Nectarius bishop of Constantinople of the 150 bishops.<sup>39</sup>*

*The following was decreed by the 150 bishops who by the grace of God came together at Constantinople from various provinces according to the*

<sup>37</sup> Supplied from the Latin version.

<sup>38</sup> The authentic text of the canon reads, 'Let the ancient customs in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis prevail, namely that the bishop of Alexandria has authority over them all.' The omission of Libya and Pentapolis echoes the same omission in the Roman version of the canon, and is perhaps to be attributed to copyists rather than to Aetius.

<sup>39</sup> This is the Latin heading; that in the Greek – 'Synodicon of the second council' – is concerned to bring out the status of the Council of 381 as the second ecumenical council. This decree was read out from a special document because, as Lucentius pointed out (12), the decrees of this council were not included in the volume of collected canons (numbered consecutively) that was cited several times in the course of the council. It was at Chalcedon itself that this council was first accorded authoritative status, above all in the citation of its creed in the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 33).



*summons of the most God-beloved emperor Theodosius, under Nectarius bishop of Constantinople.*<sup>40</sup>

*(1) Neither the faith nor the canons of the 318 fathers who came together at Nicaea in Bithynia are to be annulled, but shall remain valid, and every heresy is to be anathematized, in particular that of the Eunomians or Anomoeans, that of the Arians or Eudoxians, that of the Semi-Arians or Pneumatomachi, that of the Sabellians, that of the Marcionites, that of the Photinians, and that of the Apollinarians.*

*(2) Bishops outside a diocese are not to intrude on churches beyond their borders nor disrupt the churches, but according to the canons the bishop of Alexandria is to administer the affairs only of Egypt, the bishops of the Orient are to administer only the Orient (the privileges in the canons of Nicaea being safeguarded for the church of Antioch), the bishops of the Asian diocese are to administer the affairs only of the Asian diocese, those of Pontica the affairs only of Pontica, and those of Thrace the affairs only of Thrace. Without an invitation bishops are not to go outside their diocese for the purpose of ordaining or any other ecclesiastical functions. The above canon respecting the dioceses being observed, it is plain that the affairs of each province will be administered by the council of the province according to the decrees of Nicaea. The churches of God in the barbarian nations must be administered according to the prevailing custom under the fathers.*<sup>41</sup>

*(3) However, the bishop of Constantinople is to have the privileges<sup>42</sup> of honour after the bishop of Rome, since it is New Rome.*

19. The most glorious officials said: ‘Let the most sacred bishops from the Asian and Pontic dioceses who signed the document that has been read say whether they signed of their own free will or if any compulsion was applied to them.’

20. When {the Pontic and Asian bishops who had signed}<sup>43</sup> had come forward to the centre, Diogenes the most devout bishop of Cyzicus said: ‘I

40 The following three paragraphs were later (and conveniently) numbered as three distinct canons, but at this date they were referred to as a single canon, as at 8 *init.* and 31.

41 The purpose of this canon was to reduce the influence of the see of Alexandria outside its Egyptian base. But in insisting that the affairs of the Asian, Pontic and Thracian dioceses are to be administered solely by their own bishops, it implicitly excludes the role attributed to the see of Constantinople by Canon 28. The following paragraph does not clash with this, since it attributes to Constantinople a purely honorary primacy.

42 See 8n. for the meaning of τὰ πρεσβεία.

43 Supplied from the Latin version. The Greek simply has ‘they’.

signed of my own free will, [I say this] as in the presence of God.’

21. Florentius bishop of Sardis said: ‘No compulsion was applied to me, but I signed of my own accord.’

22. Romanus bishop of Myra said: ‘I was not compelled, and I am glad to be under the see of Constantinople, since it itself honoured me and itself consecrated me. [The decree] seems just to me, and I signed of my own free will.’

23. Calogerus bishop of Claudiopolis said: ‘According to the will of the 150 most holy fathers, I signed of my own free will, without compulsion.’

24. Seleucus bishop of Amaseia said: ‘Three bishops before me were consecrated by this see, and having found this procedure I have followed it, and now I have acted of my own accord, wishing to be under this see {since my needs are cared for}.’<sup>44</sup>

25. Eleutherius bishop of Chalcedon said: ‘Knowing that from the canons and from previous custom the see of Constantinople has these rights, I signed with pleasure.’

26. Peter bishop of Gangra said: ‘Three were consecrated before me by the bishop of the imperial city, and I likewise after them, and therefore I assented to it as customary, and signed of my own accord.’

27. Nunechius bishop of Laodicea said: ‘The glory of the see of Constantinople is our glory, for we share in its honour since it adopts our concerns. And we welcome the fact that the metropolitan in each province is consecrated by this see, and therefore I signed willingly.’

28. Marinianus bishop of Synnada said: ‘Since those before me were consecrated by the most holy see of Constantinople and I as well, I signed of my own accord, because the canons assign the privilege to the most holy see of Constantinople.’

29. Pergamius bishop of Antioch said: ‘I gave my signature of my own will, and in all things it is right for us to show honour and respect to the most sacred archbishop of imperial New Rome as being an excellent father. I ask only that if anything is found to have been done either through their sacredness’ ignorance or through deception, this should be studied and investigated as in the presence of a father, for the sake of his glory, of the peace of the most holy churches, and of his good repute in relation to God before all.’

30. Critonianus bishop of Aphrodisias said: ‘I gave my signature of my own will, following the intention of the holy fathers, indebted to this see for the consecration both of myself and of my predecessors and for all the patronage that our church has received.’

44 Supplied from the Latin version.

31. Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum said: ‘I signed willingly, since I myself read this very canon to the most holy pope in Rome in the presence of the clerics of Constantinople and he accepted it.’<sup>45</sup>

32. Antiochus bishop of Sinope said: ‘I signed willingly, following my metropolitan<sup>46</sup> and the canon of the 150.’

33. The remaining bishops exclaimed: ‘We signed willingly.’

34. The most glorious officials said: ‘Now that the signatures have been read and each of the signatories has given clear testimony that they signed with no compulsion but of their own free will, what have the most sacred bishops to say who did not sign?’

35. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra said: ‘I have my own account to give, without prejudice to the general view. That I am completely without the desire to consecrate, I have demonstrated in practice. For the most sacred bishop Peter who has just testified is bishop of Gangra, and I consecrated his predecessor. The whole city came to me at Ancyra and presented their votes. I replied to them, “I am not one of those who desire to consecrate.” They reminded me of those who had previously been consecrated by the bishop of Ancyra, one, a second, and a third. I said, “Whatever you may say to me, I will not involve myself in litigation.” After that, they went and asked the blessed Proclus.’<sup>47</sup>

36. While he was speaking, Philip, presbyter of the church at Constantinople, said: ‘Your religiousness wrote about Callinicus, and after your religiousness<sup>48</sup> Peter was consecrated by the blessed Proclus.’

37. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra said: ‘The blessed Proclus wrote to me, “I have consecrated him.” All this is not a defence, but a proof of my preference, so that after this I may present what I request or what I oppose. I went to Gangra and enthroned the bishop. This is what happened: he died within a few days. Again all the people of the city came and asked me to create another bishop. I said, and I make the same reply to you now, “I have no desire to consecrate.” Respecting my preference in the matter, they went to Constantinople and took the lord Peter who has now testified. So let this

45 This was shortly before Easter 451, when Eusebius was still a refugee at Rome (Chadwick 2001, 585–6).

46 Bishop Seleucus of Amaseia, who had spoken already (24).

47 This account has generally been taken (as in *DHGE* 19.1096) to relate to Eusebius’ consecration of Peter’s predecessor Callinicus, which would mean that on this occasion Proclus refused to act. But it seems simpler to relate it to Proclus’ consecration of Peter, in which case this episode is the same as that related in 37.

48 The meaning is, after your religiousness had consecrated Callinicus.

be evidence of my preference and of the fact that I have no desire to consecrate. I request that the cities be not ruined by consecrations, for if the persons elected in the cities are not consecrated by the city after examination by the council of the province, their property is ruined. I speak from experience, since I paid a large sum for my predecessor.<sup>49</sup>

38. Philip the presbyter said: 'This is prohibited by the canon. This is prohibited by the laws and canons. The sanctuaries are pure.'

39. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra said: 'Thanks to God, the reputation of the most holy archbishop Anatolius is clear, but no one is immortal.'

40. Anatolius bishop of Constantinople said: 'By whom were you consecrated yourself?'

41. Eusebius bishop of Ancyra said: 'To my misfortune<sup>50</sup> I happened to be here and was consecrated by the blessed Proclus.'

42. Thalassius bishop of Caesarea said: 'We shall go to the lord Archbishop Anatolius and decide the matter.'

43. The most glorious officials said: 'From the proceedings and from the individual testimonies, we resolve that, above all, primacy and exceptional honour should be preserved for the most God-beloved archbishop of Senior Rome according to the canons, but that the most sacred archbishop of imperial Constantinople New Rome is to enjoy the same privileges of honour, and that he is to have power, on the basis of his authority, to consecrate the metropolitans in the dioceses of Asiana, Pontica and Thrace, in such a way that they are elected by the clergy of each metropolis, the landowners, and the notables, and also by the most devout bishops of the province, all of them or a majority, and that the choice falls on whomever the aforesaid judge worthy to be bishop of the church in the metropolis. A report from all the electors is to go to the most sacred archbishop of imperial Constantinople, so that it depends on him whether he wishes the one chosen to come and be consecrated here or, by his mandate, to receive episcopal office in the province according to the vote. The most sacred bishops in each city are to be consecrated by all, or by a majority of, the most devout bishops of the province, authority lying with the metropolitan, according to the canon of the fathers in force, without the most sacred archbishop of imperial Constantinople taking any part in their consecration. This is the result of our

49 His predecessor must have failed to pay the consecration fee, leaving it to Eusebius to settle the debt.

50 This is a conventional expression of unworthiness, not of regret at having been consecrated at Constantinople.

consideration; let the holy and ecumenical council deign to inform us of its own good pleasure.’

44. The most devout bishops said: ‘This is a just decision. This we all say. This is pleasing to all. This is a just judgement. Let the decree have force. This is a just decision. Everything has been decided properly. We beg you, dismiss us. By the prosperity of the emperors, release us. We all abide by the decision. We all say the same.’

45. Bishop Lucentius said:<sup>51</sup> ‘The apostolic see ought not to be humiliated in our presence, and therefore we ask your sublimity to order that whatever was transacted yesterday in our absence in prejudice of the canons or rules be nullified. But if otherwise, let our formal objection<sup>52</sup> be recorded in the minutes, so that we may know what we ought to report to the apostolic man the pope of the universal church, so that he may pass sentence on either the insult to his see or the overturning of the canons.’

46. {John the most devout bishop of Sebasteia said: ‘We all adhere to the judgement of your magnificence.’}<sup>53</sup>

47. The most glorious officials said: ‘All our resolutions have been confirmed by the council.’

51 We translate the Latin version, which, as at 10–16 above, appears to preserve the original Latin words uttered. The Greek version, which waters down Lucentius’ protest, runs, ‘The apostolic see has given instructions that everything should be transacted in our presence, and therefore, if anything contrary to the canons was transacted yesterday in our absence before this court, we ask your sublimity to order that it be nullified, so that no contention on our part be recorded in these minutes, and to let us know clearly what to report to the apostolic bishop, leader of the whole church, so that he may be able to pass sentence on either the insult to his own see or the overturning of the canons.’

52 The word is *contradictio*; cf. I. 964, where the papal representative at Ephesus II uttered ‘*Contradicitur*’, as a protest against the condemnation of Flavian of Constantinople.

53 Supplied from the Latin version.

## CANONS 1–27

### INTRODUCTION

This text is numbered in the Greek Acts, and the *versio antiqua* of the Latin, as the seventh session (or act) and in the later Latin versions as the fifteenth. It is not a session of the council at all but a list of 27<sup>1</sup> canons. Even though these canons are styled an ‘act’ in both the Greek and Latin editions of the Acts, the absence of both a date and a list of participants or signatories tells against presuming that they were ever debated or approved at a formal session of the council; it appears that Anatolius simply issued them subsequently in the council’s name. The chief interest of the canons in the context of Chalcedon is their insistence on episcopal authority over independent-minded clergy and monks.

### COMMENTARY

Three of these 27 canons (nos 3, 4 and 20) had been presented by the emperor Marcian at the sixth session (VI. 16–19). This may be the reason for their presentation as the ‘seventh session’ in the Greek Acts; or this may have arisen from a desire to associate them as closely as possible with the Definition, solemnly promulgated at Session VI. The emperor asked for the three he presented to be issued as church canons, and entrusted them to Archbishop Anatolius (VI. 20). Hefele-Leclercq (II.2, 767–9) held that these canons must have been approved at the same unminuted session at which Canon 28 received its first airing,<sup>2</sup> but the only natural interpretation of the statements that relate to that session (XVI. 4–8) is that it approved Canon 28 alone. It is significant that in the best witnesses the canons appear without a

1 The famous ‘Canon 28’, as it came to be called, on the dignity and authority of the see of Constantinople was read out (XVI. 8) and debated at Session XVI; it is not among the canons given here.

2 This is actually asserted by Liberatus (*Breviarium*, ACO 2.5 p.123. 8–12), but was simply guesswork on his part to account for the presence of the canons at this point in the Latin Acts.

list of signatories.<sup>3</sup> One can only conclude that they were issued after the council without any formal conciliar approval; this does not exclude their having been discussed informally by the bishops before the council was dissolved.

Our annotation provides comment on the individual canons.<sup>4</sup> Many deal with perennial issues familiar from other canonical collections, such as ecclesiastical jurisdiction, proper care of church property, marriage, and the like. But special attention should be drawn to those canons that relate to issues that surfaced elsewhere at the council. Canon 12 on maintaining traditional metropolitan rights when subordinate cities receive honorary metropolitan status clearly reflects the council's decisions over the sees of Berytus and Nicaea.<sup>5</sup> Canon 26 on the proper administration of diocesan finances may reflect the problems that surfaced in Sessions IX and X over the finances of the see of Edessa (see esp. IX. 7). A number of canons reflect Bishop Anatolius' concern over the disturbances that had resulted from the Eutychian controversy in Constantinople itself and the need (in his eyes) for reinforcing episcopal authority: Canon 4 tells monks to keep out of church affairs; Canon 8 places clergy and monks in private foundations under episcopal authority; Canon 18 threatens with degradation clergy who band together in opposition to their bishop; Canon 23 names Constantinople specifically and addresses the residence in the city of visiting clerics and monks who stirred up ecclesiastical faction. Canons 9 and 17 are notable for establishing, for the first time formally, a wide appellate jurisdiction for the

3 No signatures are attached to the canons in the Greek MSS or in the first edition of the Latin version. Rusticus' edition adds the words, 'Boniface presbyter of the holy Roman church, I decreed and signed. And other bishops of various provinces or cities signed' (*ACO* 2.3 p. 537). But Boniface's signature is incredible and this discredits the whole entry: (1) Boniface would not have signed on his own, without his two senior colleagues Paschasinus and Lucentius, (2) no papal representative would have signed Canons 9 and 17, which give appellate jurisdiction to Constantinople, and (3) Pope Leo in his letters after the council (e.g., Documents after the Council 9–10, 12–13) shows no knowledge of these canons. The canonical *Collectio Prisca* attaches to the canons a list of 165 signatories beginning with all the Roman legates (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 132–7), but this is merely a version of the list of signatories of the Definition, added to reinforce the canons' authority.

4 Useful commentaries on the canons include Bright 1882, 123–210, Hefele-Leclerq, II.2, 767–828, and L'Huillier 1996, 206–328. For canons of other councils and the Byzantine commentators I have used *Pravila svyatykh vselenskikh soborov s tolkovaniyami* ('Canons of the Holy Ecumenical Councils with Commentaries') and *Pravila pomestnykh soborov s tolkovaniyami* ('Canons of the Local Councils with Commentaries').

5 See Session on Photius and Eustathius (vol. 2, 169–82) for Berytus, and Session XIII for Nicaea.

see of Constantinople. In drawing up these canons Anatolius had taken full advantage of the opportunity to strengthen both his own position and the authority of his see.

### THE CANONS

Ecclesiastical rules promulgated by the holy and ecumenical council assembled at Chalcedon

1. We have deemed it right that the canons issued by the holy fathers of every council up till now remain in force.<sup>6</sup>

2. If any bishop should perform an ordination for money and put on sale the grace that cannot be sold, and ordain for money a bishop, *chorepiscopus*, presbyter, deacon or any other of those numbered among the clergy, or should appoint for money a steward, advocate,<sup>7</sup> administrator or anyone at all on the list, for the sake of sordid gain, the one who has attempted this, if convicted, endangers his own rank, while the person ordained is to benefit nothing from his purchased ordination or promotion but is to be deprived of the dignity or responsibility which he obtained for money. And if anyone should be discovered to have been an intermediary in such shameful and illegal profiteering, he is, if a cleric, to be deposed from his rank, while if he is a monk or layman he is to be anathematized.<sup>8</sup>

3.<sup>9</sup> It has come to the knowledge of the holy council that some of those

6 Note that Canons 4 and 5 of Antioch (c.328) appear in the minutes of the Session on Carosus and Dorotheus as Canons 83 and 84 (§§9–10); similarly Canons 16 and 17 of Antioch appear in the minutes of Session XI as Canons 95 and 96 (§§24–5). A standard collection with consecutive numbering was already in existence, consisting of the canons of Nicaea and the chief provincial councils, and this canon reinforces its authority. It was superseded in the sixth century by collections differently organized. See L’Huillier 1996, 207, and Di Berardino, *EEC*, 1, 142.

7 The ecclesiastical ‘advocate’ (ἐκδικος) was in origin an official counsel and barrister for the church. His functions steadily expanded; see Canon 23 for his disciplinary role. At the Home Synod of 448 ‘the presbyter and advocate John’ was one of those sent to summon Eutyches (I. 235).

8 Earlier canons against simony include the 29th Apostolic Canon and Canon 16 of Carthage (419). (The 85 Apostolic Canons are a late fourth-century collection; see Di Berardino, *EEC*, 1, 62.) One of the charges against Ibas of Edessa was that ‘he took payment for ordinations’ (X. 73); for the consecration fees charged at Constantinople see XI.22, XVI.37. Pope Gregory the Great was to claim that ‘in the churches of the east no one gets ordained without making payment’ (*ep.* 46; PL 77. 1166A). For this and related abuses, see Jones, *LRE*, 909–10.

9 For the first draft of this canon, introduced by the emperor Marcian in the sixth session, see VI. 18.



enrolled in the clergy, for the sake of sordid gain, become lessees<sup>10</sup> of estates and apply themselves to secular business, neglecting the service of God while they frequent the houses of secular people and, out of avarice, take on the management of property.<sup>11</sup> The holy and great council has therefore ruled that in future no bishop or cleric or monk is to lease estates or involve himself in the secular administration of business, unless he is strictly required by the laws to take on the compulsory guardianship of minors or if the bishop of the city entrusts him with responsibility, out of the fear of God, for church property or for orphans and destitute widows and people who especially need the help of the church. If anyone in future attempts to transgress what has been laid down, he is to be subject to ecclesiastical penalties.

4.<sup>12</sup> Those who truly and sincerely enter on the solitary life are to be accorded due honour. But since some people use a cloak of monasticism to disrupt both the churches and public affairs, while they move around the cities indiscriminately and even try to set up monasteries for themselves, it is decreed that no one is to build or found a monastery or oratory anywhere contrary to the will of the bishop of the city. Those who practise monasticism in each city and territory are to be subject to the bishop, and are to embrace silence<sup>13</sup> and devote themselves to fasting and prayer alone, persevering in the places where they renounced the world; they are not to cause annoyance in either ecclesiastical or secular affairs, or take part in them, leaving their own monasteries, unless indeed for some compelling need they be permitted to do so by the bishop of the city.<sup>14</sup> No slave is to be

10 *μισθωταί* (*conductores* in Latin) were contractors who rented property on short leases, taking the profits in exchange for an agreed payment to the owner. See Jones, *LRE*, 788–92, who refers to a canon of the synod of Hippo of 393 which prohibited clergy from this occupation.

11 In the pre-Constantinian church many clergy, even bishops, were unsalaried and engaged in trade and other secular employment out of necessity (see, for example, Canon 19 of Elvira). In the late antique church those in major orders were salaried and supposed not to take on secular work (see Jones, *LRE*, 934 for the huge size of the churches' wages bill); in the west in 452 Valentinian III forbade the clergy from engaging in trade. But such rules could not be rigidly applied: priests or deacons in rural parishes were often poorly paid and the minor clergy often unsalaried (Jones, *LRE*, 906–9).

12 For the first draft of this canon, introduced by the emperor Marcian in the sixth session, see VI. 17.

13 The Greek word is *ἡσυχία* – the state of quietude of the mind and withdrawal from the world necessary for prayer and contemplation. See Lampe, *PGL*, 609.

14 From the beginning of the monastic movement bishops had been concerned to develop good relations with the monasteries and to be able to rely on their cooperation and support (eulogies of monasticism written by bishops, such as Athanasius' *Life of Antony* and Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa*, were part of this diplomatic game). In Constantinople, however, the availability

accepted into a monastery as a monk contrary to the will of his master; we have decreed that the infringer of this our regulation is excommunicate, lest the name of God be brought into disrepute.<sup>15</sup> The due care of the monasteries must be exercised by the bishop of the city.<sup>16</sup>

5. On the matter of bishops or clerics who move from city to city, it is decreed that the canons issued by the holy fathers on this subject keep their force.<sup>17</sup>

6. No one is to be ordained absolutely, neither a presbyter nor deacon nor anyone at all of ecclesiastical status, unless the one ordained is appointed to a particular church in a city or village or martyrion or monastery.<sup>18</sup> As for those who are ordained absolutely, the holy council has decreed that such an ordination is invalid and totally without effect, to the disgrace of the person who carried out the ordination.

7. We have ruled that those who have once been enrolled in the clergy or become monks are not to enter on state service or a secular dignity, and that those who presume to do so and do not repent by returning to the state they had formerly chosen for the sake of God are to be anathematized.<sup>19</sup>

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of so many forms of patronage gave monks great independence, and relations between them and the bishop were often poor; the opposition to both Flavian and Anatolius had been centred in certain monasteries – hence this canon. Comparable western canons include Canon 27 of Agde (506), ‘No new monastery is to be founded without the bishop’s approval’, and Canon 19 of Orleans (511), ‘Let abbots be under the bishop’s authority.’ Later in Byzantium many monasteries, especially in Constantinople, enjoyed the status of ‘imperial’ monasteries, independent of episcopal and even patriarchal authority; see Sokolov 2003, 289–301. For monasticism in Constantinople up to Chalcedon, see Dagron 1970.

15 Accepting runaway slaves was seen in any context as theft. There is an echo of 1 Tim. 6:1, ‘Whoever are slaves under a yoke must deem their masters worthy of all honour, lest the name of God and the teaching be brought into disrepute.’

16 For a detailed discussion, see Caner 2002, 206–12.

17 Cf. Canon 15 of Nicaea, ‘No bishop, presbyter or deacon should transfer from one city to another.’ Other relevant canons were Canons 18 of Ancyra (c.314) and 16 and 21 of Antioch (c.328). For an example of a rising cleric being ordained bishop of an insignificant see in order to block his career in his own city, see the case of Bassianus of Ephesus (XI. 14).

18 Ordination without the assignment of a particular pastoral charge was a way of honouring an individual (usually a monk) while at the same time placing him in a position of subordination to a bishop (e.g., Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa*, XIII. 4). What the secular authorities constantly sought to prevent, however, was ordination as a way of evading fiscal or curial responsibilities.

19 The 83rd Apostolic Canon degrades clergy in major orders who undertake state service, ‘for [leave] to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and to God the things that are God’s.’ As pointed out by later Byzantine commentators, the implication of the penalty of excommunication in the Chalcedonian canon is that clergy who undertook state service were *eo ipso* degraded and subject to a penalty appropriate for laymen.

8. The clergy of almshouses, monasteries and martyria are to remain under the authority of the bishops in each city, according to the tradition of the holy fathers; they are not out of self-will to rebel against their own bishop. Those who dare to infringe this rule in any way whatsoever and do not obey their bishop, if they are clerics, are to be subjected to the penalties of the canons, and if they are monks or laymen, are to be excommunicated.<sup>20</sup>

9. If any cleric has a suit against a cleric, he is not to leave his own bishop and have recourse to civil courts, but is first to argue the case before his own bishop, or at least with the consent of the bishop himself let justice be done before whomever both parties choose.<sup>21</sup> If anyone infringes this, he is to be subject to the canonical penalties. If a cleric has a suit against his own, or another, bishop, he is to plead his cause before the council of the province. If a bishop or cleric is in dispute with the metropolitan of the same province, he is to have recourse to the exarch of the diocese<sup>22</sup> or to the see of imperial Constantinople<sup>23</sup> and plead his case there.

10. A cleric may not be enrolled in the churches of two cities at the same time, both the one he was ordained in originally and the one he has flown off to, doubtless in pursuit of empty honour because of its higher status. Those who do this are to be returned to their own church, in which they were

20 Though the logic of the canon might imply that all Christians *tout court* are subject to their bishop, as the Byzantine commentators point out, the concern of the canon is to secure episcopal control over clergy and other employees in privately founded ecclesiastical institutions, such as the monks discussed at IV. 64 who had appealed to the emperor against their bishop.

21 There is strong support in the Greek MSS for reading not συγκαρτείσθω but συγκαρτείσθαι, which produces the sense, ‘or at least, with the consent of the bishop himself, before whomever both parties choose justice to be done.’ Cf. Canon 9 of the Council of Carthage of 393, which forbade clergy from pleading before ‘the public tribunals’. But it remained unclear whether purely civil disputes had to go to the bishop’s court, whether the bishop’s court had the authority to try criminal cases, and whether clergy accused by *laymen* could insist on being tried by the ecclesiastical courts. See Jones, *LRE*, 491–2.

22 The ‘exarch of the diocese’ was the bishop of Antioch in Oriens and the bishop of Alexandria in Egypt. The canon did not apply to Illyricum, which was under papal jurisdiction. It is not clear whether the bishops of Ephesus (the capital of Asiana) and Caesarea (of Pontica) were also recognized as exarchs with appellate jurisdiction; Jones, *LRE*, III, 300 believes they were not. In practice the court of appeal in these dioceses was certainly Constantinople. See the debate over Canon 28 in Session XVI.

23 Hitherto Constantinople had had no formal jurisdiction over other sees, not even in Thrace, but had in practice upstaged both Heraclea (traditionally the primatial see in Thrace) and Ephesus, while it sometimes heard appeals from still farther afield, when these were entrusted to her by the emperor – as when some of Cyril of Alexandria’s clergy appealed against him in 429, a fact referred to at the beginning of his Second Letter to Nestorius (I. 240).

originally ordained, and are to serve there alone. If, however, someone has already been transferred from one church to another, he is to have no part in the affairs of his former church or of the martyria, almshouses or hostels under it. As for those who, after the decree of the great and ecumenical council, presume to do any of the things that are now prohibited, the holy council has decreed that they are to be deprived of their rank.<sup>24</sup>

11. We have decreed that all the poor and those in need of assistance, after examination, are to travel only with ordinary letters, or ecclesiastical certificates of peace,<sup>25</sup> and not with systatic letters, since systatic letters should only be given to persons who are of standing.<sup>26</sup>

12. It has come to our knowledge that certain persons contrary to church law have by recourse to secular authority used mandates to divide one province into two, with the result that there are two metropolitans in one province.<sup>27</sup> The holy council has therefore decreed that in future nothing of this sort is to be perpetrated by a bishop, and that he who attempts it is to be deprived of his own rank. Whatever cities have already been honoured with the name of metropolis by imperial rescript, and the bishop who administers its church, are to enjoy the honour alone, while the proper rights are preserved for the true metropolis.

13. Foreign clerics and lectors,<sup>28</sup> if they do not have systatic letters from

24 This completes the provisions of Canon 5 against transfers from one see to another by penalizing pluralists who obtained benefices in more than one see. A distinction is made between clerics who adopted a second see on their own volition, who are required to return to their original see, and clerics who were formally transferred, doubtless by episcopal fiat, who are required to vacate any benefices in their original see.

25 Letters certifying that the person is in communion with the church.

26 Systatic letters were formal and weighty letters of recommendation, issued particularly to travelling members of the clergy. The final phrase ('who are ἐν ὑπολήψει') is ambiguous. The weight of medieval interpretation is in favour of the translation 'who are under suspicion': the canon was understood to refer to persons whose reputations had been damaged by a period of excommunication or by false accusation and who needed letters guaranteeing that they were now in good standing; cf. the 12th Apostolic Canon, 'If any absconding cleric or layman who is excommunicate is received [into communion] in another city without systatic letters, both the person received and the person who received him are to be excommunicated.' However, the special mention of the poor as those who are not to receive such letters favours the translation we give, which is that of the Latin version ('*honoratioribus*').

27 This manifestly relates to the claims of the sees of Berytus and Nicaea, both discussed at Chalcedon, the former in the Session on Photius and Eustathius and the latter in Session XIII. See Jones, *LRE*, 880–83.

28 The oddity of apparently referring to lectors as if they were not members of the clergy led to the emendation ἀγνώτους (unknown) for ἀναγνώτας (lectors) in later canonical collections.

their own bishop, are totally excluded from performing the liturgy in another city.

14. Since in some provinces lectors and cantors are allowed to marry,<sup>29</sup> the holy council has decreed that none of them may take a heretic to wife. Those who have already had children by such marriages, if they have first had them baptized by heretics, must bring them into the communion of the catholic church; if they have not been baptized, they are no longer to be able to have them baptized by heretics, nor are they to join them in marriage to a heretic, Jew or Hellene, unless the person marrying the orthodox party promise to convert to the orthodox faith.<sup>30</sup> If anyone breaks this decree of the holy council, he is to be subjected to the canonical penalty.

15. A woman is not to be ordained deacon before she is forty,<sup>31</sup> and this after a strict investigation. If after receiving ordination and exercising her ministry for some time she gives herself in marriage, insulting the grace of God, she is to be anathematized together with her partner.<sup>32</sup>

16. A virgin who has dedicated herself to the Lord God, and likewise a monk, is not permitted to enter into marriage. If they are discovered doing this, they are to be excommunicated. We have decreed that the local bishop has authority to exercise leniency towards them.<sup>33</sup>

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But the phrase can be understood ‘and *even* lectors’: as the lowest grade of clergy they might have been thought unsuitable recipients of systatic letters (see Canon 11).

29 The Apostolic Constitutions VI. 17 (late fourth-century) gives the standard rule forbidding those in major orders to marry after ordination but allowing those in minor orders to do so ‘lest they sin and incur punishment.’ The implication here is that in some provinces even this grudging permission was not given. There was a special need to allow lectors and cantors to marry, since these clerical grades were often bestowed on the young, even children: e.g., Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa*, XII. 4 (Theodoret being made a lector when pubescent) and XX. 2 (Maris being a cantor when ‘radiant in bloom of body’).

30 Cf. Canons 10 and 31 of Laodicea (of c.400), which forbids members of the church from marrying their children to heretics unless the latter promise to convert.

31 This was a compromise, later confirmed by Justinian, between the practice in some regions of allowing diaconal ordination to young unmarried women and the edict issued by Theodosius I in 390 which restricted the office to those aged 60 or over (*CTh* 16.2.27).

32 This canon does not assimilate deaconesses to men in major orders, who were forbidden to marry: deaconesses did not count as members of the clergy. Rather, it assimilates them to consecrated virgins, treated in the following canon.

33 Canon 19 of Ancyra (c.314) had placed virgins disloyal to their vows on the same footing as digamists, which implies a year’s penance for their offence. St Basil of Caesarea argued for greater severity (*ep.* 199, Canon 18), while admitting that some young women, or even girls, became consecrated virgins not of their own free choice but out of family pressure. The present canon allows bishops to exercise leniency in these cases. It remains a milestone in the formal definition of monastic celibacy.

17. The rural or country parishes of each church are to remain undisturbed under the bishops who possess them, especially if they have held and administered them for a thirty-year period without recourse to force. If, however, within the thirty years there has occurred or shall occur dispute over them, those who claim to have been wronged are permitted to raise the matter with the council of the province. If anyone is wronged by his own metropolitan, he is to plead his case before the exarch of the diocese or the see of Constantinople, as has been said above.<sup>34</sup> If any city has been founded by imperial authority or is in future so founded, the arrangement of the ecclesiastical dioceses is to follow the civic and public regulations.<sup>35</sup>

18. The crime of conspiracy or banding together is utterly forbidden even by the civil laws; all the more should it be prohibited in the church of God. If then any clerics or monks are found conspiring together or banding together or plotting intrigues against bishops or fellow clerics, they are to be completely stripped of their own rank.<sup>36</sup>

19. It has come to our hearing that the episcopal synods required canonically in the provinces do not take place and as a result many of the ecclesiastical matters requiring rectification are neglected. The holy council has therefore decreed that, in accordance with the canons of the holy fathers,<sup>37</sup> the bishops are to assemble together twice a year in each province in a place appointed by the metropolitan bishop and settle every matter that has arisen, and that the bishops who stay in their own cities and do not attend, even though they are in good health and are not impeded by any essential and unavoidable business, are to receive a fraternal rebuke.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See Canon 9 with our note.

<sup>35</sup> The word used here for a diocese – *παροικία* – is the same word used at the beginning of the canon for a rural district. The principle that ecclesiastical boundaries and status should mirror secular ones ensured that each local church leader would enjoy comparable status to that of the secular official he would have dealings with. See Jones, *LRE*, 874–9 for examples and some exceptions. This principle was not adopted in the west.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. IV. 69–73 and X. 109 for the oppressive treatment that clergy in dispute with their bishops could expect from them. This canon weakens the position of such clergy still further, since it could be used to penalize any cleric in dispute with his bishop who sought allies. But since it was probably inspired by the situation at Constantinople itself, where the priests Carosus and Dorotheus went on defying Archbishop Anatolius for years (see vol. 2, 165), it reflected episcopal weakness rather than episcopal strength.

<sup>37</sup> Canon 5 of Nicaea, laying down twice-yearly provincial synods.

<sup>38</sup> Canon 40 of Laodicea (c.400) likewise deplored episcopal absenteeism without offering any effective remedy. Contrast the canons of the ‘Second Council of Arles’ (an unofficial late fifth-century collection), which lay down a penalty of temporary excommunication.

20. Clerics enrolled in a church, as we have already decreed, are not to be appointed to the church of another city, but are to remain content with that church where they were deemed worthy to serve originally, except for those who have left their own homelands out of necessity and so moved to another church. If any bishop after this enactment should receive a cleric belonging to another bishop, it is decreed that both the person received and the one who received him are to be excommunicate, until the cleric who has transferred returns to his own church.<sup>39</sup>

21. Clerics or laymen who accuse bishops or clergy are not to be allowed to bring an accusation as a matter of course and without investigation, without first their characters being examined.<sup>40</sup>

22. Clerics are not permitted after the death of their bishop to seize his property, as has also been forbidden by former canons.<sup>41</sup> Those who act in this way endanger their own rank.

23. It has come to the hearing of the holy council that certain clerics and monks, with no commission from their bishop and sometimes even when excommunicated by him, come to imperial Constantinople and stay a long time in it, causing disorder, disrupting the state of the church, and upsetting the households of certain persons. The holy council has therefore decreed that such people are first to be asked by the advocate of the most holy church of Constantinople to leave the imperial city; and if they shamelessly persist in the same behaviour, they are to be expelled by the same advocate, even against their wills, and return to their own places.<sup>42</sup>

24. Monasteries that have once been consecrated with the approval of the bishop are to remain monasteries perpetually; the property belonging to them is to be kept for the monastery, and they may not in future become

39 This canon had been introduced by the emperor Marcian in the sixth session (VI. 19). It reinforces Canons 5 and 10 on the same theme. At this date there were many refugee bishops from the west resident in Constantinople, several of whom attended the council (see p. 202 below). To the penalties imposed here compare the 15th and 16th Apostolic Canons, which penalize both clergy who move to another see without their bishop's permission and the bishop who receives them.

40 Cf. Canon 6 of Constantinople (382), which allows anyone to bring a civil charge against a bishop but restricts ecclesiastical charges to plaintiffs who are neither heretics nor excommunicate.

41 Canon 24 of Antioch (c.328) and the 40th Apostolic Canon both forbid clergy from taking possession at a bishop's death of either ecclesiastical property or his personal property.

42 The reference is to such figures as Barsaumas, a Syrian monk active at Constantinople in the Eutychian cause (IV. 77). It complements Canon 4. For ecclesiastical 'advocates', see our note above on Canon 2.

secular residences. Those who allow this to happen are to be subjected to the penalties laid down in the canons.<sup>43</sup>

25. Since some of the metropolitans, as we have been informed, neglect the flocks entrusted to them and delay consecrating bishops, the holy council has decided that bishops are to be consecrated within three months, unless on some occasion some unavoidable necessity necessitate extending the time of delay.<sup>44</sup> If he does not do this, he is to be subjected to the ecclesiastical penalty, while the income of the widowed church is to be kept safe by the administrator of the same church.<sup>45</sup>

26. Since in some churches, as we have been informed, the bishops manage the property of the church without administrators, it is decreed that every church is to have both a bishop and an administrator chosen from its own clergy who is to manage church property according to the will of his bishop, lest the administration of the church be unsanctioned and as a result the property of the same church be dissipated and criticism be inflicted on the priesthood.<sup>46</sup> If he does not do this, he is to be subjected to the divine canons.

27. As regards those who abduct women with the pretext of marriage, or who give assistance or support to those who do so, the holy council has

43 The reference appears to be to the 72nd and 73rd Apostolic Canons, which subject the misappropriation of holy oil or consecrated vessels to the penalty of excommunication. 'At this time it was not possible to foresee the fantastic extension of monastic properties in the Middle Ages' (L'Huillier 1996, 262).

44 For the regular consecration of bishops by their metropolitan, see Canon 19 of Antioch (c.328), Session on Photius and Eustathius (esp. 7, 24), and Canon 28 (XVI. 8). The period allowed between the death of a bishop and the installation of his successor had in practice varied widely in different provinces. An anonymous Byzantine commentator observes that this canon does not cover the case of a delay caused by the elected candidate procrastinating over whether or not to accept election (*Pravila svyatykh vselenskikh soborov s tolkovaniyami*, 235–6).

45 Cf. the concern of the fathers of Chalcedon that the property of the church of Alexandria should be guarded by the administrator of the church during the vacancy caused by the deposition of Dioscorus (III. 100). Byzantine commentators noted the obscurity about the nature of the penalty and who was to impose it.

46 The 24th Antiochene Canon and 40th Apostolic Canon require a bishop to maintain a clear distinction between his private wealth and that of the church. Cyril of Alexandria commented on the impropriety of expecting bishops to produce accounts, which, he said, would 'reduce them to despair' (ep. 78); he was suspected of enriching his relatives and henchmen out of the huge resources of the Church of Alexandria, which is the probable reason for Dioscorus' harsh treatment of them after Cyril's death (III. 47, 51, 57). In 448 Ibas of Edessa had been obliged to 'promise that in future, following the rule in the very great church of Antioch, affairs would be managed by administrators, promoted by his piety from among the clergy' (IX. 7).



decreed that, if they are clerics, they are to be deprived of their rank, while if they are laymen they are to be anathematized.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Basil, *ep.* 199, Canon 30, which says that no ancient canon treated this matter and recommends a penalty of three years exclusion from church, save where the abduction was not forcible, in which case no penalty at all is incurred. Likewise the 67th Apostolic Canon imposes excommunication for an unspecified period in cases of *forcible* abduction. Chalcedon treats this apparently common offence with greater severity.

## DOCUMENTS AFTER THE COUNCIL

### INTRODUCTION

We include a selection of the documents published by Schwartz in *ACO* that date to the period between the end of the council and 454. These include four imperial edicts confirming and enforcing the decrees of the council. Most of the documents we include relate to the testy relations between the Roman see on the one hand and the government and patriarchate of Constantinople on the other: Rome approved the Definition of the Faith and had no wish to encourage its critics, but firmly refused to endorse Canon 28 with its confirmation of the privileges of the see of Constantinople. It took more than a year to settle on a compromise by which the two sides agreed to play down their differences over the canon and unite in public affirmation of the authority of the Definition, with its teaching of two natures in Christ and condemnation of the two contrasting Christological heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches.

### THE TEXTS: SELECTION AND LANGUAGE

In the Greek edition of the Acts the minutes of the sessions of the council are followed by 12 documents that take us from the close of the council to the messy aftermath of fierce contention over the council in Egypt and Palestine in the period 451 to 454.<sup>1</sup> Only the first of these documents (the Address to Marcian) comes in the Latin Acts at this point, but the five that follow were included in the appendix to the Latin version of the Third Session (the trial of Dioscorus).<sup>2</sup> We omit here the material relating to opposition to the council in Palestine, and include in its place letters to and from Pope Leo (included by Schwartz in *ACO* 2.4) that relate to the immediate Roman reaction to the decrees of the council.

<sup>1</sup> *ACO* 2.1 pp. 469–95. The compilation and publication of this collection of documents is plausibly dated by Schwartz to the winter of 454/5 (*ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xxi–ii).

<sup>2</sup> *ACO* 2.3 pp. 553–61 and 346–60.

- (1) Address to Marcian (November 451)
- (2) The Council Fathers to Pope Leo (November 451)
- (3) First Edict confirming Chalcedon (7 February 452)
- (4) Second Edict confirming Chalcedon (13 March 452)
- (5) Third Edict confirming Chalcedon (6 July 452)
- (6) Fourth Edict confirming Chalcedon (18 July 452)
- (7) Marcian to Pope Leo (18 December 451)
- (8) Anatolius of Constantinople to Pope Leo (December 451)
- (9) Pope Leo to Marcian (22 May 452)
- (10) Pope Leo to Anatolius of Constantinople (22 May 452)
- (11) Marcian to Pope Leo (15 February 453)
- (12) Pope Leo to Marcian (21 March 453)
- (13) Pope Leo to the Council Fathers (21 March 453)
- (14) Marcian to the Monks of Alexandria (late 454)

Of these documents, nos 9–10 and 12–13 come in the *Collectio Grimanica* of Leo's letters in the original Latin, and no. 7 from a similar early Latin source, both printed in *ACO* 2.4. All of the remaining documents come in the letter collections attached to the Acts, for which see Appendix 1: The Documentary Collections, pp. 157–92 below. All of these, save nos 8 and 11 (which survive only in Greek), are extant in both Greek and Latin versions. It is manifest that the Address to Marcian attributed to the council fathers (1) was written in Greek. Their letter to Pope Leo (2) must have been approved by the bishops in a Greek version and sent to Leo in Latin; but the poor quality of both the extant Latin translations makes it unlikely that either of them preserves the original Latin text; see our note *ad loc.* The four edicts confirming Chalcedon (3–6) will have been issued in both languages; Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xix–xx) recognized the Latin versions as primary. Finally, Marcian's letter to the monks of Alexandria (14) will certainly have been despatched in Greek,<sup>3</sup> and a linguistic comparison of the two versions confirms the primacy of the Greek text. These considerations determined in each case our choice of version to translate.

### COMMENTARY

The first of these documents, the Address to Marcian, is also the most problematic. It is a defence of Leo's Tome against the charge of improper

<sup>3</sup> Note Jones, *LRE*, 988, 'Letters and rescripts to Eastern provinces, cities and individuals were drafted in Greek'.

innovation, detailing previous documents (such as letters of Athanasius and Cyril) that had similarly clarified the teaching of the Nicene Creed. The document is vaguely ascribed to ‘the holy council’, but without any bishops’ signatures. It takes the form of an address to the emperor Marcian, who is asked to respond by ‘confirming the preaching of the see of Peter as a seal of the doctrines of piety for benefit of the council you convened.’ It was incorporated in the Acts of the Council as an appendage, and is referred to as such in a letter Pope Leo sent to Theodoret on 11 June 453.<sup>4</sup> What was the purpose of the address, particularly if it was composed at the close of the council? Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.3 p. xiii) detects an imperial intrigue. The emperor was concerned about the impression that would be made by the record of the Fifth Session, in which the Definition was amended in order to bring it into harmony with the Tome and on direct orders from the emperor and his representatives; he therefore elicited this address from the bishops to show that it was the bishops themselves who had stressed the authority of the Tome and defended it against the charge of doctrinal innovation. It is hard, however, to see what the address added to the work of the Fourth Session, at which the Tome was formally examined and approved by the bishops. Indeed, once the Definition had been issued, it was not the Tome but the Definition that needed to be defended against charges of innovation. Add to this the fact that the document contains no reference to the Definition, and we must surely conclude that it belongs to an earlier stage of the council, most probably the period before the Fourth Session when the bishops were busy conferring together about whether the Tome could be unanimously approved (see II. 29–33 and IV. 9, after 98).<sup>5</sup>

The particular slant of the document is revealed by the florilegium that accompanies it. The hand of Theodoret is clearly recognizable in the selection of texts and in particular of two excerpts (6 and 11, from Amphilochius of Iconium and Proclus of Constantinople respectively) which, as Schwartz noted (*ACO* 2.1.3 p. xiv), are cited elsewhere only by Theodoret.<sup>6</sup> The aggressive and unqualified dyophysitism that the florilegium represents (consider, for example, the decidedly unfortunate text from John Chrysostom with which it concludes) was certainly not the mind of the council, if we

4 *Ep.* 120 (*ACO* 2.4 p. 80; tr. *NPNF* II. 12, 89). The authenticity of this letter in its present form has, however, been doubted; see Grillmeier 1987, 128, n. 41.

5 De Halleux 1985, 65 oddly describes the Address as ‘the first official commentary on the Definition’, which is precisely what it is not.

6 Strikingly all the excerpts, save that from Proclus, also occur in the florilegia in Theodoret’s *Eranistes*, written in 447/8, as detailed by Schwartz *ad loc.*

consider the enthusiasm of the fathers in the Fifth Session for a purely Cyrillian expression of the faith and their reluctance to accept a formal affirmation of two natures after the union; and Theodoret himself was viewed by most of the bishops with great suspicion (see Session VIII). Whether or not the whole Address to Marcian was actually written by Theodoret, as Schwartz suggests,<sup>7</sup> it is not a plausible document to have been agreed by ‘the holy council’: it must have been issued by bishops, such as Theodoret and John of Germanicia, who represented the Antiochene School.<sup>8</sup> But why in this case was the document rescued from oblivion, assigned to the council as a whole, and incorporated in the Acts, at the very end of all the sessions?<sup>9</sup> One may suggest that the answer lies in the special bearing of the document in the context of the close of the council, at whose final session the bishops and the Roman delegates had clashed dramatically over Canon 28, giving primacy in the east to the see of Constantinople. The utility of the Address at this point in the proceedings was diplomatic tact (concerted, one may guess, by the emperor Marcian and Archbishop Anatolius of Constantinople) – to reassure the pope that the council was still concerned to defend his person and his teaching.<sup>10</sup> This was all the more necessary because of the document that accompanies it in the Greek edition of the Acts (our Document 2) and was doubtless attached to it from the first – a letter to Pope Leo from the council, signed by 65 bishops (including 16 metropolitans),<sup>11</sup> urging him to repudiate the stance of his representatives and confirm Canon 28.<sup>12</sup>

7 Some verbal parallels suggested to Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xiv–xv) that Theodoret wrote the whole Address. The general tone of the address, with its over-persuasiveness, is certainly reminiscent of Theodoret’s manner in his apologetical writings. Note that John of Asia, a miaphysite historian of the mid-sixth century, asserted that the ‘final decree’ of Chalcedon was written by Theodoret (Amann in *DTC* 15.1881–2).

8 This did not include the then bishop of Antioch, Maximus, probably identical to the former deacon Maximus, who had been a belligerent supporter of Cyril of Alexandria (Di Bernardino, *EEC* 1, 548).

9 If it be asked why recourse was had to a document composed by Theodoret, or at least closely associated with him, despite the council fathers’ suspicions of him, the answer may lie in the excellent relations between him and the lay chairman of the council, the patrician Anatolius, for which see note at I.2.1.

10 It could also be suggested that the document contained effective ammunition in favour of two-nature Christology and of the principle that new formularies could be introduced to ‘expound’ the Nicene doctrine, as a contribution to the campaign in defence of the Definition. But in the mood of euphoria at the immediate end of the council the need for such ammunition was probably not yet appreciated.

11 On the signatories, see our note at the very end of the letter.

12 Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.3 p. xiii) includes this letter among the documents sent to Leo via Lucian of Bizye by Anatolius of Constantinople (see Document 8).

The council's letter to Leo is followed in the Greek edition of the Acts by four edicts of the emperor confirming the decrees of the council, dating from February to July 452 (Documents 3–6). The first is addressed to the citizens of Constantinople, the remaining three to the praetorian prefects of the east and of Illyricum, the prefect of the city of Constantinople, and the master of the offices. The third decree, which rehabilitates Flavian of Constantinople posthumously and quashes the depositions of Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Theodoret, constituted an annulment of the decrees of Ephesus II, as requested by the bishops at the Tenth Session of the Council (X. 145–6). The particular emphases in these decrees on the worthiness of Flavian and the iniquity of Eutyches and his supporters show that the chief concern of all four edicts, and not just the first, was over the continued opposition to the Chalcedonian decrees in Constantinople itself (for which see our commentary on the session on Carosus and Dorotheus, vol. 2, p. 165), though the specific mention of the responsibilities of provincial governors at the end of the fourth edict shows that the general situation throughout the eastern provinces was also of concern.

The next items in our selection of documents from the aftermath of the council are the exchanges of letters between Marcian and Pope Leo, and between Anatolius and Leo, during the 18 months that followed the council; they reveal the concern of Constantinople to obtain papal support for all the conciliar decrees and the Roman response to the council's work. It will be remembered that Pope Leo had originally opposed the convocation of a council, since he considered that the doctrinal issue had already been resolved by his Tome and that the disciplinary matters arising from Ephesus II could be dealt with by his own representatives, acting in concert with Anatolius of Constantinople (Documents before the Council 4–5). His reaction to the conciliar decrees was not, therefore, likely to be particularly enthusiastic, even if he was broadly happy with the decrees that related to the faith.<sup>13</sup>

The correspondence begins with letters to Leo sent by Marcian (Document 7) and Anatolius (Document 8) in December 451, pressing him to approve the decrees of the council, especially Canon 28 which Leo's representatives at the council had already rejected (XVI. 45).<sup>14</sup> Leo responded to these letters (and also to a letter in the same vein from the

13 On Leo's attitude to Chalcedon both before and after the council, see Grillmeier 1987, 120–38.

14 For the issues, see our commentary on Session XVI.

empress Pulcheria, *ep.* 105) on 22 May 452. The reply to Marcian (Document 9), like the letter to Pulcheria, approves the work of the council in upholding orthodoxy in the eastern churches and overthrowing 'those responsible for a violation of the faith', but this positive note is eclipsed by the fact that three quarters of the letter is devoted to an attack on Canon 28, as contrary to the canons of Nicaea. In the letter to Anatolius (Document 10) the note of protest is even more dominant.

Neither the council fathers in their letter to Leo nor Marcian in his letter of 18 December (Documents 2 and 7) had felt it necessary to ask the pope to confirm the doctrinal work of the council: after all, the pope's representatives at the council had already done so on his behalf. But as opposition to the council mounted in the east, especially in Egypt and Palestine, Marcian came to feel the need for the pope's formal confirmation of the decrees. Accordingly he wrote to Leo again on 15 February 453 (Document 11), expressing amazement that 'in no way at all have letters been sent back by your clemency of the kind that ought to come to the knowledge of all, evidently through being read in the most holy churches.' The emperor claimed that the pope's delay in approving the council had given comfort to the supporters of Eutyches. Since, however, the supporters of Eutyches regarded Leo as a heretic and Dioscorus had declared Leo excommunicate just before the council, the claim that eastern opponents of the council appealed to the authority of Rome need not be taken seriously; but it is true that uncommitted bishops may have been using the silence of Rome as an excuse for sitting on the fence. The same letter made no direct mention of Canon 28, but diplomatically complimented the pope on his strict maintenance of the ecclesiastical canons. Leo replied with two letters dating to 21 March, one addressed to Marcian and the other to the bishops who had attended the council (Documents 12 and 13). In the first of these he referred to his earlier letters of 22 May 452, saying that they had already confirmed the work of the council relating to the faith and that, if this was not appreciated, this was because Archbishop Anatolius had chosen to suppress them since they criticized him (in relation to Canon 28); for 'Archbishop Anatolius' one is, of course, to understand the emperor himself. But now Leo accepted the need for a more explicit and less grudging approval of the council, which he provided, and was also happy to express appreciation of the emperor's compliment over his upholding of the canons while following the emperor in making no direct mention of Canon 28. Having sent a letter to Marcian that the emperor could use for propaganda purposes, Leo showed less restraint in his letter to the council fathers: he again attacked Canon 28

and referred dismissively to the bishops' approval of it at the council. This Roman stance of approval of the doctrinal work of the council,<sup>15</sup> coupled with rejection of Canon 28 (and the related decree of the Council of Constantinople of 381),<sup>16</sup> continued for centuries, until in the very different conditions of the establishment of a Latin Patriarchate in Constantinople, as an offshoot of the Fourth Crusade, the Fourth Council of the Lateran under Pope Innocent III (1215) decreed (in its Canon 5) that 'after the Roman Church ... the church of Constantinople shall have the first place'.<sup>17</sup>

In the following century, in the context of controversy over the apparent approval extended at Chalcedon to Theodoret of Cyrhus and Ibas of Edessa,<sup>18</sup> the question was raised as to whether Leo's approval of the decrees of the council extended beyond matters of faith: did he also confirm the decisions relating to persons?<sup>19</sup> Pope Vigilius in his *First Constitutum* (553) affirmed that he had; but Pelagius II (579–90) argued, on the basis of the letters of Leo we give here, that Leo only approved the decrees relating directly to the faith. Leo's letter of 21 March 453 (our Document 12) clearly includes the condemnation of Dioscorus. His rejection of Canon 28 implies that he cannot have intended to approve Canons 9 and 17 either, which ascribe an appellate jurisdiction to Constantinople; but there is no evidence that he even knew of these canons, which were not approved at the council but issued subsequently in its name.<sup>20</sup> In the context of 553 the question of whether the pope had approved the disciplinary acts of the council came to the fore, but in the context of 451 all we can say is that the papal representatives who took part in all the sessions and approved all the decisions save the adoption of Canon 28 were presumed by everyone at the time to express the pope's mind.

15 In approving the doctrinal work of the council, Leo emphasized its condemnation of Eutyches and made no mention of the positive Christological teaching of Chalcedon (this is true of the letters given here and of *ep.* 102, in which Leo communicated the work of the council to the bishops of Gaul). The Chalcedonian Christological formula became important for the west only subsequently, in reaction to the mounting strength of anti-Chalcedonian opinion in the east; see Hofmann 1951.

16 For the text of this decree, see XVI. 18. Note how Anatolius of Constantinople in his letter to Pope Leo already referred to (Leo, *ep.* 101, *ACO* 2.1 pp. 248–50) gave details of the council of 381, which he clearly appreciated was a council that was scarcely remembered in Rome, let alone regarded as authoritative.

17 *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, 1, 236.

18 See our commentary on the tenth session.

19 See de Vries 1974, 172–4.

20 For the issuing of the canons, see pp. 92–3 above.



The final document we include is a letter Marcian sent towards the end of 454 to ‘the monks of Alexandria’ (Document 14). This letter was evidently elicited by the strong opposition throughout Egypt to the Chalcedonian decrees, particularly to the deposition of Dioscorus. It makes the claims that the Definition simply restated the faith of Nicaea, that it was faithful to the teaching of the great bishops of Alexandria (Athanasius, Theophilus and Cyril), and that Dioscorus, in giving his support to Eutyches, had been guilty of Apollinarianism. This latter claim is particularly significant in view of the ambiguity at Chalcedon itself as to whether Dioscorus was condemned for heresy or only for offences against canonical order.<sup>21</sup> The way in which this letter clarifies the alleged heresy of Dioscorus and stresses the loyalty of the Chalcedonian Definition both to the Nicene Creed and to the Alexandrian tradition makes it an important text that can fitly conclude our selection of post-conciliar documents relating to Chalcedon.<sup>22</sup>

### (1) ADDRESS TO MARCIAN<sup>23</sup>

Address from the holy council to the most pious and Christ-loving emperor Marcian, [to the effect] that the most holy Archbishop Leo was not innovating in anything at this time against the faith of Nicaea when he wrote the letter to Flavian, [now] among the saints, bishop of imperial Constantinople, but followed the holy fathers who in like manner confuted the heresies that sprung up in their time after the great council at Nicaea.

This too was worthy of your rule to inaugurate your care of your subjects with what pertains to God and first out of piety to assemble an army against the devil. Accordingly God devised for you a champion invulnerable to deceit, and equipped for victory the president of the Roman church, girding him on all sides with the doctrines of the truth, so that, fighting like Peter fervent with longing,<sup>24</sup> he might draw every thought towards God. But lest

21 See vol. 2, 33–4.

22 In our General Introduction (vol. 1, 56–75) we argue that loyalty to Nicaea and to Cyril of Alexandria was indeed the purpose of the Definition but that other interpretations cannot be excluded.

23 *ACO* 2.1 pp. 469–75.

24 ‘Fervent with longing (πόθος)’: cf. Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa*, ‘On divine love’, 10, where Peter is described as ‘wounded by this πόθος’ – a word unusual in this context. Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xiv–xv) gives a number of other parallels in the Address to phraseology in Theodoret.

anyone should reject the concord of his [Pope Leo's] faith and, trying to obscure the refutation of his own delusion, should impugn the composition of the letter as something alien and not approved by the canons, asserting that it is not permissible to have an exposition of the faith besides that of the fathers at Nicaea, [we say the following]. The law of the church indeed prescribes that there is to be one teaching, that of the 318, as a summary, which we recommend as a common formulary of the saints for those being initiated into the security of adoption;<sup>25</sup> but against those who contradict it there have been provided for us various resources of combat, adapted by the pious to match that which they falsely adduce. For the benefit of those who belong to us there suffices simple comprehension of the creed, leading the right-minded to assent to the doctrines of piety; but for those who try to distort the correct teaching it is necessary to engage with each of their evil progeny and to set up effective opposition to their machinations. If all were satisfied with the formulary of the faith and did not innovate on the path of piety, those of the church would have no need to devise any supplement to the creed for the purpose of proof; but since many have left the straight ways for those of error, deceitfully devising a new path for themselves, the necessity falls on us to correct them with the findings of the truth and to set refutation against their inventions. This is not to serve piety by constantly innovating, as if the creed were in some way defective, but to devise what corresponds to their innovations. And so that what we say may be plain to your sovereignty, we shall begin with the very words of the creed, appending the thoughts of the fathers, according to the tenets of each in relation to them.

The creed said, 'I believe in one Jesus Christ our Lord the Son of God, consubstantial with the Father.' This statement is complete for those who try to be right-minded in their confession, revealing the nature of Godhead to be the same in the Son as in the Father, with the result that it does not conceive in thought the Son to be of one essence and the Father of another and does not concur with the evil inventions of Arius against piety. But when Photinus and Marcellus invented a new blasphemy against the Son, not completely denying his existence in their misrepresentations but asserting that the same [person] is called Father and Son and Spirit, and defining the difference of the names as merely a matter of terminology, then the fathers introduced in opposition the doctrine of the three hypostases, not concocting for them an

25 The reference is to adoption as children of God at baptism, at which the candidates would recite the creed.

invention alien to scripture, nor dismissing the meaning of the creed as if it were incomplete, but explaining it by means of inspired expressions, powerfully championing the fact of consubstantiality, and showing that the creed expounded for us one essence in the case of two persons but did not thereby deny the existence of the Son.<sup>26</sup>

Again it said, ‘and in the Holy Spirit’, transmitting a conception of the doctrine of the Spirit that is sufficient for the pious. For it is clear that in prescribing belief equally in the Father and the Son and the Spirit, it enjoined placing one’s hopes [in them] as in God, revealing to those who receive it one nature in the Trinity. But because the creed at that time expounded the teaching on the Spirit so simply, since no one yet disputed about him, those of the spawn of Arius who had preserved the corruption in themselves, being hard-pressed by refutation relating to the Son, transferred their blasphemy to the Spirit, thinking their misrepresentation to be irrefutable, and impudently assigned to him the lowly status of being a creature. Accordingly those who subsequently championed the truth repelled their corruption with counter-devices, showing that according to the understanding of the faith he is Lord and God and has his procession from the Father.<sup>27</sup>

Consequently those who were insolent against the Godhead, subverting the faith under a mask of piety hostile to the faith, were defeated by the supporters of the Trinity; and since they set themselves to overturn through their perverse inventions that which had been well expounded in the creed concerning the dispensation, grace again, to resist their onset, appointed generals for us who showed how perfect, divine and worthy of the clemency of God the Word are the conceptions of the symbol of the faith relating to the incarnation. For it said, ‘came down, was enfleshed, and became man’, expressing by ‘came down’ the voluntary condescension of power, signifying by ‘was enfleshed’ the true assumption of our flesh and demonstrating the proof of the birth from a virgin according to his oneness, and by ‘became

26 For the mid-fourth-century theologians Marcellus and Photinus, see Hanson 1988, 217–38. The doctrine of three hypostases in the Trinity, which goes back to Origen, was further developed against them, first by the anti-Nicenes (or ‘Semi-Arians’) and then by the Cappadocian Fathers; see Meredith 1995, 102–10. Marcellus and Photinus were condemned at the Council of Constantinople of 381 (Hanson 1988, 807); from then on the doctrine of three hypostases (or individual realities) in the Trinity was a required tenet of orthodoxy.

27 For the Pneumatomachians, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, see Hanson 1988, 760–72. The Creed of Constantinople (II. 14), which expresses the teaching of the council of 381, whether or not it was formally approved by it, added an article on the Spirit to refute this heresy.

man' stating the completeness in him of our nature made up of a rational soul and body. But the evil one, I know not how, used this to plot multiform destruction for mankind, wishing in his enmity to frustrate the culmination in God's care for us. Some he persuaded to deny the birth from the Virgin in respect of what was assumed, removing the term *Theotokos* from the birth as if out of respect and reverence for the dignity of the Saviour, while he armed others in impiety against the very Godhead of the Only-begotten, inducing them to proclaim in their statements that it is changeable and passible.<sup>28</sup> As distributor of evils he apportions out the blasphemies to his worthy servants in the following way: while some have abolished the characteristics of the form assumed, others restrict their confession of the union to the flesh alone; while some deny that the soul is healed, others say that it is present in the body but without a mind;<sup>29</sup> and while some divide the mystery of the union and say that what appeared is ordinary, as in the case of a prophet, others deny the difference of the natures and leave no individualizing property to the Godhead or manhood of the Saviour but simply in one fell swoop mix together all the realities of the dispensation.<sup>30</sup>

However, the enemy of our nature did not escape the sleepless eye, but it immediately appointed as luminaries for those in error the fathers, who unfold to all the meaning of the creed and accurately proclaim the beneficence of the incarnation, how the mystery of the dispensation was originally prepared in the womb, how the Virgin was called both *Theotokos*, on account of the one who bestowed virginity on her even after conception and in a divine manner sealed her womb, and also truly Mother, on account of the flesh of the Master of the universe which she provided out of herself,<sup>31</sup> how the Lord rose from the stem of Jesse, how the Creator took hold of the seed of Abraham,<sup>32</sup> how he exhibited the first-fruits of our nature in him, how the Only-begotten was revealed as perfect God and perfect man, how

28 This condemns the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches respectively.

29 The principal heresy denounced here is that of Apollinarianism, variously accused of denying Christ a real human nature (as contrasted to a heavenly appearance), a soul, or at least a rational soul.

30 Again Nestorius and Eutyches are under attack, with also a reference to the fourth-century heretic Photinus, accused of denying a true union between God and man in Christ.

31 Note as an Antiochene feature the minimizing interpretation of *Theotokos*, in contrast to Cyril of Alexandria's insistence that the term meant that it is God himself who was born of Mary. The whole paragraph presents a pure dyophysite Christology, close to the Formula of Reunion, in which the differences between the two natures are more clearly expressed than their union.

32 Heb. 2:16.

the difference of the natures was witnessed in him, how the oneness of the person<sup>33</sup> was displayed, how 'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and for the ages',<sup>34</sup> how both recent and eternal, how both heavenly and earthly, how both visible and invisible, how consubstantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead and the same consubstantial with his mother in respect of the manhood, and how the same was shown to be both impassible as God and passible as man. With these statements the fathers prevailed against the evil one. They made this defence of the creed against those attempting to misrepresent it, not introducing another formulary of the faith for us to profess, but rescuing that which their enemies were maliciously falsifying, and opposing those who were trying to use the occasion to lead people astray, while each of them was the guardian of his own people with a view to their salvation. So the great Basil, the servant of grace, expressed clearly, for example in a letter, the meaning of the hypostases and transmitted the precise teaching about the Holy Spirit, demanding the assent of his fellow pastors through their signatures.<sup>35</sup> So Damasus, the ornament of Rome in righteousness, analysed the dispensation in his letter to Paulinus, persuading those who wanted to enjoy his communion to approve what he had rightly decreed.<sup>36</sup> So those later who variously assembled everywhere to deal with the innovations of the heretics, issued, as soulmates, a common decree on behalf of the faith, communicating clearly to the absent what they had resolved fraternally among themselves; those at Sardica who contended against the remnants of Arius sent their decision to those in Anatolia,<sup>37</sup> while those there, who had detected the corruption of Apollinarius, made known their decree to those in the west, Ossius initiating the judgement of the former, while Nectarius together with Gregory assumed leadership over the latter.<sup>38</sup> So at Ephesus the judgement about the *Theotokos* was confirmed in writing, and they approved with their signatures the expressions relating to

33 This is the Antiochene doctrine of oneness of 'person' (πρόσωπον) in Christ, but not oneness of nature or hypostasis. This suggests, but does not impose, a date for this document prior to the formulation of the Definition.

34 Heb. 13:8.

35 Basil, *ep.* 125 contains the profession of faith in the three hypostases of the Trinity and the divinity of the Holy Spirit that he presented to Eustathius of Sebaste for his signature.

36 Damasus, *ep.* 4, *Tomus Damasi: Confessio fidei* (written in 377), a summary of Nicene orthodoxy on the Trinity and the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

37 See Hall 1989.

38 The Council of Constantinople of 381, whose Canon 1 condemns Apollinarianism and other heresies.

the Godhead and manhood of the Lord, presenting with hand and tongue their confession of the natures in one person.<sup>39</sup>

If anyone enjoins at this point an end to the freedom of those wishing to defend the faith, it is above all on the heretics that he should impose this injunction, which should rather prevent them from practising wickedness than the shepherds from providing protection; for every law forbids the offences of the wicked without restricting the authority of the judges. Otherwise they should learn that now also, since dispute has arisen, we are permitted to join our confession to the interpretations of the fathers, and to prove that we do not reveal beliefs in disharmony with their understanding but use them as witnesses to confirm our faith. Accordingly we are proud to possess the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus; accordingly we publish as our own the letter of Gregory to Cleodnius.<sup>40</sup> What need is there to speak at length? For if it is blameworthy to use letters to clarify the belief of the church in relation to each question, one should first indict the blessed Cyril himself, who explained his own beliefs in his letter to those of the east.<sup>41</sup> In addition one could subject the great Proclus to the same charge for sending to those of the same Orient his Tome to the Armenians in proof of his agreement. There will also share in the charge the wise John of Antioch, who to shake off the slanders of the heretics and prove the straightforwardness of the apostolic teaching sent the confession of the east, as if from one mouth, to the sacred Proclus and to the one wielding the sceptre of the world.<sup>42</sup> Let them not therefore present us with the letter of the wondrous primate of Rome as justifying a charge of innovation, but let them prove their case if it differs from the scriptures, if it disagrees with the previous fathers, if it does not serve to indict the impious, if it does not provide a defence of the Nicene faith, if it does not refute the fables of those who attempt to innovate, if it does not oppose the nonsense of the foolish. For if someone falsifies the thought of the fathers, it is he who is liable to punishment for his transgression, not the one who brought proof of the transgression. For he

39 The reference is to Cyril of Alexandria's Second Letter to Nestorius, formally approved at the Council of Ephesus of 431 (I. 240), and his Letter to John of Antioch, containing the Formula of Reunion (I. 246); the latter, though written in 433, was regularly treated as one of the fruits of the council.

40 Athanasius' *Letter to Epictetus* was appealed to by both sides in the Christological controversy, and variant versions existed (see I. 246 *fin.*). The letter of Gregory Nazianzen referred to here is *ep.* 101, written in 382 against Apollinarianism.

41 Given in full in the Acts at I. 246.

42 For Proclus, *ep.* 2, *Tomus ad Armenios*, and the response of a synod held at Antioch by Bishop John, see Chadwick 2001, 548–51.

who of his own will without an opponent takes pride in an exposition in his own words would deservedly be convicted as a braggart, but he who opposes those who have learnt to hold false beliefs adjusts his tongue to the thought of the enemy, as he tries to refute their false proposals with those of the truth. But, O lovers of Christ, worthy of the kingdom bequeathed to you from above, reward your benefactor with faith and show gratitude in honouring zeal in the confession [of faith], repelling the assaults of the wicked, pronouncing to all the concord of a pious confession, and confirming the preaching of the see of Peter as a seal of the doctrines of piety for benefit of the council you convened. For your piety ought to have confidence that the God-beloved primate of Rome has altered nothing in the creed formerly published by the holy fathers. And so that no pretext may be left to those trying out of envy to slander the apostolic man, we have appended statements of the holy fathers that accord with the letter, selecting a few out of many, for the accurate information of your authority.

That the holy fathers asserted two natures in Christ, and that God the Word consubstantial with the Father became through Mary consubstantial with us in respect of the flesh:

(1) Saint Basil, from *Against Eunomius*<sup>43</sup>

For I say that being in the form of God has the same meaning as being in the essence of God. For just as ‘taking the form of a servant’ signifies that our Lord was born in the essence of manhood, so speaking of existence in the form of God assuredly indicates the characteristics of the divine nature.

(2) The blessed Ambrose from the letter to the emperor Gratian<sup>44</sup>

Let us preserve the difference between Godhead and flesh. One in both is called Son of God, since both natures are in him.

(3) The blessed Gregory the Theologian from the letter to Cledonius<sup>45</sup>

For there are two natures, God and man, since there is both soul and body, but there are not two Sons or Gods.

(4) The same, from the second oration on the Son<sup>46</sup>

This is what causes heretics to err – the combination of names. It is

43 *Adversus Eunomium* 1. 18.

44 *De fide ad Gratianum* 2. 78.

45 *Ep.* 101 (PG 37. 180A).

46 *Fourth Theological Oration* (Or. 30), 8.

indicative that when the natures are distinguished in thought the names also are differentiated.

(5) The blessed Athanasius from the book against heresies<sup>47</sup>

And just as we would not have been freed from sin and the curse if it had not been human flesh by nature that the Word was clothed in (for we would not have had anything in common with something alien), so too man would not have been deified, if the Word that became flesh was not by nature from the Father, real, and his own. For this conjunction took place for this reason, to conjoin what is man by nature to the one who is in the nature of the Godhead.

(6) Amphilochius bishop of Iconium from *On the Gospel of John*<sup>48</sup>

Henceforward distinguish the natures, that of God and that of the man. For he did not become man through a declension of God, nor did he change from man to God through progression. I say God and man: attribute the sufferings to the flesh, and the miracles to God.

(7) Antiochus bishop of Ptolemais<sup>49</sup>

Do not confound the natures, and you will not be confused over the dispensation.

(8) The blessed Flavian bishop of Antioch,<sup>50</sup> *On the Theophanies*

‘Who will speak truly of the powers of the Lord and make all his praises heard?’<sup>51</sup> Who could present in a word the greatness of his beneficence towards us? Human nature is conjoined to Godhead, while each nature remains by itself.

(9) The blessed John Chrysostom, from *On the Gospel of John*<sup>52</sup>

For what does he add? ‘And [he] dwelt among us’ [Jn 1:14], which virtually means, ‘Do not suspect something absurd from “[he] became”, for I did not mean a change in that changeless nature but indwelling and

47 *Contra Arianos*, II. 70.

48 On Amphilochius see Quasten, *Patrology*, 3, 296–300.

49 On Antiochus see Quasten, *Patrology*, 3, 483–4.

50 Bishop of Antioch 381–404.

51 Ps. 105:2.

52 *Homilies on John*, 11.2.



residing.’ For the *act* of dwelling is not the same as the *place* of dwelling, but the dweller and the indwelt are different – otherwise it would not be a case of indwelling, for nothing resides in itself. I meant different in essence, for through union and conjunction God the Word and the flesh are one. There has not occurred a fusion, or an annihilation of essences, but a certain ineffable and indescribable union.

(10) The blessed Atticus,<sup>53</sup> from the letter to Eupsychius

So what had the All-wise to bring about? Through the mediation of the assumed flesh and the union of God the Word to the man from Mary both the following occurred: Christ, made one out of both, in his Godhead remained disposed in his own rank of impassible nature, while in the flesh, through consorting with death, he simultaneously exhibited in the cognate nature of the flesh contempt for death and at the same time through de cease secured the rights of the new covenant.

(11) The blessed Proclus,<sup>54</sup> from the homily on ‘A child was born to us, a son was given to us’<sup>55</sup>

Separate the natures in thought, and theologize about the union of the mystery.

(12) The blessed Cyril, from the letter to Nestorius<sup>56</sup>

While the natures which were brought together in true union are different, yet from them both is the one Christ and Son – not as though the difference of the natures was destroyed by the union.

(13) The same, from the letter to John<sup>57</sup>

For there is one Lord Jesus Christ, even though we do not ignore the difference of the natures out of which we say that the ineffable union was brought about.

53 Bishop of Constantinople 406–25.

54 Bishop of Constantinople 434–46.

55 Is. 9:6.

56 From the Second Letter to Nestorius, read out at the first session (I. 240). The last clause in this quotation was incorporated in the final section of the Chalcedonian Definition.

57 This, like the following quotation, is from the Letter to John of Antioch, read out at the first session (I. 246).

(14) The same<sup>58</sup>

So when we consider, as I have said, the mode of the incarnation, we see that two natures have come together with each other in inseparable union without confusion or change. For the flesh is flesh and not Godhead, even if it became the flesh of God, and likewise the Word is God and not flesh, even if he made the flesh his own in the dispensation.

## (15) The same, from the letter to the blessed John of Antioch

For there has occurred a union of two natures, and therefore we acknowledge one Christ, one Son, one Lord. By virtue of this understanding of the union which involves no merging, we acknowledge the holy Virgin to be *Theotokos*, because God the Word was enfleshed and became man and from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her.

(16) Saint John bishop of Constantinople, from the interpretation of the Gospel according to Matthew<sup>59</sup>

And just as someone placed in the middle between two people standing apart, if he stretched out both his hands on either side and grasped them, would join them, so he did also, joining the old to the new, the divine nature to the human, that which was his own to that which is ours.

**(2) THE COUNCIL FATHERS TO POPE LEO<sup>60</sup>**

The great and holy and ecumenical council, assembled in the metropolis of Chalcedon in the province of Bithynia by the grace of God and by decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, to the most holy and blessed Archbishop Leo of Rome.

‘Our mouth was filled with joy and our tongue with exultation.’<sup>61</sup> This prophecy grace has made appropriate as if it referred to us, by whom the

58 First Letter to Succensus 6, in Cyril of Alexandria, *Select Letters*, 74–5.

59 *Homilies on Matthew* 2.2 (2.3 in NPNE, ser. I, vol. 10).

60 Leo, *ep.* 98, *ACO* 2.1 pp. 475–7. There are two extant Latin versions (*ACO* 2.3 pp. 352–60), one in the *versio antiqua* and the other in Rusticus’ edition of the Acts. Both versions contain some very odd Latin (e.g., ‘Quid agnitione dominica festius ad coronas?’ in the first version, p. 352. 16–17, and ‘tamquam principi tibi huius boni ad utilitatem usi’ in Rusticus, p. 355. 20) which can only be explained as poor translation from the Greek; this makes it unlikely that either was the Latin version that must have been composed in the imperial secretariat for despatch to Pope Leo.

61 Ps. 125:2.

achievement of piety has been confirmed. For what is superior to faith as a cause for joy? What is more radiant as a cause for exultation than knowledge of the Lord, which the Saviour himself gave us from above as a cause of salvation, when he said, 'Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you'<sup>62</sup> This knowledge, descending to us like a golden chain by order of the Enactor, you have yourself preserved, being for all the interpreter of the voice of the blessed Peter, and bringing down on all the blessing of his faith. Wherefore we too, taking for our benefit you as our guide in the good, have displayed to the children of the church the inheritance of the truth; we have not given our instruction individually and in private, but have published our confession of the faith with a common spirit and with one accord and consent. We exulted together, delighting as at a royal banquet in the spiritual nourishment that Christ provided in your letter for those feasting, and we seemed to see the heavenly bridegroom sojourning with us. For if he said that where two or three are gathered together in his name he is there in the midst of them,<sup>63</sup> how close must be the fellowship he has exhibited in the case of five hundred priests, who gave priority to the knowledge of confessing him over homeland and exertion? Of these you were the leader, as the head of the members, exhibiting your prudence in those who represented you, while the faithful emperors guided them with a view to good order, as Zerubbabel did for Jeshua, in their eagerness to restore, like Jerusalem, the doctrinal fabric of the church.<sup>64</sup>

The adversary would have been like a wild animal outside the fold, roaring to himself and having no one to seize, had not the former primate of Alexandria cast himself on him as a prey. Although he had perpetrated many crimes before, he eclipsed his earlier by his later ones, for contrary to all canonical procedure he deposed that blessed one, now among the saints, Flavian the shepherd of Constantinople, who possessed the apostolic faith, and also the most God-beloved Bishop Eusebius; and he acquitted Eutyches, condemned for impiety, by means of verdicts extorted by his tyranny, and restored to him the rank of which he had been stripped by your sacredness as unworthy of the grace.<sup>65</sup> Like a solitary savage beast attacking the vineyard,

62 Mt. 28:19–20.

63 See Mt. 18:20.

64 See Ezra 3:2.

65 This is a summary of the work of the Council of Ephesus of 449, which Dioscorus chaired.

he uprooted the plants that he found in excellent condition, while he introduced those that had been cast out as unfruitful: he cut off those who were minded to be shepherds, and set over the flocks those who had shown themselves to be wolves. In addition to all this he extended his fury even against him who had been entrusted with guarding the vineyard by the Saviour, we mean your sacredness, and intended excommunication against the person who had shown eagerness to unite the body of the church.<sup>66</sup> And although he should have repented for this and begged mercy with tears, he exulted as if over noble actions, scorning the letter of your sacredness and opposing all the doctrines of the truth.

We should immediately have left him to the fate to which he had consigned himself; but since we proclaim the teaching of the Saviour 'who wishes all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth',<sup>67</sup> we in fact endeavoured to confirm this mercy in his case, and summoned him in a fraternal manner to judgement, not as if trying to cut him off but providing him with scope for self-defence, with an eye to healing. We prayed that he might turn out stronger than those who brought a variety of charges against him, so that we might have the joy of concluding the assembly joyfully, vanquished by Satan in no respect. But his guilt was inscribed on his own conscience, and he conceded the accusations by refusing to be judged and rejecting the three lawful summonses he received. Therefore in consequence we ratified as moderately as was possible the sentence he had passed on himself by his offences, stripping the wolf of his shepherd's skin, which he was detected of having worn as a disguise for a long time.<sup>68</sup> The disagreeable part of our task was now concluded, and at once there radiated the grace of what was good: by pulling out one weed we filled the whole world to our delight with pure grain; having received authority both to uproot and to plant, we limited excision to one growth and assiduously planted a plentiful harvest of good ones. For it was God who was at work, and it was the triumphant Euphemia who garlanded the assembly for the bridal chamber, and who, accepting as her own a confession of faith from us, presented the definition to her bridegroom through the most pious emperor and the Christ-loving empress, quietening all the turmoil of the opposition, confirming the

66 Dioscorus declared Leo of Rome excommunicate while the bishops were at Nicaea, in reaction against the submission of the bishops to imperial pressure to approve Leo's Tome (the letter referred to in the next sentence); see Chadwick 2001, 570.

67 1 Tim. 2:4.

68 This is a summary of the work of the third session, at which Dioscorus was subjected to the 'moderate' penalties of deposition and excommunication.

confession of the truth as welcome, and using her hand and tongue to set a seal on the decrees of all for the purpose of proof.<sup>69</sup>

These are the things we have done, with you present in spirit, resolved to agree with us as your brethren, and virtually visible to us through the wisdom of your representatives. We also inform you that we issued some other decrees for the sake of a good ordering of affairs and the confirming of the ecclesiastical ordinances, being convinced that your holiness, when informed of them, would also approve and ratify them.<sup>70</sup> The long-standing custom in the holy church of God at Constantinople of ordaining metropolitans for the Asian, Pontic and Thracian dioceses we have now ratified by conciliar decree, not so much to confer something on the see of Constantinople as to ensure good order in the metropolitan sees because of the frequent disturbances that often break out on the death of their bishops through both the clergy and laity in them being without a leader and disrupting church order, a fact that has not escaped your holiness either, since you have often experienced annoyance particularly over Ephesus. We have also confirmed the canon of the 150 holy fathers who convened at Constantinople under the great Theodosius of pious memory, which declares that after your most holy and apostolic see that of Constantinople should enjoy privileges in second place, for we are convinced that, in view of the strength of your apostolic beam, you have often, in your habitual solicitude, extended it to the church of Constantinople, because of your generosity in sharing all your good things with your children. Therefore deign to embrace as your own and welcome and conducive to harmony, most holy and blessed father, the decree we have issued to remove all confusion and to confirm good church order. For the representatives of your holiness, the most sacred bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and their companion the most God-beloved presbyter Boniface, attempted to put up strong opposition to this decree,<sup>71</sup> surely out of a desire that this good work also should be initiated by your forethought, so that the establishment of good order as well as of the

69 The council met in the Church of St Euphemia. Comparable references to the saint herself are VI. 21–2 and Anatolius of Constantinople, Letter to Pope Leo (= Leo, *ep.* 101), written after the council, *ACO* 2.1 p. 249, lines 5, 15–16.

70 The plural ‘some other decrees’ is purely conventional. The reference is to the so-called Canon 28, confirming the privileges of the see of Constantinople (for which see Session XVI), not to the other 27 canons issued subsequently in the name of the council.

71 The whole Session XVI arose from objections by the papal legates to Canon 28, already approved informally by the other bishops (XVI. 4). It ended with the legates formally registering their opposition for recording in the minutes (XVI. 45).

faith should be attributed to you. For we, serving the most pious and Christ-loving emperors, who are delighted by this, and the illustrious senate and, so to say, the whole imperial city, considered it opportune for the ecumenical council to confirm the honour conferred on her, and confidently ratified it as if it had been initiated by your sacredness through your constant and zealous fostering, since we know that every achievement by children redounds on fathers who treat it as their own. Therefore, we entreat you, honour our decision by adding your own decree; as we have contributed to the head our consent to what is good, so also the head should fulfil for the children what is fitting. This will also show due regard for the pious emperors, who have confirmed as law the judgement of your sacredness;<sup>72</sup> and the see of Constantinople will receive its recompense for having always shown you great ardour in the cause of piety<sup>73</sup> and for having zealously allied itself with you for the sake of harmony. So that you may know that we have done nothing to win favour or out of animosity but have acted under the guidance of the divine will, we have informed you of the whole purport of our proceedings, to sustain our position and to win for our proceedings confirmation and approval.

#### The Signatures<sup>74</sup>

(1) Anatolius bishop of Constantinople. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(2) Maximus bishop of the great city of Antioch. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most holy and blessed father.

(3) Juvenal bishop of Jerusalem. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most holy and blessed father.

(4) Cyriacus bishop of the metropolis of Heraclea. I have signed through the most God-beloved Bishop Lucian as above.

(5) Diogenes bishop of the metropolis of Cyzicus, as above.

(6) Photius, bishop of the metropolis of Tyre, as above.

(7) Florentius bishop of the city of Sardis the metropolis of Lydia. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.

<sup>72</sup> The reference is perhaps to Marcian's address at the sixth session (VI. 2, 4), with its confirmation of the teaching of Leo's Tome.

<sup>73</sup> As often, 'piety' means orthodoxy: the reference is to the alliance of Flavian of Constantinople and Pope Leo against Eutyches and to the subsequent exertions by Anatolius of Constantinople to obtain signatures to Leo's Tome.

<sup>74</sup> The list of signatories is preserved only in one of the two Latin translations, *ACO* 2.3 pp. 357–60.

(8) Constantine bishop of the metropolis of Bostra. Pray that I be well, most holy lord and most blessed father.

(9) Theodore bishop of the metropolis of Damascus. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(10) Seleucus by the grace of Christ bishop of the metropolis of Amaseia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(11) Constantine by the mercy of God metropolitan bishop of Melitene. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most devout father.

(12) Francion metropolitan bishop of Philippopolis. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(13) Pergamius bishop of the metropolis of Antioch in Pisidia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(14) Lucian bishop of Bizye. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(15) Gregory bishop of Hadrianopolis. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.

(16) Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus. Pray that I be well in the Lord, my lord and most God-beloved father.

(17) Meletius bishop of Larissa, representing the most blessed Bishop Domnus of Apamea in Syria. I have signed. Pray that I be well, most holy father.

(18) Acacius by the mercy of God bishop of the city of Ariaratheia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(19) John bishop of Germanicia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(20) Joseph bishop of Heliopolis. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved and holy father.

(21) Calogerus bishop of Claudiopolis. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father. I have signed through Euphrosynus the deacon.

(22) Heraclius by the mercy of God bishop of Comana. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(23) Ibas bishop of the metropolis of Edessa. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(24) Sophronius bishop of Constantia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(25) Uranius bishop of Emesa. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Presumably by the hand of the archdeacon Porphyry, his representative throughout the council.

(26) Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(27) Aetherichus bishop of Smyrna. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(28) Bishop Zenobius,<sup>76</sup> as above.

(29) Thomas bishop of Theodosiana. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(30) Sabas bishop of Paltus. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father – signing through Bishop Patricius.

(31) Patricius bishop of Neocaesarea. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(32) Rhenus by the grace of God bishop of Ionopolis. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(33) Eudoxius bishop of the city of Choma. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most holy father.

(34) Nicholas by the mercy of God bishop of Acarassus. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(35) Euolcius bishop of Zeugma. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(36) Trypho bishop of the church of Chios. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(37) Paul bishop of the most holy church of God of Philomelium. Pray that I be well in the Lord, lord father.

(38) Theotecnus bishop of Tyriaeum. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most holy father.

(39) Olympius bishop of the most holy church of God of Sozopolis. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.

(40) John the most insignificant bishop of the city of Bargylia. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.

(41) Valerius bishop of the city of Laodicea in Phoenice. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(42) Basil bishop of the city of Nacoleia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(43) Noah bishop of the city [of Cephas]. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

<sup>76</sup> Schwartz suggests that this is the bishop of Buthrotum in Epirus Vetus (*ACO* 2.6 p. 26), but no other bishops from the diocese of Illyricum are to be found among the signatories: being under the jurisdiction of the Roman see they could scarcely sign a letter critical, in effect, of papal policy.



(44) Uranius bishop of the city of Ibora. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.<sup>77</sup>

(45) Manasses bishop of Theodosiopolis in Armenia Magna. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(46) Bishop Aurelius.<sup>78</sup> Pray for us, most blessed father.

(47) Bishop Restitianus. Pray for us, holy and venerable pope.

(48) Amachius bishop of the city of Saittae. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(49) Meletius bishop of Larissa. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.<sup>79</sup>

(50) Fontianus bishop of Sagalassus. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(51) Theodore by the mercy of God bishop of Antiphellus in Lycia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(52) Meliphthongus by the mercy of God bishop of Juliopolis. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(53) Thalassius bishop of the city of Parium. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(54) Alexander bishop of the city of Seleucia in Pisidia. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(55) Movianus bishop of Limenae. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(56) Florentius bishop of Lesbos, Tenedos and the Shores. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.<sup>80</sup>

(57) Epiphanius bishop of the city of Midaëum. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.

(58) Cyrus bishop of the city of Sinethandus. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most holy father.

(59) Pancratius bishop of Livias. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most holy father.

77 Doubtless he signed by the hand of Paul the presbyter, his representative throughout the council

78 Either Aurelius of Hadrumetum or Aurelius of Puppūt. That two African bishops, Aurelius and Restitianus (47), signed a letter that opposed Pope Leo confirms one's presumption that they were permanent residents in the east, more beholden to their eastern hosts than to the Roman see.

79 Meletius has already signed for Domnus of Apamea (17). He now signs on his own behalf.

80 Doubtless by the hand of the *chorepiscopus* Euelpistus, who represented him throughout the council.

(60) Polychronius bishop of Antipatris. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(61) Cyriacus bishop of the city of Trocnades. I have signed through my presbyter Chrysippus. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most holy father.

(62) Eunomius bishop of the metropolis of Nicomedia. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.

(63) Anastasius bishop of the metropolis of Nicaea. Pray that I be well, most holy father.

(64) Sebastian bishop of the city of Beroe. Pray that I be well in the Lord, most God-beloved father.

(65) Jovian bishop of the most holy church of God of Deultum. Pray that I be well, most God-beloved father.

All the remaining bishops signed similarly.<sup>81</sup>

### (3) FIRST EDICT CONFIRMING CHALCEDON<sup>82</sup>

On the prevention of discussion among Christians, a proclamation to our citizens of Constantinople.

The emperors Flavius Valentinian and Flavius Marcian, perpetual Augusti.<sup>83</sup>

That which we wished for with earnest prayers and endeavour has now finally come to pass: contention over the orthodox law of Christians has

81 Many of the sessions of the council (e.g., XIII–XVI) offer an abbreviated attendance list consisting mainly of metropolitans, followed by the words ‘and the rest of the holy and ecumenical council’. But here we have a more miscellaneous list of 65 bishops, including only 16 metropolitans. The bishops of the diocese of Illyricum are striking by their absence: they were under Roman jurisdiction and will not have been willing to sign a letter arguing (in effect) against the pope; we learn from Leo, *ep.* 117 (*ACO* 2.4 p. 70. 10–14) that in 453 Anatolius was again pressing the Illyrian bishops to sign. The absence of many eastern metropolitans, when so many bishops of inferior status are named, can also not be attributed to mere abbreviation. In all, the statement that ‘all the remaining bishops signed similarly’ is not to be credited.

82 *ACO* 2.2 pp. 113–14 (Latin); 2.1 pp. 479–80 (Greek). Of this and the following three edicts (4–6) we translate the Latin version, which according to Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xix–xx) is primary (as indeed a linguistic comparison of the two versions confirms). Both Latin and Greek versions were official and will have been issued at the same time. This first edict was incorporated into the Code of Justinian (1.1.4) and formed the legal basis of the establishment of orthodoxy in Byzantium.

83 This and the preceding heading are taken from the Greek version. The Latin has simply, ‘An edict on the Council of Chalcedon. Marcian emperor.’ As Fergus Millar has pointed out to me, the much fuller heading provided by Rusticus (*ACO* 2.3 pp. 346–7) contains anachronistic titulature reflecting Justinianic usage and cannot be authentic.

been brought to an end, remedies have at last been found for culpable error, and the discordant judgement of congregations<sup>84</sup> has harmonized in a single consensus and accord. For from the various provinces most religious priests have come to Chalcedon according to our instructions, and have taught in a clear definition what ought to be observed in religion. Let profane contention, therefore, now cease. For he is truly impious and sacrilegious who after the judgement of so many priests reserves anything to be treated by his own opinion. It is indeed the height of madness on a clear midday to look for artificial light; for whoever debates anything further after the truth has been discovered is searching for falsehood. Let no one, therefore, whether a cleric or in government service or of any other class whatsoever, publicly gather crowds and auditors and try to discuss the Christian faith in future, seeking in this an opportunity for disorder and perfidy. For anyone who strives to reopen and publicly dispute matters that have been judged once and for all and settled correctly insults the judgement of the most religious council, because what has now been decreed about the Christian faith is acknowledged to have been defined according to the apostolic teaching and the decrees of the 318 and 150 holy fathers.

A penalty will not be lacking for those who despise this enactment, because they not only go against a well-composed creed but also by controversy of this kind profane the venerable mysteries before Jews and pagans. Therefore if it is a cleric who dares to discuss religion publicly, he will be excluded from the fellowship of the clergy, while if he holds an official position he will be dismissed from the service. Others guilty of this offence will be expelled from this most holy city and also subjected to the appropriate penalties according to the vigour of the judiciary.<sup>85</sup> For it is agreed that the origins and tinder of heretical madness are to be found here, in certain people disputing and contending publicly. Therefore all will be required to observe the decrees of the holy council of Chalcedon, and to harbour no doubts in future. Accordingly, admonished by this edict of our serenity, refrain from profane utterances and cease from all further disputation over divine things, which is unlawful, because this sin will not only be punished by divine judgement, as we believe, but will also be curbed by the authority of the laws and the judiciary.

84 *'Populorum'*, that is, of church congregations. For lack of a better word the Greek version has τῶν δήμων, which refers to whole city populations, irrespective of religious affiliation.

85 This confirms the penalties for dissidence announced by Marcian in the sixth session (VI. 14).

Issued at Constantinople seven days before the Ides of February in the consulship of Sporacius.<sup>86</sup>

#### (4) SECOND EDICT CONFIRMING CHALCEDON<sup>87</sup>

A regulation from the most pious and Christ-loving emperor Marcian, issued at Constantinople after the council, confirming its proceedings.<sup>88</sup>

The emperor Marcian Augustus to Palladius praetorian prefect.

Desiring to make the venerable holiness of the catholic faith of the orthodox clear and indisputable for all, so that a greater respect towards obedience to the deity may be transmitted to mankind, our serenity gave orders that such and so great a council, with bishops assembled from almost all the provinces, was to convene in the city of Chalcedon; and there, after discussions extending over very many days, it ascertained what in regard to the Christian faith is true and authentic. For by very many vows and prayers they obtained from the deity that the holy and complete truth should not be hidden from them, and they followed the decrees of the venerable fathers, namely those enacted by the judgement of the 318 holy bishops at Nicaea, likewise those issued by the 150 who assembled in this most renowned city, and those formerly decreed at Ephesus when the bishops of most blessed memory Celestine of the city of Rome and Cyril of the city of Alexandria ascertained the truth, at the time when the Nestorian error was outlawed and its originator convicted. When these matters were thus examined duly and devoutly at Chalcedon, Eutyches who was asserting many unlawful things was condemned, together with his assertions, lest he should have any further opportunity to deceive mankind.

Since therefore those things were religiously and faithfully decreed which are recognized to be the foundation of the venerable faith of the orthodox, in such a way that no future occasion for doubting was left to those wont to misrepresent the deity, we, confirming the venerable council by a sacred decree of our serenity, admonished everyone to cease disputing about religion, on the grounds that one or two could not uncover so great a mystery, especially when so many venerable priests with extreme toil and the most abundant prayers would not have been able to track down the truth,

<sup>86</sup> 7 February 452.

<sup>87</sup> *ACO* 2.2 pp. 115–16. The Greek version is in *ACO* 2.1 pp. 478–9.

<sup>88</sup> This heading is taken from the Greek version. The Latin has, 'Another edict of Marcian of divine memory on the Council of Chalcedon'.

as must be believed, without the inspiration of God. However, as we know from clear reasoning, there are [always] some people who continue to persist in the same madness of perversity and to argue publicly about religion, attracting crowds, exposing the divine mysteries to the gaze of Jews and pagans, and profaning what it is better to revere than investigate.

It was therefore right for those persisting in the same stubbornness to be curbed by the punishment already decreed, so that a penalty may correct those whom respect for ordinances could not set right. But following our custom in this and recognizing that the deity delights above all in piety, we have thought it good to postpone the punishment of the guilty, while decreeing in this repeated ordinance of our clemency that in future everyone is to refrain from what has been prohibited and must not in their contention over religion gather assemblies, because those who are apprehended in perversity and foolishness of this kind will both incur the penalties already decreed and, as befits this pious epoch, will be punished on the initiative of the courts. For it is right to follow the council of Chalcedon, where everything was carefully investigated and where those things were defined which the three aforesaid councils, following the apostolic faith, had laid down to be observed by all.

Issued at Constantinople three days before the Ides of March in the consulship of Sporacius and the one to be designated.<sup>89</sup>

Written in identical terms to the illustrious Palladius praetorian prefect of the east, the illustrious Valentinian prefect of Illyricum, the illustrious Tatian prefect of the city, and the illustrious Vincomalus master of the offices and consul designate.

### (5) THIRD EDICT CONFIRMING CHALCEDON<sup>90</sup>

On rescinding the decrees against Flavian of holy memory, bishop of the city of Constantinople, and confirming what was subsequently decreed about him by the holy council of Chalcedon.

The same Augusti, that is, Valentinian and Marcian, to Palladius praetorian prefect of the east.<sup>91</sup>

89 13 March 452.

90 *ACO* 2.3 pp. 348–9. The Greek version is in *ACO* 2.1 pp. 480–81.

91 The Greek version of the address runs, ‘The same emperors to Palladius the most magnificent praetorian prefect, Valentinian prefect of Illyricum, Tatian prefect of the city, and Vincomalus master of the divine offices and consul designate.’

Glory is never destroyed by the death of a glorious person, nor do virtues perish when a person dies: indeed the reputation of good people is even increased by their demise, because all envy vanishes towards the dead. This is why the deeds of our ancestors are praised with such zeal and commendation, this is why the memory of the very best is celebrated with the greatest reverence, this is why the spirits of great men sought glorious deaths, because it was discovered that they only die forever whose life and death were passed over in silence. That this is so at the present time also is shown by both divine and human judgement.

For after Flavian of religious and venerable memory, the bishop of this bountiful city, had been expelled from the episcopate by deceitful envy and by maliciously contrived calumny<sup>92</sup> – even though preserving the faith he had received constituted retaining the priesthood in a fuller sense (for he alone deserves to be a bishop) –, nevertheless this most sacred city has sought and received his relics, to make him appear more blessed than all the living, with the result that the death which was thought bitter is believed to have been desirable, since by it he gained that immortal renown.<sup>93</sup> There followed something granted by the deity to his merits, namely that a venerable council of almost innumerable priests assembled at Chalcedon, which, while it diligently examined the faith on the authority of the most blessed Leo bishop of the eternal city of Rome and laid the foundations of religion, bestowed on Flavian the palm of a holy life and a glorious death.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, since Flavian of venerable memory was honoured with such and so great a testimony that Eutyches, who held contrary opinions, was unanimously condemned by all together with his criminal statements, that decree is to be annulled which is known to have been issued against him through criminal deception after the death of Flavian of holy memory, and let that be totally quashed whose origin was iniquitous; in addition, let the unjust sentence cause no difficulties either to the religious bishops Eusebius and Theodoret, who are included in the same enactment, since no ordinance can condemn priests who are honoured by a conciliar decree for preserving

92 For Flavian's condemnation at Ephesus II, see I. 962–1067.

93 The Greek version offers the poor translation, '... is believed to have occurred through prayer, through which he gained that immortal renown.' The translation of the remains of Flavian to the Church of the Twelve Apostles at Constantinople was announced in a letter from the empress Pulcheria to Pope Leo, written in November 450 (Documents before the Council 3).

94 Flavian's conviction at Ephesus II on 8 August 449 was condemned at the end of the first session (I. 1068).

religion.<sup>95</sup> Accordingly, since that enactment has been annulled, let Flavian retain, as he deserves, the everlasting renown of his life and glory, as a future model for others in constancy concerning the faith.

Therefore may your illustrious and magnificent authority by posting edicts make this salutary law come to the notice of all.

To Palladius praetorian prefect. Issued on the day before the Nones of July in the consulship of the most illustrious Constantius Sporacius and the one to be designated.<sup>96</sup>

### (6) FOURTH EDICT CONFIRMING CHALCEDON<sup>97</sup>

On confirming what was decreed by the holy council of Chalcedon against Eutyches and his monks.

The same Augusti to Palladius praetorian prefect and in the same form to Valentinian prefect of Illyricum, Tatian prefect of the city, and Vincomalus Master of the Offices and consul designate.

Always to the divine power are thanks to be paid and rendered, because it does not allow either the authors [of crimes]<sup>98</sup> nor secret heresy to remain hidden, nor does it permit them to continue unpunished; of these evils one has the greatest ability to cause harm, while the other gives to others an example of transgression. It has therefore been clearly shown in the recent confirmation of the catholic faith that the actions of men and especially respect for religion are of concern to the deity, since he did not allow Eutyches, the adherent of criminal doctrines, to remain hidden, as for a long time he did, nor, when his crime was uncovered, did he suffer him to evade the penalty of crime. Therefore, condemned by verdicts both human and divine, he has been subjected to a conciliar decree, as he deserved, being both answerable to God, whom he injured, and answerable to men, whom he tried to deceive. For recently innumerable most blessed bishops from almost

95 The reference is to Theodosius II's edict (trans. Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 761–6) confirming the decrees of Ephesus II, specifically the condemnations of Flavian, Eusebius and Theodoret. Eusebius was automatically reinstated after his plaint against Dioscorus (III. 5) was upheld at Session III of Chalcedon, while Theodoret was formally reinstated at Session VIII. As Rusticus rightly points out in a note that prefaces the Latin version of this document (*ACO* 2.3 p. 348), Ibas is not expressly mentioned by Marcian because Theodosius II's edict had not mentioned him either.

96 6 July 452. This appears to be the only text (and only in the Latin version) that gives Sporacius the name Constantius.

97 *ACO* 2.3 pp. 349–52. The Greek version is in *ACO* 2.1 pp. 481–3.

98 'Of crimes' is a supplement suggested by Schwartz.

the whole world, having assembled at Chalcedon, rejected the wicked fabrications of the aforesaid Eutyches together with the council that was held on his account,<sup>99</sup> and followed the decrees of our holy forebears which were enacted at Nicaea by the 318, or were issued subsequently in this bountiful city by the 150 bishops, or at Ephesus when the error of Nestorius was outlawed under the presidency of the bishops Celestine of the city of Rome and Cyril of the city of Alexandria. Therefore we have ordained and ordain that those things which were decreed according to the ancient discipline by the venerable council of Chalcedon are to be observed for ever with the same faith with which we worship God, because it is extremely appropriate to observe with the greatest veneration the decrees of 520<sup>100</sup> priests who worship God with a pure mind – decrees which were issued on behalf of the sacrosanct faith of the orthodox according to the rules of the fathers.

Because, however, it belongs to the foresight of a prince to suppress every evil at its inception and to check a creeping disease with the medicine of the laws, we decree by this law that those who are deceived by the madness of Eutyches in the manner of the Apollinarians, whom Eutyches followed and who are condemned by the venerable rules of our parents, that is, the ecclesiastical canons and the most sacred edicts of divine princes, are to have no bishop and no presbyter, and are to create or appoint no clerics, and that Eutyches himself is wholly to lack the name of presbyter of which he is both unworthy and deprived. If, however, in contravention of our decrees any dare to create bishops, presbyters and other clerics, we command that both those ordaining and those ordained or assuming clerical rank are to be punished by the loss of their goods and detained in perpetual exile. We order that they are to have no leave to meet together or to recruit or assemble monks or erect monasteries, and that the places where they might at any time attempt to convene are to be confiscated, if they convene with the knowledge of the owner of the place; if, however, it is without his knowledge, we decree that the steward or tenant of the place is to be flogged and deported. Moreover we do not allow them to inherit anything from anyone or to bequeath anything to those who are of the same error, or to aspire to any

99 The Second Council of Ephesus of August 449. Its decrees were rescinded by the bishops at Session X (145–59) and by the emperor in the preceding edict.

100 The number of bishops (or their representatives) at the council was only around 370; see Appendix 2, pp.193–203 below. However, Honigmann (1942–3) attempts to demonstrate that the figure of 520 was genuine – through a system of double counting, where bishops who attended both on their own account and as the representatives of absent bishops were counted twice.



position in government service, unless perhaps as *cohortales* or *limitanei*.<sup>101</sup> If anyone be found serving in another form of government service, either because his perversity in religion was unknown or because he came to this error after being enrolled, he is to be dismissed from the service and reap as the fruit of his faithlessness that he be denied contact with those of rank and the palace and live nowhere else but in the village or city in which he was born. But if any of them were born in this bountiful city, which is shocking to believe, they are to be banned from both this venerable city and the most sacred *comitatus*<sup>102</sup> and from every metropolitan city.

These things we decree universally with reference to all who have been, or will be, defiled by this stain. But as for those who have hitherto been clerics of the orthodox faith or monks living in the same inn as Eutyches (for one should not give the name of monastery to a place housing the enemies of religion), and who have advanced to such a degree of madness as to reject the cult of venerable religion and the conciliar decree enacted by priests assembled at Chalcedon from almost the whole world and to follow the accursed assertions of Eutyches, because, deserting the true light, they believed that darkness is to be preferred<sup>103</sup> – we command that they are to be subject to all the penalties decreed against heretics in this or previous laws, and that indeed they are to be expelled from Roman territory, just as previous most religious enactments enacted with reference to the Manichees, lest by their poisonous impositions and criminal fabrications the minds of the simple or infirm be deceived.

In addition, we have ascertained that they have made mendacious assertions to bring contempt on religion and odium on the venerable conciliar definition and by writing books and volumes of pages have concocted numerous things that give open proof of their frenzy against the true faith. Accordingly we order that, wherever writings of this kind are found, they are to be consigned to the flames, and we decree that those who either write them or give them to others to read, out of eagerness to teach or learn, are to be punished with deportation. For just as is contained in the previous edicts of our serenity, we have deprived everyone of the opportunity to teach this accursed heresy, since whoever tries to teach what is unlawful will be punished

101 The *cohortales* were provincial civil servants, while the *limitanei* were the soldiers in frontier garrisons.

102 The *comitatus* was the central government at Constantinople.

103 The keen support that Eutyches received from the members of his monastery had found moving expression in the petition they sent to Ephesus II to appeal against the persecution they had suffered at the hands of Archbishop Flavian (I. 887).

by the supreme penalty. Those however who through zeal in discipleship listen to someone uttering what is criminal we curb with a fine of ten pounds of gold; for the occasion for error will be removed if sinful things lack both a teacher and an auditor, most dear and beloved cousin Palladius.

Therefore your illustrious and magnificent authority, by posting all these edicts, will make our commands known. Provincial governors and their staff and also the *defensores* of cities will be aware that, if they neglect or tolerate infringements of those ordinances whose observance we have decreed with pure faith and holy purpose, they will be punished by a fine of ten pounds of gold and also labour under the reputation of being betrayers of religion and the laws. – I have read this.<sup>104</sup>

Written in the same form to Valentinian praetorian prefect of Illyricum, Tatian prefect of the city, and Vincomalus Master of the Offices and consul designate.

Issued at Constantinople fifteen days before the Kalends of August in the consulship of the most illustrious Sporacius and the one to be designated.<sup>105</sup>

#### (7) MARCIAN TO POPE LEO (18 DECEMBER 451)<sup>106</sup>

The victors Valentinian and Marcian, renowned and triumphant, always Augusti, to the holy father the deservedly venerable Bishop Leo.

Divine and human writings agree that the deity should be venerated first of all and that God Almighty is propitious there where religion is duly practised. What therefore we sought we found, and our prayers were realized: religious longing discovered religious faith, and there is no doubt that through God's inspiration there was decreed what was sought from his [divine] majesty. Consequently, with the rejection of the contention and discord that hostile malice had opposed to the faith, all acknowledge God with a single mind. We no longer accuse the faithless or show ingratitude to the enemies of religion, for they made us seek God more zealously and discover him more clearly; for light is more visible when it shines forth after a period of darkness, drink is more sweet to the thirsty, and rest to the weary. Therefore let your sanctity rejoice at the victory of the faith; its laurels are to be attributed to Christ the Almighty, who triumphed over the faithless, and this is why we hastened to attend the holy council, even though campaigns

104 This is an annotation by a scribe, certifying the authenticity of the copy.

105 18 July 452.

106 *Ep.* 100, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 167–8 (*ep.* 114).

and public necessities were detaining us elsewhere.<sup>107</sup> Therefore through God's inspiration everything that agrees with the faith had been enacted according to the prayers and petitions of your religiousness: the most devout bishops of the whole world subject to our rule<sup>108</sup> were summoned to Chalcedon, and after discussion and much argument the true faith prevailed, and all assented to the teaching of the letter of your holiness, just as the truth demanded. We have no doubt that gratification at this outcome is shared by both ourselves and your holiness, and that equal is the joy of those who, it is clear, equally desired the truth. Now that everything has been settled in favour of the catholic faith and the truth and that peace has been restored to the churches, may your holiness prompt the divine majesty in all your prayers to destroy the enemy, something which it is most certain you have been doing even before our letter.

Because indeed it was also decreed that the decree of the 150 most holy bishops under the divine Theodosius concerning the honour of the venerable church of Constantinople and the present decree of the holy council on the same matter are to be firmly upheld, namely that the bishop of the city of Constantinople is to have the second place after the apostolic see, because the same most glorious city is called Junior Rome,<sup>109</sup> may your sanctity deign to bestow your own assent on this article also, even though the most devout bishops who came to the holy council to represent your religiousness formally objected to it;<sup>110</sup> for they strove to prevent any enactment in the council relating to this venerable church. We hope nevertheless, in view of the agreement of priests throughout the world, that divine favour will deign to grant what will benefit the Roman state.

On this matter we have thought it right that everything should be properly related by the devout bishop Lucian<sup>111</sup> and the deacon Basil, the bearers of this letter, and we ask your religiousness to order the observance in perpetuity of the decrees of the holy council.

107 These were repeatedly referred to in the letters Marcian wrote just before the council (Documents before the Council 12, 14, 15).

108 Although the letter is in the name of both Marcian and Valentinian, the reference is to the bishops under Marcian's authority. Apart from the pope no western bishops were invited to the council; see Marcian's letter to Pope Leo of November 450 (Documents before the Council 2).

109 The reference is to Canon 3 of Constantinople (XVI. 18) and Canon 28 of Chalcedon (XVI. 8).

110 See XVI. 45 for the lodging of a formal objection to the canon by Leo's representatives at the council.

111 Bishop Lucian of Bizye in Europa (Thrace), who had signed both the canon (XVI. 9.29) and the letter of the council fathers in its support (2 above, §14).

In another hand: may the Godhead preserve you for many years, holy and most devout father.

Issued fifteen days before the Kalends of January at Constantinople in the consulship of the lord Marcian, father of the fatherland and Augustus, and the one to be designated.<sup>112</sup>

**(8) ANATOLIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO POPE LEO  
(DECEMBER 451)<sup>113</sup>**

To the most holy and blessed father and fellow minister Leo, archbishop of Senior Rome, Anatolius sends greetings in the Lord.

The zeal of your holiness for piety and also for the orthodox faith, which is dear and pleasing to God the Saviour of all, has become a solicitude worthy of all wonder. For it is habitual for you, being so great, to enjoy esteem and for your exertions to be made a foundation stone for the churches of Christ; whence it is that your sacredness has not allowed the true faith to be undermined by profane endeavours, but out of abomination for the workers of evil has resolutely pierced them through with a hatred of evil as your weapon. Our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, as excellent devotees of piety, and concerned to excise every root of bitterness springing up lest they be tainted by it, since they had been elevated to empire mainly in order to protect the faith of the fathers that was suffering violence, issued a decree that priests of God should convene from almost every land under the sun, so that, confirming by a common judgement the faith of the blessed and celebrated fathers and the letter of your holiness in harmony with it, they might repel every innovation of alien sophistry that was damaging belief in piety. For this reason, and also because it was necessary that everything that took place be brought to the notice of your holiness, we are, as is needful, sending to you immediately, according to our choice, our most God-beloved brother and fellow bishop Lucian [of Bizye] and the most devout deacon Basil. We are also writing to inform you that our most God-beloved brother and fellow bishop Lucentius in the company of our most religious fellow presbyter Boniface and with the most devout deacon Marcian, taking with him certain documents containing the proceedings of the holy and ecumenical council, has already left this imperial city. But because it was

<sup>112</sup> 18 December 451.

<sup>113</sup> *ACO* 2.1 pp. 248–50. Though undated, it clearly accompanied the preceding letter from Marcian to Pope Leo, dated to 18 December 451.

fitting that in addition to them the remaining documents which ought of necessity to come to your notice should be conveyed by our own men, since some of the proceedings were specifically our work,<sup>114</sup> we have for this reason selected and despatched to your very great Rome a man rich in reverence and understanding and in integrity over the faith, the most religious bishop already mentioned, together with the aforesaid deacon; after clarifying some matters by means of the documents and others personally, and receiving a suitable response that befits you, may they return to us rejoicing, lauding like everyone else the love and kindness towards the see of this imperial city that is habitual to the fatherly solicitude of your beatitude. That the holy and ecumenical council after investigating the storm that had arisen against the common peace discovered the culprit, I mean Dioscorus the former bishop of Alexandria, and cut him off from the priesthood, is shown by the subtle writings of the holy and ecumenical council; for it was necessary that the criminal who had filled the whole world with tempest and storm be removed from our midst. For this reason we are convinced that out of your innate hatred of evil your holiness supports this excellent decree.

After the decision in his case it was also necessary, and indeed the prime reason why the pious emperor zealously convened the holy council, that the reflection of all should proceed to an account of our orthodox faith. Therefore with prayer and tears, and with your sacredness being present with us in spirit and cooperating through the most God-beloved men you promptly sent, and having the most holy and victorious martyr Euphemia as our protectress, we all devoted ourselves with our whole attention to this saving matter. Since the occasion required all the most holy bishops assembled to issue a unanimous decree for the sake of clarity and a most lucid understanding of the confession of our Lord Jesus Christ, [for this reason] the Lord God, who is found even by those who do not seek him and is revealed to those who do not ask for him, even if some tried at first to be contentious, nevertheless displayed his truth and ordained that a harmonious and unimpeachable definition in writing should be proclaimed by all, one which strengthens the souls of the stalwart and summons all those who have swerved from the truth back to the path of truth. When we signed this document in unanimity, there attended the assembly of our ecumenical council in the martyrrium of the same most holy and victorious martyr Euphemia both our most pious and Christ-loving emperor Marcian and our

114 Anatolius is probably referring to the Definition, produced by a committee that he chaired.

daughter the most pious and all-faithful empress and Augusta Pulcheria. With prayer, joy and gladness we had placed on the holy altar the definition in writing for the confirmation of the creed of our fathers according to that sacred letter of yours, and now presented it to their piety, for they had asked to receive it in this way; and when they received it, they glorified together with us the Lord Christ who has dispelled every darkness of heresy and clarified with unanimity the word of truth.<sup>115</sup> And thus the peace of the church and the agreement of the priests over the pure faith accorded with the grace of the Saviour.

Because, however, it was necessary for us to examine other topics, so that so great a council might be seen to transact without omission everything that needed amendment or confirmation in canonical and other ecclesiastical matters, the rulers of the universe and the most magnificent and glorious officials, the illustrious and glorious senate, and all the clergy and people were concerned that the most holy see in this imperial Constantinople should perceive some increase in honour through the agreement of this holy council with the canon of the 150 holy fathers, who were assembled at Constantinople in the time of the great Theodosius of pious memory, who was emperor, under the then leadership of Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch, Helladius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Cyril of Jerusalem and others.<sup>116</sup> We embarked on this undertaking with a natural confidence in your beatitude that you would consider the honour of the see of Constantinople as your own, since your apostolic see has from of old exhibited solicitude and accord in its regard and been unstinting in giving it your own assistance in everything as required.<sup>117</sup> For since there is no doubt that your beatitude rejoices unreservedly that the church strengthened by you yourself has received more glorious honour, [the council] with eager mind proceeded to confirm the same canon of the 150 holy fathers which decrees that the bishop of Constantinople has honour and privileges after the most holy see of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome; it also decreed that the consecrations of the metropolitans of the Pontic, Asian and Thracian dioceses are to be performed [by the see of Constantinople], while the bishops under them are

115 This describes the sixth session, at which the Definition was solemnly read out and approved in the presence of Marcian and Pulcheria.

116 Anatolius is concerned to impress on Leo the authority of the Council of Constantinople of 381, whose decrees were unknown to the Roman delegates (XVI. 12).

117 Rome played a major role in the posthumous rehabilitation of two bishops of Constantinople, John Chrysostom and Flavian.

to be consecrated by their own metropolitans, with the result that this rather deprives the see of Constantinople of the consecrations of very many bishops, which it has been performing for sixty or seventy years.<sup>118</sup> When everything had gone well accordingly and had a joyful termination, suddenly the most God-beloved bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius and the most devout presbyter Boniface, although they had often been instructed by us on the matter and were ignorant of the attitude of your holiness towards the most holy church of Constantinople, even after the holy council had enacted this and confirmed this decree with signatures, disrupted the council, upset the assembly and spread confusion, by spurning this see and doing everything productive of outrage against myself and the most holy church of Constantinople, and this although by the will of our most pious emperors the most magnificent and glorious officials were also present at the assembly and declared that the decree of the holy council was valid; they too showed great zeal over that which contributes, as we have said, to the honour of the see.<sup>119</sup>

These few points out of many we have communicated to you, lest we might seem to be angry with them and so distress your ears. That both before their arrival and after their arrival we effected at every point that which redounds to your glory and to the honour that is due, God is witness, and the proceedings themselves show how we treated them with honour and respect out of the reverence and honour we owe to you. This decree has been transmitted to your sacredness by the holy council and by us in order to receive from you approval and confirmation. We beg you to do this, O most holy one (for the see of Constantinople has as its father your apostolic see and has joined itself to you in a special way), so that from the care you bestow on it all may be convinced that, having shown genuine solicitude from of old, you continue to exercise the same care of it at the present time also; deign therefore to confirm everything that was transacted in writing at this holy and ecumenical council as beneficial for the state of the church.

118 The reference is to Canon 28 (XVI. 8), which confirmed and extended the rights bestowed on the see of Constantinople in Canon 3 of Constantinople (XVI. 18). Since it had become customary for a number of non-metropolitan bishops to be consecrated by the bishop of Constantinople (e.g., Basilinopolis, XIII. 37), it was possible to argue, as here, that the stipulation that non-metropolitan bishops were to be consecrated by their metropolitans reduced the role of Constantinople.

119 See Session XVI for the sequence of debate. An earlier meeting, not attended by either the Roman delegates or the imperial representatives, approved Canon 28. Roman protests led to further debate at a formal session of the council, where the imperial representatives approved the canon and the Roman delegates recorded their solemn protest (XVI. 43, 45).

The aforesaid decree on the see of Constantinople we have taken the trouble to send to your sacredness, so that you may know that everything was ordered with godly wisdom according to your prayers. We beg that each matter be given a suitable response, when you are informed of everything by the most God-beloved Bishop Lucian, who, since he was himself present at the holy council and sagely contributed what he could to our struggle over the faith, has been chosen by us to serve our ministry to you for the good, being a perfect man and long dear to our most pious and Christ-loving emperors. After he has benefited from your goodness, deign to send him back to us rejoicing.

I myself and those with me send abundant greetings to all the brotherhood with your beatitude in Christ. May you be granted to us strong in the Lord and praying on our behalf, most God-beloved and blessed father.

#### **(9) POPE LEO TO MARCIAN (22 MAY 452)<sup>120</sup>**

Leo to Marcian Augustus.

By a great gift of God's mercy the joy of the whole catholic church was multiplied when a most pernicious error was extinguished by the holy and glorious zeal of your clemency, with the result that our labours more speedily attained their desired end, to which your rule, serving God, contributed with faithfulness and authority. For although the freedom of the gospel had to be defended through the services of the apostolic see in the power of the Holy Spirit in the face of every sort of dissension, yet the grace of God has appeared all the more clearly by granting to the world that in the victory of the truth only those responsible for a violation of the faith should perish<sup>121</sup> and that the church should recover her integrity. Accordingly the war that the enemy of our peace had stirred up was so happily brought to an end through the fighting of the Lord's right hand that through the triumph of Christ all the priests enjoyed a common victory, while through the shining of the light of truth only the darkness of error was dispelled, together with its champions. For just as in respect of belief in the Lord's resurrection, with a view to strengthening the beginnings of faith, confidence was much increased by the fact that certain apostles doubted the bodily reality of our Lord Jesus

<sup>120</sup> *Ep.* 104, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 55–7 (*ep.* 54), written in reply to Marcian's letter of 18 December 451 (Document 7).

<sup>121</sup> This refers to the condemnation of Dioscorus of Alexandria at the third session of the council.



Christ and by examining the marks of the nails and the wound of the lance with sight and touch removed the doubts of all, while they [themselves] doubted,<sup>122</sup> so now also, while the disbelief of some is confuted, the hearts of all waverers are strengthened, and that which caused blindness to some has availed for the enlightenment of all. This work rightly and justly delights your clemency, who faithfully and piously ensured that the devil's snares would do no harm to the eastern churches, but that to propitiate God more effective holocausts would be offered everywhere, when, through 'the mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus',<sup>123</sup> the same confession is shared by congregations, priests, and rulers, O most glorious one.

But now that these matters, which brought together so great a gathering of priests, have been brought to a good and desirable conclusion, I am surprised and grieved that the peace of the universal church which had been divinely restored is again being disturbed by the spirit of ambition.<sup>124</sup> For although my brother Anatolius appears to have had a necessary regard for his own interests in abandoning the error of those who ordained him and with a salutary amendment changing to an assent to the catholic faith,<sup>125</sup> yet he ought to have taken care not to unsettle by any vicious desire that which he is known to have obtained through your generosity. For, having regard to your faith and intervention, though his origins were dubious because of those responsible for his consecration, we wished to be kindly rather than strict towards him, so that we might calm all the agitation stirred up by the work of the devil through applying remedies that ought to have made him humble rather than unrestrained; for even if he had been lawfully and regularly ordained for conspicuous merit and according to the soundest judgement, yet no votes can assist him when he is transgressing the reverence due to the canons of the

122 Cf. Jn 20:24–9.

123 1 Tim. 2:5.

124 The rest of the letter is a protest against Canon 28, the decree of Session XVI of the council that confirmed the status and privileges of the see of Constantinople.

125 Anatolius had been Dioscorus' *apocrisiarius* at Constantinople, and after Ephesus II was elected by the clergy of Constantinople to replace the deposed Flavian and consecrated by bishops present in Constantinople at the time, as he wrote to Pope Leo (Leo, *ep.* 53, PL 54. 853–6). His consecrators (who are likely to have included Dioscorus) will all have been adherents of the decrees of Ephesus II and therefore unacceptable to Leo. Leo made it a condition of recognition of Anatolius' election that Anatolius prove his orthodoxy by accepting the Tome (*epp.* 69–70), which Anatolius agreed to do, presumably immediately after Marcian's accession (see Leo, *ep.* 80, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 38–40).

126 Canon 28 was contrary, in the view of the pope and his representatives, to Canon 6 of Nicaea; see XVI. 12–16.

fathers, the ordinances of the Holy Spirit, and the precedents of antiquity.<sup>126</sup> I say before a Christian, a truly religious and a truly orthodox prince: Bishop Anatolius greatly diminishes his own merits if he hopes to enjoy an illicit increase.

Let the city of Constantinople, as we desire, keep its high rank, and through the protection of God's right hand long enjoy the rule of your clemency. Yet secular affairs have a different rationale than divine ones, nor apart from the rock that the Lord placed as a foundation can any building be stable.<sup>127</sup> He that covets what is not his due loses what is his own. Let it be enough for the aforesaid man that by the help of your piety and the approval of my favour he obtained the episcopate of so great a city; let him not disdain an imperial city because he cannot make it an apostolic see, and let him on no account hope that he can become greater through wronging others. For the privileges of the churches, having been bestowed by the canons of the holy fathers and defined by the decrees of the venerable council of Nicaea, cannot be overturned by any unscrupulousness or changed by any innovation. In the faithful performance of this task with the help of Christ I am obliged to render perseverant service, because it is a stewardship that has been entrusted to me, and it brings guilt upon me if the rules of the fathers' enactment, which were drawn up under the direction of God's Spirit at the council of Nicaea for the government of the whole church, are violated with my connivance (which God forbid), and if the wishes of a single brother weigh more with me than the common good of the entire house of the Lord.

Knowing, therefore, that your glorious clemency is zealous for accord in the church and extends most pious approval to those measures which contribute to peaceful unity, I pray and beseech you with earnest entreaty to deny any assent by your piety to shameless attempts contrary to Christian unity and peace, and to put a salutary check upon the cupidity of my brother Anatolius, which will injure him, if he persists, lest out of desire for what is inimical to your glory and our times he wish to be greater than his predecessors, and so that he may have the freedom to shine with whatever virtues he can, in which he will partake only if he prefers to be adorned with charity rather than puffed up with ambition. The conception of this shameless

<sup>127</sup> Canon 28 gave as the justification for the ecclesiastical privileges of Constantinople the high status of the city, second only to Rome, in secular affairs. For the principle that ecclesiastical organization and hierarchy should mirror the secular administration, see Canon 17 of the council; this principle was generally followed in the east but not in the west.

desire he ought never indeed to have received within the secrecy of his heart; but when my brethren and fellow bishops who were present as my representatives took issue with him, he might have been spurred at least by their opposition to desist from his unlawful craving. For both the summit of your piety and his own letter affirm that the legates of the apostolic see resisted him, as was proper, with the most just opposition, so that his presumption was all the more inexcusable for not restraining itself when rebuked.

Accordingly, because it becomes your faith and glory that, just as heresy was destroyed by God acting through you, so also all ambition should be frustrated, do what accords with both Christian and regal probity, so that the aforesaid bishop may obey the fathers, promote peace, and not think he acted with any right when he presumed to ordain a bishop for the church of Antioch without any precedent and contrary to the provisions of the canons,<sup>128</sup> an act which out of longing to restore the faith and zeal for peace we have declined to raise. Let him therefore cease profaning the rules of the church and shun unlawful excesses, lest by attempting what is harmful to peace he cut himself off from the universal church. I would much prefer to love him for acting blamelessly than to find him persisting in this presumption which can separate him from all.

My brother and fellow bishop Lucian, who with my son the deacon Basil<sup>129</sup> brought me your clemency's letter, has fulfilled with all devotion the tasks of the embassy he undertook. He must not be thought to have failed in his duty: it was rather the occasion that failed him.

Issued eleven days before the Kalends of June in the consulship of the most illustrious Herculanus.<sup>130</sup>

128 Domnus of Antioch was deposed at Ephesus II. His successor Maximus was consecrated by Anatolius (in June 450, according to Schwartz 1937, 45); both were at this stage supporters of Dioscorus, and the consecration reflected Dioscorus' brief dominance of church affairs after his triumph at Ephesus II. If Leo chose not to protest, this suggests that the news reached him only after he and Anatolius had been reconciled.

129 Lucian of Bizye and the deacon Basil (otherwise unknown but probably of Constantinople) were the bearers of the letter of Marcian to which Leo is replying (Document 7) as also of the letter from Anatolius of Constantinople (Document 8).

130 22 May 452. On the same day Leo wrote in a similar vein to Pulcheria, treating the confirmation of the faith only cursorily and concentrating on Canon 28 (*ep.* 105, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 57–9, trans. in *NPNF*, II. 12, 76–7), and also to Anatolius of Constantinople (the following document).

**(10) POPE LEO TO ANATOLIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE**  
**(22 MAY 452)<sup>131</sup>**

Leo to Bishop Anatolius.

Now that the light of gospel truth has been manifested, as was our wish, through the grace of God, and the night of most pernicious error has been dispelled from the universal church, we feel indescribable joy in the Lord, because the labour of the task entrusted to us has reached the desired conclusion, as indeed the text of your letter declares, with the result that, in accordance with the apostolic teaching, we ‘all say the same thing, and there are not divisions’ among us, but we are ‘perfect in the same mind and the same judgement.’<sup>132</sup> We rejoice that your love shared in dedication to this work, with the result that your diligence benefited those in need of correction and you purged yourself from all complicity with transgressors. For when your predecessor Flavian of blessed memory was deposed for his defence of catholic truth, it was believed not undeservedly that those who ordained you appeared to have consecrated one like themselves, contrary to the decrees of the holy canons; but the mercy of God was present in this, directing and strengthening you to make good use of bad beginnings and to show that you had been promoted not by the judgement of men but by the loving kindness of God. Your consecration is indeed to be accepted on condition that you do not lose this grace of God’s giving through another offence. For a Catholic, and particularly a priest of the Lord, must neither be involved in any error nor corrupted by any cupidity. For since holy scripture says, ‘Go not after your desires and refrain from your will’,<sup>133</sup> the many enticements and the many vanities of this world are to be resisted, so that the perfection of true self-discipline may be attained. Of this the first corruption is pride, the beginning of transgression and the origin of sin, because the mind greedy for power knows neither to abstain from things forbidden nor to enjoy things permitted, while the deviation of unpunished transgressions increases in a disorderly and depraved progression, and faults are multiplied which were tolerated only out of [our] zeal for restoring the faith and [our] love of harmony.

Therefore after the not irreproachable origins of your ordination, and after the consecration of the bishop of Antioch, which you arrogated to yourself contrary to the canonical rule, I am distressed that your love should

<sup>131</sup> *Ep.* 106, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 59–62 (*ep.* 56), written in reply to Anatolius’ letter given above (Document 8). For the matters treated, see the previous document with our annotation.

<sup>132</sup> 1 Cor. 1:10.

<sup>133</sup> Ecclesiasticus 18:30.

have descended even to this, an attempt to transgress the most sacred ordinances of the Nicene canons, as if this occasion was offered to you opportunely for the see of Alexandria to lose its privilege of the second place of honour and for the church of Antioch to forgo its enjoyment of being third in rank, so that when these places had been subjected to your authority all the metropolitan bishops would be deprived of their due honour. Through these unheard of and unprecedented transgressions you went so far as to pervert into an opportunity for ambition, and to force into connivance with you, the holy council which the zeal of the most Christian prince had convened solely to extinguish heresy and confirm the catholic faith<sup>134</sup> – as if the unlawful wishes of a multitude cannot be resisted, and as if the stipulations of the Nicene canons which were truly enacted by the Holy Spirit could in any part be annulled by anyone. Let no synodal councils preen themselves on the size of their membership, and let not the number of priests, however superior, presume to either compare or prefer itself to those 318 bishops, seeing that the council of Nicaea is hallowed by such a God-given prerogative that, whether ecclesiastical judgements are issued by fewer [priests] or by more, whatever differs from what they laid down is utterly destitute of all authority.<sup>135</sup>

Whatever therefore is found to be contrary to the most sacred canons is exceedingly wrong and exceedingly improper. This haughty arrogance aimed at upsetting the entire church, since its intention was so to misuse a synodal council as to induce by misleading, or compel by intimidating, into assent with itself brethren who had been summoned purely to deal with the faith and who had completed a pronouncement on the matter that required their attention. For this was why our brethren despatched by the apostolic see, who presided in my stead at the council, resisted these unlawful attempts persistently and commendably, making a public protest in an attempt to suppress the presumption of reprehensible innovation contrary to the Nicene decrees.<sup>136</sup> And there can be no doubt about their opposition: you yourself in

134 Leo was constantly to claim that the council had been summoned by the emperor purely to settle the question of the faith and that Canon 28 was an intrusion alien to the purpose of the council and wholly attributable to Anatolius' machinations. It was indeed true that Marcian's letters before the council only mentioned the issue of the faith (Documents before the Council 6, 12–14).

135 The letter to Leo from the council fathers (Document 2 above) had referred to 500 bishops present at Chalcedon. Leo shows no awareness that fewer than 200 bishops had in fact signed Canon 28 (XVI. 9).

136 The Roman delegates registered their formal protest at XVI. 45.

your letter complain of their wish to thwart your attempts. Here indeed your writing this greatly commends them to me, while in refusing to heed them and attempting the unlawful you accuse yourself, in your vain desire for what cannot be granted and in your unhealthy craving for what is harmful and will never be able to obtain any consent of ours. For may I never have it on my conscience that so evil a longing was assisted by my efforts and not rather frustrated by the work both of myself and of all who ‘do not think high things but assent to the lowly’.<sup>137</sup>

Those holy and venerable fathers who in the city of Nicaea, after condemning the sacrilegious Arius together with his impiety, laid down a code of ecclesiastical canons to last till the end of the world, live on in their decrees not only among us but in the whole world. If anything is ever attempted contrary to their statutes, it is instantly nullified, with the result that what was universally enacted for our perpetual advantage is not to be modified by any change and what was linked to the common good is not to be twisted to serve private interests; and while the bounds fixed by the fathers remain, no one is to invade another’s right, but is to exercise himself in the breadth of love to the best of his ability within proper and lawful limits. The bishop of Constantinople can reap the rich fruits of this sufficiently if he relies on the virtue of humility rather than being puffed up with the spirit of ambition.

‘Be not high-minded’, brother, ‘but fear’,<sup>138</sup> and cease to disquiet with improper petitions the most pious ears of Christian princes, whom I am sure you will please by modesty rather than pride. For your persuasiveness is in no way whatever assisted by the subscription of certain bishops given, as you claim, sixty years ago, and never brought to the knowledge of the apostolic see by your predecessors;<sup>139</sup> this subscription, which was futile from the start and has long fallen into abeyance, you now wish to prop up by supports that are tardy and ineffectual, by extracting from the brethren an appearance of consent which to their own detriment their modesty yielded to you out of mere weariness. Remember the Lord’s threat against the one who

137 Rom. 12:16.

138 Rom. 11:20.

139 Pope Damasus and other western bishops were informed of the decrees of the Council of Constantinople of 381 in a synodal letter (in Theodoret, *HE V.* 9) sent out by the council when it reassembled in 382. But this letter made no reference to the canons of the council, which did not even find their way into the standard eastern collection of canons with continuous numbering that was cited repeatedly during the council (see Canon 1 of Chalcedon with our note), a fact pointed out by the papal delegate Lucentius at XVI. 12.

causes one of the little ones to stumble,<sup>140</sup> and have the wisdom to understand what a judgement of God he will have to undergo who has not feared to give occasion of stumbling to so many churches and so many priests.

I confess that I am so constrained by love of the whole brotherhood that I will not assent to any one at all over demands which are contrary to his own interests, and with the result that you should be able clearly to perceive that I oppose your love with kindly intent, so that through sounder counsel you may restrain yourself from disturbing the universal church. The rights of provincial primates are not to be overturned, nor are metropolitan bishops to be defrauded of privileges granted long ago. The see of Alexandria is not to lose any of that dignity which it merited through Saint Mark the evangelist, the disciple of the blessed Peter; nor because Dioscorus has been brought down by his persistence in impiety is the glory of so great a church to be obscured by darkness that is alien to it. Also the church of Antioch, where at the preaching of the blessed apostle Peter the name of Christian first originated, must continue in the rank assigned to it by the fathers; being set in third place it must never descend lower.<sup>141</sup> For a distinction must be drawn between the sees and those who preside in them, and the great honour of each individual is his own integrity. And since this [integrity] does not lose its due distinction in any place at all, how much more glorious must it be in the magnificent setting of the city of Constantinople, if the canons of the fathers are defended as a result of your observance and many priests are given an example of probity?

In writing this to you, brother, I urge and exhort you in the Lord to lay aside all ambitious desires, to be fired instead by a spirit of love, and to adorn yourself serviceably with its virtues, according to the apostolic teaching; for love 'is patient and kind, and envies not, acts not wrongly, is not puffed up, is not ambitious, and does not seek what is not its own.'<sup>142</sup> Therefore, if love does not seek its own, how greatly does he sin who covets another's? I want you to abstain from this altogether, and to remember the saying that runs, 'Hold fast what you have, lest another take your crown.'<sup>143</sup> For if you seek what is not permitted, you will by your own action and verdict deprive yourself of the peace of the universal church.<sup>144</sup>

140 Mt. 18:6.

141 Note that the Roman insistence on the superior status of Alexandria and Antioch was linked to a stress on their links with St Peter and thereby with the church of Rome.

142 1 Cor. 13:4-5.

143 Rev. 3:11.

144 This threat of excommunication was not in fact carried out.

Our brother and fellow bishop Lucian and our son the deacon Basil were zealous in fulfilling your instructions to the best of their ability, but justice refused to give effect to their pleas.

Issued eleven days before the Kalends of June in the consulship of the illustrious Herculanus.<sup>145</sup>

**(11) MARCIAN TO POPE LEO (15 FEBRUARY 453)<sup>146</sup>**

The victors Valentinian and Marcian, glorious and ever-triumphant Augusti, to the most holy father and truly venerable Archbishop Leo.

In the syllables of our serenity we most earnestly pray for the health of your beatitude, requesting that you bestow on us the favour of God Almighty through the intercession of your prayers, so that his gracious and peace-loving magnificence may deign to bestow on our reign everything that is auspicious and desirable.

We are extremely surprised that after the council of Chalcedon and the letter of the venerable bishops sent to your God-belovedness, in which they related all the proceedings at this council,<sup>147</sup> in no way at all have letters been sent back by your clemency of the kind that ought to come to the knowledge of all, evidently through being read in the most holy churches. In the minds of some who even now follow the heresy and perversity of Eutyches this has created much uncertainty as to whether your beatitude has confirmed the decrees of the holy council. For this reason your devoutness will deign to send a letter that will make it clear to all the churches and congregations that the proceedings at the holy council have been confirmed by your beatitude.

As suited the bishop of the apostolic see, your holiness has indeed shown to an outstanding degree that by maintaining the ecclesiastical canons you have allowed no innovation in respect of ancient custom and of the order that was formerly established and has remained inviolable to this day. What and how much has been done by certain people on account of the letter of your sacredness, your holiness will be able to learn most clearly from others, whom we would not wish to oppose,<sup>148</sup> despite the fact that your God-

145 22 May 452.

146 Leo, *ep.* 110. This letter will have been sent to Leo in Latin, but is extant only in a Greek version, *ACO* 2.1 p. 257 (B 19).

147 The reference is to the letter of the council fathers to Leo (Document 2 above).

148 The reference appears to be to Marcian's own endeavours to suppress opposition to the council's decrees, in accordance with Leo's letter (Document 9 above) and as reported to Leo



belovedness does [not yet]<sup>149</sup> confirm that the council of Chalcedon, with the assent of all the bishops, followed the catholic and truly orthodox faith. For this reason your venerableness should speedily issue your own letter in which you show most clearly that you confirm the council at Chalcedon, so that those who desire roads that are no roads<sup>150</sup> may be in no misapprehension about your holiness' judgement.

Issued fifteen days before the Kalends of March at Constantinople.<sup>151</sup>

**(12) POPE LEO TO MARCIAN (21 MARCH 453)<sup>152</sup>**

Leo to Marcian Augustus.

All the letters of your clemency give me much cause for rejoicing, when I find it granted to human affairs by the great mercy of divine providence that you deign to assist with most pious zeal the ecclesiastical peace which is only secured by the unity of gospel preaching, with the result that the glory of your faith is increased not merely by benefits to the state but also by the progress of religion, most glorious one. I accordingly give inexpressible thanks to God, who, at the time when he foreknew that the scandal of heresy would break out, placed you at the summit of empire, in whom for the safety of the whole world both regal power and priestly assiduity would flourish. For since it was your work in particular that brought it about that through the work of the synodal council in condemning the defenders of impious doctrine sacrilegious error would lose all its power, it contributes to the honour of your zeal if the evil that was suppressed in its leaders is also destroyed in everyone else. This your clemency judges will be more easily accomplished if the decrees of the holy council of Chalcedon are known in all the churches to have been approved by the apostolic see. There was no reason for doubt over this, since all those who had signed had assented to the statement of faith that I issued according to the form of apostolic teaching and ancestral tradition, and since through my brother Bishop Lucian [of

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by Julian of Cos, his agent in the east, in a letter whose contents are clear from Leo, *ep.* 109 of 25 November 452 (trans. in NPNF II. 12, 81–2).

149 'Not yet' (οὐπω) is a supplement to the text proposed in PL 54. 1020D. Schwartz suggests μη ('not').

150 This translates the ἀνοδιῶν of the MSS. Schwartz suggests the emendation ἀνομαλιῶν ('deviations').

151 15 February (453).

152 *Ep.* 115, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 67–8 (*ep.* 61). The letter was accompanied by a letter to the same effect to Pulcheria, *ep.* 116, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 68–9 (*ep.* 62).

Bizye] I sent letters to your glory and to the bishop of Constantinople which showed clearly that I approve what was decreed at the aforesaid council concerning the catholic faith. But because I criticized in the same letters that which was wrongly attempted on the occasion of the council, the aforesaid bishop preferred to keep quiet about my congratulations rather than publicize his own ambition.

With God acting through you I have derived great confidence from the fact that you have declared in the statement of your piety that you approve my observance in upholding the canons of the fathers, and my joy is rightly augmented when I learn that it is your pleasure most religiously that both the Nicene faith should keep its firmness and the privileges of the churches should remain undiminished. Even though your piety had said nothing about the [following] glorious achievement of your faith, I mention that my brother Bishop Julian, your special admirer together with me, has made known to me with how pious a rescript you have deigned equally to curb and to teach the minds of the ignorant monks,<sup>153</sup> with the result, if divine mercy has not wholly forsaken them, that they recognize that they have both learnt what to believe and discovered what to fear. But because the will of your most religious piety must be obeyed in every way, to the conciliar decrees which I have approved on the confirmation of the catholic faith and the condemnation of heretics I have willingly added my verdict; an order from your clemency will deign to decree that it be brought to the notice of all priests and churches. I hope and believe that the grace of God will give assistance, and make so holy a concern of so great a prince attain the fullest fruit of its desire, with the result that every ground for dissent may be removed and the peace and truth of the apostolic teaching may reign everywhere.

May your clemency know that I have specifically delegated this matter to my brother Bishop Julian, so that he may faithfully propose to your piety in my name whatever he there judges will contribute to the protection of the faith,<sup>154</sup> because I am certain that with the help of God you are competent to correct, or defend, everything.

Issued twelve days before the Kalends of April in the consulship of the most illustrious Opilio.<sup>155</sup>

153 The reference is to Marcian's letter to the archimandrites of Jerusalem and monks of Palestine (*ACO* 2.1 pp. 483–6, trans. Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 835–40).

154 Julian of Cos frequently acted as Leo's agent at Constantinople, but he was not formally accredited as his permanent representative.

155 21 March 453.

**(13) POPE LEO TO THE COUNCIL FATHERS (21 MARCH 453)<sup>156</sup>**

Leo to the holy council held at Chalcedon.

I do not doubt that all your brotherhood knows that I embraced wholeheartedly the decrees of the holy council that was held in the city of Chalcedon to confirm the faith, since there was no reason for me, who lamented that the unity of the catholic faith had been disrupted by heretics, not to rejoice exultantly at its restoration to integrity. This you could have ascertained not only from the fact of the achievement of most blessed unanimity but also from the letter which after the return of my representatives I sent to the bishop of the city of Constantinople – if he had been willing to show you the reply of the apostolic see.<sup>157</sup> Therefore, lest through malign interpretation it might appear uncertain whether I approve what was decreed about the faith at the council of Chalcedon through your unanimity, I have sent this letter to all our brethren and fellow bishops who attended the aforesaid council – [a letter] which the most glorious and clement prince, as I have requested, will out of love for the catholic faith deign to bring to your notice, so that both the whole brotherhood and the hearts of all the faithful may know that I, not only through the brethren who represented me but also through approving the conciliar proceedings, have joined my own judgement to yours, in the case evidently of the faith alone (which needs to be constantly repeated) for the sake of which it was decided by decree of the Christian emperors and the consent of the apostolic see to summon a general council, so that through the condemnation of the heretics who refused to be corrected, no doubt at all should remain about the true incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, if anyone ever dares to support the faithlessness of Nestorius or defend the impious teaching of Eutyches and Dioscorus, let him be cut off from catholic communion, and let him have no share in that body whose reality he denies, most beloved brethren.

On the matter of preserving also the inviolable decrees of the holy fathers which were issued at the council of Nicaea, I admonish the observance of your holinesses that the rights of the churches must remain as they were laid down by the 318 divinely inspired fathers. Let vicious ambition covet nothing belonging to another, nor let anyone seek his own increase through injuring another. For however much vainglorious pride builds on extorted assent and thinks that its depredations can be strengthened through talking of councils, whatever differs from the canons of the aforesaid fathers

156 Leo, *ep.* 114, *ACO* 2.4 pp. 70–71 (*ep.* 64).

157 Document 10 above.

will be null and void. As for the reverence with which the apostolic see follows their regulations, your holinesses, from reading my writings in which I repelled the attempts of the bishop of Constantinople, will be able to learn that, with the help of our God, I am the guardian both of the catholic faith and of the ordinances of the fathers.

Issued twelve days before the Kalends of April in the consulship of the most illustrious Opilio.<sup>158</sup>

#### (14) MARCIAN TO THE MONKS OF ALEXANDRIA<sup>159</sup>

Copy of the divine letter of the most pious Emperor Marcian sent to the monks at Alexandria.

It is the property of the God and master of the universe never to sin at all, and it is the property of men of discretion, since, being human beings, it is impossible for them not to err, to repent immediately when they have sinned and to correct their faults through repentance. But to persist in error, to strive on its behalf, and to endeavour to pile evil upon evil is the mark of someone wholly wicked and utterly insane. Learning that this is the lot of some of the most devout monks living in and around Alexandria, and realizing that it is not through simplicity of character that they suffered this, we have used a divine letter to display our orthodox faith and also the fact that the holy and catholic council at Chalcedon made absolutely no innovations in respect of the apostolic faith but followed in all things the teaching of Athanasius, Theophilus and Cyril of devout memory (who were bishops of the great city of Alexandria) when it condemned the blasphemy of Eutyches, which held nothing other than the impious doctrines of Apollinarius, and also excised the impiety of Nestorius, guarding in every way intact the venerable creed of the 318 holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, and not distorting it through either omission or addition.

Our serenity holds that our divine letter, and also the orders already issued in the great city of Alexandria, are sufficient to convince those who, I know not how, still doubt that no innovation was made at the most holy and catholic council, and also to ensure thanks to this that no doubters are left in future, for we do not think that anyone is so simple-minded, after reading this teaching which so clearly proclaims the orthodox faith, as to persist

<sup>158</sup> 21 March 453.

<sup>159</sup> *ACO* 2.1 pp. 488–9. The Latin version (*ACO* 2.5 pp. 3–4) is secondary, as is clear both from its source (the *Collectio Sangermanensis* 1) and from its style.

even now in the same error. But if there really are some people, which we do not suppose, who do not conform to the intention of the clemency innate in us, we wish again that through this our divine letter they be accurately persuaded that the most holy and catholic council has defined everything in accordance with the teaching of the sacred fathers and has destroyed the impiety of Eutyches, which was followed by Dioscorus and certain others, who have not hesitated to scatter the books of Apollinarius among the multitude, inscribing on them the names of most holy orthodox fathers, so as to reduce the minds of the more naive to utter slavery to falsehood.<sup>160</sup> The council also confirmed the venerable creed of the 318 holy fathers who met at Nicaea, neither subtracting nor adding anything, in accordance with which our serenity was baptized, professed the faith, has believed from an early age, and in it prays to remain, believing that our Lord and Saviour Christ the only-begotten Son of God, coeternal and consubstantial with the Father, for us and for our salvation became man and was born from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary the *Theotokos*, and that the same is truly God and man, not one and another (perish the thought!) but one and the same, in no way subject to division, separation or change. Those who ever affirm or assert two sons or two persons we too abominate and anathematize as enemies of God.

Therefore, if there are really among you any who still persist in falsehood, comprehend this forthwith and hasten to return to the truth, distancing yourselves from illegal and schismatic assemblies, lest in addition to losing your souls you incur the penalties of the laws. But unite yourselves unanimously to those of the most holy and catholic church of the orthodox, which is one, in accordance with the teaching we have received from the sacred decrees of the holy fathers. For in doing this you will gain salvation for your souls, you will be doing what is pleasing to God the master of the universe, and by entrusting yourselves to our tranquillity you will enjoy our solicitude.

Accordingly we have chosen and despatched the most illustrious decurion John, who is able to expound the holy faith with precision.<sup>161</sup> He

160 Followers of Apollinarius (condemned at the Council of Constantinople of 381) attempted to maintain the authority of his writings by attributing them to orthodox Fathers such as Athanasius and various bishops of Rome. Cyril himself was deceived by these forgeries: he used an edition of Athanasius' Letter to Epictetus which may well have contained Apollinarian interpolations (see I. 246 *fn.*, with our note), and had approved at Ephesus I a patristic florilegium containing excerpts from Apollinarian forgeries (I. 944.7–8).

161 Leo, *ep.* 141 of 11 May 455 to Julian of Cos refers to John, 'a man of illustrious rank

attended the ecumenical and catholic council of sacred bishops and has a clear understanding of all its proceedings, with the result that if any are still in doubt, which we do not suppose, they will be wholly convinced and return belatedly to the true and unimpeachable faith.

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[*spectabilis*] and purity of faith', as having been 'sent to Egypt for the sake of the faith', and asks to be informed of the success of his mission on his return. This dates our present document to late 454 (*ACO* 2.1.3 p. xxi). Ps.-Zachariah, *HE* III. 11 informs us that the mission was a failure: John was unable to install the new pro-Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria, Proterius, and agreed to present the Alexandrians' complaints to Marcian, to the latter's annoyance.

## APPENDIX 1: THE DOCUMENTARY COLLECTIONS

Along with the Acts themselves, there circulated several collections of letters and other documents relating to events before and after the council. We have translated a selection of these,<sup>1</sup> and here we provide a complete register of all the collections edited by Schwartz. At previous assemblies (Ephesus I in 431 and Ephesus II in 449) the imperial letters (*sacra*) which had convoked the synod were read out in the opening session and thus included in the council's Acts. This was not done at Chalcedon, possibly due to the unusually large volume of correspondence generated by the council's last-minute relocation from Nicaea, or because the first session's agenda was already quite crowded by the necessity of reading back the Acts from Ephesus II and the Home Synod of 448. Instead, relevant documents were collected and appended to the written Acts during their compilation by Constantinopolitan editors in the years immediately after the council.<sup>2</sup> Marcian, Anatolius and their supporters went to unusual lengths to justify Chalcedon's decisions, due to a variety of special circumstances – the necessity to document the reasons for reversing the judgements of Ephesus II; the tensions between Leo and Constantinople over the twenty-eighth canon; Leo's long delay in endorsing the council's decrees; and the need to explain the council's complicated Definition of Faith to an assortment of doubters and dissenters. The various collections attached to the Greek Acts, in turn, formed the source for the documents used in the three successive Latin editions that were produced in Constantinople during the sixth century.

Different epistolary collections have come down to us in the different manuscript traditions of the Acts.<sup>3</sup> There is considerable overlap between the various collections, and the characteristics of each are discussed

1 See Documents before the Council in vol. 1, and Documents after the Council in vol. 3.

2 For the production and composition of the Acts themselves, see our remarks in the General Introduction, vol. 1, 75–8.

3 Generally on the different manuscript versions of the Acts, see Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. v–vi and our discussion in the General Introduction, vol. 1, 78–85.

individually below. The following register lists the full contents of each, in exactly the order given in Schwartz. For those documents not translated here, we provide a summary and reference to English translations elsewhere, if available. In nearly all cases these will be found in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series (hereafter NPNF), particularly 2nd ser. vol. 12 (letters of Pope Leo) and 2nd ser. vol. 3 (letters of Theodoret of Cyrillus); or in Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian Church* (hereafter RSCC).

### ABBREVIATIONS

#### Pre-conciliar collections

**M** = Letter Collection M, placed by Schwartz in the Greek Acts prior to the first session.

**H** = Letter Collection H, placed by Schwartz in the Greek Acts prior to the first session.

**B** = Letter Collection B, placed by Schwartz in the Greek Acts between the second and third sessions.

**L** = *epistularum collectio ante gesta*, pre-conciliar letters in the Latin Acts, placed prior to the first session.

**DBC** = Our selection of Documents before the Council, translated in vol. 1.

#### Post-conciliar collections

**G** = Post-conciliar documents placed at the end of the Greek Acts, as *actiones* 20–31.

**B** = Post-conciliar documents in Letter Collection B, placed in the Greek Acts between the second and third sessions, and numbered 15–22.

**L III** = Post-conciliar documents placed in the Latin Acts at the end of Session III, and numbered 104–110.

**DAC** = Our selection of Documents after the Council, translated in vol. 3.

### PRE-CONCILIAR DOCUMENTS IN THE GREEK ACTS

#### Letter Collection M (Greek)

Text in Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. 3–32; cf. his discussion in *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. viii–xiv.

Collection M is named after Codex ‘M’, in which it appears prior to the



first session. The compiler has furnished the documents with introductory headings in Greek. Letters 1–11 form a single set, datable to between 453–5 by reference in the headings to certain imperials, but not others, as ‘of blessed memory’, i.e. deceased.<sup>4</sup> This group was probably the earliest part of the collection. Schwartz suggests that a Constantinopolitan compiler, working on behalf of Anatolius, sought to construct a selection of letters that would emphasize the role of the western imperials, and thus minimize that of Leo, in rallying the opposition to Ephesus II during late 449 and early 450 – but, of course, Valentinian III, Galla Placidia and Licinia Eudoxia all wrote at the behest of Leo, as their letters make clear. Leo’s own letter to Theodosius, M (1), seems to have been deliberately mutilated to remove canonical citations asserting Rome’s jurisdiction to hear ecclesiastical appeals.<sup>5</sup> Later stages of editing added M (12), the full version of Leo’s letter, and joined to the collection M (13)–(17), the series of letters by Marcian and Pulcheria that outline the council’s summons to Nicaea and then its relocation to Chalcedon. These imperial letters, the *sacra* that at other councils would have been read out during the first session, appear in all versions of the Acts, in both codices M and B, and also in the separate collection H (17)–(21).

Numbers in (parentheses) are the numbering given by Schwartz for the documents within each collection. Numbers in [brackets] are pages in *ACO* 2.1.1.

- (1) [3–4] Pope Leo to Theodosius II, 14 December 449. Leo, *ep.* 43, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 52–3. Latin version at L (14) below; Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 26–7. Cf. B (12).

Leo complains about the treatment of Flavian at Ephesus and asks for a new council to be held in Italy. Attached to this letter (only in the Greek and in M) is the text of the fourth canon from the Council of Sardica in 343, which Leo and his contemporaries incorrectly believed to be from Nicaea. The canon states that a deposed bishop may appeal to Rome and that no replacement bishop may be installed until the appeal is resolved.

This letter is clearly a truncated version of M (12) below; the correct date, given in all other versions, should be 13 October 449. Schwartz (*ACO* 2.1.1 pp. x–xi) believes that the letter was deliberately mutilated to remove reference to Flavian’s appeal to

4 Pulcheria (d. July 453) is thus described, but not Valentinian III (d. March 455). See Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 p. xii.

5 See discussion by Schwartz in *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. ix–xi.

Leo and Leo's canonical authority to hear it.

- (2) [5] Emperor Valentinian III to Emperor Theodosius II, 22 February 450. This letter, like the next two, is counted among Leo's correspondence, as Leo, *ep.* 55. Latin version at L (19) below.

The western emperor describes a visit to St Peter's in Rome, during which Pope Leo approached him with complaints about Ephesus. He passes on Leo's request for a new council in Italy.

- (3) [5–6] Empress Galla Placidia to Theodosius II, 22 February 450. Counted as Leo, *ep.* 56, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 57–8. Latin version at L (20) below.

Galla Placidia was the mother of Valentinian III, and aunt (although she addresses him as 'son') to Theodosius II. She gives a more detailed account of the same visit to Rome, relating how Leo and other bishops approached them with tearful supplications after the service in St Peter's. Dioscorus stirred up hatred and disturbed the faith at Ephesus. Flavian appealed to Rome in accordance with the Nicene canons<sup>6</sup> and should be allowed to retain his office pending that appeal.

- (4) [6–7] Licinia Eudoxia to Theodosius II, 22 February 450. Counted as Leo, *ep.* 57. Latin version at L (21) below.

Licinia Eudoxia was the daughter of Theodosius II and wife of Valentinian III. Content is similar to (2) and (3) above: she describes her encounter with Leo in Rome, and repeats his request for a new council in Italy.

- (5) [7] Theodosius II to Valentinian III. No date given; between March and July of 450.<sup>7</sup> Latin version at L (22) below.

Theodosius acknowledges receipt of his colleague's letter, (2) above, but makes clear that he will not reconsider the judgements of Ephesus. The council decided correctly, and Flavian was justly deposed for introducing 'dangerous novelties' to the faith.

- (6) [7–8] Theodosius II to Galla Placidia. Same date as (5) above. Latin version at L (23) below.

<sup>6</sup> Actually canon 4 of Sardica 343. Cf. M (1) above.

<sup>7</sup> This letter and the two that follow must have been written sometime after 22 February, the date of the western imperials' letters to which it responds, and before 26 July, when Theodosius died.

Similar content to (5) above.

- (7) [8] Theodosius II to Licinia Eudoxia. Same date as (5) and (6) above. Latin version at L (24) below.

Similar content to (5) and (6) above.

- (8) [8–9] Emperor Marcian<sup>8</sup> to Pope Leo, 22 November 450. Leo, *ep.* 76. Latin version at L (28) below. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (2).

Marcian invites the pope or his representatives to attend a new synod.

- (9) [9–10] Empress Pulcheria to Pope Leo. Same date as (8) above. Leo, *ep.* 77. Latin version at L (29) below. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (3).

Pulcheria acknowledges receipt of Leo's letter.<sup>9</sup> She reassures him that Anatolius has signed the Tome, asks him to convene a new council, and informs him that Flavian's remains have been brought to Constantinople, and that the bishops deposed at Ephesus have returned from exile.

- (10) [10] Emperor Marcian to Pope Leo. No date given; soon after Marcian's accession on 26 August 450. Leo, *ep.* 73. Latin version at L (27) below. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (1).

Announces his accession to the throne; asks for Leo's prayers and his blessing for a new council.

- (11) [10–20] Pope Leo to Flavian, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 28. This is the famous Tome *of Leo*. The same Greek text was read at Chalcedon's second session<sup>10</sup> and included in the Acts at II. 22.<sup>11</sup> Translated here (from the Greek) at II. 22 below; see our commentary and notes *ad loc.* Latin text in *Collectio Novariensis* 5, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 24–33; cf. L (7). English translations from the Latin can be found, for example, in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 38–43 as Leo, *ep.* 28;

<sup>8</sup> These and all subsequent imperial letters are issued in the name of both emperors, with Valentinian III listed first due to seniority, but in practice they can be taken as coming from Marcian.

<sup>9</sup> Leo, *ep.* 70 of 16 July 450, not included in the conciliar collections. Text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 29–30. Leo complained that Constantinople's new bishop Anatolius had not yet accepted his Tome, and again asked for a new council to be held in Italy.

<sup>10</sup> Session of 10 October 451, chronologically second but placed as third in the Greek Acts and in Schwartz's edition.

<sup>11</sup> On the Greek version of the Tome, see Schwartz's discussion in *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. xiv–xvi.

Stevenson, *CCC*, 336–44.

[20–25] Appended to the Greek version of the Tome (not translated by us) is a florilegium of 18 short passages from various patristic authorities, here all in Greek.<sup>12</sup>

1. Hilary of Poitiers, *On the Trinity*, 9.3.
  2. From the same, 9.5–7.
  3. From the same, 9.11.
  4. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Homily on the Epiphany*.
  5. From the same, a little further on.
  6. Ambrose, *On the Faith*, 2.58.
  7. From the same, 2.77.
  8. Ambrose, *On the Incarnation*, 49.
  9. From the same, 52.
  10. John Chrysostom, *Homily on the Assumption*.<sup>13</sup>
  11. From the same homily.
  12. From the same, a little further on.
  13. Augustine, from his *Letter to Volusianus* (*ep.* 137.9).
  14. Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, 78.2.
  15. Augustine, in a book on the exposition of the faith.
  16. Cyril of Alexandria, from the *Scholia*.<sup>14</sup>
  17. The same Cyril on the indwelling (*enanthropésis*) of the only-begotten.
  18. The same Cyril, further on.
- (12) [25–7] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome<sup>15</sup> to Theodosius II, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 44; trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 53–4. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 19–21; L (15) below. This is the full version of the same letter given in abbreviated form at M (1) above.<sup>16</sup> Cf. H (9) and B (13).

12 The Greek given here, of course, does not represent the original words of those authors who wrote in Greek, but rather a retroversion of a Latin translation: see Schwartz's notes to this section.

13 The original versions of the three passages from Chrysostom's homily can be found in PG 49, 445–6 and 448.

14 16 and 17 are Cyril's original words; 18 is partly original and partly retroversion: Schwartz, notes *ad loc.*

15 Upon learning of the events at Ephesus, Leo promptly convened a synod of local Italian bishops in Rome, which joined him in rejecting that council's decrees and calling for a new council.

16 The abbreviated version is Leo, *ep.* 43; Latin at L (14). See comments at M (1) above.

Leo complains about the disorder at Ephesus as reported to him by Hilary; his letter was not read, and Flavian was unjustly deposed. He describes Flavian's appeal to Rome and the canonical basis<sup>17</sup> for hearing it; asks for a new synod in Italy.

- (13) [27–8] Marcian to the bishops, 23 May 451.<sup>18</sup> Latin text in *Collectio Vaticana* 1 (*ACO* 2.2 p. 95); similar Latin versions at L (30) and (31). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (6). Cf. H (17).

Summons bishops to a synod to be held at Nicaea.

- (14) [28–9] Second Letter of Marcian to the Synod at Nicaea.<sup>19</sup> No date given; September 451. Latin versions in *Collectio Vaticana* 2 (*ACO* 2.2 p. 96) and L (34). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (14). Cf. H (19).

Asks the bishops now assembling at Nicaea to relocate to Chalcedon.

- (15) [29] Pulcheria to the governor of Bithynia. Not dated; probably early September 451, prior to the relocation to Chalcedon. Latin version at L (33). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (13). Cf. H (18).

Orders the governor to prevent disorder at Nicaea by expelling troublesome clergy, monks and other agitators.

- (16) [30] Third Letter of Marcian to the Synod at Nicaea, 22 September 451. Latin versions in *Collectio Vaticana* 3 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 96–7) and L (35). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (15). Cf. H (20).

Informs the bishops that he has been delayed by military operations against the Huns in Illyricum; encourages them to hasten to Chalcedon; promises that there will be no disorder.

- (17) [31–2] Pope Leo to the Synod in Nicaea, 26 or 27 June 451.<sup>20</sup> Leo, *ep.* 93. This Greek version was presented by Leo's representatives

17 Canon 4 of Sardica 343, but believed by Leo and contemporaries to be 'Nicene'. Cf. M (1) above.

18 The Greek version given here is the copy addressed specifically to Anatolius, but identical letters went to all the metropolitan bishops.

19 Thus titled, although the 'First Letter' – Latin at L (32) and translated here as DBC (11) – does not survive in the Greek.

20 The Latin version bears a date of 26 June; the Greek, 27 June. At that time, of course, the synod was still expected to meet in Nicaea.

21 See our commentary and notes at Session XV.

and read at Chalcedon's fifteenth session on 31 October 451.<sup>21</sup> Latin original in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 51–3; not included in the Latin Acts themselves. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (10) and (from the Greek) at XV. 6 below. Cf. H (21).

Leo apologizes for his inability to attend the council, and introduces his representatives. He urges them to confess the faith as laid out in his Tome, and to undo the wrongs perpetrated at Ephesus.

### **Letter Collection H (Greek)**

Text in Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. 35–52; cf his discussion at *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. viii–xiv.

Schwartz places these after Collection M and immediately prior to the first session, but in fact the selection designated as 'H' circulated separately from the main conciliar Acts, appearing in other codices (Brit. Mus. Arundel 529, Add. 10445; and Parisinus 1115) where it is joined to a short collection of Acts relating to the First Council of Ephesus.<sup>22</sup> Letters H (1)–(16) include correspondence between Flavian and Leo regarding Eutyches, and between Leo and various persons in Constantinople in preparation for Ephesus II, as well as Leo's complaints after that council's conclusion. Although this collection covers much of the same subject matter as does the first section of M (1–11), there are no duplications between the two, suggesting the possibility that H was composed specifically as a supplement to the set of documents in M (1)–(11). There are, however, several cases of overlap between H and Collection B (on which, see below), indicating that these were compiled independently. H (17)–(21), meanwhile, are the same series of imperial *sacra* on the convocation of Chalcedon that are found in all the collections (cf. M (13)–(17), appearing in both codices M and B; and L (31)–(35) in the Latin Acts).

Numbers in (parentheses) are the numbering given by Schwartz for the documents within the collection. Numbers in [brackets] are pages in *ACO* 2.1.1.

- (1) [35–6]. Bishop Flavian's confession of faith, addressed to the emperor Theodosius. Not dated; end of 448. Latin version at L (1). Cf. B (1).

This confession, 'in his own hand', was given soon after the

<sup>22</sup> Edited by Schwartz in *ACO* 1.1.7 pp. 173ff.

conclusion of Eutyches' trial as Flavian found himself more and more on the defensive. He confesses Christ 'from [*ek*] two natures' and adds the Cyrillian expression 'one nature of God the Word, enfleshed and made man' – somewhat of a retreat from the more dyophysite statement he had given at the Home Synod (cf. I. 271).

- (2) [36] Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum, indictment against Eutyches. This was presented to the Home Synod on 8 November 448, and is included in the Acts of Chalcedon's first session. Translated here at I. 225 and 230, below. Latin versions in *Collectio Novariensis* 1 (*ACO* 2.2 p. 3) and in the Latin Acts of the first session (*ACO* 2.3.1 pp. 78–9).

Eusebius charges Eutyches with heresy.

- (3) [36–7] Flavian to Pope Leo. Not dated; end of 448, or shortly after conclusion of Eutyches' trial. Leo, *ep.* 22, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 34–5. Latin versions in *Collectio Novariensis* 3 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 21–2) and in L (5). Cf. B (5).

Flavian informs Leo of Eutyches' heresy and of the judgement against him, and attaches a copy of the proceedings.<sup>23</sup> It was in response to this letter (inexplicably delayed for several months) that Leo wrote his Tome to Flavian.<sup>24</sup>

- (4) [37–8] Leo to the presbyter Faustus. Not dated.<sup>25</sup> Leo, *ep.* 72. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 5–6, and L (6) below. Cf. B (6).

Leo writes to Faustus, one of the Constantinopolitan archimandrites who had opposed Eutyches and remained loyal to Flavian. He praises him for his steadfastness, and asks Faustus to inform him of anyone 'innovating' against the faith.

- (5) [38–40] Flavian to Pope Leo. No date given; sometime prior to June 449.<sup>26</sup> Leo, *ep.* 26, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 36–8. Latin

23 This would have been the Latin text included in *Collectio Novariensis de re Eutyichis* 2, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 3–21.

24 In the Tome (Leo, *ep.* 28, of 13 June 449) Leo complained of the surprisingly 'slow arrival' of Flavian's letter.

25 The letter's brevity and generality and lack of any specific reference to Eutyches make it difficult to assign a certain date, but those same qualities might suggest placement at a fairly early stage (perhaps 448), before Leo had learned the details of the controversy.

26 Leo acknowledges receipt of this letter in *ep.* 36 of 21 June 449; he had not yet read it when he sent the Tome on 13 June.

versions in *Collectio Novariensis* 4 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 23–4) and L (8).

In this letter, which Leo had not yet seen when he wrote the Tome, Flavian provides more details about the heretical beliefs of Eutyches and the reasons for his condemnation; complains that Eutyches is fomenting opposition to him by posting placards and by appealing to the emperor; professes himself disturbed to hear that Eutyches has been writing letters to Leo<sup>27</sup> and warns him not to be deceived; and asks Leo to confirm Eutyches' condemnation.

- (6) [40–42] Pope Leo to Bishop Julian of Cos, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 35, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 48–50. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 6–8 and L (9). Cf. B (7).

This letter was written to accompany the Tome (M (11) above)<sup>28</sup> and provides additional, fairly lengthy refutations of Eutyches' doctrinal errors: Eutyches errs as far in one extreme, by denying that the Word took up a human flesh in the incarnation, as Nestorius did in the other by separating divinity and humanity. Eutyches thus falls into the error of Apollinarius, Valentinus and Mani. When Eutyches said at the Home Synod that he confessed two natures before the incarnation but only one after,<sup>29</sup> they should have questioned him further: it is just as wrong to say 'two before' as to say 'one after', since it repeats the error of Origen regarding the pre-existence of souls. This weighty subject deserves further discussion, but this letter along with the Tome should be sufficient to confirm the faith.

- (7) [42–3] Pope Leo to Faustus, Martin, and the other archimandrites of Constantinople, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 32, trans. NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 46. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 11–12; L (10). Cf. B (8).

Part of a group of letters (cf. H (6), (8), (10), (11); along with M (11), the Tome) sent on the same date, to be carried by Leo's representatives on their way to the Council of Ephesus. This short

<sup>27</sup> Leo, *ep.* 21, written by Eutyches to the pope sometime soon after his condemnation in late 448. He complains of his treatment at Flavian's synod and offers a confession of his faith.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Leo, *ep.* 34 of the same date, also addressed to Julian of Cos, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 47–8; Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 16–17. This is a shorter letter in which Leo explains that only recently, upon reading the proceedings of the Home Synod sent by Flavian (cf. (5) above), did he learn the full details of Eutyches' heresy and deceit. He introduces the representatives that he will send to the upcoming council, and directs that Eutyches be forgiven if he accepts correction, but condemned if he persists in heresy.

<sup>29</sup> I. 527.



note praises the archimandrites for their steadfast support of the faith; declares that Eutyches is condemned unless he repent of his error; and informs them that the Tome will settle all doubts regarding the faith.

- (8) [43–4] Pope Leo to the Synod at Ephesus, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 33, trans. NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 46–7. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 15–16; L (13). Cf. B (11).

This letter is prefaced in both the Greek and Latin collections with a note identifying it as ‘the letter sent to Ephesus, which Dioscorus prevented from being read’.<sup>30</sup> Addressed to the synod assembling in Ephesus, this letter was intended to introduce the Tome, which was sent along with it. Leo invokes his Petrine authority to determine matters of faith; introduces the legates<sup>31</sup> who will represent him at Ephesus; directs the bishops to condemn Eutyches for heresy unless he should recant; informs them that his response to Flavian (the Tome) will settle the questions of faith. This would not have served the interests of Dioscorus, who made sure that neither this letter nor the Tome was read to the bishops at Ephesus.

- (9) [44] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to Theodosius II, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 44, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 53–4. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 19–21; L (15) below. Cf. M (12), B (13).

Identical to M (12) above.

- (10) [45] Pope Leo to Theodosius II, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 29, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 43–4. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 9–10; L (11). Cf. B (9).

One of a group of short letters bundled together with the Tome and addressed to various parties in the east (cf. H (6), (7), (8), (11)). Although Leo believes that Eutyches was properly judged at the Home Synod, the emperor has nevertheless determined that the matter should be retried at Ephesus. Leo introduces his representatives to that council, and reiterates that Eutyches must be condemned

30 See I. 82–6, for the unsuccessful attempts to have it read at Ephesus; and I. 87–106 for the inquiries and complaints later made at Chalcedon. Had they been successful in presenting this letter, the pope’s envoys would then have gone on to introduce the Tome.

31 Bishop Julius of Puteoli, Renatus the presbyter, Hilary the deacon (and future pope), and Dulcitus the notary.

unless he repents his heresy.

- (11) [45–7] Pope Leo to Empress Pulcheria, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 30. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 10–11; L (12). Cf. B (10).

This is one of several letters bundled together with the Tome, and also appears to be a shorter version of Leo, *ep.* 31, a longer letter to Pulcheria of similar content and identical date.<sup>32</sup> Leo has heard from Flavian of the disturbances in Constantinople. As Nestorius erred in one direction by saying Christ received only human nature from his virgin mother, so Eutyches strays in the other by claiming that his flesh was like ours only in appearance, not in truth. Leo asks Pulcheria to help in protecting the faith, and introduces his representatives to the council. Eutyches may be forgiven if he repents, but must be condemned if he does not.

- (12) [47–8] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to Empress Pulcheria, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 45, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 54–5. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 23–5; L (16).

If the letters Leo sent previously (*ep.* 30 along with the Tome) had reached Pulcheria, she would have been able to prevent the injury done to the faith. But the legates were restrained; and only with great difficulty did Hilary the deacon escape. So Leo writes again, with another copy of the original letter attached. Hilary told Leo of the violence at Ephesus caused by Dioscorus; Leo's statement on the faith was not allowed to be read. He remains in communion with Flavian, and declares that the measures taken contrary to the canons are not valid. He asks her to lobby the emperor for a new synod to be held in Italy.

- (13) [48–9] Deacon Hilary<sup>33</sup> to Pulcheria. Not dated, but probably written in autumn of 449 and close in time to (12) above. Counted as Leo, *ep.* 46. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 27–8; L (17).

Describes his escape from Ephesus and from Dioscorus' attempts to force him to participate in the wrongful condemnation of Flavian. He returned to Italy and informed Pope Leo, who

<sup>32</sup> Leo, *ep.* 31 is translated in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 44–6; Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 12–15. It is not included in any of the pre-conciliar collections. This letter is similar in content to *ep.* 30, but with more detailed theological arguments and several citations of scripture. Leo invokes precedent to explain and excuse his refusal to attend the council in person.

<sup>33</sup> Later Pope Hilary, 461–8.

assembled a synod of bishops in Rome and repudiated everything done contrary to the canons at Ephesus.

- (14) [49–50] Galla Placidia to Pulcheria, not dated, but written at same time as M (3) above, of 22 February 450. Latin version is L (18).

She describes being supplicated by Pope Leo in Rome (cf. M (3), with similar letters from Valentinian III (2) and Licinia Eudoxia (4) above) and passes along his complaints about the lawlessness at Ephesus. She asks Pulcheria to help overturn the results of that council, and to refer the case back to the see of St Peter.

- (15) [50–51] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to the clergy and laity of Constantinople, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 50. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 21–2; L (25).<sup>34</sup>

Leo has been informed by deacon Hilary, who was forced to flee, of the injustices done at Ephesus, where Dioscorus refused to hear his objection<sup>35</sup> and where bishops were compelled by force to subscribe. He encourages the Constantinopolitans to stand firm in the faith, remain loyal to Flavian, and refuse communion with anyone appointed to take his place.

- (16) [51–2] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to Faustus, Martin, Peter and Manuel, presbyters and archimandrites of the monasteries in Constantinople, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 51. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 25–6; L (26). Written along with (12) and (15) above.

Leo recalls his previous letters urging them to stand firm in the faith; urges them to remain faithful to Flavian; declares that Eutyches denies the truth of Christ's human incarnation; encourages them to find glory in suffering the abuses of the heretics.

- (17) [52] Marcian to the bishops, 23 May 451. Latin text in *Collectio Vaticana* 1 (*ACO* 2.2 p. 95); cf. similar Latin versions at L (30) and (31). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (6). Cf. M (13).

Identical with M (13) above.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Leo, *ep.* 59, to the same addressees, dated 15 October 449; trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 58–61; Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 34–7: a longer letter, meant to accompany *ep.* 50, with doctrinal arguments comparing Eutyches' beliefs to those of the Manicheans and Arians; invoking original sin to explain why the enfleshment of the Word is necessary for our salvation; contrasting orthodox belief to Manicheans, Photinians, Apollinarians, and Nestorians, each of whom denies either Christ's divinity or his humanity.

<sup>35</sup> *Contradicitur*: I. 964.

- (18) [52] Pulcheria to the governor of Bithynia. Not dated; probably early September 451, prior to the relocation to Chalcedon. Latin version at L (33). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (13). Cf. M (15).

Identical with M (15) above.

- (19) [52] Second Letter of Marcian to the Synod at Nicaea. No date given; September 451. Latin versions in *Collectio Vaticana* 2 (*ACO* 2.2 p. 96) and L (34). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (14). Cf. M (14).

Identical with M (14) above.

- (20) [52] Third Letter of Marcian to the Synod at Nicaea, 22 September 451. Latin versions in *Collectio Vaticana* 3 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 96–7) and L (35). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (15). Cf. M (16).

Identical with M (16) above.

- (21) [52] Pope Leo to the Synod in Nicaea, 26 or 27 June 451. Leo, *ep.* 93. Presented and read at Chalcedon's fifteenth session, 31 October 451. Latin original in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 51–3. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (10) and (from the Greek) at XV. 6. Cf. M (17).

Identical with M (17) above.

### Letter Collection B (Greek)

Documents (1)–(14) are pre-conciliar, and treated here; (15)–(22) are post-conciliar and discussed below. The text of both is in Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.2 pp. 241–61. Cf. his commentary on letters B (1)–(13) at *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. viii–xiv, and on (14)–(22) at 2.1.2 pp. ix–xii.

In the Greek Acts, Collection B is placed between the second (our third) and third (our second) sessions. Letters B (1)–(11) appear in this location in both codices M and B; (12) and (13) are placed here in codex B but appear in codex M before the first session, as part of Collection M.<sup>36</sup> B (14), the letter of Theodoret to Dioscorus, and the post-conciliar letters B (15)–(22), are found only in codex B. The considerable overlap between B and H, which share identical versions of nine letters relating to Flavian, Leo and Ephesus II, indicates that the compilers of the two collections worked independently.

<sup>36</sup> B (12) and (13) are thus identical with M (1) and (12), respectively.

Why was this collection placed in the middle of the Acts? The Greek Acts departed from strict chronological sequence in order to place the trial of Dioscorus immediately after the first session's review of the acts from Ephesus II, so that the record of the council could neatly be arranged into a tripartite division that opened with Ephesus II and the trial of Dioscorus (Sessions I and III), then moved to matters of faith (Sessions II, IV–VI), and concluded with all other business (Sessions VII–XVI). The session on Dioscorus (our Session III) concludes with several imperial edicts and conciliar letters regarding his condemnation; the compiler may have thought this an appropriate location for additional materials. Nearly all of the documents in this collection, both pre- and post-conciliar, involve correspondence between Leo in Rome and various parties in Constantinople. The pre-conciliar letters in B, arranged mostly but not entirely in chronological order, serve not only to document the heresy of Eutyches and detail the misdeeds of Dioscorus at Ephesus, but also to introduce Leo's Tome, thus setting the stage for the discussions of faith to be treated in the sessions that follow. The inclusion of Theodoret's letter to Dioscorus (14) serves to defend his orthodoxy – and, by extension, that of the council that restored him to communion – by having Theodoret deny any heretical belief in 'two sons', and by mentioning his communion with Cyril. As Schwartz points out, if Collection B was composed in the years immediately after the council – when Theodoret's own letters had not yet been gathered into their posthumous collection – then the source of this letter was most likely Theodoret himself.<sup>37</sup>

Numbers in (parentheses) are the numbering given by Schwartz for the documents within the collection. Numbers in [brackets] are pages in *ACO* 2.1.2.

- (1) [241] Bishop Flavian's confession of faith to the emperor Theodosius, end of 448. Latin version L (1).  
Identical with H (1) above.
- (2) [241] Pope Leo to Eutyches, 1 June 448. Leo, *ep.* 20, trans. NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 32. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 p. 3; L (2).

Leo thanks the monk for an earlier letter in which he warned the pope of the dangers of Nestorian heresy. The brief and non-committal character of Leo's response reflects the fact that at this

37 See Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.2 pp. x–xii. At the conclusion of the council, Theodoret seems to have played a substantial role in the drafting of both the Address to Marcian and its attached florilegium: see pp. 105–7 above.

stage he knew very little about Eutyches and the situation in Constantinople.

- (3) [241–2] Bishop Peter of Ravenna (Peter Chrysologus) to Eutyches. Not dated, but probably early 449. Trans. by Ganss in *Saint Peter Chrysologus: Selected Sermons* (FC ser. vol. 17, New York 1953) 285–7. Latin version in L (3).

Peter acknowledges receipt of Eutyches' appeal against his condemnation.<sup>38</sup> He answers in conciliatory tones, but will not hear the case or take any action without Rome's initiative; he urges the monk to submit to Leo's judgement.

- (4) [242–3] Pope Leo to Flavian, 18 February 449. Leo, *ep.* 23, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 35–6. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 4–5; L (4).

Leo has received a letter from Theodosius (not extant) in support of Eutyches, as well as an appeal from Eutyches himself<sup>39</sup> and wonders why he has not yet received Flavian's report.<sup>40</sup> Eutyches has claimed that he was wrongfully condemned, and Leo is unsure whether to believe him. He asks Flavian for a detailed account.

- (5) [243] Flavian to Pope Leo. Not dated; end of 448, or shortly after conclusion of Eutyches' trial. Leo, *ep.* 22, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 34–5. Latin versions in *Collectio Novariensis* 3 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 21–2) and in L (5).

Identical with H (3) above.

- (6) [243] Pope Leo to the presbyter Faustus. Not dated. Leo, *ep.* 72. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 5–6; L (6).

Identical with H (4) above.

- (7) [243] Pope Leo to Bishop Julian of Cos, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 35, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 48–50. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 6–8 and L (9).

Identical with H (6) above.

38 Cf. I. 818–19. Though Ravenna is not specifically mentioned as one of the several sees (Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Thessalonica) to which Eutyches allegedly appealed, the bishop in Ravenna – residence of the western emperor – would likewise have been an influential figure.

39 Leo, *ep.* 21, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 32–4; Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 143–5.

40 In fact, Flavian had already sent Leo a letter (Leo, *ep.* 22, H (3) above) with the proceedings of the Home Synod attached, but it did not reach him for several more months.

- (8) [243] Pope Leo to Faustus, Martin, and the other archimandrites of Constantinople, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 32, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 46. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 11–12; L (10).  
Identical with H (7) above.
- (9) [243] Pope Leo to the emperor Theodosius, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 29, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 43–4. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 9–10; L (11).  
Identical with H (10) above.
- (10) [243] Pope Leo to the empress Pulcheria, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 30. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 10–11; L (12).  
Identical with H (11) above.
- (11) [244] Pope Leo to the Synod at Ephesus, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 33, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 46–7. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 15–16; L (13).  
Identical with H (8) above.
- (12) [244] Pope Leo to the emperor Theodosius, 14 December 449.<sup>41</sup> Leo, *ep.* 43, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 52–3. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 26–7; L (14).  
Identical with M (1) above.
- (13) [244] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to the emperor Theodosius, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 44, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 53–4. Latin version in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 19–21; L (15) below.  
Identical with M (12) and H (9) above.
- (14) [244–8] Theodoret of Cyrillus to Dioscorus of Alexandria. Not dated; probably sometime in 448. Theodoret, *ep.* 83, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 3, 278–80.  
After reading the letters exchanged by Dioscorus and Domnus of Antioch,<sup>42</sup> Theodoret has learned that certain clerics have come to Alexandria and told Dioscorus that Theodoret had preached a division of Christ into ‘two sons’ in Antioch. Theodoret vigorously denies the accusation, noting that in 26 years of teaching and preaching no one has ever questioned his orthodoxy. He proclaims

41 Presumably a mistake for 13 October 449.

42 These letters were read at the second session of Ephesus II as part of the indictment against Domnus, and are preserved in the Syriac Acts (*Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 133–47).

his own faith to be that of Nicaea, calls Mary *Theotokos*, and affirms the unity of the person of Christ but insists that the divine and human natures be carefully distinguished. He reminds Dioscorus, as proof of his orthodoxy, that he had accepted the Formula of Reunion and that Cyril had communicated with him.

### Pre-Conciliar Documents in the Latin Acts

Text in Schwartz, *ACO* 2.3.1 pp. 3–23; cf. his commentary at *ACO* 2.1.1 pp. xiii–xiv.

The Latin Acts include a single collection of pre-conciliar letters, placed before the first session and called by Schwartz *epistularum ante gesta collectio* ('letters prior to the acts'), which we will abbreviate here as 'L'. While the first Latin edition of the Acts (*versio antiqua*, c.546–53) did not include any of these, the editor who worked in Constantinople between 553 and 564 to produce the second version (*versio antiqua correctata*) took nearly all of the documents from the various Greek collections, arranged them into a single group and in a more coherent chronological order<sup>43</sup> and prefaced the collection with its own table of contents.<sup>44</sup> This compiler seems to have drawn upon all three Greek collections, including several documents unique to each (M (2)–(7); H (5) and (12)–(16); and B (2)–(4) are not duplicated in other collections).<sup>45</sup> Most of the documents (nos (2)–(29)) are correspondence to or from Leo or other westerners, and their original language would have been Latin; the imperial letters summoning bishops to Nicaea and then Chalcedon (nos (30)–(35)) are likely to have been issued in both languages. But it is not always easy to tell whether the Latin versions in this collection

43 The chronological order is not entirely perfect (nos. (1) and (2) ought to be reversed; (25) and (26) ought to come much earlier) but the sequence generally begins with correspondence among Flavian, Leo and Eutyches in 448; then proceeds to preparation for the Second Council of Ephesus, and then the complaints about its results; then moves to Marcian and Pulcheria's preparations for the new council to be held at Nicaea, and finally the relocation to Chalcedon.

44 On the successive versions of the Latin Acts, see generally Schwartz, *ACO* 2.3.1 pp. vi–xiii; 2.3.2 pp. v–vii; 2.3.3 pp. v–xxiii; and also our General Introduction, vol. 1, 83–5 above. The Latin editor managed to include, either in this collection or (e.g., Eusebius of Dorylaeum's indictment against Eutyches, at I. 225 and 230) in the Acts themselves, every pre-conciliar document that appears in each of the three Greek collections, with two exceptions: M (17), Leo's letter to the synod (read at the fifteenth session); and B (14), Theodoret's letter to Dioscorus. But of the post-conciliar documents in B (15–22), only B (20), Leo's letter confirming Chalcedon, made it into the Latin Acts. On the Latin post-conciliar documents, see below.



are original, or retroversion from a previous Greek translation. Rusticus, the third and final editor (564–5), follows the arrangement of the *versio correctae* editor, except that in his edition, Leo's Tome (L (7) below) is given not in the pre-conciliar collection but in the Acts themselves, at II. 22 when it was read out.

Numbers in (parentheses) are Schwartz's numbering of the documents, which follow those in the ancient table of contents; numbers in [brackets] are pages in Schwartz, *ACO* 2.3.1.

The collection is prefaced by a table of contents [pp. 3–4].

- (1) [5] Bishop Flavian's confession of faith to the emperor Theodosius, end of 448. Greek version at H (1) and also B (1).  
See H (1) above.
- (2) [5] Pope Leo to Eutyches, 1 June 448. Leo, *ep.* 20, trans. NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 32. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 p. 3; Greek version is B (2).  
See B (2) above.
- (3) [6–7] Bishop Peter of Ravenna (Peter Chrysologus) to Eutyches. Not dated, but probably early 449. Trans. by Ganss in *Saint Peter Chrysologus: Selected Sermons* (FC ser. vol. 17, New York 1953) 285–7. Greek version is B (3).  
See B (3) above.
- (4) [7] Pope Leo to Flavian, 18 February 449. Leo, *ep.* 23, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 35–6. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 4–5. Greek version is B (4).  
See B (4) above.

45 Note that the first six letters in the Latin collection are also the first six letters in Greek Collection B, in the same order (in this case not strictly chronological), strongly suggesting that the Latin editor worked first from this version. Likewise, L (9)–(15) follow the same order as B (7)–(13). The editor's use of H can be seen in L (16)–(18) and (25)–(26), which come in the same order as H (12)–(14) and (15)–(16); and L (31) and (33)–(35) follow H (17) and (18)–(20), the Latin editor breaking that sequence to insert L (32), a document not extant in Greek, in its proper chronological place. Many of these documents are also given in M, but not in the same order. L (19)–(24) follow the order of M (2)–(7), which do not appear in either of the other Greek collections. But L (27), (28) and (29) are M (10), (8) and (9) respectively; the editor rearranged them because M (10) is clearly dated before (8) and (9). We may conclude that the Latin compiler worked preferentially first from B and then from H, since L (9)–(13) follow the order of B (7)–(11), whereas H gives the same documents – all of which are dated 13 June 449 – as, respectively, (6), (7), (10), (11), (8); and used M only for documents not given in the other two.

- (5) [7–9] Flavian to Pope Leo. Not dated; end of 448. Leo, *ep.* 22, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 34–5. Alternate Latin text in *Collectio Novariensis* 3 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 21–22); Greek version is H (3) and B (5). See H (3) above.
- (6) [9] Pope Leo to the presbyter Faustus. Not dated. Leo, *ep.* 72. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 5–6. Greek version is H (4) and B (6). See H (4) above.
- (7) [9] Pope Leo to Flavian, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 28. This is the Tome of Leo. The Greek text (M (11) above) was read at Chalcedon’s second session<sup>46</sup> and included in the Acts at II. 22. Translated here (from the Greek) at II. 22. Latin text in *Collectio Novariensis* 5, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 24–33.<sup>47</sup> English translations from the Latin original can be found, for example, in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 38–43 as Leo, *ep.* 28; Stevenson, *CCC*, 336–44. See our discussion at II. 22.
- (8) [9–11] Flavian to Pope Leo. Not dated; prior to June 449. Leo, *ep.* 26, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 36–8. Alternate Latin version in *Collectio Novariensis* 4 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 23–4). Greek version is H (5). See H (5) above.
- (9) [11] Pope Leo to Bishop Julian of Cos, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 35, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 48–50. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 6–8. Greek version is H (6) and B (7). See H (6) above.
- (10) [11] Pope Leo to Faustus, Martin, and the other archimandrites of Constantinople, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 32, trans. NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 46. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 11–12. Greek version is H (7) and B (8). See H (7) above.
- (11) [11] Pope Leo to the emperor Theodosius, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 29, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 43–4. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 9–10. Greek version is H (10) and B (9). See H (10) above.

<sup>46</sup> Session of 10 October 451, chronologically second but placed as third in the Greek Acts and in Schwartz’s edition.

<sup>47</sup> The second Latin edition (*versio antiqua correcta*) places the Tome here among the pre-conciliar documents, but the third (*versio rustici*) gives it within the actual Acts, at II. 22.

- (12) [11] Pope Leo to the empress Pulcheria, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 30. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 10–11. Greek version is H (11) and B (10).  
See H (11) above.
- (13) [12] Pope Leo to the Synod at Ephesus, 13 June 449. Leo, *ep.* 33, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 46–7. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 15–16. Greek version is H (8) and B (11).  
See H (8) above.
- (14) [12] Pope Leo to the emperor Theodosius, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 43, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 52–3. Latin text at *ACO* 2.4 pp. 26–7. Greek version is M (1) and B (12).  
Shorter version of L (15), Leo, *ep.* 44. See M (1) above.
- (15) [12] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to the emperor Theodosius, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 44, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 53–4. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 19–21. Greek version is M (12), H (9), B (13).  
Longer version of L (14), Leo, *ep.* 43. See M (12) above.
- (16) [12] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to Pulcheria, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 45, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 54–5. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 23–5. Greek version is H (12).  
See H (12) above.
- (17) [12] Deacon Hilary to Pulcheria. Not dated; autumn of 449. Leo, *ep.* 46. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 27–8. Greek version is H (13).  
See H (13) above.
- (18) [13] Galla Placidia to Pulcheria. Not dated, but probably 22 February 450. Greek version is H (14).  
See H (14) above.
- (19) [13–14] Emperor Valentinian III to the emperor Theodosius, 22 February 450. Leo, *ep.* 55. Greek version is M (2).  
See M (2) above.
- (20) [14–15] Empress Galla Placidia to the emperor Theodosius, 22 February 450. Leo, *ep.* 56, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 57–8. Greek version is M (3).  
See M (3) above.

- (21) [15] Licinia Eudoxia to the emperor Theodosius, 22 February 450. Leo, *ep.* 57. Greek version is M (4).  
See M (4) above.
- (22) [15–16] Theodosius II to the emperor Valentinian III. No date given; between March and July of 450. Greek version is M (5).  
See M (5) above.
- (23) [16] Theodosius II to Galla Placidia. No date given; between March and July of 450. Greek version is M (6).  
See M (6) above.
- (24) [16–17] Theodosius II to Licinia Eudoxia. No date given; between March and July of 450. Greek version is M (7).  
See M (7) above.
- (25) [17] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to the clergy and laity of Constantinople, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 50. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 21–2. Greek version is H (15).  
See H (15) above.
- (26) [17] Pope Leo and the Synod in Rome to Faustus, Martin, Peter and Manuel, presbyters and archimandrites of the monasteries in Constantinople, 13 October 449. Leo, *ep.* 51. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 25–6. Greek version is H (16).  
See H (16) above.
- (27) [17] Emperor Marcian to Pope Leo. No date given; soon after Marcian's accession on 26 August 450. Leo, *ep.* 73. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (1). Greek version is M (10).  
See M (10) above and DBC (1).
- (28) [18] Emperor Marcian to Pope Leo, 22 November 450. Leo, *ep.* 76. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (2). Greek version is M (8).  
See M (8) above and DBC (2).
- (29) [18–19] Empress Pulcheria to Pope Leo. 22 November 450. Leo, *ep.* 77. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (3). Greek version is M (9).  
See M (9) above and DBC (3).
- (30) [19–20] Emperor Marcian to all the bishops. Not dated, but probably 23 May 451. Cf. similar Greek version at M (13).

Marcian summons the bishops to a council to be held at Nicaea in September; largely identical to (31).

- (31) [20] Emperor Marcian to all the bishops. 23 May 451. Alternate Latin text (addressed to Anatolius of Constantinople) in *Collectio Vaticana* 1, *ACO* 2.2 p. 95. Greek version is M (13) and H (17). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (6).

See M (13) above and DBC (6).

- (32) [20–21] First Letter of Marcian to the Synod at Nicaea. Not dated; September 451. Translated here (from the Latin) as DBC (12). Not extant in Greek.

This is Marcian's first letter to the synod gathering in Nicaea. He informs them that military affairs are delaying his arrival at the synod, but urges them to be patient.

- (33) [21] Pulcheria to the governor of Bithynia. Not dated; early September 451. Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (13). Greek version is M (15) and H (18).

See M (15) above and DBC (13).

- (34) [22] Second Letter of Marcian to the Synod at Nicaea. No date given; September 451. Alternate Latin version in *Collectio Vaticana* 2 (*ACO* 2.2 p. 96) and L (34). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (14). Greek version is M (14) and H (19).

See M (14) above and DBC (14).

- (35) [22–3] Third Letter of Marcian to the Synod at Nicaea, 22 September 451. Alternate Latin version in *Collectio Vaticana* 3 (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 96–7). Translated here (from the Greek) as DBC (15). Greek version is M (16) and H (20).

See M (16) above and DBC (15).

## POST-CONCILIAR DOCUMENTS

### Documents at the end of the Greek Acts

Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. 469–95; cf. his remarks at *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xiii–xxii.

In the extant Greek Acts, these documents are confusingly numbered as *actiones* in the same sequence as the council's sessions.<sup>48</sup> Thus after the final 'Session XVII' (our Session XVI) we see the actions on Carosus and Dorotheus and on Photius and Eustathius counted as '18' and '19' respectively (even though chronologically they belong much earlier), and then the various post-conciliar documents as (20)–(31), the numbering given below. We will designate this collection as 'G'.

The first two documents, the Address to Marcian (20) and the council's letter to Leo (21), were composed immediately after the council and seem to have been attached to all versions of the conciliar Acts from the beginning.<sup>49</sup> They are followed by four imperial edicts enforcing various aspects of the council's decrees, and then a series of letters by Marcian and Pulcheria to various parties in Palestine and Egypt, describing further attempts to reconcile and persuade those who continued to oppose the council. Schwartz argues that this collection was assembled at the end of 454 or early in 455, since the latest letter in the series (28) dates from late 454 – while a similar document of August 455, which dealt with the same subject and would have seemed an obvious candidate for inclusion were it available, is left out.<sup>50</sup>

The common theme of the documents in this group – placed prominently at the end of the conciliar Acts – is the ongoing efforts of the council's leading bishops and of the imperial government both to enforce and to explain Chalcedon's Definition of Faith. These documents were probably gathered by editors working in Constantinople on behalf of Marcian and Anatolius, as part of the same initiative that produced the collections of Greek pre-conciliar documents in the initial version of M (1)–(11) and in B (1)–(14), and also the additional post-conciliar materials in B (15)–(22).

Numbers in [brackets] are pages in *ACO* 2.1.3.

<sup>48</sup> Not, of course, reflecting the original ordering: on the successive editorial transformations of the Greek Acts, see our General Introduction, vol. 1, 79–83.

<sup>49</sup> See our commentary on these at pp. 105–7 above.

<sup>50</sup> Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xxi–xxii, citing the law of 1 August 455 condemning 'Eutychians' in Alexandria, in *Collectio Vaticana* 15, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 116–17; trans. in Coleman-Norton *RSCC* 3, 852–8.

20. [469–75] Address of the council to Marcian. November 451. Translated here (from the Greek) as DAC (1). Latin version at *ACO* 2.3.3 pp. 553–61.

The purpose of this letter was to defend Leo and his Tome against any charge of unorthodoxy or innovation, arguing that new statements are sometimes necessary to answer new heresies. Attached is a florilegium of 16 brief patristic excerpts, selected to show that the Tome and council are consistent with the Fathers.

21. [475–7] Letter of the council to Pope Leo. November 451. Translated here (from the Greek) as DAC (2). Latin versions at *ACO* 2.3.2 pp. 352–4 (L III 109) and (with subscriptions) 355–60 (L III appendix).<sup>51</sup>

The council reports its decisions to Leo. The bishops thank Leo for his guidance; describe Dioscorus' trial and deposition; inform Leo of their canonical decision regarding the status of Constantinople.<sup>52</sup> Sixty-five bishops' signatures are attached to one of the two Latin versions.

22. [478–9] Second Edict of Marcian enforcing the council's decisions. 13 March 452. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (4). Latin text in *Collectio Vaticana* 9, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 115–16; cf. L III (105).

In an edict addressed to the praetorian prefect, Marcian reiterates his previous order (G (23) below) confirming Chalcedon's decisions and prohibiting disputation about religion.

23. [479–80] First Edict of Marcian confirming the council's decisions. 7 February 452. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (3). Latin text in *Collectio Vaticana* 8, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 113–14; cf. L III (104).

Confirms the decisions of the councils, orders that all contention should cease, prohibits public disputations about religion and prescribes penalties for those who disobey.

24. [480–81] Third Edict of Marcian confirming the council's decisions. 6 July 452. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (5). Latin text in *ACO* 2.3.2 pp. 348–9; L III (107).

51 Neither of these Latin versions preserves the original Latin of the letter that was sent to Pope Leo; they are, instead, translations from the Greek: see our note in Documents after the Council *ad loc.*

52 The twenty-eighth canon: see Session XVI.

Addressed to the praetorian prefect. After noting that Flavian's remains have been brought to Constantinople and that Chalcedon has affirmed his orthodoxy, Marcian orders that the edict<sup>53</sup> previously issued against him 'through deception' be revoked, and its provisions against Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Theodoret of Cyrhus likewise rescinded.

25. [481–3] Fourth Edict of Marcian confirming the council's decisions. 18 July 452. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (6). Latin text in *ACO* 2.3.2 pp. 349–52; L III (108).

Addressed to the praetorian prefect, urban prefect, and master of offices. Marcian invokes the council's condemnation of Eutyches, and decrees that his followers are to be punished with the usual legal disabilities imposed on heretics. Those who are composing writings against the council are to be punished.

26. [483–6] Letter of Marcian to the archimandrites in Jerusalem. Late 452 or 453. Trans. (from the Greek) in Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 835–40. Latin in *Collectio Sangermanensis* 2, *ACO* 2.5 pp. 4–7.

Marcian acknowledges receipt of the petition the monks had sent to Pulcheria. He rebukes them for not keeping a suitable monastic solitude, and for the bloodshed and disorder they have stirred up. He has heard that their followers captured Jerusalem, killed a deacon, burned houses; killed Severian, bishop of Scythopolis; and even attempted to kill Juvenal of Jerusalem.<sup>54</sup> They claim to anathematize Eutyches, but they associate with Theodosius the monk, who holds Eutyches' opinions. Out of clemency he has refrained from punishing them so far. They think 'two natures' is a novelty not found in the teachings of Nicaea, but these things are beyond their understanding. They oppose discussing 'nature' but they use the same term when they ask how Mary could have given birth to the divine nature. They slander the council, claiming falsely that it

53 Theodosius II's edict of autumn 449 confirming the decisions of Ephesus II, which survives in full in the Syriac Acts (*Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming, 151–5; trans. Perry, 364–70) and in an abbreviated Latin version, *ACO* 2.3.2 pp. 347–8, L III (106) below.

54 For the rebellion of Theodosius the monk, and events in Jerusalem, see generally Honigsmann 1950, 247–57; Steppa 2002, 1–11. In the eyes of the council's opponents, Juvenal had 'betrayed' the faith when he crossed the aisle in Chalcedon's first session, dramatically abandoning Dioscorus (I. 282–5) and when he signed on to Chalcedon's definition and decisions.



teaches ‘two sons’ – but Chalcedon’s faith is consistent with Nicaea, Ephesus I and Cyril. The emperor has not compelled anyone to subscribe, whereas the rebellious monks have used violence to compel many to agree with them and to anathematize Chalcedon and Leo. The monks have accused the Samaritans of violence against the churches, and Marcian has ordered Count Dorotheus to investigate. Monks should keep quiet in their monasteries and avoid unlawful assemblies. Juvenal has asked Marcian to write to the monks, and the emperor hopes for their repentance. He promises to make sure that their monasteries are not disturbed by soldiers.

27. [487–8] Letter of Pulcheria to the archimandrites in Jerusalem. Late 452 or 453, same date as (26) above. Trans. (from the Greek) in Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 842–4. Latin in *Collectio Sangermanensis* 3, *ACO* 2.5 pp. 7–8.

Pulcheria’s letter, addressed to the same Jerusalem archimandrites, is substantially identical in content to that sent by Marcian (G (26) above).

28. [488–9] Letter of Marcian to the monks of Alexandria, late 454. Translated here (from the Greek) as DAC (14). Latin version in *Collectio Sangermanensis* 1, *ACO* 2.5 pp. 3–4.<sup>55</sup>

Marcian rebukes the Alexandrian monks for their refusal to accept Chalcedon, which made no innovations, but followed the teachings of Alexandria’s bishops Athanasius, Theophilus and Cyril, when it condemned the heresies of both Eutyches and Nestorius. Previous letters and orders should have been sufficient to convince doubters, but if any remain let them be persuaded now or suffer penalties. The emperor is sending the decurion John, who attended the council, to affirm Chalcedon’s orthodoxy.

29. [490–91] Imperial letter to bishop Macarius and the monks of Sinai. Late 453. Trans. (from Greek) in Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 830–34. Not extant in Latin.

Marcian informs the Sinai monastery of the misdeeds of the monk Theodosius, the follower of Eutyches, who charged falsely that Chalcedon taught ‘two sons’, seized Jerusalem and its bishopric though Juvenal was still alive, and incited much violence. Theo-

<sup>55</sup> The Greek text of this letter is original; the Latin version is a later translation from Greek. See our note in Documents after the Council *ad loc.*

dosius then deposed bishops throughout Palestine and ordained his own followers in their place. Severian of Scythopolis was murdered, and Juvenal nearly so. When the emperor moved to restore order, Theodosius fled to Sinai where he now hides in the monastery. The monks are urged to hand him over to the *magister militum*. Marcian closes by affirming the orthodoxy of Chalcedon, in language echoing the council's Definition.

30. [492–3] Letter of Marcian to the synod<sup>56</sup> in Palestine. Late 453. Trans. (from Greek) in Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 3, 845–9. Not extant in Latin.

Marcian informs the bishops of the letter he sent to Macarius in Sinai (G (29) above) and repeats that letter's contents. He asks them to make sure the monk Theodosius does not try to return to Jerusalem. He reiterates Chalcedon's orthodoxy and asks the bishops to pray for him.

31. [494–5] Letter of Pulcheria to Bassa, head of a monastery in Jerusalem. Late 453. Trans. (from Greek) in Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 840–42. Not extant in Latin.

Pulcheria reminds Bassa of the misdeeds of Theodosius. Jerusalem has now rejected him, sought forgiveness and accepted the council. She must respond to Theodosius' calumnies against Chalcedon, lest simple devout women be deceived, and thus writes to explain the council's doctrinal position in language drawn from the Definition. She asks for Bassa's prayers.

### Letter Collection B (Greek)

Text in Schwartz *ACO* 2.1.2 pp. 241–61. Cf. Schwartz's discussion at *ACO* 2.1.2 pp. ix–xii on this group specifically; and generally on the post-conciliar documents at *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xiii–xxii.

<sup>56</sup> A gathering of local bishops called by Juvenal after he had regained control of Jerusalem in July 453 following the suppression of Theodosius.

<sup>57</sup> Note that the Greek Acts reverse the order of the second and third sessions, so that its second session is our Session III (the trial of Dioscorus, 13 October 451) and its third is our Session II (reading and acclamation of Leo's Tome, 10 October 451). This was done so as to divide the sessions into three thematic groupings: first, review of Ephesus II and trial of Dioscorus; second, matters of faith; third, all other business. See our discussion in vol. 1, 81 and vol. 2, 1–2.

The B group is inserted by Schwartz between the second and third sessions<sup>57</sup> in the Greek Acts, following immediately after the trial of Dioscorus and the associated documents appended to that session, as per its placement in codex B. The first 13 texts in Collection B, all pre-conciliar, appear in both codices B and M; the final pre-conciliar letter (14) and the post-conciliar letters (15)–(22) appear only in codex B. We discuss the post-conciliar documents here.<sup>58</sup>

Nearly all of the documents in this collection, both pre- and post-conciliar, involve correspondence between Leo in Rome and various parties in Constantinople. The post-conciliar letters illustrate the disagreements between Leo and Anatolius over the twenty-eighth canon, and the increasingly urgent requests by Marcian for Leo to make clear his endorsement of Chalcedon. As Schwartz argues, this collection is probably the work of the same compilers – representing the interests of Marcian and Anatolius – who in the years immediately after the council assembled the documents placed at the end of the Acts (G, above) as well as the first part (1–11) of the pre-conciliar Collection M. The latest document in this set (22) is dated to September 454, suggesting for Collection B a date of compilation (late 454 or early 455) similar to those postulated for G and the first part of M.<sup>59</sup>

The selection of letters given here demonstrates two pressing concerns on the part of the Constantinopolitan editors. First, the ongoing dispute with Leo over the twenty-eighth canon necessitated elaborate efforts to explain and justify Constantinople's claims to ecclesiastical primacy. Disagreement on this issue, along with Leo's inability to obtain a full account in Latin of the council's proceedings,<sup>60</sup> meant that only after an unusual delay of well over a year did the pope issue a formal endorsement (cf. (21) below) of the council. Leo's long silence, as Marcian complained (cf. (19) below), emboldened the council's opponents and led many to question his position. Thus the second purpose of this collection was to show, contrary to any doubts, that Leo did in fact approve Chalcedon's Definition of Faith. Leo's letter to Juvenal of Jerusalem (22) seems to stand out from the rest of the

58 The 14 pre-conciliar documents in B are discussed above.

59 The latest document in G (28) is likewise dated to late 454; while the editorial headings to the letters in M can be dated between late 453 and early 455 by their reference to some of the imperials (e.g., Pulcheria, d. July 453) but not others (Valentinian III, d. March 455) as 'of blessed memory', i.e., deceased: see Schwartz, *ACO* 2.1.1 p. xii.

60 Cf. Leo's complaint in his letter to Julian of Cos of 11 March 453 (Leo, *ep.* 113, trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 82–3; Latin in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 65–7). Neither Leo nor his staff in Rome could read Greek with any ease.

sequence, but its presence here likewise serves the general end of invoking the pope's authority to answer misconceptions and doubts about Chalcedon.

The placement of the B letters between the sessions, rather than at the end of the Acts, may reflect the desire of the compilers to reserve the final and most prominent place for those documents (Collection G, above) that dealt more directly with matters of faith. They may also have wished to keep all of the Rome–Constantinople correspondence in one place, and the pre-conciliar documents in B, dealing with Flavian, Eutyches and the Second Council of Ephesus, would have followed naturally after the session on Dioscorus.

All of the documents in this set, as with any correspondence to or from Leo and other westerners, would originally have been in Latin, and most of these Greek versions<sup>61</sup> reflect Latin originals that can be found among Leo's collected letters.<sup>62</sup> But (except for B (20) = L III (110)) none of these letters was included in the Latin Acts, on which see below.

Numbers in (parentheses) are Schwartz's ordering of the letters; numbers in [brackets] are pages in *ACO* 2.1.2.

- (15) [248–50] Bishop Anatolius of Constantinople to Pope Leo. Not dated; December 451. Leo, *ep.* 101. Translated here (from the Greek) as DAC (8). Not extant in Latin.

Anatolius writes to Leo to inform him of the council's decisions. This letter would have accompanied Marcian's, (16) below. Leo's own representatives will carry the proceedings of the council back to him. Anatolius awaits and hopes for Leo's endorsement of the council. He spends the greater part of the letter justifying the twenty-eighth canon, arguing from the third canon of Constantinople 381, which had designated the city 'New Rome'. He complains that the pope's representatives had engaged in unjustified, disruptive protests.

- (16) [251–2] Emperor Marcian to Pope Leo. 18 December 451. Leo, *ep.* 100. Latin text in Schwartz *ACO* 2.4 pp. 167–8. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (7).

The emperor writes to Leo to inform him of the council's decisions and to request his prayers. Marcian asks Leo to approve the twenty-eighth canon despite his representatives' objections.

61 Except for B (15), Anatolius' letter to Leo, for which a Latin original does not seem to have survived.

62 Leo's letters are edited by Schwartz in *ACO* 2.4.

- (17) [252–4] Pope Leo to Bishop Anatolius. 22 May 452. Leo, *ep.* 106. Latin text in Schwartz *ACO* 2.4 pp. 59–62. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (10).

Leo replies to Anatolius' letter (cf. (15) above) and congratulates him on his support for orthodoxy but criticizes the dubious circumstances of his ordination. Anatolius hijacked the council's agenda with his arrogant 'ambition' to subject other bishops to his authority through the twenty-eighth canon, a 'transgression' against church order that violates the Nicene canons. Leo does not recognize the canon from Constantinople 381, and insists that the ecclesiastical dignities of Alexandria and Antioch not be diminished.

- (18) [254–6] Pope Leo to Emperor Marcian. 22 May 452. Leo, *ep.* 104. Latin in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 55–7. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (9).

Leo replies to Marcian's letter (cf. (16) above). He celebrates the success of the council but complains about the disturbance to the church caused by Anatolius' ambition. Constantinople's status as an imperial city need not dictate an equivalent ecclesiastical dignity, and the privileges of the church as outlined at Nicaea should not be subject to innovation. He asks Marcian to restrain Anatolius and to reject the new canon.

- (19) [257] Emperor Marcian to Pope Leo. 15 February 453. Leo, *ep.* 110. This letter survives only in Greek; the Latin version in PL 54, 1017–20 is a modern translation from the Greek. Translated here (from the Greek) as DAC (11).

Marcian expresses surprise that Leo has not responded to the council with an official endorsement that can be read in the churches; this has led to uncertainty about Leo's position. He asks Leo to settle all doubts with a formal confirmation.

- (20) [257–8] Pope Leo to the Synod at Chalcedon. 21 March 453. Leo, *ep.* 114. Latin in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 70–71; cf. L III (110) below. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (13).

Leo addresses the 'council', more than a year after its adjournment, to affirm his endorsement of its decisions. His position should have been made clear by his earlier letter to Anatolius (22 May 452, (17) above) but it was apparently suppressed. Leo writes now to all the bishops who attended the council, at Marcian's

request, to remove all doubt about his agreement on the faith. But he again refuses to accept the twenty-eighth canon.

- (21) [258–9] Pope Leo to Emperor Marcian. 21 March 453. Leo, *ep.* 115. Latin in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 67–8. Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (12).

Leo responds to Marcian's request (cf. (19) above) by offering a full endorsement of Chalcedon, even though his earlier letter to Anatolius would have been sufficient if it had not been suppressed. He informs Marcian that he is sending bishop Julian of Cos to represent him, and asks the emperor to order the circulation of his statement to all the churches.

- (22) [259–61] Pope Leo to Juvenal of Jerusalem. 4 September 454. Leo, *ep.* 139. Latin in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 91–3. Trans. in NPNF 2nd ser. vol. 12, 97–8.

Leo rejoices to hear that Juvenal has regained his bishopric (after the suppression of Theodosius' rebellion in Jerusalem) but chides Juvenal for his earlier support of Eutyches and complicity in the condemnation of Flavian. In Jerusalem, of all places, a Christian has no excuse for error in the faith. He refers Juvenal to his Tome and encourages him to correct those who have incorrect beliefs about the incarnation.

### Documents in the Latin Acts

Text in *ACO* 2.3.2 pp. 346–60. Cf. Schwartz's discussion at *ACO* 2.1.3 pp. xviii–xxii.

In Schwartz's edition of the Latin Acts, all but one of the post-conciliar documents appear at the conclusion of Session III, the trial of Dioscorus: the session ends with paragraph no. 103, and the post-conciliar documents are numbered as (104)–(110), following the arrangement of the third and final Latin edition by Rusticus. Schwartz then adds an appendix giving a variant version of (109), with signatures. The Address to Marcian, however, is placed at the end of the Acts, following Session XVI.

Of the numerous post-conciliar documents attached to the Greek Acts, the first Latin version (*versio antiqua*, composed c.547–53) included only the Address to Marcian and the council's letter to Leo (109), with episcopal signatures; this version of (109) is given here by Schwartz as an appendix to the section.<sup>63</sup> Both of these texts were composed immediately after the

council and seem to have been attached to all versions of the Greek Acts from the beginning.

The second Latin edition (*versio antiqua correcta*, c.553–63) dropped the letter to Leo, perhaps embarrassed by its unseemly emphasis on the jurisdictional disputes between Rome and Constantinople. Rather than dwell on these issues, the Latin editor preferred to end the Acts solely with the Address to Marcian, finding its emphasis on the faith and its strongly dyophysite florilegium to be most relevant to the context of the ongoing Three Chapters controversy.

Rusticus, the final editor (564–5), retained these two key documents (omitting, however, the signatures from the letter to Leo) and then drew more extensively from the Greek post-conciliar collections. He included the four imperial edicts enforcing Chalcedon (G (22)–(25), rearranged into correct chronological order) as well as Leo’s letter endorsing the council, B (20). Leo’s letter, in the Greek Acts, had already been placed after the session on Dioscorus, and Rusticus moved the rest of his documents to the same location, leaving – as did the previous Latin versions – only the Address to Marcian for the end of the Acts. He excluded the correspondence of Marcian and Pulcheria regarding events in Egypt and Palestine (G (26)–(31) above), probably regarding these matters as being of little relevance to sixth-century concerns; B (22), Leo’s letter to Juvenal, was omitted presumably for the same reason. Rusticus also left out the other letters in Greek Collection B, (15)–(19) and (21), which detailed the disagreements between Rome and Constantinople over the twenty-eighth canon and which called attention to Leo’s unseemly delay in approving the council.

The whole selection is titled ‘Laws of Marcian of blessed memory, which blessed Pope Leo confirmed in his letters’ and each document is prefaced by a descriptive heading. Rusticus’ headings imply, misleadingly, that Leo approved all of Chalcedon’s decisions – when in fact Leo formally endorsed only the Definition of Faith, explicitly rejected the twenty-eighth canon, and did not specifically address its other measures.<sup>64</sup> The current Three Chapters controversy, and the heavy pressure brought by Justinian against Pope Vigilius, made it all the more important for supporters of the western position to emphasize the unity and agreement at Chalcedon between

63 On the three editorial stages of the Latin Acts, see Schwartz’s commentary at *ACO* 2.3.1 pp. vi–xiii; 2.3.2 pp. v–vii; 2.3.3 pp. v–xxiii; and our discussion in the General Introduction, vol. 1, 83–5.

64 Cf. headings on (104) and (110); see our commentary on pp. 108–10 above.

Rome and Constantinople on matters of faith, rather than to dwell upon their differences over jurisdiction. These concerns are reflected also in Rusticus' addition of a document (106) not found in any of the Greek collections, the law issued by Theodosius II confirming the decrees of the Second Council of Ephesus and its condemnations of Flavian and other bishops. Rusticus adds a comment (106a) arguing that the subsequent law of Marcian (107), which rehabilitated those condemned at Ephesus, should be understood specifically to vindicate Ibas – author of one of the Three Chapters now under attack by Justinian – even though it does not mention him by name.

Numbers in [brackets] are pages in *ACO* 2.3.2.

104. [346–7] Imperial edict prohibiting religious disputation in Constantinople. 7 February 452. Latin text in *Collectio Vaticana* 8, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 113–14. Greek version is G (23). Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (3).

See G (23) above and DAC (3).

105. [347] Another edict to the Constantinopolitans. 13 March 452. Latin text in *Collectio Vaticana* 9, *ACO* 2.2 pp. 115–16. Greek version is G (22). Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (4).

See G (22) above and DAC (4).

106. [347–8] Short version ('interpretation') of the law of Theodosius II confirming the Second Council of Ephesus, late 449. Greek version in Mansi vol. 9 pp. 250–51. Trans. in Coleman-Norton, *RSCC* 2, 763–5.<sup>65</sup>

Rusticus introduces the law with a note that the late emperor issued it 'when seduced by Chrysaphius', and that it was abolished by the following law (107) of Marcian.

The law recalls the earlier condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus I, and enforces the more recent condemnations of 'Nestorians' at Ephesus II – they are to be called 'Simonians'<sup>66</sup> rather than Christians, and subject to penalties. But recently Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum have followed Nestorius in stirring up division within the church. Therefore the Second Council of Ephesus has convened to preserve the faith of Nicaea,

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the longer version of the law preserved in the Syriac Acts of Ephesus II, in the form of a letter addressed to Dioscorus, instructing him to compose a circular letter to be signed by all the bishops: *Syriac Acts*, ed. Flemming 151–5; trans. Perry, 364–70.

<sup>66</sup> After Simon Magus.



and has justly condemned Flavian and Eusebius and also Domnus, Theodoret and other bishops for their adherence to the same heresy. Theodosius endorses the council's decrees, and orders that all bishops, led by their metropolitans, must subscribe to the faith of Nicaea and report their agreement back to the emperor in writing. Any bishops tainted by the heresy of Flavian and Eusebius are to be deposed, and no innovation made upon the Nicene faith. Writings of Nestorius and Theodoret,<sup>67</sup> along with those of the pagan Porphyry,<sup>68</sup> are to be burned; no assemblies of their followers are permitted, on pain of confiscation and exile. Anyone who possesses such writings, even if they are disguised under another author's name, shall suffer the same penalties.

106a. [348] Comment (by Rusticus) on the preceding law of Theodosius.

This law was right in its condemnation of Nestorius but wrong in its attacks against the orthodox. It is given here to demonstrate that the following law of Marcian (107) is to be understood as vindicating Ibas in its general provisions even though he is not mentioned by name, since the Theodosian law that condemned him likewise did not name him specifically.

107. [348–9] Imperial law on rehabilitation of Flavian and confirmation of Chalcedon. 6 July 452. Greek version is G (24). Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (5).

See G (24) above and DAC (5).

108. [349–52] Imperial law confirming Chalcedon. 18 July 452. Greek version is G (25). Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (6).

See G (25) above and DAC (6).

109. [352–4] Letter of the council to Pope Leo. November 451. Greek version is G (21). Translated here (from the Greek)<sup>69</sup> as DAC (2). Given here by Rusticus without the signatures.

See G (21) above and DAC (2).

<sup>67</sup> Some versions of the law also list Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia among the authors proscribed here.

<sup>68</sup> Porphyry: the third-century Neoplatonist philosopher, whose notorious anti-Christian writings were regularly condemned by Christian emperors from Constantine onward.

110. [354–5] Pope Leo to the council fathers, 21 March 453. Leo, *ep.* 114. Latin text in *ACO* 2.4 pp. 70–71. Greek version is B (20). Translated here (from the Latin) as DAC (13).  
See B (20) above and DAC (13) .

Appendix. [355–60] Alternate version of (109), Letter of the council to Leo, with subscriptions of 65 bishops, as given in the first Latin edition, *versio antiqua*.<sup>70</sup> Subscriptions translated here along with DAC (2).

At the end of the Latin Acts, following Session XVI, in all three versions:

The council's Address to Marcian, with Florilegium. November 451. Greek version at G (20). Translated here (from the Greek) as DAC (1). Latin text at *ACO* 2.3.3 pp. 553–61.

<sup>69</sup> Bishops' signatures, lacking from the Greek, are supplied from the second Latin version (*ACO* 2.3.2 pp. 355–60).

<sup>70</sup> In the *versio antiqua* this appears after the Address to Marcian, at the end of the Acts: cf. *ACO* 2.3.2 p. 352, note at 109.

## APPENDIX 2: ATTENDANCE AND ECUMENICITY

### ATTENDANCE AT THE COUNCIL

Sources after the council tend to give 600 or 630 as the number of bishops attending; the figure of 600 was already given by a bishop in the fourth session (IV. 53) and is clearly symbolic – twice the attendance at Nicaea (the ‘318 holy fathers’).<sup>1</sup> A slightly lower figure of 500 comes in the letter of the council fathers to Pope Leo, while Marcian’s Fourth Edict confirming the council’s decrees gives 520.<sup>2</sup> Most historians still repeat these figures, but what support do they receive from the lists of bishops in the conciliar Acts?

The fullest list of bishops provided is the list of signatories to the Definition, which all the bishops (save the Egyptian contingent) were required to sign.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the version of this list in the Acts (VI. 9), which gives 457 bishops or their representatives,<sup>4</sup> there also survives another version, with the names in a different order, in an eastern canonical collection that comes down to us in a Latin translation by the early sixth-century writer Dionysius Exiguus and also in Syriac. This second version is less complete, but enables us to add 28 new names to the 457.<sup>5</sup> Further supplementation is possible from the attendance list of the first session, which lists 20 Egyptian bishops (I. 3.140–58, plus Dioscorus, 3.5) who are absent from

1 The figure of 600 is modest compared with that of 1,200 with which one of the bishops tried to intimidate the Egyptian contingent (IV. 50). The symbolic 636, exactly double the Nicene tally, appears in the generation after the council in Timothy Aelurus (Schwartz 1927, 205).

2 Documents after the Council 2 and 6. Leo himself in his letter to the Gallic bishops of 27 January 452 refers to ‘almost six hundred’ bishops (*ACO* 2.4 p. 53. 31).

3 See our commentary on Session VI, vol. 2, 207.

4 There are 452 numbered entries in Schwartz’s edition, but to them should be added (following emendations by Honigmann, 1942–3) 390a, 396a, 397a, 425a and 426a, all in the block lists of additional names provided by the metropolitans.

5 We include Dionysius’ list (*ACO* 2.2 pp. 157–69) in our translation, placing it immediately after VI. 9 as ‘VI. 9D’. The 28 new names are those we asterisk.

the lists of signatories of the Definition (and from all the other attendance lists) for the simple reason that they took no part in the work of the council after the first session.<sup>6</sup> These additions bring the total up to 505, which may seem to confirm the figure of around 500 given in the contemporary documents cited above. From this magnificent total we have immediately, however, to deduct 114 absent bishops whose names were provided in block lists by their metropolitans (VI. 9.342–450). Removing these, the total is reduced to a more credible 391.<sup>7</sup> Can we refine this figure further?

We need first to ask what counts as a unit of attendance. We would not nowadays count a bishop who attended both on his own account and on behalf of a colleague as constituting two attendances; where, however, the representative was a lower-ranking clergyman, we would be inclined to include him. This distinction may seem an alien imposition, since there is no hint of it in the sources for the council (which seem unconcerned about double counting), and there are borderline cases where, according to the Acts, a bishop was represented sometimes by another bishop and at other times by a lower-ranking clergyman.<sup>8</sup> But we may reasonably set as our goal a calculation of how many bishops were either present in person or individually represented – that is, by members of their own clergy and not by bishops of other dioceses present in their own right. We are asking a simple factual question: how many council members were there, whether bishops or episcopal representatives?

If this is the question posed, the total of 391 needs some pruning:

(1) VI. 9 contains one straight doublet (10 and 59) and 11 effective doublets where the signature of a bishop who did not attend the council was provided by a bishop who did and who signed separately on his own account (or a second time on behalf of another absent bishop): 30/305, 37/142, 20/99, 35/177, 208/209, 219/227, 300/303, 301/302, 301/304, 326/328 and 340/341.

6 There are no grounds for scepticism over the list of Egyptian suffragans: all save two (Isaias of Hermopolis Minor and Theodulus of Tesila) feature elsewhere in the minutes, either as deserters of Dioscorus during the first session (I. 293–6) or as petitioners at the fourth (IV. 25).

7 Honigmann (1942–3) attempts to demonstrate that the figure of 520 council fathers was genuine – not, however, through the inclusion of the 114 absent bishops but through a system of double counting, where bishops who attended both on their own account and as the representatives of absent bishops were counted twice.

8 One example is Paul of Cantanus, who is represented by Euphratas of Eleutherna at I. 3.321, IV. 1.283 and VI. 1.301, but by the presbyter Chrysogonus at II. 1.284 and VI. 9.315.

(2) The new names in Dionysius' list contain two metropolitans. Glycon of Caesarea (Palestine I) is said explicitly to have been represented by another bishop (116) and therefore should not be counted. One may presume the same of Severianus of Scythopolis, since it would be surprising if a metropolitan personally present went unmentioned in the Acts.

(3) A particular question-mark is raised by Peter of Byblus (9D.73) and Heraclitus of Arca (9D.76), who were recently deposed bishops, soon to be reinstated (see our XVI. 9.110–13n.). Peter is recorded as signing 'through Photius [of Tyre]': the presumption must be that neither of them was personally present or individually represented, unlike their rivals Rufinus of Byblus and Antiochus of Arca. Likewise, the presence of Paul of Aradus and Antaradus at the council makes it unlikely that his rival Alexander was either present or individually represented, even if some ally added his name to the lists of signatories of both the Definition (9D.77) and the condemnation of Dioscorus. The entry 'Marianus of Gaza' at 9D.133 is particularly problematic, since Natiras was the bishop of Gaza (see our note *ad loc.*), and is therefore best excluded.

These points of detail bring our 391 figure down to 373. There remains, however, one further ground for uncertainty. The list in Dionysius Exiguus frequently lists as if personally present bishops who, as we know from VI. 9, were in fact represented by fellow bishops; this happens at 36, ?144, 199, 244, 256, 266, 268, 341, 347, 349 and 350, quite apart from the many cases, which do not affect our present calculation, where a lower-ranking cleric should have been named. We therefore cannot be confident that all the additional names in the list (quite apart from those we have already eliminated) were of bishops who were either present or individually represented. (It is also true that we cannot be wholly confident of all the bishops listed as signing in person in VI. 9, but at least that list was compiled with care.) If this consideration suggests that the figure of 373 may be too high, it is counterbalanced, however, by the fact that, all our lists being incomplete, it is possible that there were some bishops who attended the council but appear in none of them.

In all, we must admit that an exact calculation of the number of council members cannot be made; complicated patterns of representation frustrate precision either conceptual or mathematical, and our lists of attendees and signatories are less reliable than one would wish. But if a particular figure is to be produced, from the calculation we have made there results a figure for the number of bishops and episcopal representatives, in other words,

members of the council with voting rights, of around 370.<sup>9</sup> Though significantly less than 520, let alone 636, it is an impressive enough figure: it is not greatly short of half the total number of bishops in the eastern provinces,<sup>10</sup> and was unequalled at any other early council.<sup>11</sup>

### THE ATTENDANCE LISTS

What was the relation between the lists we have referred to, and between them and the attendance lists that prefix the minutes of most of the sessions of the council?<sup>12</sup> Because the list at VI. 9 and Dionysius' are differently arranged and were produced for different purposes (the first in relation to the production of the Acts and the second for a canonical collection) and because each of them contains a fair number of names omitted by the other, Schwartz was confident that they were compiled independently. Against this Ernest Honigmann pointed out that 'we often find series of names, varying in length, arranged in exactly the same order in both lists', from which he argued that both lists derive from a common source; he accordingly conflated the two lists, to produce the supposedly original list of signatories to the Definition.<sup>13</sup> However, if VI. 9, which was carefully compiled (it is, for example, much more accurate in recording representatives than Dionysius' list), was based directly on a complete list, the omissions are hard to account for.<sup>14</sup> Since it is plausible to suppose that the two lists were produced by government notaries at the same time (the immediate aftermath of the council), it would be surprising if they were completely independent, and the common features observed by Honigmann find their explanation

9 Cf. Camelot 1962, 120, who offers a figure of '350 or 360'. The resultant figure for the number of signatories of the Definition, once we deduct the Egyptian contingent, is around 350.

10 Jones, *LRE*, 713 gives a figure of around 900 cities in the eastern provinces, of which the vast majority will have been episcopal sees. Of the around 370 council members only 10 (three Roman delegates, four refugees from the west, two bishops of the Saracens, and one from Ethiopia) did not represent eastern cities.

11 Contrast the 197 signatories to the session of Ephesus I of 22 July (I. 945) and the 140 signatories to the first session of Ephesus II (I. 1067). The actual number of bishops at Nicaea 'probably fell between 250 and 300' (Hanson 1988, 156).

12 The essential study is Schwartz 1937.

13 Honigmann 1942–3, 47–8, arguing against Schwartz 1937, 51–7. Honigmann's article contains much valuable prosopographical analysis, even if his main thesis is questionable.

14 Honigmann attempts an explanation of particular omissions as relating to problematic entries or attributable to a similar adjacent name, but these explanations only account for a few of the omissions.

here; but the simple hypothesis that both derive immediately from a single common source is not convincing.

The starting point in Schwartz's investigation was the relation of the signatories list of VI. 9 not to Dionysius' list (VI. 9D) but to the long attendance lists in the minutes of four of the sessions – I. 3, II. 1, IV. 1 and VI. 1. These lists are strikingly similar to each other and to VI. 9: these all present what is essentially the same list of names (apart from omissions in the attendance lists) in almost the same order. Schwartz concluded that they all derive from a single composite list, which he calls the 'Einheitsliste', drawn up immediately after the council but not preserved.<sup>15</sup> The fact that this list included the 20 Egyptian bishops shows that it was a list not of signatories of the Definition but of bishops who attended one or more sessions of the council. VI. 9 derives from it, in Schwartz's view, in the selection and order of names, while also drawing on the original list of signatories (doubtless for the wording of their statements); the attendance lists all derive from it, though with variations that at least in part show knowledge of the original lists of the individual sessions.

Schwartz's hypothesis seems unnecessarily complicated in some respects and does not make full use of the data he sets out so clearly in tabular form.<sup>16</sup> I shall here advance a simpler hypothesis, which will draw attention to some further aspects of the problem and has at least a chance of being the correct solution. First, there is no reason to suppose that his 'Einheitsliste' ever existed. Instead, the facts can be accommodated by the hypothesis that (a) VI. 9 derives directly from the original signatures, the wording of which it reproduces, (b) this, in an original shorter form and supplemented by an independent list of Egyptian bishops, was the source for the attendance list of the first session (I. 3), and (c) the latter, and not VI. 9 directly, was the source of the attendance lists of Sessions II, IV and VI.

That the attendance lists of I, II, IV and VI are particularly closely related and do not derive independently from VI. 9 is clear from a whole series of indications:<sup>17</sup>

(1) All these four attendance lists show no knowledge of the entries in VI. 9 after §338, which suggests dependence on an earlier and shorter form of VI. 9. They also uniformly omit Manasses of Theodosiopolis in Armenia Magna (VI. 9.296) and John of Bargylia (VI. 9.297).

15 Schwartz 1937, esp. 41–4.

16 Schwartz 1937, 15–18 and 21–41, usefully sets out these lists in parallel columns.

17 For the references, where not given, see the Index of Names.

(2) A whole series of doublets in VI. 9, where a bishop representing another bishop is listed additionally on his own (VI. 9. 59, 142, 164, 209, 227, 299, 305 and 337), are omitted in each of the attendance lists under discussion.<sup>18</sup>

(3) The list of Egyptian bishops is given complete at I. 3.140–58; the first name in the list is Hieracis of Aphnaeum, following Noah of Cephas (Mesopotamia). This Egyptian list was omitted in II, IV and VI for the obvious reason that the Egyptian bishops did not attend these sessions (save for their appearance in the course of the fourth session, IV. 20–60); yet in each of them (at II. 1.124a, IV. 1.125a and VI. 1.139a) Noah's entry is followed by the name 'Hieracis' (without a see). Clearly these three lists were based on a copy of a list that included the Egyptians, presumably I. 3: these names were crossed out, but the very first personal name was accidentally left intact and so reappears, anomalously, in the other lists.

It is manifest that the four attendance lists under discussion derive from a version of VI. 9 that ended at §338 (omitting the block lists of absent bishops provided by their metropolitans and a few other entries). The trace of the Egyptian list in the attendance lists of II, IV and VI points clearly to their deriving from the attendance list of I (I. 3). It is, then, the latter list alone that derives directly from VI. 9.

There happen to be three bishops who occur in all these attendance lists but are absent from VI. 9 – Gaius of Syedra, John of the Saracens (Parembole) and Zosimus of Menois. The simplest way to account for these omissions from VI. 9 is to suppose that these names accidentally dropped out of VI. 9 after it had been used for the compilation of the attendance lists. Apart from these names it is striking that there are no names in these attendance lists that do not occur in VI. 9. The significance of this is revealed by comparison with the list of signatories of the Definition in Dionysius Exiguus (VI. 9D in our edition), which has, as noted above, 28 names absent from VI. 9 (including, as it happens, the three names just noted). Of the other attendance lists those of Sessions VII, VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XV and XVI list only 57 names (with minor variations), largely metropolitans, manifestly deriving (directly or indirectly) from the first group of entries in VI. 9.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> It may also be noted that at least half a dozen entries come in one place in VI. 9 and in a different place in the four attendance lists (e.g., Aelianus of Selinus, Aurelius of Hadrumetum and Docimasius of Maronea). But this could be due to alterations in VI. 9 after it was used for the compilation of the attendance lists, and so is not solid evidence in favour of our argument.

<sup>19</sup> This may be clearly seen from the tables in Schwartz 1937, 15–18.



There remains one long attendance list that is wholly independent of all the other lists, that of Session III, which (albeit incomplete and of a poorly attended session) includes 10 names that are absent from the shorter form of VI. 9 and the attendance lists closely related to it (III. 2. 11, 67, 71, 103, 123, 140, 146, 158, 169 and 202).<sup>20</sup> Since it is most unlikely that these bishops attended only Session III, this confirms that the other attendance lists are dependent on VI. 9 rather than on the original lists made out at each session, which must surely have included them.

If the long attendance lists of Sessions I, II, IV and VI derive (directly or indirectly) from VI. 9, does that mean that, apart from the Egyptian list incorporated in I. 3, they had no other source? There are variations between these lists, and it might appear that the simplest way to account for them is to suppose that each list was checked against the authentic list for that session. But if this had been done, some of the names that come in an attendance list only at III. 2, and more than three of the names omitted in VI. 9 but included in Dionysius' list, would surely have made their appearance.<sup>21</sup> The most natural hypothesis is that the lists were not checked against the authentic attendance lists, and that the variations between them are due either to careless compilation or, in some cases, to intelligent deduction from the minutes. The reluctance of the editors of the Acts to have recourse to the original attendance lists may surprise us, but we may imagine that, in view of the exceptional size of the council and the complications over representation, the lists were unsatisfactory and it was felt preferable to base the published attendance lists on a well-edited list of signatories.

We should not exaggerate the degree of variation. Although all the attendance lists have many fewer entries than VI. 9 the difference is substantially diminished once we omit the latter part of VI. 9, from §339 (consisting of the lists of absent bishops and a few other later entries), which finds no echo in the attendance lists, and once we take into account the fact that VI. 9 has a number of double entries (where a bishop represented and his representative are listed separately) that become a single entry in the attendance lists. We then find that there are only four further omissions (detailed below) in the attendance list of Session I, and that there are the

<sup>20</sup> For further comment on III. 2, see vol. 2, 35–7.

<sup>21</sup> A particularly clear example is Pamprepius of Titiopolis, who comes in Dionysius' list (VI. 9D.61) and whose attendance at the earlier sessions of the council is known from other evidence (see note *ad loc.*). Yet his name, being absent from VI. 9, occurs in none of the attendance lists.

same number of omissions in the list for Session VI; the attendance lists of Sessions II and IV have more omissions, which will be discussed below. Let us now proceed through the lists to test the adequacy of the explanation proposed here for the variations between them.

We shall begin with the attendance list for the first session (I. 3). Apart from its addition of the Egyptian sees, which may have derived from a special list and not from the original attendance list, it is very largely identical to VI. 9.1–338, but omits the following sees: Bargyia (Caria), Cyrrhus (Euphratensis), Gaza (Palestine I) and Theodosiopolis (Armenia Magna). The omission of Cyrrhus is certainly correct, as we know from I. 26–36 (where the decision was taken that Theodoret should not sit as a full member of the council); the compiler could have made the same deduction as we do and need not have seen an authentic attendance list. Schwartz notes the accuracy of naming a representative for Vigilantius of Larissa (Thessaly), since we know from I. 297 that Vigilantius was detained by illness; but here again, the compiler is probably, like ourselves, making a deduction from the minutes. And not surprisingly he missed a trick or two: Meliphthongus of Juliopolis signed the condemnation of Dioscorus with the words, ‘I arrived at the eleventh hour for the deposition of Dioscorus’ (III. 96.235), and yet he is included in the attendance lists of the first two sessions. The remaining three omissions we have noted could all be accidental.

The attendance lists for Sessions II and IV are almost identical to each other and repeat the same omissions that we have noted for Session I – apart from Cyrrhus, where the need to add Theodoret’s name was obvious from I. 26–45, II. 26 and IV. 9.41. They also omit not only the Egyptian bishops but also the five non-Egyptian bishops suspended at the end of the first session (I. 1068) and not restored until the fourth; this again could be a deduction from the minutes and does not imply access to authentic attendance lists. These two lists share, however, a further 12 omissions. Most of these have no particular rhyme or reason, but five may be significant. Antiochus of Arca and Rufinus of Byblus in Phoenice Prima are omitted: these were contested appointments by Eustathius of Berytus, and it is understandable that in Eustathius’ absence they preferred not to attend. Likewise, the omission of three Isaurian suffragans (of Antioch in Lamotis, Diocaesarea and Germanicopolis) may well be connected to the absence from these sessions of their suspended metropolitan Basil of Seleucia. These omissions seem rather too intelligent to be mere guesswork and suggest access to genuine attendance lists. But again, one is puzzled by the excessive closeness to I. 3 and VI. 9: none of the additional names provided at III. 2 is included, and

one would have expected the absence of five suspended metropolitans to produce many more absences, just as it did at Session III.<sup>22</sup>

Can the variations in the attendance list of VI be satisfactorily accounted for on our hypothesis? It is identical in content to the list for Session I save for the omission of Cyriacus of Trocnades and Gaius of Syedra (which could well be mere slips) and the inclusion of Theodoret of Cyrrihus (again no proof of a perusal of the original attendance list) and of Natiras of Gaza (VI. 1.76). The inclusion of Natiras (who appears at VI. 9.76 but in no other attendance list) is striking, and suggests perusal of an attendance list (or merely of VI. 9), but again, as we have argued in relation to the lists for Sessions II and IV, if the original attendance lists had been properly compared this would have produced many more additions.

In all, a detailed analysis of the variations within the attendance lists of Sessions I, II, IV and VI does not upset the deduction we made above that the list of Session I (I. 3) derives directly from VI. 9 while the other lists derive from I. 3. The cases where there appears to be some genuine knowledge attributable to an inspection of the original attendance lists for the individual sessions are too few to weaken our previous argument that, in the main, the variations in these lists are due either to intelligent deduction from the minutes or to mere accident.<sup>23</sup> Apart from Session III, where uniquely an authentic attendance list (albeit an incomplete one) was reproduced, the attendance lists are dependent on VI. 9, and very little use was made of the original attendance lists; in consequence the lists were incomplete. It follows that the attendance lists given in the Acts are wholly unreliable as records of the precise attendance at particular sessions.

It also follows that our computation above of total attendance at the council, based largely on the lists of signatories of the Definition, cannot be confirmed from the attendance lists. But equally it is not undermined by them: if the attendance lists were trustworthy, the fact that the fullest of them (I. 3) lists only 343 out of the around 370 bishops who attended the council (according to our computation) would create a problem. As it is, our figure of around 370 is left holding the field.

<sup>22</sup> For an analysis of absences from Session III, see vol. 2, 36.

<sup>23</sup> We do not attempt to analyze or explain the occasional variation over the identity of the representative of an absent bishop, for example Paul of Cantanus, who is represented by the presbyter Chrysogonus in VI. 9 and II. 1 but by Euphratas of Eleutherna in I. 3, IV. 1 and VI. 1.

### ECUMENICITY

In all, despite the element of fabrication in the attendance lists, it is possible to compile a register of the bishops who attended the council. What does it reveal about the ecumenicity of the meeting?

It is to be noted that the only bishops invited to the council, apart from Pope Leo, were the bishops of the eastern provinces; Marcian's first letter to the pope revealing his plans for a council in the east (Documents before the Council 2) is explicit that the bishops invited would be those of 'the east, Thrace and Illyricum'. The only western bishops who attended, apart from the representatives of the pope, were Valerian of Bassianae (Pannonia) and three African bishops, Aurelius of Hadrumetum, Aurelius of Puppit, and Restitianus (see unknown). Valerian was apparently resident at Constantinople, since he took part in the Home Synod of 448. The two Aurelii were both present in Constantinople in 448–9; one of them and also Restitianus signed the letter from the council fathers supporting Canon 28 on the privileges of the see of Constantinople (Documents after the Council 2.46–7) and thereby opposed the pope: this evidence strongly suggests that all three were refugees from Vandal Africa, permanently resident in the east, and more beholden to their eastern hosts than to their brethren in the west.<sup>24</sup> In all, western representation at the council, apart from papal representation, was in effect non-existent.

How could Chalcedon, as emphatically an eastern council, claim to be 'ecumenical' or universal? Apart from the repeated use of the word 'ecumenical' in the council's self-description, note how Marcian refers in his letter to Pope Leo of 18 December 451 (Documents after the Council 7) to 'the agreement of priests throughout the world' and in his Fourth Edict confirming the council (Documents after the Council 6) to 'bishops from almost the whole world'. The answer does not lie in the presence of Roman delegates as representing the churches of the west, since they claimed to represent the pope as the first of all the bishops and not as merely the patriarch of the western churches.<sup>25</sup> Nor were papal participation and confirmation viewed as crucial, since Marcian and the eastern bishops had

<sup>24</sup> It is conceivable that the two Aurelii were in fact the same person; see Names Index. Note also the presence at the council of one eastern bishop from outside the empire – Sabinus of Aduli in Ethiopia, who formed part of the Egyptian contingent.

<sup>25</sup> At the very beginning of the council Paschasinus pointedly referred to Pope Leo as 'the most blessed and apostolic bishop of the city of Rome, the head of all the churches' (I. 5).

no doubt of the authority of Canon 28 despite Rome's opposition.<sup>26</sup> What in the eastern view made the council ecumenical, and its decrees of universal validity, was the fact that it was an imperial council, with representatives from all the churches under Marcian's authority, and whose decrees were confirmed by imperial decree. The fact that Marcian ruled only the eastern provinces was in theory irrelevant, since he and Valentinian III were formally co-emperors of a single state.<sup>27</sup> The universality of the council depended on the claim of the emperor at Constantinople to be God's viceroy on earth, whose limited authority in practice was the result of human disobedience and not the divine will. In later Roman Catholicism the great medieval councils in the west came to be styled 'ecumenical' despite the lack of eastern participation because of the approval of their decrees by the popes; in the east it was the emperors who played a similar role.<sup>28</sup>

26 Likewise, Theodosius II and the bishops of Ephesus II had no doubt of the authority of their decrees despite Rome's rejection of them. That Marcian sought papal confirmation of the decrees of Chalcedon (Documents after the Council 7, 11) does not mean that he regarded their authority as incomplete without it.

27 Note how Marcian, according to standard procedure, issued his edicts in the name of himself and his western colleague Valentinian III. Although the laws of each emperor were promulgated only in that part of the empire that was directly under his authority, they were technically valid throughout the empire; see Jones, *LRE*, 472–3.

28 See Chadwick 2003, 73–4.

## GLOSSARY

**Alexandrian Christology** The theological tradition, whose great exponents were Athanasius (d. 373) and Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), which stressed both the full divinity of Christ and the fullness of the union between Godhead and manhood in Christ, such that all the experiences of Christ are to be attributed to the divine Word as the ultimate subject of attribution. See ‘Theopaschite’ below.

**Anathema** To be anathematized, or declared anathema, was to be condemned for heresy, implying degradation from any clerical rank and major excommunication (that is, exclusion from church membership as well as from communion).

**Antiochene Christology** This was developed in its classic form by Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and then popularized by Nestorius (d. 450/1) and Theodoret of Cyrhus (d. c.466). It argued that the two natures in Christ – Godhead and manhood – are united not on the level of substance (which would imply their alteration) but on the level of relationship and representation. Christ, though two in his inner constitution, is one in his relations with others, in that, in the eyes of both God the Father and his human worshippers, his manhood shares the glory and dignity of the eternal Word to which it is conjoined. The Antiochenes were reserved in their use of *communicatio idiomatum* (q.v.), and hostile to theopaschite (q.v.) expressions, since they could suggest that in the union the two natures are changed and lose their distinctive properties.

**Apocrisarius** The representative of an ecclesiastical office-holder in dealing with higher authorities, particularly the permanent representative of a patriarch or metropolitan at the court of Constantinople.

**Apollinarian(ism)** The heresy, associated with the fourth-century Bishop Apollinarius of Laodicea, which denied that Christ had a rational human soul.

**Archdeacon** The senior deacon (q.v.) of a diocese, acting as the bishop’s chief deputy and assistant, with a role like that of a vicar general in the Catholic Church today.

- Archimandrite** The *hegoumenos* or superior of a monastery. See IV. 64 for a tendency for the title to be usurped by monks living independently in establishments that were not real monasteries.
- Blessed** Often used to mean ‘deceased’ (cf. the expression ‘of blessed memory’).
- Canon** A church rule, generally issued by a council. At Chalcedon reference was repeatedly made to a collection of canons with consecutive numbering, consisting of those of Nicaea and of a number of fourth-century local councils (see above, 94, n. 6).
- Canonical** Decreed, or formally approved, by a council. Canons were obviously ‘canonical’, but so, for example, were the two letters of Cyril (I. 240, 246) specially associated with the Council of Ephesus of 431.
- Chorepiscopus** An auxiliary bishop, serving a rural district as the delegate of the bishop of the city.
- Christology** Doctrine about Christ. The word appears to have been coined by the Lutheran divine Friedrich Balduin (1535–1627) in his *Commentary on Romans*, 1611.
- Comitatus** Originally the military retinue of the emperor, the word came to be used of the central government generally, with special reference to those holding the rank of count [*comes*] (q.v.).
- Communicatio idiomatum** The ‘sharing of attributes/characteristics’ between the two natures of Christ, e.g., the ascription of Christ’s experiences in the flesh to God the Word and conversely the ascription to Christ the man of the functions of the eternal Son. This does not mean that the two natures were thought to be assimilated to each other: it was a mode of speaking intended to bring out how, even though the two natures remain radically different, they are united and make up the one Christ.
- Consistory** The ‘cabinet’ made up of the chief ministers of state and other dignitaries that advised the emperor and provided the official setting for the issuing of imperial laws. At Chalcedon the secretaries of the consistory, Constantine and Veronicianus, produced and read out documents and sometimes acted as interpreters for the Roman delegates.
- Consubstantial** The Greek word (ὁμοούσιος) can also be translated ‘of the same essence’. A major concern of Chalcedon was to secure Christ’s ‘dual consubstantiality’ (denied by Eutychianism, q.v.), according to which he is both consubstantial with the Father in his Godhead and consubstantial with all human beings in his manhood.
- Count (comes)** A rank held by those holding high office in the imperial service.

**Deacon** The third clerical rank, after bishop and presbyter (q.v.). Though their liturgical functions were restricted, deacons could serve as the principal assistants of their bishops, sometimes called ‘archdeacons’ (q.v.).

**Definition** The chief work of the council was the production of a doctrinal ‘definition’ (V. 30–4), for which the word ὄρος (*horos*), or forms of the related verb ὀρίζω, were consistently used.

**Diocese** A term used in the Acts not in its modern sense of the territory of an episcopal see but in the sense of a group of secular provinces. The eastern dioceses were Dacia, Macedonia, Thrace, Asiana, Pontica, Oriens and Egypt.

**Diptychs** Lists of names of the living and the dead read out at the Eucharist. The removal of names of living bishops was the standard way of breaking off communion with them.

**Dispensation** This translates οἰκονομία (‘economy’), meaning the dispensation (or divine plan) of salvation, concretely the Incarnation.

**Domestici** The *domestici* referred to in the Acts were a corps of elite guardsmen, partly at court and partly taking extended leave. See Jones, *LRE*, 636–40.

**Dyophysite** ‘Two-nature’, of the Christology that ascribes two natures (divinity and humanity, or Godhead and manhood) to Christ. This involves a continuing duality in Christ. Although it is the one Christ who possesses both divine and human attributes, the two sets are not commingled or confused: the Godhead, for example, remains impassible (q.v.), while the manhood remains fleshly and subject to change. The term was applied equally to the ‘moderate Cyrillianism’ of Chalcedon (see our General Introduction, vol. 1, 62–5) and to Christologies where the two elements take on a greater independence from each other and the danger of Nestorianism (q.v.) arises.

**Ecumenical** When used of a council the term meant empire-wide, or general, as contrasted to local. As applied by the Council of Chalcedon to itself, it had the additional notes of Nicene (q.v.), orthodox, and supremely authoritative. See our discussion at pp. 202–3 above.

**Eutychianism** The heresy attributed (unfairly) to the archimandrite Eutyches and condemned at Chalcedon which denied that Christ shared our humanity and by attributing the human sufferings directly to his Godhead made the latter passible (changeable and vulnerable).

**Exceptores** Junior clerks, strictly shorthand writers, in various government offices, often used at Chalcedon to read out documents. See Teitler 1985.



- Fathers** The term ‘the fathers’ in the Acts is used in two senses: (1) the bishops attending the council; and (2) those earlier churchmen who had a special place in the church’s tradition as the champions and expounders (in a few cases the anticipators) of the Nicene faith (q.v.). This is to be distinguished from the modern use of ‘the Fathers’ to refer to all the (more or less orthodox) theologians of the early church.
- Florilegium** The Latin equivalent of the Greek-derived ‘anthology’. By the fifth century it was standard to support a theological position by wielding a florilegium of excerpts from the Fathers (q.v.) or, alternatively, a florilegium of heretical excerpts from one’s opponents. See Indices C (3) for a list of the florilegia contained in the Acts of Chalcedon.
- Foederati** Tribesmen living on the frontiers as allies and clients of the empire. Those referred to in the Acts as ‘Saracen *foederati*’ resided in Palestine I at ‘Parembole’ (= the camp).
- Formula of Reunion** A Christological statement composed by the Antiochenes (q.v.) and accepted by Cyril of Alexandria in early 433. As contained in Cyril’s Letter to John of Antioch (I. 246), it came to be seen as a Cyrillian text, and as such formed the basis of the crucial final section of the Chalcedonian Definition (V. 34).
- Home Synod** (σύννοδος ἐνδημοῦσα) A council that met when required at Constantinople, chaired by the bishop of Constantinople, and attended by whatever bishops happened to be in the capital at the time; the conventional translation ‘home synod’ is less accurate than ‘visiting synod’. For its origin and function see Hefele-Leclerq, II.1, 519–21n. See also ‘synod’.
- Homoousion** ‘The homoousion’ is the statement in the Nicene Creed (q.v.) that the Son is ‘consubstantial (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father’. The meaning is that the eternal Son (or God the Word) possesses the divine attributes just as fully as the Father and in union with him.
- Hypostasis** The term was first used in the Christological debate to refer to a generic nature as individualized through the addition of personal characteristics (e.g., Godhead as particularized in God the Word by the addition of the note of Sonship); in this sense Christ is ‘from’ two hypostases, being compounded of the Second Person of the Trinity and the human individual Jesus of Nazareth. Chalcedon’s ‘one hypostasis’ formula extended the meaning of the word to make it applicable to a being that unites two different natures. The use of the word ‘hypostasis’ expressed that we are dealing with oneness of inner being and not merely with a relationship of union between two distinct entities; the term ‘person’ (q.v.) was vaguer.

**Illyrian, Illyricum** The ‘Illyrian’ bishops who feature as a group at Chalcedon are those of the Prefecture of Illyricum. All of them came from the diocese (q.v.) of Macedonia, that is, from Greece.

**Impassible** Incapable of suffering or (more broadly) of being changed or affected by other realities. This was regarded as a key attribute of divinity. It rendered problematic – paradoxical according to the Alexandrians (q.v.) and heretical according to the Antiochenes (q.v.) – the ascription of the suffering on the cross to God the Word.

**Impiety** Used to mean ‘heresy’, as the antonym of ‘piety’ (q.v.).

**Islands, The** The name of the province made up of most of the Aegean islands.

**Lector** Alternatively translated ‘reader’, this was the junior clerical rank, held by those appointed to read the scriptures in church.

**Libellus** A Latin word taken over into Greek usage, meaning a document, and used particularly of a plaint, accusation or petition. (In the Acts we most often translate it as ‘plaint’.)

**Magister militum, magister utriusque militiae** The commander of one of the five field armies in the east. One of them was the *magister praesentalis* Anatolius, based at Constantinople and therefore able to chair the council.

**Martyrium** A martyr’s shrine, or simply a church or chapel commemorating a martyr. The Council of Chalcedon was held in the martyrium of St Euphemia.

**Master of the offices (*magister officiorum*)** He had control over a number of government departments, and among civilian officials ranked after only the praetorian prefect of the east and the prefect of the city of Constantinople. See Jones, *LRE*, 368–9, 575–84.

**Metropolitan** Metropolitan bishops were the bishops of cities that were provincial capitals (known as *metropoleis*). According to Canons 4 and 5 of Nicaea, the metropolitan had to confirm all episcopal elections in his province and to chair the provincial synod that was supposed to meet twice a year. Some subordinate sees were granted the title of metropolitan sees in a purely honorary capacity, e.g., Berytus (see Session on Photius and Eustathius), Nicaea (Session XIII) and Chalcedon (VI. 21).

**miaphysite** ‘One-nature’, the antonym of dyophysite. The term is a recent coinage, intended to replace ‘monophysite’, which is pejorative and unacceptable to those so designated. miaphysite Christology, which is still the doctrine of the Oriental Orthodox churches (that include the Copts and the Armenians), rejects the Chalcedonian formula of two

natures in Christ, and insists that he is one nature, in the sense of a single being, albeit possessing both divine and human attributes. miaphysite and dyophysite views sometimes differ merely in terminology; but the tendency is for dyophysites to attribute to Christ's human nature a degree of spontaneity or even autonomy that miaphysites would deny.

**Monophysite** See 'miaphysite'.

**Nature** 'Nature' in the context of fifth-century Christology most frequently meant a concrete instantiation of an essence and as such was synonymous with 'hypostasis' (q.v.): the two natures united in Christ were not Godhead and manhood *in globo* but specifically the Second Person of the Trinity and Jesus of Nazareth. In the Chalcedonian Definition, however, the 'two natures' appear to be sets of attributes rather than distinct existents (see vol. 1, 69–70). 'Nature' in a miaphysite (q.v.) context is applied to a single being possessing the attributes of two very different essences. From the sixth century Byzantine Christology redefined the two natures as in themselves generic, though individualized by instantiation in God the Word.

**Nestorian(ism)** The word (already in use by the time of Chalcedon, though '[the impiety] of Nestorius' was the commoner expression) refers to the heresy that separates the two natures of Christ, Godhead and manhood, into two distinct individuals, two distinguishable 'Sons of God', associated with each other in harmony of will and communication of grace but not united ontologically. Though Nestorius was condemned for this heresy, it is questionable whether it can fairly be attributed to him and certain that it does not represent the belief of the Church of the East (or Church of Persia, or Assyrian Church) that came to be called Nestorian because of its refusal to accept his condemnation. See also 'Antiochene Christology'.

**Nicaea/Nicene** The Nicene Creed (I. 914, II. 11) issued by the Council of Nicaea (325) was regarded as the fundamental expression of Christian dogma. The reference in the Acts is always to the original form of the creed and not to the revised version issued by, or at least connected with, the Council of Constantinople of 381, which later ousted the original version and took over its name. From around 380 'orthodoxy' meant fidelity to Nicaea, and all later formularies or statements of dogma claimed to be faithful expositions of the Nicene faith.

**Notaries** Two different kinds of notary feature in the Acts: (1) ecclesiastical notaries, generally deacons, acting as confidential secretaries and assistants of bishops; and (2) senior civil servants, forming the secretariat of

the consistory (q.v.) and often entrusted with responsible tasks and missions. See Teitler 1985.

**Patrician** An honorary title conferred permanently on the most senior officers of state.

**Periodeutes** A priest entrusted with visiting and supervising country districts, with much the same functions as a *chorepiscopus*, q.v.

**Person** ‘Person’ (πρόσωπον) was the favourite Antiochene (q.v.) expression for the unity in Christ, since it refers to role and relationships rather than to inner ontological structure; it lacked the modern sense of a single, conscious subject. Unfortunately the term was very loose in meaning: in an anonymous fourth-century sermon (PG 43, 461B) Adam and Christ, as indwelling in Adam, are said to constitute ‘a single and indivisible πρόσωπον’. Chalcedon therefore found it inadequate to express the unity in Christ, and added to ‘one person’ the less ambiguous expression ‘one hypostasis’ (q.v.).

**Piety** This is the standard translation of the Greek εὐσέβεια, constantly used in the Acts not for ‘piety’ in the modern sense but for doctrinal orthodoxy. It was correct doctrine (‘orthodoxy’) rather than correct behaviour (‘orthopraxy’) that became in the late antique church the main boast of the church and its most confident claim to divine favour.

**Pope** An honorary title that, as today, was given to the bishop of Rome and sometimes to the bishop of Alexandria (as at IV. 9.44). Applied to the former, it did not have the force it developed later, but was still understood to relate to his primacy of honour.

**Praepositus cubiculi** Generally a eunuch, he was the majordomo of the emperor’s domestic establishment.

**Praetorian prefect** The praetorian prefect of the east was the emperor’s chief civilian minister, while the praetorian prefect of Illyricum merely supervised the administration of the poorest group of eastern provinces.

**Presbyter** The second clerical rank, intermediate between bishop and deacon (q.v.). In the pre-Nicene period the prime role of the presbyters was to form the council that advised the bishop. With the multiplication of churches after Constantine, the presbyter became the celebrant of the liturgy in non-cathedral churches.

**Priest** The word derives from ‘presbyter’ (q.v.), but is used as the translation of ἱερεὺς or *sacerdos*, a term applied in the first place to bishops, and to presbyters as their representatives, with reference primarily to their liturgical role.

**Primicerius** The ‘first’ in a group of civil or ecclesiastical functionaries, in

the Acts usually of notaries. At Session VI of the council, attended by the emperor and the chief officers of state, the *primicerius* of the notaries ranked tenth among the latter (VI. 2.10).

**Privata (res privata)** The department in charge of all state property, headed by the ‘count of the divine *privata*’.

**Proconsul** A title held by a number of provincial governors, such as the governor of the province of Asia.

**Quaestor of the sacred palace** The chief legal minister, who drafted imperial laws and rescripts.

**Referendary** The referendaries were notaries who acted as the emperor’s judicial clerks and messengers (Jones, *LRE*, 575).

**Sacra** One of the words for an imperial rescript or instruction.

**Silentiary** An imperial usher, who kept guard at the doors during important state meetings, but could also be entrusted with various special missions.

**Suffragans** Bishops of non-metropolitan sees, who were consecrated by their metropolitan and met regularly with him at provincial synods.

**Syncellus** The right-hand man of a patriarch, akin to a modern vicar-general in a major diocese.

**Synod** A church council. Note that the distinction in English between ‘council’ and ‘synod’ (the latter term being reserved for local councils) does not exist in Greek, where *σύνοδος* is used for both. We use the term ‘council’ save in the case of the ‘home synods’ (q.v.) at Constantinople.

**Synodical** This adjective (*συνοδικός*) is applied in the Acts to letters sent by, or approved as orthodox by, a synod or council. In our translation we generally use the word ‘conciliar’.

**Theopaschite** The word means ‘attributing suffering to God’, a particular form of *communicatio idiomatum* (q.v.). Pre-Nicene Christians had found it natural to use theopaschite expressions, since Christ is God and Christ suffered. But in the post-Nicene climate of an affirmation of Christ’s total and unqualified divinity they became problematic. Cyril of Alexandria championed them, since only if the one who suffered is God is the suffering salvific; at the same time he insisted that God the Word suffered only in the human nature he had assumed and not in his divine nature.

**Theotokos** A traditional title of the Virgin Mary, meaning ‘God-bearer’ and normally translated into English (as into Latin) as ‘Mother of God’. Nestorius criticized it for confusing the manhood (created in Mary’s womb) with the divine Word (born of the Father and not of Mary). But even his Syrian allies thought it acceptable as a form of *communicatio idiomatum* (q.v.).

**Three Chapters** The emperor Justinian in 543 and then the Council of Constantinople of 553 issued a condemnation of three items (the ‘Three Chapters’): the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; the writings of Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria; and the purported letter of Ibas to Mari the Persian. Note the usage by which ‘the Three Chapters’ meant the persons or writings condemned at the council and not their condemnation; the ‘defenders’ of the Chapters were therefore the supporters not of the condemnation but of the persons and writings condemned.

**Tome of Leo** The Tome of Leo was a Christological manifesto in the form of a letter (dated 13 June 449) to Flavian of Constantinople. It confirmed the condemnation of Eutyches at the Home Synod (q.v.) of November 448. The bishops at Chalcedon accepted it as confirming, against Eutychianism (q.v.), the distinction between Godhead and manhood in Christ and his sharing in our human nature.

**Tribune** A rank held by various government officers, including notaries.

**Twelve Chapters** Cyril of Alexandria’s ‘Twelve Chapters’ (or ‘Twelve Anathemas’) were appended to his Third Letter to Nestorius (of November 430). They summed up Cyril’s Christology in a series of anathematizations that treated it as revealed truth that no one had a right to dissent from. They were ignored at Chalcedon, although, as the Council of Constantinople of 553 demonstrated, they could be reconciled with the Definition.

**150 fathers, The** The standard expression in the Acts to refer to the bishops of the Council of Constantinople (381), a local council that Chalcedon elevated to ecumenical (q.v.) status. Though possibly accurate, it had symbolic significance as half that of the 318 holy fathers (q.v.), signifying that the council simply completed the work of its predecessor and did not claim independent authority.

**318 fathers, The** The standard expression to refer to the bishops of the Council of Nicaea (325). The figure does not represent the actual number of bishops who attended (under 300; see Hanson 1988, 155–6), but was inspired by the 318 servants of Abraham at Gen. 14:14 (see Aubineau 1966).

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## **MAPS**



Map 1: Dioceses and Provinces

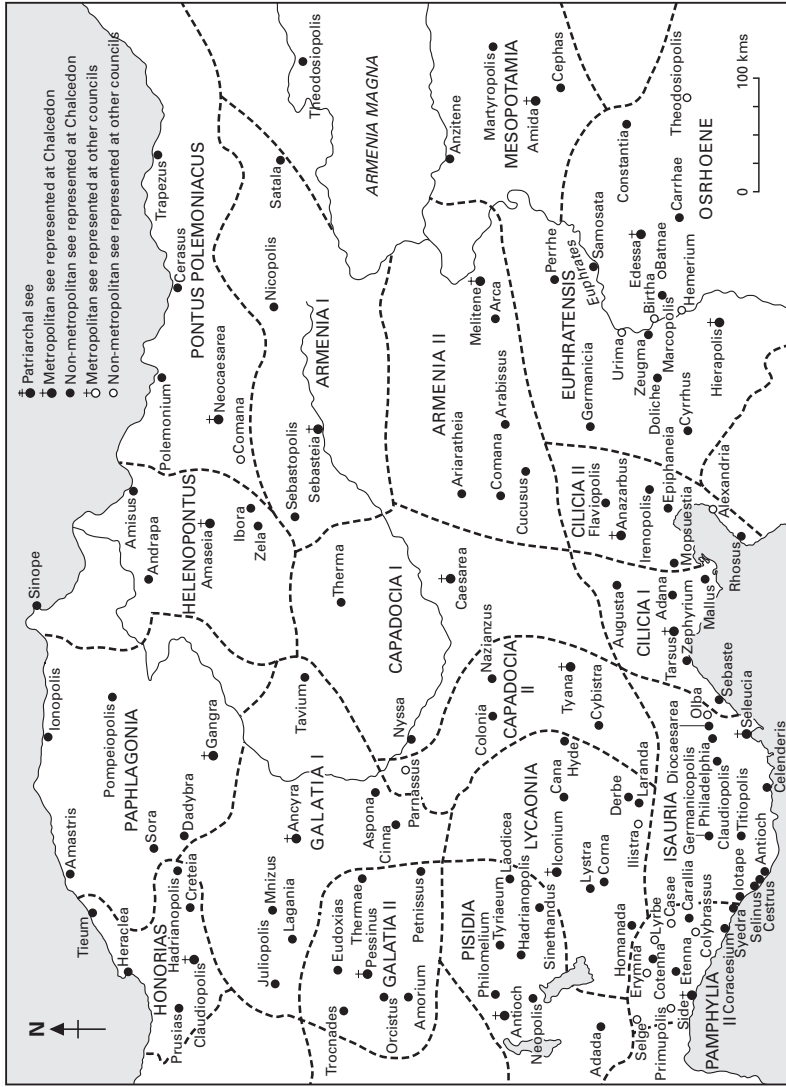


Map 2: The Balkans









Map 4: Eastern Asia Minor

Map 5: Syria, Palestine, Cyprus





# INDICES

## (A) PERSONAL NAMES

### (1) Bishops, clerics and monks

Abbreviations of sets of proceedings:<sup>1</sup>

E431	First Council of Ephesus, 431
A445	Council of Antioch, 445
A448	Council of Antioch, Eastertide 448
C448	Home Synod of Constantinople, November 448
TB449	Council of Tyre-Berytus, February 449
C449	Hearings at Constantinople, April 449
E449	Second Council of Ephesus, August 449
DBC	Documents before the Council (450–51)
Ch	Chalcedon, 451
DAC	Documents after the Council (451–4)

Abbreviations of unnumbered sessions at Chalcedon:

CD	Session on Carosus and Dorotheus (20 October)
D	Session on Domnus of Antioch (27 October)
PE	Session on Photius and Eustathius (20 October)

Italicized entries are references to the person in a speech or document, or to the author of a document not present when it was read out.

Unless otherwise stated, those listed are bishops. All bishops mentioned in the Acts are included, save those who occur solely in the lists of absentees whose names were supplied en bloc by their metropolitans in order to boost the number of signatories of the Definition (VI. 9. 342–450) and of Canon 28 (XVI. 9. 183–5). Lower-ranking clergy who are mentioned only once, or twice in lists, are generally omitted.

The attendance lists for bishops and their representatives (or lack of such lists) fall into three main categories.<sup>2</sup> The lists for Sessions I, II, IV and VI are closely

<sup>1</sup> For the details of the inclusion of minutes from previous councils in the first session of Chalcedon, see our introduction to that session.

<sup>2</sup> See our analysis of the attendance lists and their limited reliability in Appendix 2: Attendance and Ecumenicity, esp. pp. 196–201.

related and derive from the list of signatories of the Definition at VI. 9. Secondly, a short list of (generally) 57 names, consisting of 53 metropolitans, three Syrian bishops of special status (Gerontius of Seleucia, the representative of Macarius of Laodicea, and Theoctistus of Beroea) and Eusebius of Dorylaeum (the principal accuser of both Eutyches and Dioscorus) prefixes (with only minute variations) the Sessions PE, VII, VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XV and XVI. Thirdly, Sessions CD, X and XII are not provided with attendance lists, while that of D contains only six names. These lists did not derive directly from authentic records for each session and have to be used with great caution. Where the representative of a bishop is named in some lists but not in others, incompleteness in the lists is generally a more probable explanation than supposing that the bishop sometimes attended in person and at others sent a representative and that this fact was known to, and scrupulously recorded by, the editors of the Acts;<sup>3</sup> accordingly we sometimes list under a representative an entry where the representative is not himself named. Intriguingly independent are the lists (of attenders and signatories) of Session III, which raise special problems, which we discuss in our commentary on that session (vol. 2, pp. 35–7).

Note that III. 97G is the Greek list of signatories of Dioscorus' condemnation, followed in our translation by the Latin version (III. 97L). VI. 9D is Dionysius Exiguus' version of the list of signatories of the Definition, which we have inserted in our text immediately after the list of signatories given in the Acts (VI. 9).

Abercius of Hieropolis (Phrygia Salutaris)

Ch: I. 3.283; II. 1.245; III. 97G.127, 97L.109; IV. 1.245, 9.144; VI. 1.263, 9.269, 9D.322; XVI. 9.132.

Ablabius of Amorium (Galatia II)

E431: I. 945.54.

Abraham of Ostracine (Augustamnica I)

E431: I. 911.140, 945.156.

Abramius of Circesium (Osrhoene)

Ch: I. 3.137; II. 1.121; III. 2.181, 96.184, 97G.87, 97L.122 (= 300); IV. 1.122, 9.31; VI. 1.137, 9.139, 9D.104; XVI. 9.32.

Abramius, presbyter and archimandrite of Eutyches' monastery, Constantinople

C448: I. 407–18, 427.

Abramius, presbyter of Hebdomon, Constantinople

C448: I. 381–92, 552.38.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

Acacius of Antioch in Lamotis (Isauria)

Ch: I. 3.90; III. 97G.210, 97L.235; VI. 1.90, 9.92, 9D.62 (through Papas the deacon).

3 A probable exception is Vigilantius of Larissa, recorded as represented by Constantine of Demetrias at the first four sessions but then listed as personally present. We know that he was ill at the opening of the council (I. 297); we may presume that he recovered in time to attend the later sessions and sign the Definition.

Acacius of Ariaratheia (Armenia II)

C449: I. 555.10, 558.20.

E449: representing Constantine of Melitene I. 78.31, 884.24, 1067.24.

Ch: I. 3.175, 134; II. 1.138; III. 2.51, 15, 19, 22, 96.126, 97G.45, 97L.59; IV. 1.140, 9.43, 29, 45; VI. 1.156, 9.157, 9D.181; DAC 2.18.

Acacius of Cinna (Galatia I)

Ch: I. 3.166; II. 1.130; III. 97G.236, 97L.297; IV. 1.131; VI. 1.147, 9.148, 9D.160.

Acacius of Cotenna (Pamphylia II)

E431: I. 911.99, 945.53.

Acacius of Melitene (metropolis of Armenia II)

E431: I. 911.7, 945.14.

Acholius of Laranda (Lycaonia)

Ch: I. 3.295; II. 1.257; III. 2.137, 96.41, 97G.158, 97L.71 (= 202); IV. 1.257, 9.137; VI. 1.275, 9.281, 9D.286; XVI. 9.123.

Adelphius of Onuphris (Aegyptus)

E431: I. 911.112, 945.155.

Adelphius of Sais (Aegyptus)

E431: I. 911.116, 945.158.

Adelphius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Adolius of Arabissus (Armenia II)

Ch: I. 3.177; II. 1.140; IV. 1.142; VI. 1.158, 9.159, 9D.182n.

Adelus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Messalinus of Laodicea (Pisidia)

Ch: I. 3.306; II. 1.268; III. 2.152n., 96.58n., 97L.219n.; IV. 1.268; VI. 1.286, 9.292.

Adolius of Arabissus (Armenia II)

Ch: represented by Adelphius, *chorepiscopus*, q.v.

Aeanus of Sycamazon (Palestine I)

E431: I. 911.33, 945.89.

Aedesius of Isinda (Pamphylia I)

E431: I. 945.90.

Aelianus of Selinus (Isauria)

Ch: I. 3.92; II. 1.75; III. 97G.213, 97L.169; IV. 1.76; VI. 1.92. Signed for by Paul the subdeacon VI. 9.91, 9D.64.

Aetherichus of Smyrna (Asia)

C448: I. 308, 552.8.

E449: I. 78.82, 309–21, 884.69, 1025, 1067.99.

Ch: I. 3.195, 323, 325, 327; II. 1.157; III. 2.73, 96.112, 97G.91, 97L.92; IV. 1.159; VI. 1.175, 9.178 (signed for by Paul the deacon), 9D.217; DAC 2.27.

Aetherius of Pompeiopolis (Paphlagonia)

Ch: represented by Epiphanius, presbyter, q.v.

Aetherius, archdeacon, signing for Theodore of Gadara (Palestine II)

E431: I. 945.184.

Aetius of Pionia (Hellespontus)

E431: I. 945.106.

- Aetius, deacon and notary (448–9), archdeacon of Constantinople (451)  
 C448: I. 395, 420, 476.  
 C449: I. 576–827 (*passim*).  
 Ch: I. 66, 87, 90; II. 13–25; CD 2, 7, 8; III. 3–9, 15, 26, 28, 32, 38, 43, 68, 74;  
 IV. 71, 73, 89, 98–102; V. 29; VI. 6, 7; XI. 59; XIII. 37; XVI. 6, 13, 16.
- Agathocles of Coronea (Achaea)  
 E431: I. 911.46, 945.88.
- Agorastus, *syncellus* of Dioscorus of Alexandria  
 Ch: III. 47, 51, 64.
- Alcimedea of Silandus (Lydia)  
 Ch: I. 3.233; II. 1.195; III. 2.194, 96.156, 97G.180, 97L.132; IV. 1.197; VI.  
 1.213, 9.217, 9D.247; XVI. 9.175.
- Alexander of Antaradus (Phoenice I), see VI. 9D.77n.  
 Ch: III. 97G.242, 97L.249; VI. 9D.77.
- Alexander of Arcadiopolis (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.74, 945.101.
- Alexander of Cleopatra (Aegyptus)  
 E431: I. 911.143, 945.153.
- Alexander of Sebaste (Cilicia I)  
 E449: I. 78.58, 884.48, 1008, 1067.51.  
 Ch: I. 3.102; II. 1.85; III. 96.76, 97G.57, 97L.156; IV. 1.86, 9.199; VI. 1.101,  
 9.102, 9D.44; XVI. 9.136.
- Alexander of Seleucia (Pisidia)  
 Ch: I. 3.303; II. 1.265; III. 2.69, 96.86, 97G.137, 97L.99; IV. 1.265; VI.  
 1.283, 9.289, 9D.295; XVI. 9.59; DAC 2.54.
- Alexander of Tomi (metropolis of Scythia)  
 C449: I. 555.7.  
 Ch: III. 97L.183 [see note *ad loc.*].
- Alexander presbyter and *periodeutes*  
 Ch: CD 2–4.
- Alphius of Myndus (Caria)  
 Ch: I. 3.276; II. 1.238; IV. 1.238; VI. 1.256, 9.262; XVI. 9.65.
- Alypius of Bacatha (Palestine I)  
 E449: I. 78.85, 884.73, 1028, 1067.77.
- Alypius of Sele (Augustamnica I)  
 E431: I. 911.142, 945.137.
- Amachius of Saittae (Lydia)  
 Ch: I. 3.230; II. 1.192; III. 2.187, 96.155, 97G.182, 97L.133; IV. 1.194; VI.  
 1.210, 9.214, 9D.243; XVI. 9.176; DAC 2.48.
- Ammon of Buto (Aegyptus)  
 E431: I. 911.145, 945.161.
- Ammonius of Iotape (Isauria)  
 Ch: I. 3.94; II. 1.77; III. 97G.211, 97L.236; IV. 1.78; VI. 1.93, 9.94, 9D.63.
- Ammonius of Panephris (Augustamnica I)  
 E431: I. 911.150, 945.142.



Amphilochius of Side (metropolis of Pamphylia II)

E431: I. 911.21, 945.20.

Ch: I. 3.22; II. 1.16; III. 2.24, 29, 96.22, 97G.21, 97L.29; IV. 1.16, 9.22; PE 2.21; V. 1.21; VI. 1.21, 9.21, 9D.257; VII. 2.21, 15; VIII. 2.21, 30–31; IX. 3.20; XI. 2.20; XIII. 2.21; XIV. 2.21; XV. 2.21; XVI. 1.21.

Anastasius of Areopolis (Palestine III)

E449: I. 78.71, 1014, 1067.65.

Anastasius of Nicaea (Bithynia)

Ch: represented at Sessions I–IV by Eusebius and Constantine, presbyters, qq.v.; present, PE 2.16; V. 1.16; VI. 1.16, 9.16, 9D.152; VII. 2.16; VIII. 2.16; IX. 3.15; XI. 2.15; XIII. 2.16, *passim*; XIV. 2.16; XV. 2.16; XVI. 1.16; DAC 2.63.

Anastasius of Thessalonica (metropolis of Macedonia)

E449: represented by Quintillus of Heraclea, q.v.

Ch: represented by Quintillus of Heraclea, q.v.

Anastasius, presbyter of Constantinople and *syncellus* of Nestorius

E431: I. 918, 919.

Anatolius of Constantinople,

450/1: *DBC* 3, 4, 6.

Ch: I. 3.4, 4, 274; II. 1.4, 31, 33; III. 2.4, 10, 12, 16, 71, 75, 95, 97G.4, 97L.4; IV. 1.4, 9.1, 15, 56, 69, 105; PE 2.4, 27, 32, 50; V. 1.4, 5, 7, 14, 22, 29; VI. 1.4, 9.4, 9D.5, 20; VII. 2.4, 8; VIII. 2.4, 17; IX. 3.4; X. 145, 162; D 19.4, 23; XI. 2.4, 50; XII. 3, 9; XIII. 2.4; XIV. 2.4; XV. 2.4; XVI. 1.4, 9.1, 40, 42; DAC 2.1.

452: DAC 8, 9, 10.

Anatolius of Satala (Armenia I)

Ch: represented by Dorotheus, presbyter, q.v.

Anderius of Chersonesus (Crete)

E431: I. 911.49, 945.59.

Andrew of Hermopolis Maior (Thebaid)

E431: I. 911.138, 945.178.

Andrew of Satala (Lydia), see IV. 9.126n.

Ch: represented by Cossinius of Hierocaesarea, q.v., and at XVI. 9.129 by Dionysius of Attaleia.

Andrew of Tlos (Lydia)

Ch: I. 3.242; II. 1.204; III. 2.147, 96.52, 97G.120, 97L.154; IV. 1.206; VI. 1.222, 9.226, 9D.276; XVI. 9.82.

Andrew, deacon of Constantinople

C448: I. 235, 359, 363.

C449: I. 630, 667, 669.

Anianus of Capitolias (Palestine II)

Ch: I. 3.67; II. 1.55; III. 97G.245, 97L.185; IV. 1.56, 9.107, after 9.114; VI. 1.66, 9.67, 9D.125; XVI. 9.169.

Anthimus, presbyter, representing Patricius of Tyana (Cappadocia II)

E449: I. 78.133, 1067.135.

- Antiochus of Arca (Phoenice I), see vol. 2, p. 170, n. 4.  
 Ch: I. 3.70; III. 97G.240, 97L.247; VI. 1.69, 9.70.
- Antiochus of Sinope (Helenopontus)  
 Ch: I. 3.172; II. 1.135; III. 2.50, 96.188, 97G.76, 97L.93 (= 305); IV. 1.137; VI. 1.153, 9.154, 9D.193; XVI. 9.34, 32.
- Antiochus, presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of St Theotecnus in Constantinople  
 C448: I. 52.37.  
 Ch: IV. 63.105.
- Antipater of Caunus (Lycia)  
 Ch: I. 3.241; II. 1.203; III. 2.144, 96.49, 97G.119 (= 169a), 97L.150; IV. 1.205; VI. 1.221, 9.225, 9D.274.
- Antonianus of Amisus (Helenopontus)  
 Ch: represented by Olympius the deacon VI. 9D.189, otherwise by Helpidius, presbyter, q.v.
- Antony of Lychnidus (Epirus Nova)  
 E449: I. 78.52, 884.43, 1067.45.
- Anysius of Thebes (Achaea)  
 E431: I. 911.42, 945.35.
- Apelles of Cibyra (Caria)  
 E431: I. 911.64, 945.109.
- Aphobius of Coloe (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.78, 945.67.
- Aphthonetus of Heraclea by Latmus (Caria)  
 E431: I. 911.62, 945.73.
- Apollonius of Tanis (Augustamnica I)  
 E449: I. 78.114, 884.96, 1049, 1067.112.  
 Ch: I. 3.142; IV. 20, 25.
- Apragmonius of Tieuem (Honorias), usually representing Calogerus of Claudiopolis  
 Ch: I. 3.37; III. 2.54, 97G23n., 97G.77, 97L.28n., 97L.97; IV. 9.122; PE 2.37; V. 1.37; VI. 1.36, 9.36, 9.164, 9D.201; VII. 2.36; VIII.2.34; IX. 3.36; X. 2.36; XI. 2.36; XIII. 2.36; XIV. 2.36; XV. 2.36; XVI. 1.37.
- Aquila of Aurocra (Phrygia Salutaris)  
 C449: I. 558.18.  
 Ch: I. 3.286; II. 1.248; III. 97G.189, 97L.243; IV. 1.248; VI. 1.266, 9.272, 9D.326; XVI. 9.134.
- Aquila of Eudoxias (Galatia II)  
 Ch: I. 3.189; II. 1.152; III. 2.161, 96.65, 97G.228, 97L.225; IV. 1.154; VI. 1.170, 9.172, 9D.166.
- Arcadius, bishop (see unknown), legate of the Roman see  
 E431: I. 911.155, 945.2.
- Archelaus of Myndus (Caria)  
 E431: I. 911.66, 945.108.
- Aretas of Elusa (Palestine III)  
 Ch: I. 3.72; II. 1.59; IV. 1.60, 9.112; VI. 1.71, 9.72, 9D.129; XVI. 9.50.

- Aristobulus of Thmuis (Augustamnica I)  
E431: I. 911.126, 945.134.
- Aristocritus of Olympus (Lycia)  
E431: I. 945.197.  
Ch: VI. 9D.264.
- Aristomachus of Colonia (Cappadocia II)  
Ch: I. 3.181; II. 1.144; III. 2.124, 96.177, 97G.42, 97L.57; IV. 1.146, 9.39;  
VI. 1.162, 9.163, 9D.175.
- Ariston, presbyter, representing Eunomius of Nicomedia (Bithynia)  
E449: I. 78.134, 1067.136.
- Aristonicus of Laodicea (metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana)  
E431: I. 945.25.
- Asclepiades of Trapezopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
E431: I. 945.189.
- Asclepiades, deacon and notary of Constantinople  
C448: I. 405.  
C449: I. 576–7.  
Ch: III. 50, 61; V. 3.
- Asterius, presbyter and notary of Constantinople  
C448: I. 224, 352, 392, 458.  
C449: I. 576–7, 846.
- Asterius, presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of St Laurence in Constantinople  
C448: I. 552.50.  
Ch: IV. 63, 105.
- Atarbius of Trapezus (Pontus Polemoniaca), usually representing Dorotheus of Neocaesarea  
Ch: I. 3.38; III. 2.48, 2.65n., 97G.49, 97G.226n., 97L.142, 97L.242n.; IV. 1.30, 9.51; PE 2.38; V. 1.38; VI. 1.37, 9.37, 9.142, 9D.187; VII. 2.37; VIII. 2.35; IX. 3.37; X. 174; XI. 2.37; XIII. 2.37; XIV. 2.37; XV. 2.37; XVI. 1.38.
- Athanasius of Busiris (Aegyptus)  
E449: I. 78.117, 884.99, 1052, 1067.115.  
Ch: I. 3.144, 293.
- Athanasius of ‘Messene’ or ‘Mossyna’ [corrupt]  
Ch: III. 2.67, 96.83, 97L.265.
- Athanasius of Opus (Achaea)  
E449: I. 78.67, 884.56, 1010, 1067.60.  
Ch: I. 3.245; II. 1.207; III. 97G.131, 97L.140; IV. 1.209, 9.84; VI. 1.225, 9.231, 9D.28.
- Athanasius of Paralus (Aegyptus)  
E431: I. 911.123, 945.157.
- Athanasius of Paros (The Islands)  
E431: I. 911.60, 945.185.
- Athanasius of Perrhe (Euphratensis), replaced by Sabinianus in the course of the council  
Ch: I. 3.133; II. 1.116; III. 2.128, 96.146, 97L.229; IV. 1.117, 9.58; VI. 1.133, 9.134; XIV *passim*.

Athanasius of Scepis (Hellespontus)

E431: I. 945.

Athanasius, presbyter of Alexandria

Ch: III. 38–40, 51a–53, 56, 57, 58.

Athanasius, deacon of Seleucia (Isauria)

C448: I. 364–75.

C449: I. 572, 671–81.

Atticus of Nicopolis (metropolis of Epirus Vetus)

E449: I. 78.34, 213, 884.26, 987, 1067.26.

Ch: I. 3.47, 298; II. 1.38, 29; III. 2.27, 96.25, 97G.51, 97L.31; IV. 1.39, 9.70; PE 2.47; V. 1.47, 29; VI. 1.46, 9.46, 9D.134; VII. 2.46; VIII. 2.44; IX. 3.46; XI. 2.46; XIII. 2.46, 33; XIV. 2.46; XV. 2.46; XVI. 1.47.

Atticus of Zela (Helenopontus)

Ch: I. 3.171; II. 1.134; III. 2.52, 15, 19, 22, 96.55, 97G.229, 97L.218; IV. 1.136, 9.44; PE 30, 36, 42; VI. 1.152, 9.153, 9D.192; XVI. 9.152.

Atticus, deacon of Constantinople

451: *DBC 15*.

Aurelius of Hadrumetum (Byzacena)

C449: I. 555.35, 753.

Ch: I. 3.341; II. 1.303; IV. 1.303; VI. 1.322, 9.331. Either he or Aurelius of Pupput signed XVI. 9.75 and DAC 2.46.

Aurelius of Pupput (Africa Proconsularis)<sup>4</sup>

C448: I. 552.28.

Ch: VI. 9D.353. Either he or Aurelius of Hadrumetum signed XVI. 9.75 and DAC 2.46.

Auxilaus of the Saracens = Parembole (Palestine I)

E449: I. 78.88, 884.72, 1031, 1067.80.

Auxonius of Sebennytus (Aegyptus)

E449: I. 78.127, 884.109, 1062, 1067.126.

Ch: I. 3.151, 294.

Barachius of Naxos (The Islands)

Ch: VI. 9D.344.

Baranes of Alexandria (Cilicia II)

A445: XIV. 15.20, 49, 88, 142.

Barsaumas, archimandrite of Syria,

E449: I. 47–8, 109, 78.131, 884.113, 1066, 1067.133.

Ch: I. 851; IV. 66, 77–81, 95; *CD II*.

Baruchius of Sozusa (Palestine I)

E449: I. 78.76, 884.63, 1019, 1067.69.

Basil of Ephesus (metropolis of Asia), d. c.443

Ch: XI. 14, 57, 59.

4 The name ‘Pupput’ on both its occurrences is a probable correction of confusion in the MSS. But added to the element of ‘Cox and Box’ in the appearance of the two African Aurelii (of Pupput and Hadrumetum), it suggests that the two may possibly have been the same person.

## Basil of Nacoleia (Phrygia Salutaris)

Ch: I. 3.287; II. 1.249; III. 2.109, 96.123, 97G.74, 97L.95; IV. 1.249, 9.142; VI. 1.267, 9.273, 9D.325; XVI. 9.92; DAC 2.42.

## Basil of Seleucia (metropolis of Isauria)

C448: I. 301, 519, 545, 552.3.

C449: I. 555.6, 558.4, 570, 739, 763, 791, 798, 806, 808, 820.

E449: I. 78.19, 546, 548, 850, 884.13, 948, 977, 1067.13.

Ch: I. 3.20, 167–80, 532, 851–7, 1068; III. 97G.20, 97L.19n.; IV. 11–17, 18; PE 2.19; V. 1.19; VI. 1.19, 9.19, before 9.369, 9D.56; VII. 2.19; VIII. 2.19; IX. 3.18; XI. 2.18; XIII. 2.19; XIV. 2.19; XV. 2.19; XVI. 1.19, 9.8.

## Basil of Trajanopolis (metropolis of Rhodope)

E449: I. 78.55, 884.46, 959, 1006, 1067.48.

Ch: I. 3.53, 42; II. 1.43; III. 2.28, 96.27, 97G.18, 97L.27; IV. 1.44, 9.59; PE 2.53; V. 1.53, 29; VI. 1.52, 9.52, 9D.12; VII. 2.52; VIII. 2.50; IX. 3.52; XI. 2.52; XIII. 2.52; XIV. 2.52; XV. 2.52; XVI. 1.53, 9.20.

## Basil, presbyter of Rome

451: *DBC* 8, 10; *XV* 6.

## Basil, deacon of (?) Constantinople

451–2: *DAC* 7–10.

## Basilicus of Palaeopolis (Asia)

Ch: I. 3.212; II. 1.174; III. 2.107, 96.121, 97L.285; IV. 1.176; VI. 1.192, 9.195, 9D.225.

## Basiliscus, presbyter

C448: I. 552.26, signing for Eudoxius of Bosphorus.

## Bassianus of Ephesus (metropolis of Asia), bishop c.443–7

Ch: *XI* & *XII passim*.

## Bassianus of Mopsuestia (Cilicia II)

Ch: represented by Sophronius, *chorepiscopus*, q.v.

## Bassonas of Neapolis (Pisidia)

Ch: I. 3.307; II. 1.269; III. 2.183, 96.186, 97G.101, 97L.86; IV. 1.269; VI. 1.287, 9.293, 9D.299; XVI. 9.156.

## Bassus of Sion (Asia)

E449: I. 1067.100.

## Beryllus of Aela (Palestine III)

Ch: I. 3.71; II. 1.58; IV. 1.59, 9.111; VI. 1.70, 9.71, 9D.128; XVI. 9.51.

## Bessulas, deacon of Carthage (Africa)

E431: I. 911.154, 945.191.

## Boniface, presbyter of Rome, representing Pope Leo

451: *DBC* 7, 8, 10.

Ch: I. 3.3; II. 1.3; III. 2.3, 49, 94.3, 97G.3, 97L.3; IV. 1.3, 6, 9.4, 28, 38; PE 2.3, 49; V. 1.3, 9, 29; VI. 1.3, 9.3, 9D.3; VII. 2.3, 7; VIII. 2.3, 16; IX. 3.3, 6, 9; X. 144, 161; D 19.3, 21; XI. 2.3; XIII. 2.3; XIV. 2.3; XV. 2.3, 3, 6; XVI. 1.3, 14.

452: *DAC* 8.

Caesarius, *chorepiscopus* of Arca (Armenia II)

E431: I. 911.95, 945.193.

Caiumas of Marcopolis (Osrhoene)

Ch: I. 3.135; II. 1.119; III. 2.179, 96.182, 97G.85, 97L.124; IV. 1.120, 9.57; VI. 1.135, 9.137, 9D.102.

Caiumas of Phaeno (Palestine III)

E449: I. 78.81, 884.68, 1024, 1067.74.

Caiumas of Sophene (Mesopotamia)

Ch: signed for in his absence by Symeon of Amida VI. 9.397, 9D.113.

Calandion of Halicarnassus (Caria)

Ch: represented by Julian, presbyter, q.v.

Callicrates of Naupactus (Achaea)

E431: I. 911.43, 945.37.

Callinicus of Apamea [in Hexapolis] (Bithynia)

E431: I. 911.152, 945.39.

C448: I. 552.9.

Ch: I. 3.159; II. 1.118; III. 2.94, 96.169, 97G.82, 97L.64; IV. 1.119, 9.120; VI. 1.140, 9.136, 9D.155; XVI. 9.37.

Callinicus of Gangra (metropolis of Paphlagonia), bishop for a few days c.440

Ch: XVI. 36–7.

Calogerus of Claudiopolis (metropolis of Honorias)

E449: represented by Olympius, presbyter, q.v.

Ch: III. 2.22, 96.20, 97G.23, 97L.28; VI. 9D.199; XVI. 1.36, 23. Otherwise represented by Apragmonius of Tieum, q.v. Signed for by Apragmonius at VI. 9.36, Stephen the presbyter at XVI. 9.12, and Euphrosynus the deacon at DAC 2.21.

Calopodius, eunuch and presbyter at Constantinople

Ch: IV. 66, 69–74.

Calosirius of Arsinoites (Arcadia)

E449: I. 78.109, 884.91, 1044, 1067.108.

Candidianus of Antioch (metropolis of Pisidia)

C449: I. 555.26, 558.10.

E449: I. 78.38, 884.30, 957, 992, 1067.31.

Carosus, archimandrite of Constantinople

Ch: IV. 63–7, 76, 80, 83, 88, 93, 99–103, 114; CD *passim*.

Cassianus, presbyter of (?) Ephesus (Asia)

Ch: XI. 3, 39.

Cecropius of Sebastopolis (Armenia I)

C448: I. 552.10.

Ch: I. 3.168; II. 1.132, 4, 9; III. 2.46, 27, 31, 32, 36, 96.125, 97G.44, 97L.56; IV. 1.133, 9.42, 30, 36, 50; PE 59, 60; V. 24; VI. 1.149, 9.150, 9D.178; IX. 3.58; X. 158; XI. 43.

Chares of Dionysopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana)

Ch: I. 3.269; II. 1.231; IV. 1.233; VI. 1.249, 9.255, 9D.334.

Charisius, presbyter and church steward of Philadelphia (Lydia)

E431: I. 918–20, 940–42.

- Chrysanthius of Bagis (Lydia)  
E449: I. 78.100, 1067.92.
- Chrysaorius of Aphroditopolis (Arcadia)  
E431: I. 911.137, 945.160.
- Chrysippus of Mallus (Cilicia I)  
Ch: I. 3.106; III. 96.78, 97G.81, 97L.262; VI. 1.105, 9.106, 9D.48.
- Chrysippus, presbyter, representing Cyriacus of Trocnades (Galatia II)  
Ch: I. 3.191; III. 96.79, 97G.162n., 97L.255n.; VI. 9.174; XVI. 9.139; DAC 2.61.
- Chrysogonus, presbyter, representing Paul of Cantanus (Crete)  
Ch: II. 1.284, VI. 9.315.
- Claudius of Anchiasmus (Epirus Vetus)  
E449: I. 78.46, 884.38, 1002, 1067.39.  
Ch: I. 3.251, 298; II. 1.213; III. 2.200, 97L.192; IV. 1.215, 9.91; VI. 1.231, 9.237, 9D.138.
- Commodus of Tripolis (Lydia)  
E431: I. 945.64.
- Constantine of Bostra (metropolis of Arabia)  
A448: X. 54.  
E449: I. 78.29, 884.22, 985, 1067.22.  
Ch: I. 3.25; II. 1.20; III. 2.18, 15, 17, 19, 22, 96.19, 97G.26, 97L.23; IV. 1.20, 9.9; PE 2.24; V. 1.24, 29; VI. 1.24, 9.24, before 9.427, 9D.87; VII. 2.24; VIII. 2.24, 23; IX. 3.23; X. 153, 169; XI. 2.23; XIII. 2.24; XIV. 2.24; XV. 2.24; XVI. 1.24, 9.17; DAC 2.8.
- Constantine of Demetrias (Thessaly)  
E449: I. 78.57, 884.47, 1067.50.  
Ch: representing Vigilantius of Larissa, I. 3.50, 297; II. 1.41; IV. 1.42, 9.73. On his own account III. 97G.152; VI. 1.303, 9.337, 9D.145.
- Constantine of Melitene (metropolis of Armenia II)  
C449: I. 558.3.  
E449: represented by Acacius of Ariaratheia, q.v.  
Ch: I. 3.34; II. 1.27; III. 2.21, 96.16, 97G.13, 97L.19; IV. 1.27, 9.11; PE 2.33; V. 1.33; VI. 1.33, 9.33, 9D.180; VII. 2.33; VIII. 2.31; IX. 3.32; X. 174; XI. 2.32; XIII. 2.33, 35; XIV. 2.33; XV. 2.32; XVI. 1.33; DAC 2.11.
- Constantine, presbyter, representing Anastasius of Nicaea (Bithynia)  
Ch: I. 3.17; II. 1.13; IV. 1.13, 9.63.
- Constantine, deacon and steward of Eutyches' monastery, Constantinople  
C448: I. 407, 436, 440, 445.  
C449: I. 569, 608–844 (*passim*).  
E449: I. 887, 888.4.
- Constantius of Diocleia (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
E431: I. 945.65.
- Constantius of Sebaste (Palestine I)  
E449: I. 78.83, 1026, 1067.75.

Constantius, deacon of Eutyches' monastery, Constantinople

C448: I. 407.

C449: I. 569, 686.

E449: I. 888.11.

Cossinius of Hierocaesarea (Lydia)

C448: I. 223, 350, 552.21.

Ch: often representing Andrew of Satala, I. 3.225; II. 1.187; III. 2.113, 96.131, 96.171n., 97G.107, 97L.159, 97L.298n.; IV. 1.189, 9.123; VI. 1.205, 9.208, 9.209, 9D.242; XVI. 9.174.

Cratinus of Panormus (Lycia)

Ch: III. 2.146, 96.51, 97G.121, 97L.76; VI. 9D.275.

Critonianus of Aphrodisias (metropolis of Caria)

Ch: I. 3.41; II. 1.32; III. 2.43, 96.36, 97G.80, 97L.42; IV. 1.33, 9.147; PE 2.41; V. 1.41; VI. 1.40, 9.40, 9D.303; VII. 2.40; VIII. 2.38; IX. 3.40; X. 155; XI. 2.40; XIII. 2.40; XIV. 2.40; XV. 2.40; XVI. 1.41, 9.26, 30.

Cyriacus of Aegae (Asia)

E449: I. 78.91, 884.77, 1034, 1067.83.

Ch: I. 3.197; II. 1.159; III. 1.104, 96.118, 97G.176, 97L.268; IV. 1.161; VI. 1.177, 9.180, 9D.220.

Cyriacus of Eucarpia (Phrygia Salutaris)

Ch: I. 3.284; II. 1.246; III. 97G.89, 97L.108; IV. 1.246, 9.143; VI. 1.264, 9.270, 9D.323; XVI. 9.133.

Cyriacus of Heraclea (metropolis of Europa)

E449: represented by Peter of Chersonesus, q.v.

Ch: represented by Lucian of Bizye, q.v.

Cyriacus of Lebedus (Asia)

E449: I. 78.93, 884.86, 1036, 1067.85.

Cyriacus of Trocnades (Galatia II)

E449: representing Theoctistus of Pessinus, I. 78.16, 884.10, 1067.58.

Ch: represented by Chrysippus, presbyter, q.v.

Cyril of Alexandria (Aegyptus)

E431: I. 241, 911.1, 945.1.

C448: I. 301–2, 330–31, 342–9.

TB449: X. 138.

E449: I. 261.

Ch: I. 264–7; II. 16, 24–6, 29; III. 47, 51, 57; XIV. 10; and *passim*.

Cyril of Coela (Europa)

E431: I. 911.50, 945.94.

Cyril of Subrita (Crete)

Ch: I. 3.317; II. 1.279; III. 97L.189; IV. 1.279, 9.95; VI. 1.297, 9.310, 9D.149.

Cyril, presbyter, signing for John of Parthicopolis (Macedonia)

Ch: VI. 9.321.

Cyrinus of Patara (Lycia)

Ch: III. 2.71, 96.88, 97G.115, 97L.107 (= 276); VI. 9D.267; XVI. 9.102.



- Cyrus of Achaea (Augustamnica I)  
E431: I. 911.129, 945.151.
- Cyrus of Anazarbus (metropolis of Cilicia II)  
Ch: I. 3.24; II. 1.19; III. 2.17, 96.15, 97G.22, 97L.21; IV. 1.19, 9.8; PE 2.23; V. 1.23, 29; VI. 1.23, 9.23, before 9.357, 9D.50; VII. 2.23; VIII. 2.23; IX. 3.22; XI. 2.22; XIII. 2.23; XIV. 2.23, 164; XV. 2.23; XVI. 1.23, 9.9.
- Cyrus of Aphrodisias (metropolis of Caria)  
E431: I. 911.11, 945.19.  
E449: I. 78.10, 201, 884.6, 955, 971, 1067.8.
- Cyrus of Babylon (Augustamnica II)  
E449: I. 78.116, 884.98, 1051, 1067.114.
- Cyrus of Cybistra (Cappadocia II)  
Ch: III. 2.202, 97G.148; VI. 9D.176.
- Cyrus of Sinethandus (Pisidia)  
Ch: I. 3.301; II. 1.263; III. 2.97, 96.111, 97G.104, 97L.88; IV. 1.263; VI. 1.281, 9.287, 9D.293; XVI. 9.155; DAC 2.58.
- Cyrus, presbyter of Edessa (Osrhoene)  
TB449: IX. 7; X. 28, 31, 37, 56, 69, 110, 113.
- Dadas of Batnae (Osrhoene)  
A448: X. 54.
- Dalmatius of Cyzicus (metropolis of Hellespontus)  
E431: I. 911.25, 945.23.
- Damian of Callinicum (Osrhoene)  
Ch: VI. 9D.106.
- Damian of Sidon (Phoenice I)  
A445: XIV. 15.6, 43, 82, 130.  
Ch: I. 3.116; II. 1.98; III. 2.130, 96.148, 97G.135, 97L.163; IV. 1.99; VI. 1.115, 9.116, 9D.68; XIV. 152, 156; XVI. 9.46.
- Daniel of BIRTHA (Osrhoene)  
A448: X. 54.
- Daniel of Cadi (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
C449: I. 555.12.  
E449: I. 1067.101.  
Ch: I. 3.265; II. 1.227; III. 2.60, 96.80, 97L.263; IV. 1.229; VI. 1.245, 9.251, 9D.329; XVI. 9.151.
- Daniel of Carrhae (Osrhoene)  
A445: XIV. 15.25, 53, 94, 146.  
TB449: X. 27, 28, 56, 73.6, 73.13–18.
- Daniel of Colonia (Cappadocia II)  
E431: I. 911.28, 945.188.
- Daniel of Darnis (Libya Inferior)  
E431: I. 911.134a.
- Daniel of Lampsacus (Hellespontus)  
Ch: I. 3.222; II. 1.184; III. 97G.239, 97L.246; IV. 1.186; VI. 1.202, 9.205, 9D.214; XVI. 9.56.

Daniel of Macedonopolis (Osrhoene)

Ch: VI. 9D.105.

Daphnus of Magnesia on the Maeander (Asia)

E431: I. 945.57.

Dardanius of Bargala (Macedonia)

Ch: I. 3.326; II. 1.289; IV. 1.288, 9.79; VI. 1.307, 9.320, 9D.19.

David of Hadrianeia (Hellespontus)

Ch: I. 3.216; II. 1.178; III. 97G.179, 97L.266; IV. 1.180; VI. 1.196, 9.198, 9D.208; XVI. 9.145.

Demetrius of Lappa (Crete)

Ch: I. 3.320; II. 1.282; III. 2.182, 96.185, 97G.150, 97L.195; IV. 1.282, 9.97; VI. 1.300, 9.313, 9D.150.

Diapherontius of Olba (Isauria)

C448: I. 552.23.

Didymus of Lapethus (Cyprus)

Ch: represented by Epaphroditus of Tamasus, q.v.

Dio of Thebes (Thessaly)

E431: I. 911.56, 945.42.

Diodotus of Lysinia (Pamphylia I)

Ch: I. 3.331; II. 1.293; III. 2.79, 96.93, 97G.163, 97L.256; IV. 1.293; VI. 1.312, 9.325, 9D.252.

Diogenes of Cyzicus (metropolis of Hellespontus)

E449: I. 78.18, 214, 884.11, 975, 1067.12.

Ch: I. 3.13, 73, 160, 166; II. 1.9; III. 2.9, 35, 96.8, 97G.8, 97L.10; IV. 1.9, 9.7, 27, 40, 77; PE 2.12; V. 1.12, 29; VI. 1.12, 9.12, before 9.342, 9D.205; VII. 2.12, 14; VIII. 2.12; IX. 3.11; X. 151, 168; XI. 2.11, 56; XII. 17, 24; XIII. 2.12; XIV. 2.12; XV. 2.12; XVI. 1.12, 9.5, 9.183, 20; DAC 2.5.

Diogenes of Orthosia (Caria)

Ch: represented by Theoctistus, presbyter, q.v.

Diongenianus of Remesiana (Dacia Mediterranea)

E449: I. 78.64, 884.84, 1067.56.

Dionysius of Antioch (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.253; II. 1.215; III. 2.87, 96.102, 97G.164, 97L.216; IV. 1.217, 9.149; VI. 1.233, 9.239, 9D.304; XVI. 9.67.

Dionysius of Attaleia (Lydia)

Ch: I. 3.234; II. 1.196; III. 2.115, 96.133, 97G.159, 97L.136; IV. 1.198, 9.129; VI. 1.214, 9.218, 9D.245; XVI. 9.128, 9.129.

Dionysius of Heraclea by Latmus (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.257; II. 1.219; III. 2.82, 96.97, 97L.209; IV. 1.221, 9.156; VI. 1.237, 9.243, 9D.308; XVI. 9.69.

Dionysius of Sycamazon (Palestine I)

E449: I. 78.80, 884.67, 1023, 1067.73, 74.

Dionysius, deacon, representing Photinus of Chytri (Cyprus)

Ch: I. 3.313; II. 1.275; IV. 1.275; VI. 1.293, 9.306.

## Dioscorus of Alexandria (Egypt)

E449: I. 24, 47, 52, 67, 68, 80, 84, 95–9, 110, 114, 119, 136, 141–7, 198, 217, 221, 304, 310–22, 492, 494, 506–10, 538, 867–83, 884.114, 889–905, 943a, 962, 1067.1.

Ch: I. 3.5, 4–21, 29, 53, 59–62, 65, 76, 124, 127, 133, 139, 150, 159, 168, 179, 189, 193, 195, 260, 263, 281, 299, 324, 329, 332, 334, 341, 852–62, 1068; II. 40–43; III *passim*; IV. 12–13, 88; V. 13, 14, 26; XIV. 5, 6, 162; DAC 2.

454: DAC 14.

## Docimasius of Maronea (Rhodope)

E431: I. 911.26, 945.76.

E449: I. 78.56, 1007, 1067.49.

Ch: I. 3.193; II. 1.155; III. 97G.93 (= 247), 97L.165; IV. 1.157, 9.60; VI. 1.173, 9.229, 9D.13; XVI. 9.88.

## Domninus of Cotiaecum (Phrygia Salutaris)

E431: I. 945.30.

## Domninus of Opus (Achaea)

E431: I. 911.44, 945.36.

## Domninus of Plataea (Achaea)

E449: I. 78.89, 884.75, 1032, 1067.81.

Ch: I. 3.246; II. 1.208; III. 97G.129, 97L.145; IV. 1.210, 9.86; VI. 1.226, 9.232, 9D.30.

## Domnus of Antioch (metropolis of Syria I)

A445: XIV. 15.1, 17–37, 61–75, 96–122, 149.

A448: X. 51. 54.

TB449: IX. 7; X. 37, 57–62, 73.5, 92.

E449: I. 70.4, 884.2, 906, 967, 1067.3.

Ch: X. 149; D *passim*; XI. 17; XIV. 161.

## Domnus of Apamea (metropolis of Syria II)

E449: represented by Meletius of Larissa, q.v.

Ch: represented by Meletius of Larissa, q.v.

## Domnus of Cucusus (Armenia II)

Ch: represented by Euphronius, presbyter, q.v.

## Domnus of Orcistus (Galatia II)

E431: I. 945.121.

## Dorotheus of Myrina (Asia)

E431: I. 911.71, 945.71.

## Dorotheus of Neocaesarea (metropolis of Pontus Polemoniacus)

C448: I. 552.7.

E449: represented by Longinus, presbyter, q.v.

Ch: represented by Photinus, deacon, II. 1.30; IV. 9.52; VI. 9D.184. Otherwise represented by Atarbius of Trapezus, q.v.

## Dorotheus, presbyter, representing Anatolius of Satala (Armenia I)

Ch: I. 3.170; IV. 1.135; VI. 1.151, 9.152.

Dorotheus, archimandrite of Constantinople

Ch: IV. 64–7, 76, 80, 83, 88, 94, 106–12, 115; CD *passim*.

Dulcitus, notary of Rome

E449: I. 78 *fin*.

Dynatus of Nicopolis (metropolis of Epirus Vetus)

E431: I. 911.15, 945.29.

Eleusinius, deacon of Eutyches' monastery, Constantinople

C448: I. 407, 440, 445.

C449: I. 569, 652, 675, 688, 705, 709, 718, 728, 730, 737, 758.

E449: I. 888.10, 890–98.

Eleutherius of Chalcedon (Bithynia)

Ch: I. 3.18; II. 1.14; III. 2.14, 96.12, 97G.19, 97L.17; IV. 1.14; PE 2.17; V. 1.18; VI. 1.17, 9.18, 9D.154; VII. 2.18; VIII. 2.18; IX. 3.17; XI. 2.17; XII. 21; XIII. 2.18; XIV. 2.18; XV. 2.18; XVI. 1.18, 9.10, 25.

Ennepius of Maximianopolis (Rhodope)

E431: I. 911.54, 945.77.

Epaphroditus of Tamasus (Cyprus)

Ch: representing Didymus of Lapethus, I. 3.312; II. 1.274; III. 2.40n.; IV. 1.274; VI. 1.292, 9.303. Signing for Olympius of Constantia VI. 9 before 391. Signing for himself III. 97G.225, 97L.177; VI. 9.300, 9D.346.

Epictetus of Diocletianopolis (Thrace)

Ch: I. 3.84; II. 1.70; III. 2.59, 96.85, 97G.68, 97L.80; IV. 1.71; VI. 1.84, 9.84, 9D.11.

Epiphanius of Arca (Phoenice I)

A445: XIV. 15.13, 47, 87, 143.

Epiphanius of Cestrus (Isauria)

Ch: I. 3.91; II. 1.74; III. 97G.209, 97L.167; IV. 1.75, 9.125; VI. 1.91, 9.93, 9D.60.

Epiphanius of Creteia (Honorias)

E431: I. 911.22, 945.28, 945.32.

Epiphanius of Midaeum (Phrygia Salutaris)

Ch: I. 3.282; II. 1.244; IV. 1.244, 9.146; VI. 1.262, 9.268, 9D.321; XVI. 9.105; DAC 2.57.

Epiphanius of Perge (metropolis of Pamphylia I)

E449: I. 78.75, 884.62, 1018, 1067.95.

Ch: I. 3.46, 858; II. 1.37; III. 2.25, 96.23, 97G.36, 97L.30; IV. 1.38, 9.24; PE 2.46; V. 1.46; VI. 1.45, 9.45, 9D.249; VII. 2.45; VIII. 2.43; IX. 3.45; XI. 2.45; XIII. 2.45; XIV. 2.45; XV. 2.45; XVI. 1.46.

Epiphanius of Soli (Cyprus)

Ch: representing Olympius of Constantia I. 3.31; PE 2.30; III. 2.40n.; V. 1.30; VI. 1.30, 9.30; VII. 2.30; VIII. 2.28; IX. 3.29; XI. 2.29; XIII. 2.30; XIV. 2.30; XV. 2.29; XVI. 1.30. Signing for himself, (?) 9.305.

Epiphanius, presbyter of Constantinople

C448: I. 403–4, 420, 429.

Ch: III. 9–11.

- Epiphanius, presbyter, representing Aetherius of Pompeiopolis (Paphlagonia)  
 Ch: I. 3.183; II. 1.146; IV. 1.148, 9.29; VI. 1.164, 9.166, 9D.195; XVI. 9.177.
- Erasistratus of Corinth (metropolis of Achaëa)  
 E449: I. 78.11, 884.7, 972, 1067.9.
- Erennianus of Myra (metropolis of Lycia)  
 E431: I. 911.8, 945.16.
- Eucharius of Dyrrachium (metropolis of Epirus Nova)  
 E431: I. 911.16, 945.85.
- Eucharius, deacon, representing Paralius of Andrapa (Helenopontus)  
 Ch: I. 3.173; II. 1.136; IV. 1.138; VI. 1.154, 9.155.
- Eudoxius of Bosphorus (Chersonesus Taurica)  
 C448: I. 346, 552.26.  
 C449: I. 555.21, 558.23, 747, 815.  
 E449: I. 78.106.
- Eudoxius of Choma (Lycia)  
 E431: I. 911.18, 945.98.  
 Ch: III. 2.140, 96.44, 97G.110, 97L.78 (= 146); VI. 9.340–41, 9D.265; XVI. 9.141; DAC 2.33.
- Eudoxius of Etenna (Pamphylia II)  
 Ch: I. 3.336; II. 1.298; III. 2.77, 96.91, 97L.279; IV. 1.298, 9.32; VI. 1.317, 9.330, 9D.259.
- Euelpistus, *chorepiscopus*, representing Florentius of Tenedos (The Islands)  
 Ch: I. 3.310; II. 1.272; III. 2.98n., 96.113n., 97G.223, 97L.241n.; IV. 1.272; VI. 1.290, 9.298; XVI. 9.86; DAC 2.56.
- Eugenius of Apollonia (Bithynia)  
 E431: I. 911.151, 945.105.
- Eugenius of Cana (Lycaonia)  
 Ch: I. 3.292; II. 1.254; III. 97G.155, 97L.199; IV. 1.254; VI. 1.272, 9.278, 9D.283; XVI. 9.121.
- Eugenius of Cotenna (Pamphylia II); see also Marcian of Cotenna  
 Ch: I. 3.337; II. 1.299; IV. 1.299, 9.33; VI. 1.318, 9.333, 9D.261.
- Eulalius of Chalcedon (Bithynia)  
 C448: I. 552.5.
- Eulalius of Pionia (Hellespontus)  
 Ch: I. 3.217; II. 1.179; III. 2.186, 96.165, 97G.199, 97L.245; IV. 1.181; VI. 1.197, 9.199, 9D.209; XVI. 9.96.
- Eulalius of Sibia (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
 Ch: I. 3.268; II. 1.230; III. 97G.231, 97L.206; IV. 1.232; VI. 1.248, 9.254, 9D.331; XVI. 9.103.
- Eulogius of Athribis (Augustamnica II)  
 Ch: I. 3.153; IV. 20, 25.
- Eulogius of Philadelphia (Arabia)  
 Ch: I. 3.113; II. 1.95; III. 97G.124, 97L.40 (= 271); IV. 1.96, 9.124; VI. 1.112, 9.112, 9D.88; XVI. 9.135.

Eulogius of Terenuthis (Aegyptus)

E431: I. 911.118a, 945.152.

Eulogius, presbyter of Edessa (Osrhoene)

TB449: IX. 7; X. 28, 31, 37, 48, 56, 68, 106, 109, 113, 118.

E449: interpreting and signing for Uranius of Hemerium, q.v.

Eulogius, presbyter, representing Genethlius of Creteia (Honorias)

Ch: I. 3.186; II. 1.149; III. 2.105n., 96.119, 97G.249, 97L.171; IV. 1.151; VI. 1.167, 9.169, 9D.203.

Eulogius, deacon of Constantinople

TB449: X. 28, 31.

Eunomius of Nicomedia (metropolis of Bithynia)

E449: represented by Ariston, presbyter, q.v.

Ch: I. 3.16; II. 1.12, 10; III. 2.12, 96.10, 97G.24, 97L.13; IV. 1.12, 9.118; PE 2.15, 33, 56; V. 1.15; VI. 1.15, 9.15, 9D.151; VII. 2.15; VIII. 2.15; IX. 3.14; X. 157, 173; XI. 2.14; XII. 19; XIII. 2.15, *passim*; XIV. 2.15; XV. 2.15; XVI. 1.15; DAC 2.62.

Euolcius of Zeugma (Euphratensis)

A448: X. 54.

Ch: I. 3.132; II. 1.115; III. 97G.70, 97L.68; IV. 1.116, 9.67; VI. 1.132, 9.133, 9D.98; XVI. 9.166; DAC 2.35.

Euoptius of Ptolemais (Libya Pentapolis)

E431: I. 911.110, 945.126.

Euphrasius of Lagania (Galatia I)

Ch: I. 3.167; II. 1.131; III. 97G.238, 97L.303; IV. 1.132; VI. 1.148, 9.149, 9D.162; XVI. 9.90.

Euphratas of Eleutherna (Crete), sometimes representing Paul of Cantanus

C449: I. 555.33.

Ch: I. 3.321; II. 1.283; III. 2.178, 96.181, 97G.151, 97L.193; IV. 1.283, 9.98; VI. 1.301, 9.314.

Euphronius, presbyter, representing Domnus of Cucusus (Armenia II)

Ch: I. 3.178; II. 1.141; III. 2.171n., 96.190, 97L.307; IV. 1.143; VI. 1.159, 9.160.

Euphthius of Stratonicea (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.259; II. 1.221; III. 2.84, 96.99, 97G.170, 97L.211; IV. 1.223, 9.151; VI. 1.239, 9.245, 9D.310; XVI. 9.157.

Euporus of Hypaepa (Asia)

E431: I. 911.73, 945.119.

Euprepus of Bizye (Europa)

E431: I. 945.41.

Eusebius of Ancyra (metropolis of Galatia I)

C449: I.555.4, 558.2, 628.

E449: I. 78.8, 203, 875, 884.5, 886, 908, 969, 1067.6.

Ch: I. 3.12, 184, 278, 855, 1068; III. 97G.233, 97L.278; PE 2.11, 54; IV. 11–17, 18; V. 1.11, 29; VI. 1.11, 9.11, 9D.156; VII. 2.11, 11; VIII. 2.11, 21; IX. 3.10; X. 14, 15, 18, 148, 166; XI. 2.10; XII. 14; XIII. 2.11; XIV. 2.11; XV. 2.11; XVI. 1.11, 35–41.

- Eusebius of Apollonia (Epirus Nova)  
Ch: I. 3.319; II. 1.281; IV. 1.281, 9.94; VI. 1.299, 9.312, 9D.143.
- Eusebius of Aspona (Galatia I)  
E431: I. 911.105, 945.118.
- Eusebius of Clazomenae (Asia)  
E431: I. 911.86, 945.117.  
Ch: I. 3.196; II. 1.158; III. 2.166, 96.70, 97G.88 (= 123a), 97L.111; IV. 1.160; VI. 1.176, 9.179, 9D.219.
- Eusebius of Doberus (Macedonia)  
E449: I. 78.60, 884.50, 1067.53.  
Ch: I. 3.323; II. 1.286; IV. 1.285, 9.75; VI. 1.304, 9.317, 9D.23.
- Eusebius of Dorylaeum (Phrygia Salutaris)  
C448: 223, 225, 230–34, 238, 270, 352, 355, 376, 378, 381, 393, 400, 423, 425, 432, 443, 445, 447, 458, 477–90.  
C449: 555.19, 563, 731.  
E449: I. 185, 962, 966–1066.  
451: *DBC* 4.  
Ch: I. 3.58, 14–19, 58, 89, 100, 128, 138, 140, 158, 165, 187, 333, 335, 1068; II. 1.48, 3, 5; III. 5–6, 23, 25, 37; IV. 1.49, 9.20, 32, 52; PE 2.58; V. 1.58, 19, 29; VI. 1.57, 9.57, 9D.317; VII. 2.57; VIII. 2.55; IX. 3.57; X. 178; XI. 2.57, 52; XII. 16; XIII. 2.57; XIV. 2.57; XV. 2.57; XVI. 1.58, 9.28, 31; DAC 2.26.
- Eusebius of Heraclea (Honorias)  
E431: I. 911.107, 945.28, 945.46.
- Eusebius of Ingilene (Mesopotamia)  
Ch: signed for in his absence by Symeon of Amida VI. 9.396, 9D.114.
- Eusebius of Magnesia by Sipylus (Asia)  
E431: I. 911.90, 945.58.
- Eusebius of Nilopolis (Arcadia)  
E431: I. 911.135, 945.166.
- Eusebius of Pelusium (Augustamnica I)  
E431: I. 911.111, 945.128.
- Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum (Syria II)  
Ch: I. 3.98; II. 1.81; III. 2.189, 96.161, 97G.143, 97L.292; IV. 1.82, 9.62; VI. 1.97. Signed for by Paul of Mariamme VI. 9.98; XVI. 9.71.
- Eusebius, presbyter of Antioch (Syria I), representing Macarius of Laodicea  
Ch: I. 3.57; II. 1.47; III. 97L.89n.; IV. 1.48; PE 2.57; VI. 1.56, 9.56, 9D.33; VII. 2.56; VIII. 2.54; IX. 3.56; XI. 2.56; XIII. 2.56; XIV. 2.56; XV. 2.56; XVI. 1.57.
- Eusebius, presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople  
C448: I. 552. 43 or 44.  
Ch: IV. 63, 105.
- Eusebius, presbyter, representing Anastasius of Nicaea (Bithynia)  
Ch: I. 3.17; II. 1.13; IV. 1.13, 9.63.
- Eustathius of Berytus (Phoenice I)  
TB449: IX. 7; X. 27, 28, 30, 58, 59.

- E449: I. 78.35, 211, 261, 884.27, 988, 1067.29.  
 Ch: I. 3.64, 184, 265–9, 279, 347, 531, 1068; III. 97G.232, 97L.20; IV. 11–17, 18; PE 2.36, *passim*; V. 1.36; VI. 1.64, 9.65, 9D.74; IX. 3.35, 11; X. 20; XI. 2.35; XV. 2.35.
- Eustathius of Docimium (Phrygia Salutaris)  
 E431: I. 945, 31.
- Eustathius of Parnassus (Cappadocia II)  
 C449: I. 558.13.
- Eustathius of the Saracens (Phoenice Libanensis)  
 Ch: I. 3.342; II. 1.304; III. 2.127, 96.144, 97L.289; IV. 1.304; VI. 1.323, 9.336, 9D.85.
- Eustochius of Docimium (Phrygia Salutaris)  
 C448: I. 348, 552.19.  
 C449: I. 555.22, 558.16, 748.  
 Ch: I. 3.285; II. 1.247; III. 2.122, 96.140, 97G.66, 97L.96 (= 288); IV. 1.247, 9.141; VI. 1.265, 9.271, 9D.324; XVI. 9.91.
- Euthalius of Colophon (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.87, 945.78.
- Eutherius of Sardis (metropolis of Lydia), consecrated after 451 and before 458  
 Ch: III. 97L.182.
- Eutherius of Stratonicea (Lydia)  
 E431: I. 945.111.
- Eutropius of Adada (Pisidia)  
 Ch: I. 3.296; II. 1.258; III. 2.162, 96.66, 97G.133, 97L.114; IV. 1.258, 9.134; VI. 1.276, 9.282, 9D.288; XVI. 9.97.
- Eutropius of Augaza (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.77, 945.61.
- Eutropius of Etenna (Pamphylia II)  
 E431: I. 911.103.
- Eutropius of Pergamum (Asia)  
 E449: I. 78.95, 884.80, 1038, 1067.87.
- Eutyches, archimandrite of Constantinople  
 C448: I. 223–552 (*passim*), present from 470.  
 C449: I. 572, 621–2, 648, 658, 667, 672, 698, 701, 734, 737, 818–24, 830–34.  
 E449: I. 151–7, 164, 185, 220, 553, 865, 884.  
 Ch: I. 16, 160, 165–8; II. 22; III. 98; IV. 29, 42, 103, 105; V. 34; X. 1.  
 452: DAC 6.
- Eutyches' monks  
 C448: I. 397, 407, 451.  
 C449: I. 569, 614.  
 E449: I. 58, 885–8, 901–4.  
 See also Abramius (presbyter), Constantine (deacon), Eleusinius (deacon), Maximus (archimandrite), Narses (presbyter)
- Eutychanus of Epiphaneia (Syria II), see VI. 9.99n.  
 Ch: I. 3.99; II. 1.82; IV. 1.83; VI. 1.98. Signed for by Meletius of Larissa VI.



- 9.99; XVI. 9.27.
- Eutychius of Hadrianopolis (Epirus Vetus)  
 E449: I. 78.45, 884.37, 1001, 1067.38.  
 Ch: I. 3.250, 298; II. 1.212; IV. 1.212, 9.90; VI. 1.230, 9.236, 9D.137.
- Eutychius of Theodosiopolis (probably Perperene, Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.75, 945.162.
- Eutychius, monk at the martyrrium of Celerine  
 Ch: IV. 64, 66, 76, 83, 88.
- Euxitheus of Thessalonica (metropolis of Macedonia), see note *ad loc.*  
 Ch: Signed for by his presbyter Andrew III. 97L.8.
- Evagrius of Soli (Cyprus)  
 E431: I. 911.94, 945.86.
- Evander of Diocleia (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
 Ch: I. 3.274; II. 1.236; III. 97L.170 (= 222); IV. 1.236; VI. 1.254, 9.260, 9D.339; XVI. 9.126.
- Faustus, archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople  
 C448: I. 440, 552.32.  
 Ch: IV. 63, 64, 85, 105.
- Felix of Apollonia and Byllis (Epirus Nova), representing the Roman see  
 E431: I. 911.47, 945.172.
- Fidus of Joppa (Palestine I)  
 E431: I. 911.32, 945.82.
- Firminus of Therma (Cappadocia I)  
 Ch: VI. 9D.172.
- Firmus of Caesarea (metropolis of Cappadocia I)  
 E431: I. 243, 911.3, 945.6.
- Flacillus of Iasus (Caria)  
 Ch: I. 3.255; II. 1.217; III. 2.91, 96.106, 97L.223; IV. 1.219; VI. 1.235, 9.241, 9D.306.
- Flavian of Adramyttium (Asia)  
 E449: I. 78.92, 884.78, 1035, 1067.84.
- Flavian of Constantinople (d. 449)  
 C448: I. 223–552 (*passim*).  
 TB449: X. 31, 56.  
 C449: I. 555.1, 576, 597, 722, 724, 729, 779, 788, 821, 838.  
 E449: I. 70.5, 185, 186, 220, 866–77, 882, 887, 962, 963, 966–1066.  
 Ch: I. 54, 71–2, 267, 272–99, 313, 1068; XI. 17, 43, 44; (?) XIII. 17, 20.  
 452: DAC 5.
- Flavian of Philippi (Macedonia), representing Rufus of Thessalonica  
 E431: I. 911.4, 917, 945.24.
- Florentius of Hadrianopolis (Pisidia)  
 Ch: I. 3.308; II. 1.270; III. 2.151, 96.57, 97G.133a, 97L.217; IV. 1.270, 9.133; VI. 1.288, 9.294, 9D.300.
- Florentius of Sardis (metropolis of Lydia)  
 C448: I. 243.

- E449: I. 78.26, 205, 884.19, 956, 982, 1067.19, and as interpreter 82, 83, 117, 218, 219, 227, 952, 958.
- Ch: I. 3.15; II. 1.11, 8; III. 2.29, 66, 96.28, 97G.31, 97L.34; IV. 1.11, 9.21, 33; PE 2.14; V. 1.14, 29; VI. 1.14, 9.14, 9D.236; VII. 2.14; VIII. 2.14; IX. 3.13; X. 1.77; XI. 2.13; XIII. 2.14; XIV. 2.14; XV. 2.14; XVI. 1.14, 9.6, 21; DAC 2.7.
- Florentius of Tenedos, Lesbos, Poroselene and the Coasts (The Islands)  
E449: I. 1067.98.  
Ch: represented by Euelpistus, *chorepiscopus*, q.v.
- Fontianus of Sagalassus (Pisidia)  
Ch: I. 3.305; II. 1.267; III. 2.159, 96.39, 97G.106, 97L.46; IV. 1.267, 9.135; VI. 1.285, 9.291, 9D.297; XVI. 9.167; DAC 2.50.
- Francion of Philippopolis (metropolis of Thrace)  
Ch: I. 3.51; II. 1.42; III. 2.30, 70, 72, 76, 78, 96.29, 97G.27, 97L.36; IV. 1.43, 9.19; PE 2.51; V. 1.51, 29; VI. 1.50, 9.50, 9D.9; VII. 2.50; VIII. 2.48; IX. 3.50; X. 1.75; XI. 2.50; XIII. 2.50; XIV. 2.50; XV. 2.50; XVI. 1.51, 9.21; DAC 2.12.
- Fronto of Phaselis (Lycia)  
Ch: I. 3.237; II. 1.199; III. 2.141, 96.46, 97G.112, 97L.148; IV. 1.201; VI. 1.217, 9.221, 9D.270; XVI. 9.182.
- Gaius of Syedra (Isauria), see VI. 9D.258n.  
Ch: I. 3.93; II. 1.76; IV. 1.77; VI. 9D.258.
- Gemellinus of Erythrum (Libya Pentapolis)  
E449: I. 78.113, 884.95, 1048, 1067.111.
- Gemellus of Stratonicea (Lydia)  
Ch: I. 3.232; II. 1.194; III. 2.117, 96.135, 97G.186, 97L.137; IV. 1.196, 9.157; VI. 1.212, 9.216, 9D.246; XVI. 9.101.
- Genethlius of Argos (Achaea)  
C448: I. 552.30.
- Genethlius of Creteia (Honorias)  
Ch: represented by Eulogius, presbyter, q.v.
- Gennadius of Acmonia (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
Ch: I. 3.271; II. 1.233; III. 2.185, 96.164, 97G.149, 97L.194 (= 238); VI. 1.251, 9.257, 9D.335; XVI. 9.66.
- Gennadius of Cnossus (Crete)  
E449: I. 1067.140.  
Ch: I. 3.318; II. 1.280; IV. 1.280, 9.96; VI. 1.298, 9.311, 9D.147.
- Gennadius of Hermopolis Maior (Thebaid)  
E449: I. 78.115, 884.97, 1050, 1067.113.
- Gennadius of Mossyna (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
Ch: I. 3.273; II. 1.235; III. 97G.197, 97L.237; IV. 1.235; VI. 1.253, 9.259, 9D.340; XVI. 9.64 (= 108a).
- Gennadius of Teos (Asia)  
E449: I. 78.97, 884.87, 1039, 1067.88.

- Germanus, presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople  
 C448: I. 552.52.  
 Ch: IV. 63, 105.
- Germanus, deacon of Constantinople  
 C448: I. 403–4, 420, 431.
- Gerontius of Basilinopolis (Bithynia)  
 C449: I. 555.29, 558.17.  
 Ch: I. 3.275; II. 1.237; IV. 1.237; VI. 1.255, 9.261.
- Gerontius of Seleucia (Syria I)  
 A445: XIV. 15.9, 44, 83, 134.  
 E449: I. 78.40, 884.32, 994, 1067.33.  
 Ch: I. 3.56; II. 1.46; III. 2.172, 96.73, 97G.54, 97L.73; IV. 1.47; PE 2.56; V. 1.56; VI. 1.55, 9.55, 9D.35; VII. 2.55; VIII. 2.53; IX. 3.55; XI. 2.55; XIII. 2.55; XIV. 2.55, 152, 155; XV. 2.55; XVI. 1.56, 9.163, 9.164.
- Gerontius, monk and presbyter of Constantinople  
 Ch: IV. 64, 69, 70, 76, 83, 88.
- Glycon of Caesarea (Palestine I)  
 Ch: signed for by Zosimus of Menois VI. 9D.116.
- Gratianus of Cerasus (Pontus Polemoniacus)  
 Ch: I. 3.162; II. 1.126; III. 2.56, 97G.48, 97L.101; IV. 1.127, 9.54; VI. 1.143, 9.144, 9D.186.
- Gregory of Cerasus (Pontus Polemoniacus)  
 E431: I. 911.23, 945.33.
- Gregory of Hadrianopolis (metropolis of Haemimontus)  
 Ch: VI. 9.451; DAC 2.15.
- Helias of Blaundus (Lydia)  
 Ch: I. 3.226; II. 1.188; III. 2.193, 96.160, 97G.183, 97L.291; IV. 1.190, 9.130; VI. 1.206, 9.210, 9D.241.
- Helias of Hadrianopolis (Lycia)  
 E449: I. 78.48, 1004, 1067.41.
- Heliodorus of Amathus (Cyprus)  
 Ch: represented by Soteris of Theodosiane, q.v.
- Helladius of Adramyttium (Asia)  
 E431: I. 945, 34.
- Hellanicus of Rhodes (metropolis of The Islands)  
 E431: I. 911.14, 945.22.
- Helpidius of Thermae = Myrcicia (Galatia 2)  
 Ch: I. 3.188; II. 1.151; III. 2.153, 96.59, 97G.227, 97L.220; IV. 1.153; VI. 1.169, 9.171, 9D.164.
- Helpidius, presbyter, representing Antonianus of Amisus (Helenopontus)  
 Ch: III. 2.169n., 96.191, 97L.308.
- Helpidius, presbyter, representing Paralius of Andrappa (Helenopontus)  
 Ch: III. 2.170n., 96.189, 97L.306; VI. 9D.190.
- Helpidius, presbyter of Constantinople  
 Ch: I. 56–8; III. 9–11.

- Helpidius, custodian of the martyrrium of Procopius in Constantinople  
 Ch: I. 58; IV. 64, 66, 76, 83, 88, 96.
- Heorticius of Metropolis (Pisidia)  
 Ch: I. 3.300; II. 1.262; III. 2.96, 96.110, 97G.128, 97L.98; IV. 1.262; VI. 1.280, 9.286, 9D.292; XVI. 9.158.
- Heracleon of Tralles (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.80, 945.56.
- Heraclides of Heracleopolis Magna (Arcadia)  
 E431: I. 911.136, 945.167.  
 E449: I. 78.111, 884.93, 1046, 1067.110.
- Heraclitus of Arca (Phoenice I), see XVI. 9.111n.  
 Ch: VI. 9D.76; XVI. 9.111 (signed for by Photius of Tyre).
- Heraclius of Azotus (Palestine I)  
 E449: I. 78.77, 884.64, 1020, 1067.70.  
 Ch: I. 3.81; II. 1.67; IV. 1.68, 9.102; VI. 1.81, 9.81, 9D.120; XVI. 9.146.
- Heraclius of Comana (Armenia II)  
 Ch: I. 3.176; II. 1.139; III. 2.110, 97G.46, 97L.60; IV. 1.141, 9.45; VI. 1.157, 9.158; DAC 2.22.
- Heraclius of Tamiathis (Augustamnica I)  
 E431: I. 911.148, 945.132.
- Heraclius of Thinis (Thebaid)  
 E431: I. 911.146, 945.149.
- Hermias of Abydus (Hellespontus)  
 Ch: I. 3.221; II. 1.183; III. 2.190, 96.163, 97G.132, 97L.158; IV. 1.185; VI. 1.201, 9.204, 9D.213; XVI. 9.144.
- Hermogenes of Cassandrea (Macedonia)  
 E449: I. 78.62, 884.52, 1067.55.
- Hermogenes of Rhinocolura (Augustamnica I)  
 E431: I. 911.109, 945.129.
- Hermolaus of Attuda (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
 E431: I. 945.183.
- Hero of Thennesus (Augustamnica I)  
 Ch: I. 3.143; IV. 20, 25.
- Hesperus of Pitane (Asia)  
 Ch: I. 3.210; II. 1.172; III. 2.120, 96.138, 97G.99 (= 137a), 97L.121; IV. 1.174; VI. 1.190, 9.193, 9.426a, 9D.230.
- Hesychius of Parium (Hellespontus)  
 E431: I. 911.13, 945.83.
- Hieracis of Aphnaeum (Augustamnica I)  
 E431: I. 911.141, 945.144.  
 Ch: I. 3.140; IV. 20, 25, 31.
- Hilary, deacon of Rome, later pope (461–8), representing Pope Leo  
 E449: I. 78 *fin.*, 83, 219, 958, 964.
- Himerius, lector and notary  
 Ch: III. 15, 18, 20, 21.

- Honoratus of Thasos (Macedonia)  
Ch: I. 3.328; II. 1.290; IV. 1.290, 9.80; VI. 1.309, 9.322, 9D.22.
- Hormisdas of Philippopolis (Arabia)  
Ch: I. 3.115; II. 1.97; III. 96.173, 97G.140, 97L.232; IV. 1.98; VI. 1.114, 9.115, 9D.91; XVI. 9.42.
- Hypatius of Zephyrium (Cilicia I)  
Ch: I. 3.104; II. 1.87; III. 2.174, 96.75, 97G.61, 97L.91; IV. 1.88; VI. 1.103, 9.104, 9D.46; XVI. 9.137a.
- Hypatius, lector and notary  
Ch: III. 34–5.
- Hyperechius of Aspona (Galatia I)  
Ch: I. 3.165; II. 1.129; IV. 1.130; VI. 1.146, 9.147, 9D.159.
- Iamblichus of Chalcis (Syria I)  
A445: XIV. 15.7, 42, 80, 128.
- Ibas of Edessa (metropolis of Osrhoene)  
TB449: X. 27, 28, 37–41, 61, 83, 85, 92, 96, 100, 110, 112, 115, 120–35, 138.  
Ch: III. 97L.181; VI. 9.86, 9D.101; IX *passim*; X *passim*; XVI. 1.28, 9.31; DAC 2.23.
- Iconius of Gortyna (metropolis of Crete)  
E431: I. 911.9, 945.11.
- Idduas of Smyrna (Asia)  
E431: I. 945.27.
- Indimus of Irenopolis (Cilicia II)  
E449: I. 78.42, 884.34, 996, 1067.35.  
Ch: I. 3.110; II. 1.92; III. 2.160, 96.64, 97G.83, 97L.90; IV. 1.93; VI. 1.109, 9.109, 9D.53; XVI. 9.48.
- Irenaeus of Naupactus (Achaea)  
Ch: I. 3.316, 289; II. 1.278; III. 97G.130, 97L.143; IV. 1.278, 9.85; VI. 1.296, 9.309, 9D.29.
- Isaac of Helearnchia (Aegyptus)  
E431: I. 911.147, 945.147.  
E449: I. 78.112, 884.94, 1047, 1067.110b.
- Isaac of Taua (Aegyptus)  
E431: I. 911.144, 945.148.  
E449: I. 78.128, 884.110, 1063, 1067.127.  
Ch: I. 3.152; IV. 20, 25.
- Isaacius, chief lector of Perrhe (Euphratensis)  
A445: XIV. 24, 62.
- Isaias of Elaea (Asia)  
Ch: I. 3.207; II. 1.169; III. 2.119, 96.137, 97G.97, 97L.120; IV. 1.171; VI. 1.187, 9.190, 9D.229.
- Isaias of Hermopolis Minor (Aegyptus)  
E449: I. 78.130, 884.112, 1065, 1067.129.  
Ch: I. 3.154.

Ischyron, deacon of Alexandria

Ch: III. 38–40, 41, 51, 54.

Isidore of Sethroites (Augustamnica I)

Ch: I. 3.146; IV. 20, 25.

James, presbyter of Constantinople

E431: I. 918, 919.

James deacon and archimandrite of the Syrians at Constantinople

C448: I. 552.46.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

Januarius of Leontopolis (Augustamnica II)

Ch: I. 3.149; IV. 20, 25.

Job, archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople

C448: I. 440, 552.36.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

John of Alinda (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.254; II. 1.216; III. 2.83, 96.98, 97G.165, 97L.210; IV. 1.218, 9.160; VI. 1.234, 9.240, 9D.305; XVI. 9.68.

John of Amyzon (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.260; II. 1.222; III. 2.85, 96.100, 97G.168, 97L.214; IV. 1.224, 9.148; VI. 1.240, 9.246, 9D.311; XVI. 9.115.

John of Arca (Armenia II)

Ch: represented by Otrius, presbyter, q.v., but by Euphronius, presbyter, according to VI. 9D.183.

John of Augustopolis (Palestine III)

E431: I. 911.39, 945.122.

John of Aureliopolis (Lydia)

E431: I. 945.112.

John of Barylia (Caria)

C449: I. 555.15.

Ch: VI. 9.297; XVI. 9.127; DAC 2.40.

John of Carrhae (Osroene)

Ch: I. 3.136; II. 1.120; III. 2.180, 96.183, 97G.86, 97L.125; IV. 1.121, 9.55; VI. 1.136, 9.138, 9D.103; XVI. 9.140a.

John of Cnidus (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.263; II. 1.225; III. 2.92, 96.107, 97G.172 (= 246), 97L.224; IV. 1.227, 9.154; VI. 1.243, 9.249, 9D.314; XVI. 9.70.

John of Diocaesarea (Isauria)

Ch: I. 3.89; VI. 1.89. Signed for by his lector Nilus, q.v.

John of Ephesus (metropolis of Asia), elected after the council

Ch: III. 97L.15n.

John of Flaviopolis (Cilicia II)

Ch: I. 3.109; II. 1.91; III. 2.80, 96.94, 97G.196, 97L.105; IV. 1.92; VI. 1.108, 9.108, 9D.52; XVI. 9.47.

John of Gadara (Palestine II)

Ch: I. 3.78; II. 1.64; IV. 1.65, 9.110; VI. 1.78, 9.78, 9D.127.

John of Germanicia (Euphratensis)

Ch: I. 3.130; II. 1.113; III. 2.47, 70, 78, 96.124, 97G.43, 97L.49; IV. 1.114, 9.66; V. 4, 12; VI. 1.130, 9.131, 9D.96; VIII. 28–9; XVI. 9.160; DAC 2.19.

John of Hephaestus (Augustamnica I)

E431: I. 911.125, 945.131.

E449: I. 78.110, 504, 884.92, 1045, 1067.109.

John of Hierapolis (metropolis of Euphratensis), in 445

A445: *XIV. 36, 98, 123–34, 149.*

Ch: *XIV. 158.*

John of Hyrcanis (Lydia)

C448: I. 351, 552.22.

John of Lesbos (The Islands)

E431: I. 945.47.

John of Messene (Achaëa)

E449: I. 78.65, 884.54, 1067.59.

Ch: I. 3.314; II. 1.276; IV. 1.276, 9.82; VI. 1.294, 9.307, 9D.26.

John of Nicopolis (Armenia I)

E449: I. 78.30, 884.23, 1067.23.

Ch: I. 3.169; II. 1.133; III. 2.55, 96.127, 97G.41, 97L.55; IV. 1.134; VI. 1.150, 9.151, 9D.179.

John of Parembole: see John of the Saracens

John of Parthicopolis (Macedonia)

Ch: I. 3.327; IV. 1.289, 9.78; VI. 1.308, 9.321 (signed for by the presbyter Cyril).

John of Photice (Epirus Vetus)

Ch: signed for by Zenobius of Buthrotum VI. 9D.141.

John of Polemonium (Pontus Polemoniicus)

Ch: I. 3.161; II. 1.125; III. 2.66, 97G.145, 97L.175; IV. 1.126, 9.53; VI. 1.142, 9.143, 9D.185.

John of Proconnesus (Hellespontus)

E431: I. 911.27.

John of Psinchaus (Egypt; location unknown)

Ch: I. 3.150; IV. 20, 25.

John of Rhodes (metropolis of the Islands)

E449: I. 78.20, 884.83, 991, 1067.13a.

Ch: represented by Trypho of Chios, q.v.

John of the Saracens = Parembole (Palestine I)

Ch: I. 3.138; II. 1.123; IV. 1.124; VI. 1.138, 9D.108.

John of Sebasteia (metropolis of Armenia I)

E449: I. 78.9, 207, 884.12, 946, 976, 1067.7.

Ch: I. 3.32; II. 1.25; III. 2.20, 59, 61, 96.18, 97G.11, 97L.22; IV. 1.25, 9.10; PE 2.21; V. 1.31; VI. 1.31, 9.31, 9D.177; VII. 2.31; VIII. 2.29; IX. 3.30; X. 152, 174; XI. 2.30; XIII. 2.31, 35; XIV. 2.31; XV. 2.30; XVI. 1.31, 46.

John of Theodosiopolis (Osrhoene)

A445: *XIV. 15.24, 52, 93, 145.*

TB449: X. 27, 28.

John of Tiberias (Palestine II)

E449: I. 78.78, 884.65, 1021, 1067.71.

Ch: I. 3.69; II. 1.57; III. 97L.251n.; IV. 1.58, 9.109; VI. 1.68, 9.69; XVI. 9.171.

John of Trapezopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana)

Ch: I. 3.270; II. 1.232; III. 96.82, 97G.198, 97L.240; IV. 1.234; VI. 1.250, 9.256, 9D.338; XVI. 9.108.

John, presbyter of Alexandria and protonotary

E449: I. 79, 81, 85, 107, 115, 156, 222, 305, 311, 554, 885, 886, 910.

John, presbyter and advocate of Constantinople

C448: I. 235, 359, 361, 364, 464.

C449: I. 630–62, 677, 682.

Jordanes of Abila (Phoenice Libanensis)

A445: XIV. 15.18, 144.

Ch: I. 3.126; II. 1.108; IV. 1.109; VI. 1.125, 9.126, 9D.86; XVI. 9.43 (signed for by the *chorepiscopus* Paternius).

Joseph of Heliopolis (Phoenice Libanensis)

A445: XIV. 15.10, 55, 89, 136.

Ch: I. 3.125; II. 1.107; III. 2.49; IV. 1.108; VI. 1.124, 9.125, 9D.82; XIV. 152, 157; XVI. 9.45; DAC 2.20.

Jovian of Deultum (Haemimontus)

C448: I. 479, 552.16.

Ch: III. 2.158, 96.63, 97L.250; VI. 9.452, 9D.16; DAC 2.65.

Julian of Cos (The Islands), see I. 3.19n.

C448: I. 340, 479, 552.17.

C449: I. 555.27, 558.21, 745, 762, 814, 823.

451: *DBC* 4, 7.

Ch: representing Pope Leo, I. 3.19; II. 1.17; III. 2.10, 96.9, 97G.9, 97L.11; IV. 1.17, 9.40; PE 2.18, 55; V. 1.17, 29; VI. 1.18, 9.17, 9D.153; VII. 2.17, 13; VIII. 2.17, 16; IX. 3.16, 6, 9; X. 144; XI. 2.16; XII. 6, 15; XIII. 2.17; XIV. 2.17; XV. 2.17, 5; XVI. 1.17.

452: *DAC* 12.

Julian of Hypaepa (Asia)

E449: I. 78.99, 884.89, 1042, 1067.91.

Ch: I. 3.209; II. 1.171; III. 2.138, 91, 96.42, 97G.177, 97L.72; IV. 1.173; VI. 1.189, 9.192, 9D.235.

Julian of Mostene (Lydia)

C448: I. 349, 552.24.

Julian of Rhosus (Cilicia II)

Ch: I. 3.107; II. 1.89; III. 2.173, 96.74, 97G.65, 97L.129; IV. 1.90, 9.49; VI. 1.106, 9.110, 9D.54; XVI. 9.49.

Julian of Tavium (Galatia I)

E449: I. 78.25, 884.18, 981, 1067.18.

Ch: I. 3.163; II. 1.127; III. 97G.234, 97L.294; IV. 1.128; VI. 1.144, 9.145, 9D.157.



- Julian, presbyter, representing Calandion of Halicarnassus (Caria)  
 Ch: I. 3.264; II. 1.226; III. 2.93n., 96.108, 97G.173n., 97L.270; IV. 1.228, 9.161; VI. 1.244, 9.250, 9D.315; XVI. 9.117.
- Julius of Celenderis (Isauria)  
 Ch: I. 3.87; II. 1.73; III. 97G.207, 97L.233; IV. 1.74, 9.127; VI. 1.87, 9.88, 9D.58.
- Julius of Puteoli, representing Pope Leo  
 E449: I. 68, 82, 117, 218, 227, 952.
- Juvenal of Jerusalem (Palestine I)  
 E431: 242, 911.2, 945.3.  
 E449: I. 47, 52, 70.3, 86, 109, 153, 199, 547, 554, 876, 884.1, 899, 966, 1067.2.  
 Ch: I. 3.7, 4, 62, 102, 104, 125, 282, 284, 1068; III. 97G.221, 97L.273; IV. 11-17, 18; PE 2.6, 52; V. 1.6, 29; VI. 1.6, 9.6, 9D.115; VII. 2.6, 5; VIII. 2.6, 19; X. 146, 164; D 19.6, 24; XII. 12; XIII. 2.6; XIV. 2.6; XV. 2.6; XVI. 1.6, 9.3; DAC 2.3.
- Lampadius of Raphanea (Syria II)  
 Ch: I. 3.101; II. 1.84; IV. 1.85; VI. 1.100, 9.101 (signed for by his deacon Januarius).
- Lampetius of Casium (Augustamnica I)  
 E431: I. 911.128, 945.159.
- Leo of Rome, *passim*.  
 E449: represented by Julius of Puteoli and deacon Hilary, qq.v.  
 Ch: represented by Paschasinus, Lucentius, Boniface, and Julian of Cos, qq.v.
- Leontius of Araxa (Lycia)  
 Ch: I. 3.240; II. 1.202; III. 2.143, 96.48, 97G.118, 97L.152; IV. 1.204; VI. 1.220, 9.224, 9D.273; XVI. 9.147 (= 166a).
- Leontius of Ascalon (Palestine I)  
 E449: I. 78.69, 884.58, 1012, 1067.63.  
 Ch: I. 3.66; II. 1.54; III. 97G.243, 97L.178; IV. 1.55, 9.99; VI. 1.65, 9.66, 9D.117; XVI. 9.57.
- Leontius of Magnesia on the Maeander (Asia)  
 E449: I. 78.94, 884.79, 1037, 1067.86.  
 Ch: I. 3.199; II. 1.161; III. 2.139, 96.43, 97G.92, 97L.77; IV. 1.163; V. 29; VI. 1.179, 9.182, 9D.222; XI. 11, 23, 24, 57.
- Letoeus of Livias (Palestine I)  
 E431: I. 911.35, 945.196.
- Leucadius of Mnizus (Galatia I)  
 Ch: I. 3.160; II. 1.122; III. 97G.237, 97L.302; IV. 1.123; VI. 1.141, 9.140, 9D.161.
- Leucius of Apollonshieron (Lydia)  
 Ch: I. 3.231; II. 1.193; III. 2.192, 96.158, 97G.185, 97L.135 (= 138); IV. 1.195, 9.158; VI. 1.211, 9.215, 9D.248; XVI. 9.62.
- Libanius of Palaeopolis (Pamphylia I)  
 E431: I. 945.99.

Libanius of Parlais (Pisidia)

Ch: I. 3.302; II. 1.264; IV. 1.264; VI. 1.282, 9.288, 9D.294.

Limenius of Saittae (Lydia)

E431: I. 945.70.

Longinus of Chersonesus (Chersonesus Taurica)

C448: I. 331, 552.12.

C449: I. 555.14, 743, 793, 816.

E449: I. 78.105.

Longinus of Orcistus (Galatia II)

Ch: I. 3.192; II. 1.154; III. 2.155, 96.60, 97G.178, 97L.260; IV. 1.156; VI. 1.172, 9.175, 9D.169.

Longinus of Tymandus (Pisidia)

C449: I. 555.28, 558.28.

Longinus, presbyter, representing Dorotheus of Neocaesarea (Pontus Polemoniacus)

E449: I. 78.132, 1067.134.

Lucentius of Asculum (Picenum Suburbicarium), representing Pope Leo

451: *DBC* 8, 10.

Ch: I. 3.2, 9, 12, 275, 338; II. 1.2; III. 1.2, 42, 52, 94.2, 97G.2, 97L.2; IV. 1.2, 6, 9.3, 28, 38, 53; PE 2.2, 49; V. 1.2, 9, 29; VI. 1.2, 9.2, 9D.2; VII. 2.2, 7; VIII. 2.2, 16; IX. 3.2, 6, 9; X. 144, 161; D 19.2, 21; XI. 2.2, 49; XII. 5, 10; XIII. 2.2; XIV. 2.2; XV. 2.2, 6; XVI. 1.2, 2, 6, 10, 12, 45.

Lucian of Bizye and Arcadiopolis (Europa), usually representing Cyriacus of Heraclea

Ch: I. 3.11; II. 1.8; III. 2.8, 70, 78, 84, 96.7, 96.128a, 97L.9 (= 286); IV. 1.8; PE 2.10; V. 1.10; VI. 1.10, 9.10, 9.59, 9D.6, 9D.8; VII. 2.10; VIII. 2.10; IX. 3.9; XI. 2.9, 28, 40; XIII. 2.10; XIV. 2.9; XV. 2.10; XVI. 1.10, 9.4, 9.29; DAC 2.4, 14.

452: *DAC* 7–10, 12.

Lucian of Ipsus (Phrygia Salutaris)

Ch: I. 3.280; II. 1.242; III. 2.135, 96.153, 97G.64, 97L.94; IV. 1.242, 9.139; VI. 1.260, 9.266, 9D.319; XVI. 9.58.

Lucian of Topirus (Rhodope)

E431: I. 911.53, 945.79.

Lucius of Zygrus (Libya Inferior)

E449: I. 78.126, 884.108, 1061, 1067.125.

Luke of Beroea (Macedonia)

E449: I. 78.63, 884.53, 1067.57.

Luke of Dyrrachium (metropolis of Epirus Nova)

E449: I. 78.51, 884.42, 1005, 1067.44.

Ch: I. 3.49; II. 1.40; III. 97G.35, 97L.47; IV. 1.41, 9.71; PE 2.49; V. 1.49; VI. 1.48, 9.48, 9D.142; VII. 2.48; VIII. 2.46; IX. 3.48; XI. 2.48; XIII. 2.48; XIV. 2.48; XV. 2.48; XVI. 1.49.

Macarius of Aenus (Rhodope)

Ch: III. 2.103, 96.117, 97L.282; VI. 9D.15.

- Macarius of Antaeopolis (Thebaid)  
E431: I. 911.120, 945.168.
- Macarius of Cabasa (Aegyptus)  
Ch: I. 3.158, 296.
- Macarius of Laodicea (Syria I)  
Ch: represented by Eusebius, presbyter of Antioch, q.v.
- Macarius of Metelis (Aegyptus)  
E431: I. 911.115, 945.127.
- Macedon of Magydus (Pamphylia I)  
Ch: I. 3.335; II. 1.297; III. 97G.202, 97L.257; IV. 1.297; VI. 1.316, 9.329, 9D.255.
- Macedonius of Xoïs (Aegyptus)  
E431: I. 911.117, 945.138.
- Maeonius of Nysa (Asia)  
Ch: I. 3.213; II. 1.175; III. 2.118, 96.136, 97G.95, 97L.123; IV. 1.177; VI. 1.193, 9.201, 9D.232; XI. 11.
- Maeonius of Sardis (metropolis of Lydia)  
E431: I. 945, 21.
- Mamas of Aninetus (Asia)  
Ch: I. 3.198; II. 1.160; III. 2.168, 96.72, 97G.90, 97L.117; IV. 1.162; VI. 1.178, 9.181, 9D.221.
- Mamas, presbyter of Constantinople  
C448: I. 377–81, 395, 397, 447, 451, 454, 456.  
C449: I. 712, 715.
- Manasses of Theodosiopolis (Armenia Magna)  
Ch: VI. 9.296; XVI. 9.181; DAC 2.45.
- Manuel, archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople  
C448: I. 392, 393, 440, 552.34.  
Ch: IV. 63, 105.
- Maras of Anzitene (Mesopotamia)  
Ch: VI. 9D.111.
- Maras of Anasartha (Syria I)  
A445: XIV. 15.23, 60, 91n., 126 (or 141).  
Ch: I. 3.63; II. 1.52; III. 97G.216, 97L.205; IV. 1.53; VI. 1.62, 9.63, 9D.38.  
Signing for Romulus of Chalcis III. 97G.217, 97L.205; VI. 9.64.
- Maras of Codrula (Pamphylia I); see IV. 9.37n.  
Ch: I. 3.332; II. 1.294; IV. 1.294, 9.37 (represented by the presbyter Verus); VI. 1.313, 9.326 (signed for by Marcellinus of Isinda), 9D.256.
- Maras of Dionysias (Arabia)  
E449: I. 1067.105.
- Maras of Urima (Euphratensis)  
A445: XIV. 15.21, 48, 91n., 141 (or 126).
- Maras, presbyter of Edessa (Osrhoene)  
A448: X. 48, 50.  
TB449: IX. 7; X. 28, 31, 35, 37, 56, 60, 67, 77–81, 102, 104, 113–29, 132, 137.

Marcellinus of Carallia (Pamphylia II)

Ch: I. 3.338; II. 1.300; IV. 1.300; VI. 1.319, 9.332, 9D.260.

Marcellinus of Isinda (Pamphylia I)

Ch: I. 3.334; II. 1.296; IV. 1.296; VI. 1.315, 9.326 (signing for Maras of Codrula), 9.328, 9D.254.

Marcellinus of Metropolis (Asia)

Ch: I. 3.206; II. 1.168; III. 2.165, 96.69, 97G.96, 97L.119; IV. 1.170; VI. 1.186, 9.189, 9D.234.

Marcellus, presbyter and archimandrite of the Acoemete monastery at Constantinople  
C448: I. 552.53.

Ch: IV. 63.105.

'Marcian of Cotenna' (Pamphylia II), apparently representing Eugenius of Cotenna

Ch: III. 2.78, 96.92, 97L.280.

Marcian of Gerara = Iotane (Palestine I)

Ch: I. 3.82; II. 1.68; IV. 1.69, 9.114; VI. 1.82, 9.82, 9D.131.

Marianus of Gaza (Palestine I), see VI. 9D.133n.

E449: I. 1067.130 (= 138).

Ch: VI. 9D.133.

Marianus of Resapha (Euphratensis)

A445: XIV. 15.28.

Marinianus of Synnada (metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris)

C449: I. 555.8, 558.6.

E449: I. 78.27, 210, 884.20, 983, 1067.20.

Ch: I. 3.43, 861; II. 1.34; III. 2.37, 55, 97G.37, 97L.48; IV. 1.35, 9.23; PE 2.43; V. 1.43; VI. 1.42, 9.42, before 9.350, 9D.316; VII. 2.42; VIII. 2.40; IX. 3.42; XI. 2.42; XII. 20; XIII. 2.42; XIV. 2.42; XV. 2.42; XVI. 1.43, 9.23, 28.

Marinus of Heliopolis (Augustamnica II)

E431: I. 911.118, 945.130.

Mark of Arethusa (Syria II)

Ch: I. 3.96; II. 1.79; III. 2.163, 96.67, 97G.59, 97L.63; IV. 1.80; VI. 1.95.  
Signed for by Timothy of Balaneae VI. 9.96; XVI. 9.39.

Mark of Euroea (Epirus Vetus)

E449: I. 78.53, 884.44, 1067.46.

Ch: I. 3.248, 298; II. 1.210; III. 2.199; IV. 1.212, 9.88; VI. 1.228, 9.234, 9D.135.

Martin, presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Dios (Constantinople)

C448: I. 436–40, 552.33.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

Martyrius of Gortyna (metropolis of Crete)

E449: I. 1067.131 (= 139).

Ch: I. 3.48; II. 1.39; III. 97G.146, 97L.187; IV. 1.40, 9.72; PE 2.48; V. 1.48; VI. 1.47, 9.47, 9D.146; VII. 2.47; VIII. 2.45; IX. 3.47; XI. 2.47; XIII. 2.47; XIV. 2.47; XV. 2.47; XVI. 1.48.

Martyrius of Ilistra (Lycaonia)

E431: I. 911.58, 945.51.

- Matalus of Philadelphia (Isauria)  
 Ch: I. 3.95; II. 1.78; III. 97G.212, 97L.168; IV. 1.79; VI. 1.94, 9.95, 9D.65.
- Matidianus of Coracesium (Pamphylia II)  
 E431: I. 911.101, 945.93.
- Matronianus of Pompeiopolis (Cilicia I)  
 Ch: signed for in his absence by Theodore of Tarsus VI. 9.349, 9D.43.
- Matthias of Temenothyrae (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
 Ch: signed for in his absence by Nunechius of Laodicea VI. 9.388, 9D.332.
- Maximin of Serrhae (Macedonia)  
 E449: I. 78.61, 884.51, 1067.54.  
 Ch: I. 3.324; II. 1.287; IV. 1.286, 9.76; VI. 1.305, 9.318, 9D.20.
- Maximin of Zorzela (Pisidia)  
 Ch: VI. 9.402 (signed for in his absence by Pergamius of Antioch in Pisidia), 9D.302.
- Maximus of Antioch (metropolis of Syria I)  
 451: *DBC* 9.  
 Ch: I. 3.6, 4, 276; II. 1.5; III. 2.5, 13, 24, 77, 93, 96.5, 97G.5, 97L.5; IV. 1.5, 9.5; PE 2.5, 19–22, 51; V. 1.5, 29; VI. 1.5, 9.5, 9D.32; VII. 2.5, 4; VIII. 2.5, 18; IX. 3.5; X. 144–9, 163; D 19.5, *passim*; XI. 2.5; XII. 11; XIII. 2.5; XIV. 2.5, 162, 163; XV. 2.5; XVI. 1.5, 9.2; DAC 2.2.
- Maximus of Assus (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.72, 945.181.
- Maximus of Cyme (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.70, 945.113.
- Maximus of Tralles (Asia)  
 E449: I. 78.98, 884.81, 1041, 1067.90.
- Maximus, archimandrite of Eutyches' monastery, Constantinople  
 C448: *I. 445, 451.*  
 Ch: IV. 76.
- Meletius of Larissa (Syria II), generally representing Domnus of Apamea  
 E449: I. 78.14, 884.9, 954, 974, 1067.11 (= 27).  
 Ch: I. 3.21; II. 1.15; III. 2.42n., 2.75, 96.35, 97G.28 (= 58), 97L.61, 97L.62; IV. 1.15, 9.46; PE 2.20; V. 1.20; VI. 1.20, 9.20, 9.99, 9D.41; VII. 2.20; VIII. 2.20; IX. 3.19; X. 171; XI. 2.19; XIII. 2.20; XIV. 2.20; XV. 2.20; XVI. 1.20, 9.18, 9.27; DAC 2.17, 49. Signing for Eutychianus of Epiphaneia VI. 9.99; XVI. 9.27.
- Meliphthongus of Juliopolis (Galatia I), see III. 97G.235n.  
 C448: I. 339, 479, 552.11.  
 C449: I. 555.9, 565, 634, 744, 764.  
 E449: I. 78.103.  
 Ch: I. 3.164; II. 1.128; III. 97G.235, 97L.295; IV. 1.129; VI. 1.145, 9.146, 9D.158; XI. 41; XVI. 9.44; DAC 2.52.
- Memnon of Ephesus (metropolis of Asia)  
 E431: I. 244, 911.3, 945.12.  
 Ch: *XI. 58.*

- Memnon, presbyter and sacristan of Constantinople  
C448: I. 403–4, 420, 422, 427.
- Menander of Heraclea by Salbacus (Caria)  
Ch: I. 3.258; II. 1.220; III. 2.90, 96.105, 97G.167, 97L.221; IV. 1.222, 9.153; VI. 1.238, 9.244, 9D.309.
- Menecrates of Ceraseis (Lydia)  
Ch: I. 3.224; II. 1.186; III. 2.112, 30, 96.130, 97G.184; IV. 1.188; VI. 1.204, 9.207, 9D.237; XVI. 9.172.
- Messalinus of Laodicea (Pisidia)  
Ch: represented by Adelus, *chorepiscopus*, q.v.
- Metrodorus of Leontopolis (Augustamnica II)  
E431: I. 911.119, 945.140.
- Mirus of Eulandra (Phrygia Salutaris)  
Ch: I. 3.279; II. 1.241; III. 97G.84, 97L.112; IV. 1.241, 9.138; VI. 1.259, 9.265, 9D.318; XVI. 9.131.
- Modestus of Anaea (Asia)  
E431: I. 911.88, 945.114.
- Modestus of Sebaste (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
Ch: I. 3.266; II. 1.228; IV. 1.230; VI. 1.246, 9.252, 9D.330; XVI. 9.104.
- Modestus, presbyter, signing for Olympius of Prusias (Honorias)  
Ch: III. 97G.218n., 97G.250, 97L.173; VI. 9D.204.
- Movianus of Limenae (Pisidia)  
Ch: I. 3.309; II. 1.271; III. 2.184, 96.187, 97L.128 (= 304); IV. 1.271; VI. 1.289, 9.295, 9D.301; XVI. 9.99; DAC 2.55.
- Musonius of Nyssa (Cappadocia I)  
E449: I. 78.28, 884.21, 984, 1067.21.  
Ch: III. 2.123, 96.141; VI. 9D.171.
- Musonius of Segor = Zoara (Palestine III)  
E449: I. 78.79, 884.66, 1022, 1067.72.  
Ch: I. 3.73; II. 1.60; IV. 1.61, 9.113; VI. 1.72, 9.73, 9D.130; XVI. 9.180.
- Mysterius of Amorium (Galatia II)  
Ch: I. 3.190; II. 1.153; III. 2.156, 96.61, 97G.175, 97L.259; IV. 1.155; VI. 1.171, 9.173, 9D.165.
- Narses, presbyter of Eutyches' monastery, Constantinople  
C448: I. 445, 451.  
E449: I. 887, 888.1.
- Natiras of Gaza (Palestine I)  
E431: I. 945.124.  
C449: I. 555.32, 558.12.  
Ch: III. 96.86n., 97L.275; VI. 1.76, 9.76, 9D.132; XVI. 9.63.
- Nectarius of Casae and Sennea (Pamphylia II)  
E431: I. 911.102, 945.87.
- Neon of Sillyum (Pamphylia I)  
Ch: I. 3.330; II. 1.292; III. 2.76, 96.90, 97G.200, 97L.258; IV. 1.292, 9.35; VI. 1.311, 9.324, 9D.251.

- Neoptolemus of Corna (Lycaonia)  
 Ch: I. 3.289; II. 1.251; III. 2.136, 96.40, 97G.142, 97L.70 (= 196); IV. 1.251, 9.132; VI. 1.269, 9.275, 9D.280; XVI. 9.118.
- Nesius of Colybrassus (Pamphylia II)  
 E431: I. 911.100, 945.52.
- Nestorius of Phlabinis (Aegyptus)  
 Ch: I. 3.156, 295; *III. 51*.
- Nestorius of Sion (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.79, 945.66.
- Nicholas of Acarassus (Lycia)  
 Ch: representing Stephen of Limyra I. 3.235; II. 1.197; III. 2.142n., 96.45n., 97G.116n., 97L.147n.; IV. 1.199; VI. 1.215, 9.219; XVI. 9.142. On his own behalf III. 2.148, 96.53, 97G.122, 97L.151; VI. 1.215, 9.227, 9D.277; DAC 2.34.
- Nicholas of Stobi (Macedonia)  
 Ch: I. 3.325, 292; II. 1.288; III. 97G.147, 97L.188; IV. 1.287, 9.77; VI. 1.306, 9.319, 9D.21.
- Nicias of Megara (Achaea)  
 E431: I. 911.45, 945.38.  
 Ch: I. 3.244; II. 1.206; III. 97L.139; IV. 1.208, 9.81; VI. 1.224, 9.230, 9D.25.
- Nilus, lector, signing for John of Diocaesarea (Isauria)  
 Ch: III. 97G.230, 97L.244n.; VI. 9.90, 9D.59.
- Noah of Cephas (Mesopotamia)  
 Ch: I. 3.139; II. 1.124; III. 2.131, 96.149, 97G.215, 97L.204; IV. 1.125; VI. 1.139, 9.141, 9D.110; XVI. 9.153; DAC 2.43.
- Nonnus of Edessa (metropolis of Osrhoene), 449–51 and from 457  
 Ch: I. 3.29; II. 1.23; III. 2.39, 97G.39, 97L.52; IV. 1.23, 9.116; PE 2.28; V. 1.28; VI. 1.28, 9.28, 9D.101; VII. 2.28; IX. 3.27; X. 161–3; XI. 2.27; XIII. 2.28; XIV. 2.28.
- Novatianist (Cathar) heretics of Philadelphia (Lydia)  
 E431: *I. 933, 936–7*.
- Nunechius of Laodicea (metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana)  
 E449: I. 78.36, 209, 884.28, 989, 1067.30.  
 Ch: I. 3.42, 861; II. 1.33; III. 2.34, 96.33, 97G.33, 97L.38; IV. 1.34, 9.115; PE 2.42; V. 1.42; VI. 1.41, 9.41, before 9.378, 9D.328; VII. 2.41; VIII. 2.39; IX. 3.41; X. 176; XI. 2.41; XIII. 2.41; XIV. 2.41; XV. 2.41; XVI. 1.42, 9.22, 9.185, 27.
- Nunechius of Selge (Pamphylia II)  
 E431: I. 911.97, 945.92.
- Obrimus of Coracesium (Pamphylia II)  
 Ch: I. 3.339; II. 1.301; IV. 1.301, 9.34; VI. 1.320, 9.334, 9D.262.
- Olympius of Apollonia: see Olympius of Sozopolis
- Olympius of Augaza = Theodosiopolis (Asia)  
 E449: I. 78.97, 306, 884.88, 1040, 1067.89.  
 Ch: I. 3.203; II. 1.165; III. 2.167, 96.71, 97G.105, 97L.162; IV. 1.167; VI. 1.183, 9.186, 9D.228; XI. 14, 27–31.

- Olympius of Claudiopolis (metropolis of Honorias)  
E431: I. 945.28, signed for by Epiphanius of Creteia and Eusebius of Heraclea.
- Olympius of Constantia (metropolis of Cyprus)  
E449: I. 78.37, 884.29, 990, 1067.62.  
Ch: represented by Epiphanius of Soli or Epaphroditus of Tamasus, qq.v.
- Olympius of Paneas (Phoenixe I)  
Ch: I. 3.118; II. 1.100; IV. 1.101, 9.47; VI. 1.117, 9.118, 9D.70; XVI. 9.52.
- Olympius of Prusias (Honorias)  
Ch: signed for by Modestus, presbyter, q.v.
- Olympius of Sozopolis = Apollonia (Pisidia)  
E449: I. 1067.97.  
Ch: I. 3.304; II. 1.266; III. 2.177, 96.180, 97G.125, 97L.115; IV. 1.266; VI. 1.284, 9.290, 9D.296; XVI. 9.98; DAC 2.39.
- Olympius of Theodosiopolis: see Olympius of Augaza
- Olympius, presbyter, representing Calogerus of Claudiopolis (Honorias)  
E449: I. 78.135, 1067.137.
- Onesimus of Argos (Achaea)  
Ch: I. 3.247; II. 1.209; IV. 1.211, 9.87; VI. 1.227, 9.233, 9D.31.
- Onesiphorus of Iconium (metropolis of Lycaonia)  
E449: I. 78.104, 884.82.  
Ch: I. 3.44, 858, 861; II. 1.35; III. 2.35, 96.26, 97G.34, 97L.32; IV. 1.36, 9.25; PE 2.44; V. 1.44; VI. 1.43, 9.43, before 9.360, 9D.279; VII. 2.43; VIII. 2.41; IX. 3.43; XI. 2.43; XIII. 2.43; XIV. 2.43; XV. 2.43; XVI. 1.44, 9.24.
- Ophelimus of Tegea (Achaea)  
Ch: I. 3.315; II. 1.277; III. 97L.144; IV. 1.277, 9.83; VI. 1.295, 9.308, 9D.27.
- Otrius, presbyter, representing John of Arca (Armenia II)  
Ch: I. 3.179; II. 1.142; IV. 1.144; VI. 1.160, 9.161.
- Palladius of Amaseia (metropolis of Helenopontus)  
E431: I. 911.12a, 945.15.
- Palladius of Corydalla (Lycia)  
Ch: VI. 9.341 (signed for by Eudoxius of Choma), 9D.266.
- Palladius, deacon and notary of Patricius of Tyana (Cappadocia II)  
Ch: III. 73, 77.
- Pamprepius of Titiopolis (Isauria), see note *ad loc.*  
Ch: VI. 9D.61.
- Pancratius of Livias (Palestine I)  
E449: I. 78.87, 884.71, 1030, 1067.79.  
Ch: I. 3.75; II. 1.61; IV. 1.62, 9.105; VI. 1.74, 9.75, 9D.121; XVI. 9.173; DAC 2.59.
- Panolbius of Hierapolis (metropolis of Euphratensis), early 440s  
A445: XIV. 32–82, 123–38.
- Papias of Eriza (Caria)  
Ch: I. 3.256; II. 1.218; III. 2.86, 96.101, 97L.212; IV. 1.220, 9.150; VI. 1.236, 9.242, 9D.307; XVI. 9.114.



Paralius of Andrapa (Helenopontus)

E431: I. 911.108, 945.26.

Ch: represented by Eucharius, deacon, or Helpidius, presbyter, qq.v.; see VI. 9D.190n.

Paschasinus of Lilybaeum (Sicily), senior representative of Pope Leo

451: *DBC* 7, 8, 10.

Ch: I. 3.1, 5–10, 72, 273, 336; II. 1.1; III. 2.1, 4, 8, 18, 44, 46, 51a, 67, 79, 82, 85, 87, 92, 94.1, 97G.1, 97L.1; IV. 1.1, 6, 9.2, 28, 38, 61; PE 2.1, 49; V. 1.1, 9, 29; VI. 1.1, 9.1, 9D.1; VII. 2.1, 7; VIII. 2.1, 16; IX. 3.1, 6, 9, 12; X. 144, 161; D 19.1, 21; XI. 2.1, 49; XII. 4, 10; XIII. 2.1; XIV. 2.1; XV. 2.1, 6; XVI. 1.1, 2, 4, 6, 15.

Pasmius of Paralus (Aegyptus)

E449: I. 78.119, 884.102, 1055, 1067.118.

Ch: I. 3.145; IV. 20, 25.

Paternius, *chorepiscopus*, representing Jordanes of Abila (Phoenice Libanensis)

Ch: XVI. 9.43.

Patricius of Acrasus (Lydia)

Ch: I. 3.228; II. 1.190; III. 2.114, 96.132, 97G.139, 97L.179 (= 287); IV. 1.192, 9.128; VI. 1.208, 9.212, 9D.238; XVI. 9.76.

Patricius of Hadrianutherae (Hellespontus)

Ch: I. 3.223; II. 1.185; III. 2.191, 96.159, 97L.160 (= 293); IV. 1.187; VI. 1.203, 9.206, 9D.215; XVI. 9.143.

Patricius of Neocaesarea (Euphratensis)

Ch: I. 3.62; II. 1.51; III. 2.68, 96.84, 97G.113, 97L.103; IV. 1.52; VI. 1.61, 9.62, 9D.100; DAC 2.30, 31.

Patricius of Tyana (metropolis of Cappadocia II)

C449: I. 558.7.

E449: represented by Anthimus, presbyter, q.v.

Ch: I. 3.35; II. 1.28; III. 2.23, 63, 96.21, 97G.14, 97L.24; IV. 1.28, 9.13; PE 2.34; V. 1.34; VI. 1.34, 9.34, 9D.173; VII. 2.34; VIII. 2.32; IX. 3.33; X. 6, 174; XI. 2.33; XIII. 2.34, 35; XIV. 2.34; XV. 2.33; XVI. 1.34.

Patricius, deacon of Constantinople

C448: I. 394, 432–4, 442.

Paul of Anthedon (Palestine I)

E431: I. 911.31, 945.44.

C449: I. 555.31, 558.14.

Ch: I. 3.79; II. 1.65; IV. 1.66, 9.101; VI. 1.79, 9.79, 9D.119.

Paul of Apollonia (Bithynia)

C448: I. 552.14.

C449: I. 555.20, 558.27, 746.

Paul of Aradus [and Antaradus] (Phoenice I), see VI. 9D.77n.

A445: XIV. 15.19, 58, 90n., 140.

Ch: I. 3.120; II. 1.102; III. 96.174, 97L.299; IV. 1.103; VI. 1.119, 9.120, 9D.71; XVI. 9.55.

Paul of Aristium (Phrygia Pacatiana)

Ch: I. 3.267; II. 1.229; III. 97G.203, 97L.253; IV. 1.231; VI. 1.247, 9.253, 9D.333; XVI. 9.107.

Paul of Cantanus (Crete)

Ch: represented by Euphratas of Eleutherna, I. 3.321, III. 2.178; IV. 1.283, 9.98; VI. 1.301. Represented by Chrysogonus the presbyter II. 1.284; VI. 9.315.

Paul of Daldis (Lydia)

E431: I. 945.69.

Paul of Derbe (Lycaonia)

Ch: I. 3.290; II. 1.252; III. 97G.153, 97L.197; IV. 1.252, 9.136; VI. 1.270, 9.276, 9D.281; XVI. 9.119.

Paul of Erymna (Pamphylia II)

E431: I. 945.186.

Paul of Lappa (Crete)

E431: I. 911.51, 945.60.

Paul of Maiuma (Palestine I), perhaps identical to Paulianus of Maiuma, q.v.

E449: I. 78.73, 884.60, 1016, 1067.67.

Paul of Mariamme (Syria II)

Ch: I. 3.100; II. 1.83; III. 2.126, 96.143, 97G.75, 97L.110; IV. 1.84, 9.50; VI. 1.99, 9.100; XVI. 9.72. Signing for Eusebius of Seleucia ad Belum VI. 9.98; XVI. 9.71.

Paul of Philomelium (Pisidia)

Ch: I. 3.297; II. 1.259; III. 2.150, 96.56, 97G.102, 97L.84; IV. 1.259; VI. 1.277, 9.283, 9D.289; DAC 2.37.

Paul of Phlabonis (Aegyptus)

E431: I. 911.113, 945.141.

Paul of Pogla (Pamphylia I)

Ch: I. 3.333; II. 1.295; III. 97G.194, 97L.269; IV. 1.295; VI. 1.314, 9.327, 9D.253.

Paul of Ptolemais (Phoenice I)

A445: XIV. 15.14, 57, 90n., 139.

Ch: I. 3.119; II. 1.101; III. 2.81, 96.96, 97G.71, 97L.54; IV. 1.102; VI. 1.118, 9.119, 9D.69.

Paul of Tripolis (Lydia)

E449: I. 78.102, 1067.94.

Ch: I. 3.229; II. 1.191; III. 2.116, 96.134, 97G.103, 97L.113; IV. 1.193; VI. 1.209, 9.213, 9D.240; XVI. 9.179.

Paul presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Aethrium in Constantinople

C448: I. 552.48.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

Paul, presbyter, representing Uranius of Iborra (Helenopontus)

Ch: I. 3.174; II. 1.137; III. 2.132n., 96.150, 97L.290; IV. 1.139; VI. 1.155, 9.156, 9D.191; XVI. 9.36; DAC 2.44.

Paulianus of Maiuma (Palestine I), perhaps identical to Paul of Maiuma, q.v.

E431: I. 911.30, 945.175.

- Paulinus of Apamea (Pisidia)  
 Ch: I. 3.298; II. 1.260; III. 2.108, 96.122, 97G.108, 97L.85; IV. 1.260; VI. 1.278, 9.284, 9D.290; XVI. 9.149.
- Paulinus of Theodosiopolis = Perperene (Asia)  
 C449: I. 555.16, 558.26.  
 Ch: I. 3.208; II. 1.170; III. 97G.206, 97L.239; IV. 1.172; VI. 1.188, 9.191, 9D.233.
- Paviscus of 'Apollo' (Pamphylia II)  
 E431: I. 911.99a, 945.177.
- Pelagius, presbyter, representing Theophilus of Hadrianopolis (Honorias)  
 Ch: I. 3.187; II. 1.150; III. 97G.251, 97L.172; IV. 1.152; VI. 1.168, 9.170, 9D.202.
- Peregrinus of Phoenice (Epirus Vetus)  
 Ch: I. 3.249, 298; II. 1.211; III. 2.201, 97L.191; IV. 1.213, 9.89; VI. 1.229, 9.235, 9D.136.
- Pergamius of Antioch (metropolis of Pisidia)  
 Ch: I. 3.45; II. 1.36; III. 2.38, 31, 32, 34, 36, 56, 96.34, 97G.32, 97L.39; IV. 1.37, 9.17; PE 2.45; V. 1.45; VI. 1.44, 9.44, before 9.399, 9D.287; VII. 2.44; VIII. 2.42; IX. 3.44; XI. 2.44; XIII. 2.44; XIV. 2.44; XV. 2.44; XVI. 1.45, 9.25, 29; DAC 2.13.
- Pergamius of 'Pisidian Antioch' (wrongly)  
 C449: I. 555.30.
- Perigenes of Corinth (metropolis of Achaea)  
 E431: I. 911.10, 945.10.
- Perrebius of Pharmalus = the Thessalian Saltus (Thessaly)  
 E431: I. 911.17, 945.43.
- Peter of Byblus (Phoenice I), see XVI. 9.110n.  
 Ch: signed for by Photius of Tyre VI. 9D.73, XVI. 9.110.
- Peter of Chersonesus (Europa), representing Cyriacus of Heraclea  
 E449: I. 1067.96.
- Peter of Corinth (metropolis of Achaea)  
 Ch: I. 3.14, 4, 286, 287; II. 1.10; III. 2.13, 50a, 96.11, 97G.10, 97L.12; IV. 1.10, 9.69; PE 2.13; V. 1.13; VI. 1.13, 9.13, 9D.24; VII. 2.13, 12; VIII. 2.13; IX. 3.12; X. 150; XI. 2.12; XIII. 2.13; XIV. 2.13; XV. 2.13; XVI. 1.13.
- Peter of Dardanus (Hellespontus)  
 Ch: I. 3.214; II. 1.176; III. 2.157, 96.62, 97G.144, 97L.261; IV. 1.178; VI. 1.194, 9.196, 9D.206; XVI. 9.94.
- Peter of Echinaeum (Epirus Nova)  
 Ch: I. 3.340; II. 1.302; IV. 1.302, 9.93; VI. 1.321, 9.335 (signed for by Bishop 'Sophronius', see n.), 9D.144.
- Peter of Gabbula (Syria I)  
 Ch: I. 3.60; III. 2.175, 96.178, 97G.214, 97L.203; VI. 1.59, 9.60, 9D.37; XVI. 9.165.
- Peter of Gangra (metropolis of Paphlagonia)  
 E449: I. 78.50, 884.41, 1000, 1067.43.

- Ch: I. 3.36; II. 1.29; III. 2.32, 96.31, 97G.17, 97L.26; IV. 1.29, 9.26; PE 2.35; V. 1.35; VI. 1.35, 9.35, 9.177, 9D.194; VII. 2.35; VIII. 2.33; IX. 3.34; X. 174; XI. 2.34; XIII. 2.35; XIV. 2.35; XV. 2.34; XVI. 1.35, 9.14, 26, 35–7.
- Peter of Oxyrhynchus (Arcadia)  
E431: I. 911.121, 945.139.
- Peter of Parembole (Palestine I)  
E431: I. 911.38, 945.123.
- Peter of Prusa (Bithynia)  
E431: I. 911.153, 945.40.
- Peter of Theodosiopolis (Armenia Magna)  
C449: I. 555.24.
- Peter, presbyter of Alexandria and *primicerius* of notaries  
E431: I. 912, 916, 944 *fin.*
- Peter, presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of St Thalassius in Constantinople  
C448: I. 552.35.  
Ch: IV. 63, 105.
- Peter, presbyter of Constantinople  
C448: I. 394, 436–40.
- Phanias of Harpasa (Caria)  
E431: I. 911.67, 945.179.
- Philadelphus of (?) Trajanopolis (Phrygia Pacatiana), see note *ad loc.*  
E431: I. 945.110.
- Philetus of Amyzon (Caria)  
E431: I. 911.63, 945.75.
- Philetus of Ceraseis (Lydia)  
E449: I. 1067.103.
- Philip of Adana (Cilicia I)  
Ch: I. 3.103; II. 1.86; III. 2.58, 97G.52, 97L.67; IV. 1.87; VI. 1.102, 9.103, 9D.45; XVI. 9.137.
- Philip of Ancyra and Synaus (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
Ch: VI. 9.390a, 9D.337.
- Philip of Balbura (Lycia)  
Ch: I. 3.238; II. 1.200; III. 2.145, 96.50, 97G.111, 97L.149 (= 153); IV. 1.202; VI. 1.218, 9.222, 9D.271; XVI. 9.81.
- Philip of Lysias (Phrygia Salutaris)  
Ch: I. 3.281; II. 1.243; III. 97G.160, 97L.131; IV. 1.243, 9.140; VI. 1.261, 9.267, 9D.320; XVI. 9.100.
- Philip of Neaule = Theodosiopolis (Asia)  
Ch: I. 3.204; II. 1.166; III. 2.106, 96.120, 97G.205, 97L.141 (= 284); IV. 1.168; VI. 1.184, 9.187, 9D.226.
- Philip of Pergamum (Asia)  
E431: I. 911.69, 945.55.
- Philip, presbyter of Constantinople  
Ch: XI. 58; XVI. 36, 38.

- Philip, presbyter and legate of the Roman see  
E431: I. 911.159, 945.5.
- Philocalus of Zagyliis (Libya Inferior)  
E449: I. 78.129, 884.111, 1064, 1067.128.
- Philoctetus of Dodona (Epirus Vetus)  
Ch: VI. 9D.140.
- Philotheus, presbyter, representing Zoticus of Harpasa (Caria)  
Ch: I. 3.278; II. 1.240; IV. 1.240; VI. 1.258, 9.264.
- Philotimus, presbyter, representing Themistius of Amastris (Paphlagonia)  
Ch: I. 3.184; II. 1.147; IV. 1.149, 9.30; VI. 1.165, 9.167; XVI. 9.178.
- Philumenus of Cinna (Galatia I)  
E431: I. 911.106, 945.171.
- Phoebammon of Coptos (Thebaid)  
E431: I. 911.114, 945.176.
- Phoscus of Thyateira (Lydia)  
E431: I. 945.68.
- Phosphorus of Orthosia (Phoenice I); see XVI. 9.110–13n.  
A445: XIV. 15.16, 51, 137.  
Ch: I. 3.123; II. 1.105; IV. 1.106; VI. 1.122 9D.79. Signed for by Timothy the deacon VI. 9.123, and Photius of Tyre XVI. 9.112.
- Photinus of Chytri (Cyprus)  
Ch: represented by Dionysius, deacon, q.v.
- Photinus of Lydda = Diospolis (Palestine I)  
E449: I. 78.70, 884.59, 1013, 1067.64.  
Ch: I. 3.80; II. 1.66; III. 97G.244, 97L.184; IV. 1.67, 9.100; VI. 1.80, 9.80, 9D.118.
- Photinus of Teucheira (Libya Pentapolis)  
E449: I. 78.120, 884.100, 1053, 1067.116 (= 119).
- Photinus deacon, representing Dorotheus of Neocaesarea (Pontus Polemoniacus)  
Ch: II. 1.30; IV. 9.52; VI. 9D.184.
- Photinus archdeacon, representing Theoctistus of Pessinus (Galatia II)  
Ch: I. 3.39; III. 2.41n., 96.38, 97G.174n., 97L.45n. (= 267); IV. 1.31; PE 2.39; V. 1.38; VI. 1.38, 9.38, 9D.163; VII. 2.38; VIII. 2.36; IX. 3.38; XI. 2.38; XIII. 2.38; XIV. 2.38; XV. 2.38; XVI. 1.39, 9.85.
- Photinus, monk of Constantinople  
Ch: IV. 64, 66, 76, 83, 88.
- Photius of Tyre (metropolis of Phoenice I)  
TB449: IX. 7; X. 27, 28, 30–46, 53, 55, 58, 59, 62–5, 70, 72, 74–82, 86, 88, 94, 98, 101–5, 107, 111, 114, 117, 125, 128, 131, 136.  
E449: I. 78.23, 884.16, 980, 1067.16.  
Ch: I. 3.26; II. 1.21; III. 2.33, 96.32, 97G.38, 97L.35; IV. 1.21, 9.15, 37, 46; PE 2.25, *passim*; V. 1.25; VI. 1.25, 9.25, 9D.67; VII. 2.25; VIII. 2.25, 22; IX. 3.24, 10; X. 20–22, 24; XI. 2.24; XIII. 2.25; XIV. 2.25; XV. 2.25; XVI. 1.25, 9.15, 9.110–13; DAC 2.6.
- Photius, presbyter of Constantinople  
E431: I. 918, 919.

Pionius of Troas (Hellespontus)

C448: I. 552.20.

Ch: I. 3.218; II. 1.180; III. 2.197, 96.167, 97G.193, 97L.231; IV. 1.182; VI. 1.198, 9.200, 9D.210; XVI. 9.93.

Pius of Pessinus (metropolis of Galatia II)

E431: I. 945.18.

Pius of Petnissus (Galatia II)

Ch: VI. 9D.168.

Placcus of Gerasa (Arabia)

A448: X. 54.

Ch: signed for by Constantine of Bostra VI. 9.427, 9D.92.

Plutarch of Lystra (Lycaonia)

Ch: I. 3.291; II. 1.253; III. 97G.154, 97L.198; IV. 1.253; VI. 1.271, 9.277, 9D.282; XVI. 9.120.

Polycarp of Tabala (Lydia)

E449: I. 78.101, 1067.93.

Ch: I. 3.227; II. 1.189; III. 96.157, 97G.181, 97L.134; IV. 1.191, 9.159; VI. 1.207, 9.211, 9D.239; XVI. 9.61.

Polychronius of Antipatris (Palestine I)

E449: I. 78.86, 884.74, 960, 1029, 1067.78.

Ch: I. 3.77; II. 1.63; IV. 1.64, 9.104; VI. 1.77, 9.77, 9D.122; XVI. 9.140; DAC 2.60.

Polychronius of Dadybra (Paphlagonia)

Ch: signed for by Peter of Gangra VI. 9.177, 9D.197.

Polychronius of Epiphaneia (Cilicia II)

A445: XIV. 15.5, 41, 78, 131.

Ch: I. 3.108; II. 1.90; III. 2.133, 96.151, 97G.69, 97L.69; IV. 1.91, 9.117; VI. 1.107, 9.107, 9D.51; XVI. 9.73.

Pompeianus of Emesa (Phoenice Libanensis)

A445: XIV. 15.4, 40, 79, 127.

Porphyry of Botrys (Phoenice I); see XVI. 9.110–13n.

Ch: I. 3.122; II. 1.104; IV. 1.105; VI. 1.121, 9.122, 9D.78 (signed for by Timothy the deacon); XVI. 9.113 (signed for by Photius of Tyre).

Porphyry, archdeacon, representing Uranius of Emesa (Phoenice Libanensis)

Ch: I. 3.124; II. 1.106; III. 2.129n., 96.147n., 97G.63n., 97L.79n.; IV. 1.107, 9.64; VI. 1.123, 9.124n., 9D.81; XVI. 9.53; DAC 2.25n.

Proclus of Adraa (Arabia)

C449: I. 555.11, 558.22.

Ch: I. 3.112; II. 1.94; III. 2.195, 96.154, 97G.134, 97L.41 (= 272); IV. 1.95; VI. 1.111, 9.113, 9D.89; XVI. 9.40.

Proclus of Algiza (Asia)

Ch: I. 3.201; II. 1.163; IV. 1.165; VI. 1.181, 9.184, 9D.224.

Proclus of Constantinople (434–46)

Ch: XI. 14, 34, 35; XIV. 11; XVI. 35–7, 41.

- Procopius, deacon and notary of Constantinople  
 C449: I. 576–7.  
 Ch: III. 51a.
- Proechius of Arsinoe (Cyprus)  
 Ch: represented by Soteris of Theodosiane, q.v.
- Projectus, bishop (see unknown) and legate of the Roman see  
 E431: I. 911.156, 945.4.
- Promachus of Alinda (Caria)  
 E431: I. 911.68, 945.97.
- Proterius of Myrina (Asia)  
 Ch: I. 3.211; II. 1.173; III. 2.164, 99, 96.68, 97G.94, 97L.118; IV. 1.175; VI. 1.191, 9.194, 9D.231; XI. 11.
- Prothymius of Comana (? Pontus Polemoniacus)  
 E431: I. 911.49a.
- Publius of Olbia (Libya Pentapolis)  
 E431: I. 911.130, 945.143.
- Quartodeciman clergy and laity of Philadelphia (Lydia)  
 E431: I. 922–35, 938–42.
- Quintillus of Heraclea (Macedonia), representing Anastasius of Thessalonica  
 E449: I. 78.13, 212, 884.8, 973, 1067.10 (= 28).  
 Ch: I. 3.8, 4, 291; II. 1.6; III. 97G.6, 97L.7; IV. 1.6, 9.68; PE 2.7; V. 1.7, 29; VI. 1.7, 9.7, 9D.17; VII. 2.7; VIII. 2.7; IX. 3.6; XI. 2.6; XIII. 2.7; XIV. 2.7; XV. 2.7; XVI. 1.7.
- Quintus of Phocaea (Asia)  
 Ch: I. 3.200; II. 1.162; III. 2.121, 89, 96.139, 97G.98, 97L.127; IV. 1.164; VI. 1.180, 9.183, 9D.223.
- Rabbula of Edessa (metropolis of Osrhoene)  
 TB449: X. 138.
- Reginus of Constantia (metropolis of Cyprus)  
 E431: I. 911.93, 945.13.
- Restitianus, bishop (Africa)  
 Ch: I. 3.343; II. 1.305; IV. 1.305; VI. 1.324, 9.338; XVI. 9.168; DAC 2.47.
- Rhenus of Ionopolis (Paphlagonia)  
 Ch: I. 3.182; II. 1.145; III. 2.125, 96.142, 97G.79, 97L.102; IV. 1.147, 9.56; VI. 1.163, 9.165, 9D.196; XVI. 9.78; DAC 2.32.
- Rhodo of Palaeopolis (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.76, 945.103.
- Romanus of Bubon (Lycia)  
 Ch: I. 3.243; II. 1.205; III. 2.149, 96.54, 97G.123, 97L.155; IV. 1.207; VI. 1.223, 9.228, 9D.278; XVI. 9.83.
- Romanus of Eudoxiopolis = Selymbria (Europa)  
 C448: I. 552.25.  
 Ch: I. 3.85; II. 1.71; III. 2.154, 96.170, 97G.171, 97L.226; IV. 1.72; VI. 1.85, 9.85, 9D.7; XVI. 9.74.

Romanus of Myra (metropolis of Lycia)

E449: I. 78.22, 208, 884.15, 979, 1067.15.

Ch: I. 3.40; II. 1.31; III. 2.16, 50, 96.14, 97G.25, 97L.16; IV. 1.32, 9.131; PE 2.40; V. 1.40; VI. 1.39, 9.39, 9D.263; VII. 2.39; VIII. 2.37; IX. 3.39; X. 156, 172; XI. 2.39; XII. 18; XIII. 2.39; XIV. 2.39; XV. 2.39; XVI. 1.40, 9.7, 22.

Romanus of Raphia (Palestine I)

E431: I. 911.29, 945.81.

Romulus of Chalcis (Syria I)

Ch: I. 3.64; II. 1.53; IV. 1.54; VI. 1.63, 9D.36. Signed for by Maras of Anasartha III. 97G.217, 97L.205; VI. 9.64.

Rufinus of Briulla (Asia)

Ch: I. 3.205; II. 1.167; III. 2.176, 96.179, 97G.190, 97L.230; IV. 1.169; VI. 1.185, 9.188, 9D.227.

Rufinus of Byblus (Phoenice I), see vol. 2, p. 170, n. 4.

Ch: I. 3.74; III. 97G.241, 97L.248; VI. 1.73, 9.74.

Rufinus of Gabae (Palestine II)

E431: I. 911.41, 945.80.

Rufinus of Samosata (Euphratensis)

E449: I. 78.41, 884.33, 995, 1067.34.

Ch: I. 3.129; II. 1.112; III. 2.111, 31, 32, 36, 96.128, 97G.138, 97L.228; IV. 1.113; VI. 1.129, 9.130, 9D.95; XVI. 9.35.

Rufus of Cyrene (Libya Pentapolis)

E449: I. 78.124, 884.106, 1059, 1067.123.

Rufus of Hyde (Lycania)

Ch: I. 3.293; II. 1.255; III. 97G.156, 97L.200; IV. 1.255; VI. 1.273, 9.279, 9D.284; XVI. 9.122.

Rufus of Thessalonica (metropolis of Macedonia)

E431: represented by Flavian of Philippi, q.v.

Sabas of Paltus (Syria I)

A445: XIV. 15.22, 59, 92, 148.

C448: I. 342, 552.15.

C449: I. 555.13, 558.24, 751, 765, 769, 786, 817.

Ch: I. 3.59; II. 1.49; III. 2.100, 96.115, 97G.109, 97L.281; IV. 1.50, 9.28; VI. 1.58, 9D.39; XIV. 152, 158. Signed for by Thalassius the deacon VI. 9.58, Acholius of Laranda XVI. 9.130, and Patricius of Neocaesarea DAC 2.30.

Sabinianus of Perrhe (Euphratensis)

Ch: VI. 9.339, 9D.99; XIV. 3–6, 13, 14, 162; XVI. 9.148.

Sabinianus of Termessus, Eudocias and Jovia (Pamphylia I)

C448: I. 552.18.

Sabinus of Aduli = Coptitae (Ethiopia)

Ch: I. 3.141; IV. 20, 25.

Sabinus of Panopolis (Thebaid)

E431: I. 911.139, 945.169.



- Saidas of Phaeno (Palestine III)  
E431: I. 911.40, 945.120.
- Sallustius of Corycus (Cilicia I)  
Ch: signed for in his absence by Theodore of Tarsus VI. 9.348. Signed for by Philip of Adana, 9D.49.
- Samuel of Dysthis (Libya Pentapolis)  
E431: I. 911.131, 945.145.
- Samuel, presbyter of Edessa (Osrhoene)  
TB449: IX. 7; X. 28, 31, 33, 37, 43, 45, 52, 56, 57, 64, 66, 71, 75, 84–99, 108, 110, 113, 134.
- Sapricius of Paphos (Cyprus)  
E431: I. 911.91, 945.95.
- Saturninus of Marcianopolis (metropolis of Moesia II)  
C448: I. 307, 552.2.  
C449: I. 558.5.
- Sebastian of Beroe (Thrace), see I. 3.52n.  
Ch: I. 3.52; II. 1.44; III. 2.45, 96.129, 97G.40, 97L.53; IV. 1.45, 9.38; PE 2.52, 47; V. 1.52, 29; VI. 1.51, 9.51, 9D.10; VII. 2.51; VIII. 2.49; IX. 3.51; XI. 2.51; XIII. 2.51; XIV. 2.51; XV. 2.51; XVI. 1.52; DAC 2.64.
- Secundianus of Lamia (Thessaly)  
E431: I. 911.55, 945.91.
- Secundinus of Novae (Moesia II)  
C449: I. 555.25, 558.19, 752.
- Seleucus of Amaseia (metropolis of Helenopontus)  
C448: I. 302, 538, 552.4.  
C449: I. 555.5, 558.9, 587, 602, 623, 625, 632, 635, 734, 740, 741, 760, 790, 796, 803, 810, 824.  
E449: I. 78.49, 864, 884.40, 999, 1067.42.  
Ch: I. 3.33; II. 1.26; III. 2.19, 96.17, 97G.12, 97L.18; IV. 1.26, 9.12; PE 2.32; V. 1.32; VI. 1.32, 9.32, 9D.188; VII. 2.32; VIII. 2.30; IX. 3.31; X. 174; XI. 2.31; XIII. 2.32; XIV. 2.32; XV. 2.31; XVI. 1.32, 9.13, 24; DAC 2.10.
- Senecio of Scodra (metropolis of Praevalitana)  
E431: I. 911.24, 945.49.
- Serenus of Maximianopolis (Rhodope)  
Ch: I. 3.194; II. 1.156; III. 97G.204, 97L.174; IV. 1.158, 9.61; VI. 1.174, 9.176, 9D.14; XVI. 9.89.
- Severianus of Scythopolis (metropolis of Palestine II)  
Ch: VI. 9D.124.
- Severus of Sozopolis (Pisidia)  
E431: I. 945.62.
- Severus of Synnada (metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris)  
E431: I. 945.9.
- Silvanus of Ceretapa (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
E431: I. 911.19, 945.63.

Silvanus of Coprithis (Aegyptus)

E431: I. 911.124, 945.154.

Solon of Carallia (Pamphylia II)

E431: I. 911.98, 945.136.

Sopater of Septimiace (Libya Inferior)

E431: I. 911.134, 945.146.

Sophronius of Constantia (Osrhoene)

A445: XIV. 15.26, 54, 95, 147.

Ch: I. 3.61; II. 1.50; III. 96.172, 97G.56, 97L.104; IV. 1.51; VI. 1.60, 9.61, 9D.107; VIII. 27–8; XIV. 152, 159; DAC 2.24.

Sophronius, *chorepiscopus* of Anazarbus (XVI. 9.77), representing Bassianus of Mopsuestia (Cilicia II)

Ch: I. 3.111; II. 1.93; IV. 1.94; VI. 1.110, 9.111, 9D.55; XVI. 9.77.

Sosias of Sozusa (Libya Pentapolis)

E449: I. 78.121, 884.103, 1056, 1067.120.

Soteras of Theodosiane (Cyprus)

Ch: representing Heliodorus of Amathus and Proechius of Arsinoe I. 3.311; II. 1.273; IV. 1.273; VI. 1.291, 9.302, 9.304. Signing for himself III. 97G.224, 97L.176; VI. 9.301, 9D.348.

Soterichus of Corcyra (Epirus Vetus)

Ch: I. 3.252, 298; II. 1.214; IV. 1.216, 9.92; VI. 1.232, 9.238, 9.335n., 9D.139.

Sozon of Philippi (Macedonia)

E449: I. 78.59, 214, 884.49, 945a, 1067.52.

Ch: I. 3.322, 291; II. 1.285; III. 97G.248, 97L.254; IV. 1.284, 9.74, 9.98; V. 29; VI. 1.302, 9.316, 9D.18.

Spudadius of Ceramus (Caria)

E431: I. 911.65, 945.74.

Stephen of Anazarbus (metropolis of Cilicia II)

E449: I. 78.39, 884.31, 993, 1067.32.

Stephen of Ephesus (metropolis of Asia)

E449: I. 78.6, 156, 200, 879, 884.3, 909, 949, 970, 1067.4.

Ch: I. 3.10, 4, 56–60, 130, 132; II. 1.7; III. 2.6, 33, 81, 96.6, 97G.7, 97L.6; IV. 1.7, 9.6; PE 2.9; V. 1.9; VI. 1.9, 9.9, before 9.407–26a (signed for by Hesperus of Pitane), 9D.216; VII. 2.9, 10; VIII. 2.9; IX. 3.8; X. 149, 167; XI. 2.8, *passim*; XII. *passim*; XIII. 2.9; XIV. 2.9; XV. 2.9; XVI. 1.9.

Stephen of Epiphaneia (Syria II)

A445: XIV. 15.15, 50, 85, 135.

Stephen of Gerae (Augustamnica I)

Ch: I. 3.155; IV. 20, 25.

Stephen of Hierapolis (metropolis of Euphratensis)

A448: X. 54.

TB449: X. 110.

E449: I. 78.33, 884.25, 953, 986, 1067.25.

Ch: I. 3.28; III. 2.36, 97G.30, 97L.44; PE 2.27; V. 1.27; VI. 1.27, 9.27, before

- 9.446, 9D.93; VII. 2.27; VIII. 2.27; IX. 3.26; XI. 2.26; XIII. 2.27; XIV. 2.27, 6; XV. 2.27; XVI. 1.27, 9.19, 9.184.
- Stephen of Jamnia (Palestine I)  
Ch: I. 3.83; II. 1.69; IV. 1.70, 9.103; VI. 1.83, 9.83, 9D.123.
- Stephen of Limyra (Lycia)  
Ch: represented by Nicholas of Acarassus, q.v., 'because of my illness' (VI. 9.219).
- Stephen of Poemanenum (Hellespontus)  
Ch: I. 3.219; II. 1.181; III. 2.198, 96.168, 97G.187, 97L.157 (= 296); IV. 1.183; VI. 1.199, 9.202, 9D.211; XVI. 9.60.
- Stephen of Teos (Asia)  
E431: I. 945.192.
- Strategius of Athribis (Augustamnica II)  
E431: I. 911.122, 945.133.
- Strategius of Polybotus (Phrygia Salutaris)  
Ch: I. 3.288; II. 1.250; III. 97G.161, 97L.161; IV. 1.250, 9.145; VI. 1.268, 9.274, 9D.327.
- Symeon of Amida (metropolis of Mesopotamia)  
A448: X. 54.  
E449: I. 78.47, 884.39, 1003, 1067.40.  
Ch: I. 3.30; II. 1.24; III. 2.44, 96.37, 97G.47, 97L.43 (= 82); IV. 1.24, 9.16; PE 2.29; V. 1.29; VI. 1.29, 9D.109; VII. 2.29; IX. 3.28; XI. 2.28; XIII. 2.29; XIV. 2.29; XV. 2.28; XVI. 1.29. Signed for by Peter the presbyter VI. 9.29, before 9.396.
- Symmachius of Attuda (Phrygia Pacatiana)  
E449: I. 1067.102.
- Tarianus of Lyrbe (Pamphylia II)  
E431: I. 911.104, 945.100.
- Tatian, deacon and notary of Antioch (Syria I)  
A445: XIV. 16–36, 64, 105, 107, 118.
- Thalassius of Caesarea (metropolis of Cappadocia I)  
C449: I. 555.3, 558.1, 575, 627, 640, 805.  
E449: I. 52, 78.7, 116, 154, 202, 873, 884.4, 907, 944a, 968, 1067.5.  
Ch: I. 3.9, 4, 53, 60, 61, 106, 126, 184, 191, 277, 328, 1068; III. 97G.222, 97L.274; IV. 11–17, 18; PE 2.8, 53; V. 1.8, 29; VI. 1.8, 9.8, 9D.170; VII. 2.8, 9; VIII. 2.8, 20; IX. 3.7; X. 14, 16, 18, 147, 165; XI. 2.7; XII. 13; XIII. 2.8; XIV. 2.8; XV. 2.8; XVI. 1.8, 42.
- Thalassius of Parium (Hellespontus)  
Ch: I. 3.215; II. 1.177; III. 2.57, 96.145, 97G.50, 97L.58; IV. 1.179; VI. 1.195, 9.197, 9D.207; XVI. 9.162; DAC 2.53.
- Themistius of Amastris (Paphlagonia)  
Ch: represented by Philotimus, presbyter, q.v.
- Themistius of Iasus (Caria)  
E431: I. 911.61, 945.96.

Theoctistus of Beroea (Syria I)

A445: XIV. 15.8, 46, 84, 132.

A448: X. 54.

Ch: I. 3.55; II. 1.45; III. 2.101, 96.116, 97G.53, 97L.74; IV. 1.46; PE 2.55; V. 1.55; VI. 1.54, 9.54, 9D.34; VII. 2.54; VIII. 2.52; IX. 3.54; XI. 2.54; XIII. 2.54; XIV. 2.54, 152, 154; XV. 2.54; XVI. 1.55, 9.164 (signed for by Gerontius of Seleucia).

Theoctistus of Pessinus (metropolis of Galatia II)

E449: represented by Cyriacus of Trocnades, q.v.

Ch: represented by Photinus, archdeacon, q.v.

Theoctistus of Phocaea (Asia)

E431: I. 945.182.

Theoctistus, presbyter, representing Diogenes of Orthosia (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.277; II. 1.239; IV. 1.239; VI. 1.257, 9.263.

Theodore of Aninetus (Asia)

E431: I. 911.82, 945.45.

Theodore of Antiphellus (Lycia)

Ch: I. 3.239; II. 1.201; III. 2.134, 96.47, 97G.117, 97L.126; IV. 1.203; VI. 1.219, 9.223, 9D.272; XVI. 9.80; DAC 2.51.

Theodore of Arindela (Palestine III)

E431: I. 911.37, 945.195.

Theodore of Attaleia (Pamphylia I)

E431: I. 945.72.

Theodore of Augusta (Cilicia I)

Ch: I. 3.105; II. 1.88; III. 96.77, 97G.67, 97L.106; IV. 1.89; VI. 1.104, 9.105, 9D.47; XVI. 9.138.

Theodore of Barca (Libya Pentapolis)

E449: I. 78.123, 884.105, 1058, 1067.122.

Theodore of Claudiopolis (Isauria)

E449: I. 78.68, 884.57, 1011, 1067.61.

Ch: I. 3.86, 62, 75, 91, 122, 149; II. 1.72; III. 2.62, 96.192, 97G.62, 97L.51; IV. 1.73, 9.65; V. 29; VI. 1.86, 9.87, 9D.57; XVI. 9.33.

Theodore of Damascus (metropolis of Phoenice Libanensis)

A445: XIV. 15.2, 38, 66–76, 109–23.

E449: I. 78.24, 884.17, 951, 1067.17.

Ch: I. 3.27; II. 1.22; III. 2.26, 96.24, 97G.16, 97L.25; IV. 1.22, 9.14; PE 2.26; V. 1.26, VI. 1.26, 9.26, before 9.440, 9D.80; VII. 2.26; VIII. 2.26; IX. 3.25; X. 154, 170; XI. 2.25; XIII. 2.26; XIV. 2.26, 152, 153; XV. 2.26; XVI. 1.26, 9.16; DAC 2.9.

Theodore of Dodona (Epirus Vetus)

E431: I. 911.48.

Theodore of Echineum (Thessaly)

E431: I. 911.57, 945.190.

Theodore of Gadara (Palestine II)

E431: I. 911.34, 945.184.

Theodore of Heraclea (Honorias)

Ch: 1.3.185; II. 1.148; III. 2.203, 97.195, 97L.227; IV. 1.150; VI. 1.166, 9.168, 9D.200.

Theodore of Sora (Paphlagonia)

Ch: signed for by Peter of Gangra VI. 9.177, 9D.198.

Theodore of Tarsus (metropolis of Cilicia I)

E449: I. 78.22, 206, 884.14, 947, 978, 1067.14.

Ch: I. 3.23; II. 1.18; III. 2.15, 96.13, 97G.15, 97L.14; IV. 1.18, 9.18; PE 2.22; V. 1.22, 29; VI. 1.22, 9.22, before 9.348, 9D.42; VII. 2.22; VIII. 2.22; IX. 3.21; XI. 2.21; XIII. 2.22; XIV. 2.22; XV. 2.22; XVI. 1.22, 9.11.

Theodore of Tripolis (Phoenice I)

Ch: I. 3.117; II. 1.99; III. 2.63, 96.152, 97G.141, 97L.252; IV. 1.100, 9.121; VI. 1.116, 9.117, 9D.75; XVI. 9.54.

Theodore, deacon of Alexandria

Ch: III. 38–40, 44–7.

Theodore, monk and archimandrite of Constantinople

C448: I. 552.35, 552.39.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

Theodoret of Alabanda (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.262; II. 1.224; III. 2.89, 96.104, 97G.169, 97L.213; IV. 1.226, 9.152; VI. 1.242, 9.248, 9D.313; XVI. 9.116.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus (Euphratensis)

E449: I. 24, 52.

Ch: I. 26–45, 194–6, 248; II. 1.111, 26; IV. 1.112, 9.41; VI. 1.128, 9.129, 9D.94; VIII *passim*; XIV. 158; XVI. 9. 159; DAC 2.16.

Theodosius of Amathus (Cyprus)

E449: I. 78.72, 884.85, 1015, 1067.66.

Theodosius of Canatha (Arabia)

E449: I. 78.44, 884.36, 998, 1067.37.

Ch: I. 3.114; II. 1.96; III. 2.188, 96.162, 97G.136, 97L.164; IV. 1.97, 9.27; VI. 1.113, 9.114, 9D.90; XVI. 9.41.

Theodosius of Mastaura (Asia)

E431: I. 911.84, 945.115.

E449: I. 78.90, 884.76, 1033, 1067.82.

Theodosius of Nazianzus (Cappadocia II)

Ch: 1.3.180; II. 1.143; III. 2.61, 96.176, 97G.60, 97L.66; IV. 1.145; VI. 1.161, 9.162, 9D.174.

Theodosius, notary signing for Venantius of Hierapolis (Phrygia Pacatiana)

E431: I. 945.163.

Theodotus of Ancyra (metropolis of Galatia I)

E431: I. 911.6, 945.7.

Theodotus of Nysa (Asia)

E431: I. 911.81, 945.102.

Theodulus of Elusa (Palestine III).

E431: I. 911.36, 945.194.

- Theodulus of Tesila (Libya Pentapolis)  
 E449: I. 78.122, 884.104, 1057, 1067.121.  
 Ch: I. 3.148.
- Theon of Sethroites = Heracleopolis Parva (Augustamnica I)  
 E431: I. 911.127, 945.135.
- Theonas of Psinchaus (Egypt)  
 E431: I. 911.149, 945.150.
- Theopemptus of Cabasa (Aegyptus)  
 E431: I. 911.143a.  
 E449: I. 78.108, 884.90, 1043, 1067.107.
- Theophilus of Ariassus (Pamphylia I)  
 Ch: I. 3.326; II. 1.291; III. 2.72, 96.89, 97G.201, 97L.186 (= 277); IV. 1.291, 9.36; VI. 1.310, 9.323, 9D.250.
- Theophilus of Cleopatris (Aegyptus)  
 E449: I. 78.118, 884.101, 1054, 1067.117.  
 Ch: I. 3.147; IV. 20, 25.
- Theophilus of Erythrum (Libya Pentapolis)  
 Ch: I. 3.157; IV. 20, 25.
- Theophilus of Hadrianopolis (Honorias)  
 Ch: represented by Pelagius, presbyter, q.v.
- Theophilus, presbyter of Constantinople  
 C448: I. 377–81, 395, 399, 447, 451, 453.  
 C449: I. 698, 701, 707, 710.  
 Ch: XI. 34.
- Theophilus, deacon of Edessa (Osrhoene)  
 Ch: X. 10–14, 20, 25, 142.
- Theosebius of Ilium (Hellespontus)  
 Ch: I. 3.220; II. 1.182; III. 2.196, 96.166, 97G.126 (= 144a), 97L.208; IV. 1.184; VI. 1.200, 9.203, 9D.212; XVI. 9.95.
- Theosebius of Priene (Asia)  
 E431: I. 911.89, 945.180.
- Theotecnus of Tyriaeum (Pisidia)  
 Ch: I. 3.299; II. 1.261; III. 2.95, 96.109, 97G.100, 97L.83; IV. 1.261; VI. 1.279, 9.285, 9D.291; DAC 2.38.
- Thomas of Auliucome and Valentianopolis (Asia)  
 E431: I. 945.116.  
 C448: I. 343, 552.27.  
 Ch: I. 3.202; II. 1.164; IV. 1.166; VI. 1.182, 9.185, 9D.218.
- Thomas of Derbe (Lycaonia)  
 E431: I. 911.59, 945.48.
- Thomas of Euaria (Phoenice Libanensis)  
 Ch: I. 3.128; II. 1.110; IV. 1.111; VI. 1.127, 9.128, 9D.83; XVI. 9.84.
- Thomas of Mopsuestia (Cilicia II)  
 A445: XIV. 15.17, 138.  
 A448: X. 54.

Thomas of Porphyreon (Phoenice I)

Ch: I. 3.121; II. 1.103; III. 2.102, 97G.191, 97L.166; IV. 1.104; VI. 1.120, 9.121, 9D.72; XVI. 9.125.

Thomas of Theodosiana (Phrygia Pacatiana)

C449: I. 555.17, 558.15.

Ch: I. 3.272; II. 1.234; III. 2.64, 96.81, 97G.188, 97L.264; VI. 1.252, 9.258, 9D.336; XVI. 9.106.

Thomas of Valentinianopolis: see Thomas of Auliucome

Timothy of Arca (Phoenice I)

C448: I. 552.6.

C449: I. 555.18, 558.11, (? 749, 761, 813).

Timothy of Balaneae (Syria II)

E449: I. 78.43, 884.35, 997, 1067.36.

Ch: I. 3.97; II. 1.80; III. 96.175, 97G.55, 97L.81; IV. 1.81, 9.48; VI. 1.96, 9.96, 9.97 (signing for Mark of Arethusia); XVI. 9.38, 9.39.

Timothy of Briulla (Asia)

E431: I. 911.83, 945.187.

Timothy of Doliche (Euphratensis)

A445: XIV. 15.11, 56, 81, 125.

Ch: I. 3.131; II. 1.114; III. 2.204, 97G.114, 97L.100; IV. 1.115; VI. 1.131, 9.132, 9D.97; XVI. 9.161.

Timothy of Germe (Hellespontus)

E431: I. 945.107.

Timothy of Primupolis (Pamphylia II)

C448: I. 345, 552.29.

C449: I. 555.23, 558.25, (? 749, 761, 813).

E449: I. 78.107.

Timothy of Termessus and Eudocias (Pamphylia I)

E431: I. 945.84.

Timothy of Tomi (metropolis of Scythia)

E431: I. 945.173.

Ch: IV. 93.

Timothy, presbyter and archimandrite of Constantinople

C448: I. 552.31.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

Timothy, deacon (Phoenice I)

Ch: Signing for Porphyry of Botrys VI. 9.122, 9D.78. Signing for Phosphorus of Orthosia VI. 9.123.

Tribunianus of Aspendus = Primupolis (Pamphylia II)

E431: I. 911.96, 945.50.

Trypho of Chios (The Islands)

C448: I. 344, 552.13.

C449: I. 555.34, 558.8, 742, 766, 769, 787.

Ch: representing John of Rhodes I. 3.54; III. 2.31n., 96.30n., 97G.72, 97G.73n., 97L.33n., 97L.37; PE 2.54, 29; V. 1.54; VI. 1.53, 9.53; VII.

2.53; VIII. 2.51; IX. 3.53; XI. 2.53; XIII. 2.53; XIV. 2.53; XV. 2.53; XVI. 1.54, 9.30. Separately on his own behalf III. 2.74, 96.95, 97G.72, 97L.37 (= 50); VI. 9.299; XVI. 9.87, 9D.343; DAC 2.36.

Trypho, archimandrite of Constantinople

C448: I. 45.

Ch: IV. 63, 105.

Tychicus of Erythrae (Asia)

E431: I. 911.85, 945.104.

Tynchanus of Apollonia (Caria)

Ch: I. 3.261; II. 1.223; III. 2.88, 96.103, 97G.166, 97L.215; IV. 1.225, 9.155; VI. 1.241, 9.247, 9D.312; XVI. 9.109.

Tyrannus of Germanicopolis (Isauria)

Ch: I. 3.88; III. 97G.208, 97L.234; VI. 1.88, 9.89, 9D.66; XVI. 9.150.

Tyrannus of Homanada (Lycaonia)

Ch: I. 3.294; II. 1.256; III. 97G.157, 97L.201; IV. 1.256; VI. 1.274, 9.280, 9D.285; XVI. 9.124.

Uranius of Emesa (Phoenice Libanensis)

Ch: represented by Porphyry, archdeacon, q.v.

Uranius of Gabala (Syria I)

Ch: VI. 9D.40.

Uranius of Hemerium (Osrhoene)

TB449: IX. 7; X. 27, 28, 30, 33, 35, 57–60.

E449: I. 78.66, 215, 884.55, 950, 1009, 1067.106.

Ch: IX. 4.

Uranius of Ibora (Helenopontus)

Ch: represented by Paul, presbyter, q.v.

Uranius of Sura (Euphratensis)

A445: XIV. 15.27, 129.

Valerian of Bassianae (Pannonia II)

C448: I. 330.

C449: I. 750.

Ch: III. 2.11; VI. 9D.352.

Valerian of Iconium (metropolis of Lycaonia)

E431: I. 911.12, 945.17.

Valerius of Anazarbus (metropolis of Cilicia II)

A445: XIV. 15.3, 39, 77, 124.

Valerius of Laodicea (Phoenice Libanensis)

A445: XIV. 86.

Ch: I. 3.127; II. 1.109; III. 2.70, 96.87, 97G.192, 97L.130; IV. 1.110; VI. 1.126, 9.127, 9D.84; XVI. 9.154; DAC 2.41.

Venantius of Hierapolis (Phrygia Pacatiana)

E431: I. 945.163.

Venetius of Byblus (Phoenice I)

A445: XIV. 15.12, 45, 133.



- Verinianus of Perge (metropolis of Pamphylia I)  
E431: I. 911.20, 945.8.
- Verus, presbyter, representing Maras of Codrula (Pamphylia I)  
Ch: IV. 9.37.
- Vigilantius of Larissa (metropolis of Thessaly)  
E449: I. 78.54, 884.45, 1067.47.  
Ch: I–IV: represented in his temporary absence (I. 297) by Constantine of Demetrias, q.v. Present PE 2.50; V. 1.50; VI. 1.49, 9.49; VII. 2.49; VIII. 2.47; IX. 3.49; XI. 2.49; XIII. 2.49; XIV. 2.49; XV. 2.49; XVI. 1.50.
- Zebennus of Martyropolis (Mesopotamia)  
Ch: I. 3.134; II. 1.117; IV. 1.118; VI. 1.134, 9.135, 9D.112.
- Zebennus of Pella (Palestine II)  
E449: I. 78.84, 884.70, 1027, 1067.76.  
Ch: I. 3.68; II. 1.56; III. 97L.180; IV. 1.57, 9.108; VI. 1.67, 9.68, 9D.126; XVI. 9.170.
- Zeno of Curium (Cyprus)  
E431: I. 911.92, 945.125.
- Zeno of Rhinocolura (Augustamnica I)  
E449: I. 78.125, 884.107, 1060, 1067.124.
- Zeno of Teucheira (Libya Pentapolis)  
E431: I. 911.133, 945.165.
- Zenobius of Barca (Libya Pentapolis)  
E431: I. 911.132, 945.164.
- Zenobius of Buthrotum (Epirus Vetus)  
Ch: signing for John of Photice VI. 9D.141.
- Zenobius of Cnossus (Crete)  
E431: I. 911.52, 945.174.
- Zenodotus of Telmessus and the island of Macra (Lycia)  
Ch: I. 3.236; II. 1.198; III. 2.99, 96.114, 97G.78, 97L.75; IV. 1.200; VI. 1.216, 9.220, 9D.269; XVI. 9.79.
- Zosimus of Menois (Palestine I)  
E449: I. 78.74, 884.61, 1017, 1067.68 (= 104).  
Ch: I. 3.76; II. 1.62; IV. 1.63, 9. 106; VI. 1.75. Signing for Glycon of Caesarea VI. 9D.116.
- Zoticus of Harpasa (Caria)  
Ch: represented by Philotheus, presbyter, q.v.

## (2) Secular dignitaries

The bracketed numbers after the names are those in *PLRE* 2. All references to *PLRE* are to pages in this second volume.

- Abgar (2), praetorian prefect before 451 (*PLRE*, 1)  
Ch: VI. 2.16.

- Aetius (8), *comes domesticorum et sacrorum stabulorum* (PLRE, 29–30)  
 Ch: VI. 2.9.
- Anatolius (10), *magister utriusque militiae praesentalis* in 450–51 (PLRE, 84–6)  
 Ch: I. 2.1; II. 1.1; IV. 1.1; PE 1.1; V. 1.1; VI. 2.1; VII. 1.1; VIII. 1.1; IX. 2.1; X. 1; D 18.1; XI. 1.1; XII. 1; XIII. 1.1; XIV. 1.1; XV. 1.1; XVI. 1.1. All the speeches attributed to ‘the most glorious and magnificent officials and the exalted senate’ may be assigned to him, as the chairman at all the sessions of the council save the third.
- Antiochus (10), praetorian prefect of the east in 448 (PLRE, 104)  
 Ch: VI. 2.15.
- Antiochus (11), prefect of Constantinople before 451 (PLRE, 105)  
 Ch: VI. 2.21.
- Anysius (3), prefect of Constantinople before 451 (PLRE, 108)  
 Ch: VI. 2.22.
- Apollodorus (5), quaestor of the sacred palace before 451 (PLRE, 120)  
 Ch: VI.2.28.
- Apollonius (2), prefect of the east 442–3 (PLRE, 121)  
 Ch: I. 2.14; II. 1.14; IV. 1.14; VI. 2.20.
- Artaxes, *praepositus cubiculi* in 442 (PLRE, 154)  
 Ch: I. 2.18; II. 1.18; IV. 1.18; VI. 2.24.
- Asterius (5) *exceptor* at Constantinople (PLRE, 171)  
 C449: I. 614–824 (*passim*).
- Basil (4), *comes sacrarum largitionum* before 451 (PLRE, 214)  
 Ch: VI. 2.32.
- Carterius (2), count and first secretary of the *scrinium libellorum et sacrarum cognitionum* (PLRE, 262–3)  
 C449: I. 829, 848.
- Chrysaphius, *spatharius* and *cubicularius* 443–50 (PLRE, 295–7)  
 Ch: III. 57.
- Constantine (5), secretary of the consistory (PLRE, 312)  
 Ch: I. 23, 25, 46, 66, 69, 77, 107, 135, 140, 150, 163, 196, 274, 276, 497, 533, 942a, 965; IV. 2, 24, 82, 87; PE 6; X. 26; XIII. 26; XIV. 4, 14; XV. 5; XVI. 13, 16, 17.
- Constantine (6), former count (PLRE, 312)  
 Ch: VI. 2.36.
- Constantine (22), prefect of the east in 447 (PLRE, 317–18)  
 Ch: I. 2.17; II. 1.17; IV. 1.17; VI. 2.25.
- Damascius (1), praetorian tribune and notary (PLRE, 342)  
 TB449: IX. 7; X. 27, 28, 29
- Eleusinius (2), assistant of the master of the offices (PLRE, 388–9)  
 Ch: III. 20.
- Euethius (3), *exceptor* of the *scrinium libellorum et sacrarum cognitionum* (PLRE, 414)  
 C449: I. 833, 835, 849.

- Eulogius (3), tribune and notary (*PLRE*, 419)  
E449: I. 49, 50, 58.
- Eulogius (4), prefect of Illyricum before 451 (*PLRE*, 419)  
Ch: I. 2.19; VI. 2.27.
- Eustathius (5), *primicerius* of the silentiaries in c.444 (*PLRE*, 434)  
Ch: XI. 14, 17.
- Florentius (7), patrician (*PLRE*, 478–80)  
C448: I. 468, 470, 475, 478, 484, 521, 526, 541, 543, 549.  
C449: I. 555–828 (*passim*), 838.  
Ch: I. 2.8; II. 1.8; IV. 1.8; VI. 2.11.
- Genethlius (2), *comes rei privatae* in 450–51 (*PLRE*, 501–2)  
Ch: I. 2.7; II. 1.7; IV. 1.7; VI. 2.8.
- Helpidius (5), count of the consistory (*PLRE*, 536)  
E449: I. 49, 50, 58, 111–13, 118, 151, 197.  
Ch: I. 189–93.
- Heraclian (4), former count (*PLRE*, 540)  
Ch: VI. 2.38.
- John (15), *exceptor* of the *scrinium libellorum et sacrarum cognitionum* (*PLRE*, 597)  
C449: I. 557, 571, 573, 574.
- John (16), tribune and notary (*PLRE*, 597)  
Ch: III. 64.
- John (19), decurion of the silentiaries (*PLRE*, 598)  
Ch: CD 4.  
454: DAC 14.
- Julian (9), *comes rei privatae* before 451 (*PLRE*, 638)  
Ch: VI. 2.33.
- Leontius (12), *primicerius* of the notaries (*PLRE*, 669–70)  
Ch: VI. 2.10.
- Macedonius (5), tribune, notary and referendary (*PLRE*, 698)  
C449: I. 556–69, 829, 832, 846.
- Magnus (1), silentiary (*PLRE*, 700)  
C448: I. 464, 466, 467, 473.  
C449: I. 829–42.  
E449: I. 185.
- Mamas (1), count and first secretary of the *scrinium libellorum et sacrarum cognitionum* (*PLRE*, 704)  
C449: I. 555.
- Marcian, emperor 450–57 (*PLRE*, 714–15)  
450–51: DBC *passim*.  
Ch: I. 26; IV. 14, 83, 88, 113; CD 4; PE 6, 11; V. 22; VI. 2, 4, 7, 10–16, 21, 23;  
VII. 3; IX. 4; X. 1; XI. 3, 5; XIII. 3; XIV. 3.  
451–4: DAC *passim*.
- Martialis, master of the offices in 449 (*PLRE*, 729–30)  
C449: I. 829–47.  
Ch: I. 2.5; II. 1.5; IV. 1.5; VI. 2.5.

- Menas (2), quaestor of the sacred palace before 451 (*PLRE*, 754)  
 Ch: VI. 2.30.
- Nomus (1), patrician (*PLRE*, 785–7)  
 Ch: I. 2.10; II. 1.10; *III.* 47; IV. 1.10; VI. 2.13.
- Palladius (9), prefect of the east in 450–55 (*PLRE*, 820–21)  
 Ch: I. 2.2; II. 1.2; IV. 1.2; PE 1.2; V. 1.2; VI. 2.2; VII. 1.2; VIII. 1.2; IX. 2.2;  
 X. 1; D 18.2; XI. 1.2; XII. 1; XIII. 1.2; XIV. 1.2; XV. 1.2; XVI. 1.2.  
 452: *DAC* 4, 5, 6.
- Parnassius (2), praetorian prefect before 451 (*PLRE*, 832)  
 Ch: VI. 2.26.
- Placitus, master of the offices before 451 (*PLRE*, 891)  
 Ch: VI. 2.6.
- Polychronius (2), titular quaestor of the sacred palace (*PLRE*, 896)  
 Ch: VI. 2.35.
- Proclus (= Proculus 3), proconsul of Asia in 449 (*PLRE*, 923)  
 E449: *I.* 50, 861.
- Protogenes, patrician (*PLRE*, 927–8)  
 Ch: I. 2.11; II. 1.11; IV. 1.11; VI. 2.14.
- Pulcheria, Augusta (*PLRE*, 929–30)  
 451: *DBC* 4, 11.  
 Ch: *III.* 103; *V.* 12; VI. 2, 11, 13, 15.
- Romanus (3), *praepositus cubiculi* before 451 (*PLRE*, 947)  
 Ch: I. 2.15; II. 1.15; IV. 1.15; VI. 2.17.
- Senator (4), patrician (*PLRE*, 990–91)  
 Ch: I. 2.9; II. 1.9; IV. 1.9; VI. 2.12.
- Severianus (1), former count (*PLRE*, 998)  
 Ch: VI. 2.37.
- Severus (7), *comes rei privatae* before 450 (*PLRE*, 1003)  
 Ch: VI. 2.31.
- Sporacius (3), *comes domesticorum* in 450–51 (*PLRE*, 1026–7)  
 Ch: I. 2.6; II. 1.6; IV. 1.6; VI. 2.7.
- Tatian (1), prefect of Constantinople in 450–52 (*PLRE*, 1053–4)  
 451: *DBC* 5.  
 Ch: I. 2.3; II. 1.3; IV. 1.3; VI. 2.3.  
 452: *DAC* 4, 5*n.*, 6.
- Theodore (21), prefect of Illyricum in 442 (*PLRE*, 1089)  
 Ch: I. 2.16; II. 1.16; IV. 1.16; VI. 2.23.
- Theodore (24), quaestor of the sacred palace before 451 (*PLRE*, 1090)  
 Ch: VI.2.29.
- Theodore (25), prefect of Constantinople before 451 (*PLRE*, 1090)  
 Ch: I. 2.13; II. 1.13; IV. 1.13; VI. 2.19.
- Theodore (27), prefect of Egypt (*PLRE*, 1090–91)  
 Ch: *III.* 64.
- Theodosius II, emperor 408–50 (*PLRE*, 1100)  
 C448: *I.* 466–8.

- TB449: IX. 7; X. 27, 29.  
 C449: I. 556, 565, 567, 573–5, 830–36, 846.  
 E449: I. 24, 47–53, 79, 83, 109–19, 197.  
 Ch: XI. 14, 17, 37, 59.
- Trypho (3), titular praetorian prefect (*PLRE*, 1130)  
 Ch: VI. 2.34.
- Valentinian (1), praetorian prefect of Illyricum (*PLRE*, 1137)  
 452: *DAC* 4, 5*n.*, 6.
- Veronicianus (2), secretary of the consistory (*PLRE*, 1156)  
 Ch: I. 6, 15, 48–51, 184, 237, 260, 269, 300, 329, 338, 341, 347, 863; II. 21;  
 IV. 3, 75, 104; PE 48; V. 21; VI. 16; VII. 6; IX. 6; X. 140; D 22; XI. 4, 6;  
 XIII. 4, 21, 29; XIV. 5 *fin.*, 9; XVI. 7, 11.
- Vincomalus, master of the offices in 451–2 (*PLRE*, 1169–70)  
 Ch: I. 2.4; II. 1.4; IV. 1.4; PE 1.3, 7; V. 1.3; VI. 2.4; VII. 1.3; VIII. 1.3; IX. 2.3;  
 X. 1; D 18.3; XI. 1.3; XII. 1; XIII. 1.3; XIV. 1.3; XV. 1.3; XVI. 1.3.  
 452: *DAC* 4, 5*n.*, 6.
- Zeno (6), *magister utriusque militiae* in the East 447–51 (*PLRE*, 1199–1200)  
 Ch: *PE* 7.
- Zoilus (2), prefect of the east in 444 (*PLRE*, 1204)  
 Ch: I. 2.12; II. 1.12; IV. 1.12; VI. 2.18.

## (B) SEES BY PROVINCE

We list here the episcopal sees that occur in the Acts, set out province by province. The name of each province is followed by its diocese. Representatives of the pope are omitted, since they did not attend eastern councils as diocesan bishops.

The Egyptian sees are arranged by province, to indicate approximate location, but in church order they functioned as a single province under Alexandria; Ethiopia also was under the headship of Alexandria.

It is likely that the bishops from Africa and Pannonia were refugees resident at Constantinople (see above p. 202).

This list is to be used in conjunction with the maps (pp. 229–34) and the preceding index of names. It uses the same abbreviations for sets of proceedings.

The provinces belonged to the following dioceses (groups of provinces):

- |                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Africa:              | Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena.  |
| Asiana:              | Asia, Caria, Hellespontus, The Islands, Lycaonia, Lycia, Lydia, Pamphylia I and II, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Pisidia. |
| Dacia:               | Dacia Mediterranea, Praevalitana.  |
| Egypt:               | Aegyptus, Arcadia, Augustamnica I and II, Libya Inferior, Libya Pentapolis, Thebaid.   |
| Illyricum (western): | Pannonia II.   |
| Macedonia:           | Achaea, Crete, Epirus Nova, Epirus Vetus, Macedonia, Thessaly.   |

- Oriens: Arabia, Cilicia I and II, Cyprus, Euphratensis, Isauria, Mesopotamia, Osrhoene, Palestine I, II and III, Phoenice I, Phoenice Libanensis, Syria I and II.
- Pontica: Armenia I and II, Bithynia, Cappadocia I and II, Galatia I and II, Helenopontus, Honorias, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemoniacus.
- Thrace: Europa, Haemimontus, Moesia II, Rhodope, Scythia, Thrace.
- Client and allied territories: Armenia Magna, Chersonesus Taurica, Ethiopia.

Achaea [Hellas] (Macedonia)

- Argos: Genethlius (C448), Onesimus (Ch).
- Corinth (metropolis): Perigenes (E431), Erasistratus (E449), Peter (Ch).
- Coronaea: Agathocles (E431).
- Megara: Nicias (E431, Ch).
- Messene: John (E449, Ch).
- Naupactus: Callicrates (E431), Irenaeus (Ch).
- Opus: Domininus (E431), Athanasius (E449, Ch).
- Plataea: Domininus (E449, Ch).
- Tegea: Ophelimus (Ch).
- Thebes: Anysius (E431).

Aegyptus (Egypt)

- Alexandria: Cyril (E431), Dioscorus (E449, Ch).
- Busiris: Athanasius (E449, Ch).
- Buto: Ammon (E431).
- Cabasa: Theopemptus (E431, E449), Macarius (Ch).
- Cleopatris: Alexander (E431), Theophilus (E449, Ch).
- Coprithis: Silvanus (E431).
- Helearchia: Isaac (E431, E449).
- Hermopolis Minor: Isaias (E449, Ch).
- Metelis: Macarius (E431).
- Onuphris: Adelpsius (E431).
- Paralus: Athanasius (E431), Pasmius (E449, Ch).
- Phlabonis: Paul (E431), Nestorius (Ch).
- Sais: Adelpsius (E431).
- Sebennytus: Auxonius (E449, Ch).
- Taua: Isaac (E431, E449, Ch).
- Terenuthis: Eulogius (E431).
- Xois: Macedonius (E431).

Africa Proconsularis (Africa)

- Pupput: Aurelius (C448, Ch).

Arabia (Oriens)

- Adraa: Proclus (C449, Ch).
- Bostra (metropolis): Constantine (A448, E449, Ch).
- Canatha: Theodosius (E449, Ch).
- Dionysias: Maras (E449).
- Gerasa: Placcus (A448).

- Philadelphia: Eulogius (Ch).  
 Philippopolis: Hormisdas (Ch).
- Arcadia (Egypt)  
 Aphroditopolis: Chrysaorius (E431).  
 Arsinoites: Calosirius (E449).  
 Heracleopolis Magna: Heraclides (E431, E449).  
 Nilopolis: Eusebius (E431).  
 Oxyrhynchus: Peter (E431).
- Armenia I (Pontica)  
 Nicopolis: John (E449, Ch).  
 Satala: Anatolius (Ch).  
 Sebasteia (metropolis): John (E449, Ch).  
 Sebastopolis: Cecropius (C448, Ch).
- Armenia II (Pontica)  
 Arabissus: Adolius (Ch).  
 Arca: John (Ch).  
 Ariaratheia: Acacius (C449, E449, Ch).  
 Comana: Heraclius (Ch).  
 Cucusus: Domnus (Ch).  
 Melitene (metropolis): Acacius (E431), Constantine (C449, E449, Ch).
- Armenia Magna<sup>5</sup>  
 Theodosiopolis: Peter (C449), Manasses (Ch).
- Asia (Asiana)  
 Adramyttium: Helladius (E431), Flavian (E449).  
 Aegae: Cyriacus (E449, Ch).  
 Algiza: Proclus (Ch).  
 Anaea: Modestus (E431).  
 Aninetus: Theodore (E431), Mamas (Ch).  
 Arcadiopolis: Alexander (E431).  
 Assus: Maximus (E431).  
 Augaza: Eutropius (E431), Olympius (E449, Ch).  
 Auliucome: Thomas (E431, C448, Ch).  
 Briulla: Timothy (E431), Rufinus (Ch).  
 Clazomenae: Eusebius (E431, Ch).  
 Coloe: Aphobius (E431).  
 Colophon: Euthalius (E431).  
 Cyme: Maximus (E431).  
 Elaea: Isaias (Ch).  
 Ephesus (metropolis): Memnon (431), Basil (d. c.443), Bassianus (c.443–7),  
 Stephen (E449, Ch), John (after 451).  
 Erythrae: Tychicus (E431).

5 Theodosiopolis was fortified in the reign of Theodosius, but without being incorporated into any province (see Bury 1923, vol. 2, p. 6). 'Armenia Magna' was the name of a region not of a province.

- Hypaepa: Euporus (E431), Julian (E449, Ch).  
 Lebedus: Cyriacus (E449).  
 Magnesia on the Maeander: Daphnus (E431), Leontius (E449, Ch).  
 Magnesia by Sipylus: Eusebius (E431).  
 Mastaura: Theodosius (E431, E449).  
 Metropolis: Marcellinus (Ch).  
 Myrina: Dorotheus (E431), Proterius (Ch).  
 Neaule: Philip (Ch).  
 Nysa: Theodotus (E431), Maeonius (Ch).  
 Palaeopolis: Rhodo (E431), Basilicus (Ch).  
 Pergamum: Philip (E431), Eutropius (E449).  
 Phocaea: Theoctistus (E431), Quintus (Ch).  
 Pitane: Hesperus (Ch).  
 Priene: Theosebius (E431).  
 Sion: Nestorius (E431), Bassus (E449).  
 Smyrna: Idduas (E431), Aetherichus (C448, E449, Ch).  
 Teos: Stephen (E431), Gennadius (E449).  
 Theodosiopolis/Perperene: (?) Eutychius (E431), Paulinus (C449, Ch).  
 Tralles: Heracleon (E431), Maximus (E449).
- Augustamnica I (Egypt)
- Achaea: Cyrus (E431).  
 Aphnaeum: Hieracis (E431, Ch).  
 Casium: Lampetius (E431).  
 Gerae: Stephen (Ch).  
 Hephaestus: John (E431, E449).  
 Ostracine: Abraham (E431).  
 Panephysis: Ammonius (E431).  
 Pelusium: Eusebius (E431).  
 Rhinocolura: Hermogenes (E431), Zeno (E449).  
 Sele: Alypius (E431).  
 Sethroites: Theon (E431), Isidore (Ch).  
 Tamiathis: Heraclius (E431).  
 Tanis: Apollonius (E449, Ch).  
 Thennesus: Hero (Ch).  
 Thmuis: Aristobulus (E431).
- Augustamnica II (Egypt)
- Athribis: Strategius (E431), Eulogius (Ch).  
 Babylon: Cyrus (E449).  
 Heliopolis: Marinus (E431).  
 Leontopolis: Metrodorus (E431), Januarius (Ch).
- Bithynia (Pontica)
- Apamea: Callinicus (E431, C448, Ch).  
 Apollonia: Eugenius (E431), Paul (C448, C449).  
 Basilinopolis: Gerontius (C449, Ch).  
 Chalcedon: Eulalius (C448), Eleutherius (Ch).



- Nicaea: Anastasius (Ch).  
 Nicomedia (metropolis): Eunomius (E449, Ch).  
 Prusa: Peter (E431).
- Byzacena (Africa)  
 Hadrumetum: Aurelius (C449, Ch).
- Cappadocia I (Pontica)  
 Caesarea (metropolis): Firmus (E431), Thalassius (C449, E449, Ch).  
 Nyssa: Musonius (E449, Ch).  
 Therma: Firminus (Ch).
- Cappadocia II (Pontica)  
 Colonia: Daniel (E431), Aristomachus (Ch).  
 Cybistra: Cyrus (Ch).  
 Nazianzus: Theodosius (Ch).  
 Parnassus: Eustathius (C449).  
 Tyana (metropolis): Patricius (C449, E449, Ch).
- Caria (Asiana)  
 Alabanda: Theodoret (Ch).  
 Alinda: Promachus (E431), John (Ch).  
 Amyzon: Philetus (E431), John (Ch).  
 Antioch: Dionysius (Ch).  
 Aphrodisias (metropolis): Cyrus (E431, E449), Critonianus (Ch).  
 Apollonia: Tynchanus (Ch).  
 Bargylia: John (C449, Ch).  
 Ceramus: Spudasius (E431).  
 Cibyra: Apelles (E431).  
 Cnidus: John (Ch).  
 Eriza: Papias (Ch).  
 Halicarnassus: Calandion (Ch).  
 Harpasa: Phanius (E431), Zoticus (Ch).  
 Heraclea by Latmus: Aphthonetus (E431), Dionysius (Ch).  
 Heraclea by Salbacus: Menander (Ch).  
 Iasus: Themistius (E431), Flacillus (Ch).  
 Myndus: Alphius (Ch).  
 Orthosia: Diogenes (Ch).  
 Stratonicea: Eupithius (Ch).
- Chersonesus Taurica  
 Bosphorus: Eudoxius (C448, C449, E449).  
 Chersonesus: Longinus (C448, C449, E449).
- Cilicia I (Oriens)  
 Adana: Philip (Ch).  
 Augusta: Theodore (Ch).  
 Mallus: Chrysippus (Ch).  
 Sebaste: Alexander (E449, Ch).  
 Tarsus (metropolis): Theodore (E449, Ch).  
 Zephyrium: Hypatius (Ch).

## Cilicia II (Oriens)

Alexandria: Baranes (A445).

Anazarbus (metropolis): Valerius (A445), Stephen (E449), Cyrus (Ch).

Epiphaneia: Polychronius (A445, Ch).

Flaviopolis: John (Ch).

Irenopolis: Indimus (E449, Ch).

Mopsuestia: Thomas (A445, A448), Bassianus (Ch).

Rhosus: Julian (Ch).

Constantinople<sup>6</sup>

Nestorius (428–31), Proclus (434–46), Flavian (C448, C449, E449), Anatolius (Ch).

## Crete (Macedonia)

Cantanus: Paul (Ch).

Chersonesus: Anderius (E431).

Cnossus: Zenobius (E431), Gennadius (E449, Ch).

Eleutherna: Euphratas (C449, Ch).

Gortyna (metropolis): Iconius (E431), Martyrius (E449, Ch).

Lappa: Paul (431), Demetrius (Ch).

Subrita: Cyril (Ch).

## Cyprus (Oriens)

Amathus: Theodosius (E449), Heliodorus (Ch).

Arsinoe: Proechius (Ch).

Chytri: Photinus (Ch).

Constantia (metropolis): Reginus (E431), Olympius (E449, Ch).

Curium: Zeno (E431).

Lapethus: Didymus (Ch).

Paphos: Sapricius (E431).

Soli: Evagrius (E431), Epiphanius (Ch).

Tamasus: Epaphroditus (Ch).

Theodosiane: Soteras (Ch).

## Dacia Mediterranea (Dacia)

Remesiana: Diogenianus (E449).

## Egypt (province unknown)

Psinchaus: Theonas (E431), John (Ch).

## Epirus Nova (Macedonia)

Apollonia: Felix (E431), Eusebius (Ch).

Dyrrachium (metropolis): Eucharius (E431), Luke (E449, Ch).

Echinaeum: Peter (Ch).

Lychnidus: Antony (E449).

## Epirus Vetus (Macedonia)

Anchiasmus: Claudius (E449, Ch).

Buthrotum: Zenobius (Ch).

Corcyra: Soterichus (Ch).

<sup>6</sup> Constantinople, being administered by the prefect of the city, immediately responsible to the emperor, did not count as belonging to the province of Rhodope or the diocese of Thrace.

- Dodona: Theodore (E431), Philoctetus (Ch).  
 Hadrianopolis: Eutychius (E449, Ch).  
 Euroea: Mark (E449, Ch).  
 Nicopolis (metropolis): Dynatus (E431), Atticus (E449, Ch).  
 Phoenice: Peregrinus (Ch).  
 Photice: John (Ch).
- Ethiopia
- Aduli: Sabinus (Ch).
- Euphratensis (Oriens).
- Cyrrhus: Theodoret (Ch).  
 Doliche: Timothy (A445, Ch).  
 Germanicia: John (Ch).  
 Hierapolis (metropolis): Panolbius (early 440s), John (A445), Stephen (A448, E449, Ch).  
 Neocaesarea: Patricius (Ch).  
 Perrhe: Athanasius (c.440, 449–51), Sabinianus (445–9, from 451).  
 Resapha: Marianus (A445).  
 Samosata: Rufinus (E449, Ch).  
 Sura: Uranius (A445).  
 Urima: Maras (A445).  
 Zeugma: Euolcius (A448, Ch).
- Europa [Thrace I] (Thrace)
- Bizye: Euprepus (E431), Lucian (Ch).  
 Chersonesus: Peter (E449).  
 Coela: Cyril (E431).  
 Eudoxiopolis: Romanus (C448, Ch).  
 Heraclea (metropolis): Cyriacus (E449, Ch).
- Galatia I (Pontica)
- Ancyra (metropolis): Theodotus (E431), Eusebius (C449, E449, Ch).  
 Aspona: Eusebius (E431), Hyperechius (Ch).  
 Cinna: Philumenus (E431), Acacius (Ch).  
 Juliopolis: Meliphthongus (C448, C449, E449, Ch).  
 Lagania: Euphrasius (Ch).  
 Mnisus: Leucadius (Ch).  
 Tavium: Julian (E449, Ch).
- Galatia II (Pontica)
- Amorium: Ablabius (E431), Mysterius (Ch).  
 Eudoxias: Aquila (Ch).  
 Orcistus: Domnus (E431), Longinus (Ch).  
 Pessinus (metropolis): Pius (E431), Theoctistus (E449, Ch).  
 Petnissus: Pius (Ch).  
 Thermae: Helpidius (Ch).  
 Trocnades: Cyriacus (E449, Ch).

## Haemimontus (Thrace)

Deultum: Jovian (C448, Ch).

Hadrianopolis (metropolis): Gregory (Ch).

## Helenopontus (Pontica)

Amaseia (metropolis): Palladius (E431), Seleucus (C448, C449, E449, Ch).

Amisus: Antonianus (Ch).

Andrapa: Paralius (E431, Ch).

Ibora: Uranius (Ch).

Sinope: Antiochus (Ch).

Zela: Atticus (Ch).

## Hellespontus (Asiana)

Abydus: Hermias (Ch).

Cyzicus (metropolis): Dalmatius (E431), Diogenes (E449, Ch).

Dardanus: Peter (Ch).

Germe: Timothy (E431).

Hadrianeia: David (Ch).

Hadrianutherae: Patricius (Ch).

Ilium: Theosebius (Ch).

Lampsacus: Daniel (Ch).

Parium: Hesychius (E431), Thalassius (Ch).

Pionia: Aetius (E431), Eulalius (Ch).

Poemanenum: Stephen (Ch).

Proconnesus: John (E431).

Scepsis: Athanasius (E431).

Troas: Pionius (C448, Ch).

## Honorias (Pontica)

Claudiopolis (metropolis): Olympius (E431), Calogerus (E449, Ch).

Creteia: Epiphanius (E431), Genethlius (Ch).

Hadrianopolis: Theophilus (Ch).

Heraclea: Eusebius (E431), Theodore (Ch).

Prusias: Olympius (Ch).

Tieum: Apragmonius (Ch).

## Isauria (Oriens)

Antioch: Acacius (Ch).

Celenderis: Julius (Ch).

Cestrus: Epiphanius (Ch).

Claudiopolis: Theodore (E449, Ch).

Diocaesarea: John (Ch).

Germanicopolis: Tyrannus (Ch).

Iotape: Ammonius (Ch).

Olba: Diapherontius (C448).

Philadelphia: Matalus (Ch).

Seleucia (metropolis): Basil (C448, C449, E449, Ch).

Selinus: Aelianus (Ch).

Titipolis: Pamprepius (Ch).

## The Islands (Asiana)

- Chios: Trypho (C448, C449, Ch).
- Cos: Julian (C448, C449, Ch).
- Naxos: Barachus (Ch).
- Paros: Athanasius (E431).
- Lesbos: John (E431), Florentius (see below).
- Rhodes (metropolis): Hellanicus (E431), John (E449, Ch).
- Tenedos and Lesbos: Florentius (E449, Ch).

## Libya Inferior (Egypt)

- Darnis: Daniel (E431).
- Septimiace: Sopater (E431).
- Zagylis: Philocalus (E449).
- Zygris: Lucius (E449).

## Libya Pentapolis (Egypt)

- Barca: Zenobius (E431), Theodore (E449).
- Cyrene: Rufus (E449).
- Dysthis: Samuel (E431).
- Erythrum: Gemellinus (E449), Theophilus (Ch).
- Olbia: Publius (E431).
- Ptolemais: Euoptius (E431).
- Sozusa: Sosias (E449).
- Tesila: Theodulus (E449, Ch).
- Teucheira: Zeno (E431), Photinus (E449).

## Lycaonia (Asiana)

- Cana: Eugenius (Ch).
- Corna: Neoptolemus (Ch).
- Derbe: Thomas (E431), Paul (Ch).
- Homanada: Tyrannus (Ch).
- Hyde: Rufus (Ch).
- Iconium (metropolis): Valerian (E431), Onesiphorus (E449, Ch).
- Ilista: Martyrius (E431).
- Laranda: Acholius (Ch).
- Lystra: Plutarch (Ch).

## Lycia (Asiana)

- Acarassus: Nicholas (Ch).
- Antiphellus: Theodore (Ch).
- Araxa: Leontius (Ch).
- Balbura: Philip (Ch).
- Bubon: Romanus (Ch).
- Caunus: Antipater (Ch).
- Choma: Eudoxius (E431, Ch).
- Corydalla: Palladius (Ch).
- Hadrianopolis: Helias (E449).
- Limyra: Stephen (Ch).
- Myra (metropolis): Erennianus (E431), Romanus (E449, Ch).

Olympus: Aristocritus (E431, Ch).

Panormus: Cratinus (Ch).

Patara: Cyrinus (Ch).

Phaselis: Fronto (Ch).

Telmessus: Zenodotus (Ch).

Tlos: Andrew (Ch).

#### Lydia (Asiana)

Acrasus: Patricius (Ch).

Apollonshieron: Leucius (Ch).

Attaleia: Dionysius (Ch).

Aureliopolis: John (E431).

Bagis: Chrysanthius (E449).

Blaundus: Helias (Ch).

Cerasesis: Philetus (E449), Menecrates (Ch).

Daldis: Paul (E431).

Hierocaesarea: Cossinius (C448, Ch).

Hyrcanis: John (C448).

Mostene: Julian (C448).

Saittae: Limenius (E431), Amachius (Ch).

Sardis (metropolis): Maeonius (E431), Florentius (E449, Ch), Eutherius (after 451).

Satala: Andrew (Ch).

Silandus: Alcimedes (Ch).

Stratonicea: Eutherius (E431), Gemellus (Ch).

Tabala: Polycarp (E449, Ch).

Thyateira: Phoscus (E431).

Tripolis: Commodus (E431), Paul (E449, Ch).

#### Macedonia (Macedonia)

Bargala: Dardanius (Ch).

Beroea: Luke (E449)

Cassandra: Hermogenes (E449).

Doberus: Eusebius (E449, Ch).

Heraclea: Quintillus (E449, Ch).

Parthicopolis: John (Ch).

Philippi: Flavian (E431), Sozon (E449, Ch).

Serrhae: Maximin (E449, Ch).

Stobi: Nicholas (Ch).

Thasos: Honoratus (Ch).

Thessalonica (metropolis): Rufus (E431), Anastasius (E449, Ch), Euxitheus (after 451).

#### Mesopotamia

Amida (metropolis): Symeon (A448, E449, Ch).

Anzitene: Maras (Ch).

Cephas: Noah (Ch).

Martyropolis: Zebennus (Ch).

## Moesia II

Marcianopolis (metropolis): Saturninus (C448, C449).

Novae: Secundinus (C449).

## Osrhoene (Oriens)

Batnae: Dadas (A448).

Birtha: Daniel (A448).

Callinicum: Damian (Ch).

Carrhae: Daniel (A445, TB449), John (Ch).

Circesium: Abramius (Ch).

Constantia: Sophronius (A445, Ch).

Edessa (metropolis): Rabbula (412–35), Ibas (TB449; end of Ch), Nonnus (Ch; from 457).

Hemerium: Uranius (TB449, E449).

Macedonopolis: Daniel (Ch).

Marcopolis: Caiumas (Ch).

Theodosiopolis: John (A445, TB449).

## Palestine I (Oriens)

Anthedon: Paul (E431, C449, Ch).

Antipatris: Polychronius (E449, Ch).

Ascalon: Leontius (E449, Ch).

Azotus: Heraclius (E449, Ch).

Bacatha: Alypius (E449).

Caesarea (metropolis): Glycon (Ch).

Gaza: Natiras (E431, C449, Ch), Marianus (E449).

Gerara: Marcian (Ch).

Jamnia: Stephen (Ch).

Jerusalem: Juvenal (E431, E449, Ch).

Joppa: Fidus (E431).

Livias: Letoeus (E431), Pancratius (E449, Ch).

Lydda: Photinus (E449, Ch).

Maiuma: Paulianus (E431), Paul (E449).

Menois: Zosimus (E449, Ch).

Preamble: Peter (E431), Auxilaus (E449), John (Ch).

Raphia: Romanus (E431).

Sebaste: Constantius (E449).

Sozusa: Baruchius (E449).

Sycamazon: Aeanes (E431), Dionysius (E449).

## Palestine II (Oriens)

Capitolias: Anianus (Ch).

Gabae: Rufinus (E431).

Gadara: Theodore (E431), John (Ch).

Pella: Zebennus (E449, Ch).

Scythopolis (metropolis): Severianus (Ch).

Tiberias: John (E449, Ch).

## Palestine III (Oriens)

- Aela: Beryllus (Ch).
- Areopolis: Anastasius (E449).
- Arindela: Theodore (E431).
- Augustopolis: John (E431).
- Elusa: Theodulus (E431), Aretas (Ch).
- Phaeno: Sidas (E431), Caiumas (E449).
- Zoara: Musonius (E449, Ch).

## Pamphylia I (Asiana)

- Ariassus: Theophilus (Ch).
- Attaleia: Theodore (E431).
- Codrula: Maras (Ch).
- Isinda: Aedesius (E431), Marcellinus (Ch).
- Lysinia: Diodotus (Ch).
- Magydus: Macedon (Ch).
- Palaeopolis: Libanius (E431).
- Perge (metropolis): Verinianus (E431), Epiphanius (E449, Ch).
- Pogla: Paul (Ch).
- Sillyum: Neon (Ch).
- Termessus: Timothy (E431), Sabinianus (C448).

## Pamphylia II (Asiana)

- 'Apollo': Paviscus (E431).
- Carallia: Solon (E431), Marcellinus (Ch).
- Casae and Sennea: Nectarius (E431).
- Colybrassus: Nesius (E431).
- Coracesium: Matidianus (E431), Obrimus (Ch).
- Cotenna: Acacius (E431), Eugenius (Ch).
- Erymna: Paul (E431).
- Etenna: Eutropius (E431), Eudoxius (Ch).
- Lyrbe: Tarianus (E431).
- Primupolis: Tribunianus (E431), Timothy (C448, C449, E449).
- Selge: Nunechius (E431).
- Side (metropolis): Amphilocheus (E431, Ch).
- Syedra: Gaius (Ch).

## Pannonia II

- Bassianae: Valerian (C448, C449, Ch).

## Paphlagonia (Pontica)

- Amastris: Themistius (Ch).
- Dadybra: Polychronius (Ch).
- Gangra (metropolis): Callinicus (c.440), Peter (E449, Ch).
- Ionopolis: Rhenus (Ch).
- Pompeiopolis: Aetherius (Ch).
- Sora: Theodore (Ch).



## Phoenice I (Oriens)

- Antaradus: Paul (A445), Alexander (Ch).
- Aradus: Paul (A445, Ch).
- Arca: Epiphanius (A445), Timothy (C448, C449), Heraclitus (450 and after 451), Antiochus (Ch).
- Berytus: Eustathius (TB449, E449, Ch).
- Botrys: Porphyry (Ch).
- Byblus: Venetius (A445), Peter (450), Rufinus (Ch).
- Orthosia: Phosphorus (A445, Ch).
- Paneas: Olympius (Ch).
- Porphyreon: Thomas (Ch).
- Ptolemais: Paul (A445, Ch).
- Sidon: Damian (A445, Ch).
- Tripolis: Theodore (Ch).
- Tyre (metropolis): Photius (TB449, E449, Ch).

## Phoenice Libanensis (Oriens)

- Abila: Jordanes (A445, Ch).
- Damascus (metropolis): Theodore (A445, E449, Ch).
- Emesa: Pompeianus (A445), Uranius (Ch).
- Euaria: Thomas (Ch).
- Heliopolis: Joseph (A445, Ch).
- Laodicea: Valerius (A445, Ch).
- The Saracens: Eustathius (Ch).

## Phrygia Pacatiana (Asiana)

- Acmoneia: Gennadius (Ch).
- Aristium: Paul (Ch).
- Attuda: Hermolaus (E431), Symmachius (E449).
- Cadi: Daniel (C449, E449, Ch).
- Ceretapa: Silvanus (E431).
- Diocleia: Constantius (E431), Evander (Ch).
- Dionysopolis: Chares (Ch).
- Hierapolis: Venantius (E431).
- Laodicea (metropolis): Aristonicus (E431), Nunechius (E449, Ch).
- Mossyna: Gennadius (Ch).
- Sebaste: Modestus (Ch).
- Siblia: Eulalius (Ch).
- Theodosiana: Thomas (C449, Ch).
- Trajanopolis: (?) Philadelphus (E431).
- Trapezopolis: Asclepiades (E431), John (Ch).

## Phrygia Salutaris (Asiana)

- Aurocra: Aquila (C449, Ch).
- Cotiaeum: Dominus (E431).
- Docimium: Eustathius (E431), Eustochius (C448, C449, Ch).
- Dorylaeum: Eusebius (C448, C449, Ch).
- Eucarpia: Cyriacus (Ch).

- Eulandra: Mirus (Ch).  
 Hieropolis: Abercius (Ch).  
 Ipsus: Lucian (Ch).  
 Lysias: Philip (Ch).  
 Midaem: Epiphanius (Ch).  
 Nacoleia: Basil (Ch).  
 Polybotus: Strategius (Ch).  
 Synnada (metropolis): Severus (E431), Marinianus (C449, E449, Ch).
- Pisidia (Asiana)
- Adada: Eutropius (Ch).  
 Antioch (metropolis): Candidianus (C449, E449), Pergamius (Ch).  
 Apamea: Paulinus (Ch).  
 Hadrianopolis: Florentius (Ch).  
 Laodicea: Messalinus (Ch).  
 Limenae: Movianus (Ch).  
 Metropolis: Heorticius (Ch).  
 Neapolis: Bassonas (Ch).  
 Parlais: Libanius (Ch).  
 Philomelium: Paul (Ch).  
 Sagalassus: Fontianus (Ch).  
 Seleucia: Alexander (Ch).  
 Sinethandus: Cyrus (Ch).  
 Sozopolis: Severus (E431), Olympius (E449, Ch).  
 Tymandus: Longinus (C449).  
 Tyriaeum: Theotecnus (Ch).
- Pontus Polemoniacus (Pontica)
- Cerasus: Gregory (E431), Gratidianus (Ch).  
 Comana: Prothymius (E431).  
 Neocaesarea (metropolis): Dorotheus (C448, E449, Ch).  
 Polemonium: John (Ch).  
 Trapezus: Atarbius (Ch).
- Praevalitana
- Scodra (metropolis): Senecio (E431).
- Rhodope (Thrace)
- Aenus: Macarius (Ch).  
 Maronea: Docimasius (E431, E449, Ch).  
 Maximianopolis: Ennepius (E431), Serenus (Ch).  
 Topirus: Lucian (E431).  
 Trajanopolis (metropolis): Basil (E449, Ch).
- Scythia (Thrace)
- Tomi (metropolis): Timothy (E431), Alexander (C449, Ch).
- Syria I (Oriens)
- Anasartha: Maras (A445, Ch).  
 Antioch (metropolis): Domnus (A445, A448, E449), Maximus (Ch).  
 Beroea: Theoctistus (A445, A448, Ch).

- Chalcis: Iamblichus (A445), Romulus (Ch).  
Gabala: Uranius (Ch).  
Gabbula: Peter (Ch).  
Laodicea: Macarius (Ch).  
Paltus: Sabas (A445, C448, C449, Ch).  
Seleucia: Gerontius (A445, E449, Ch).
- Syria II (Oriens)  
Apamea (metropolis): Domnus (E449, Ch).  
Arethusa: Mark (Ch).  
Balanae: Timothy (E449, Ch).  
Epiphaneia: Stephen (A445), Eutychianus (Ch).  
Larissa: Meletius (E449, Ch).  
Mariamme: Paul (Ch).  
Raphanae: Lampadius (Ch).  
Seleucia ad Belum: Eusebius (Ch).
- Thebaid (Egypt)  
Antaeopolis: Macarius (E431).  
Coptos: Phoebammon (E431).  
Hermopolis Maior: Andrew (E431), Gennadius (E449).  
Panopolis: Sabinus (E431).  
Thinis: Heraclius (E431).
- Thessaly (Macedonia)  
Demetrias: Constantine (E449, Ch).  
Echineum: Theodore (E431).  
Lamia: Secundianus (E431).  
Larissa (metropolis): Vigilantius (E449, Ch).  
Pharmalus: Perrebius (E431).  
Thebes: Dio (E431).
- Thrace [II] (Thrace)  
Beroe: Sebastian (Ch).  
Diocletianopolis: Epictetus (Ch).  
Philippopolis (metropolis): Francion (Ch).

**(C) DOCUMENTS****Abbreviations**

CD	Session on Carosus and Dorotheus
DAC	Documents after the Council (451–4)
DBC	Documents before the Council (450–51)
PE	Session on Photius and Eustathius

**1) Conciliar Acts and decrees**

Nicaea (325)	Creed: I. 157, 914; II. 11; V. 32.
Constantinople I (381)	Creed: II. 14; V. 33.
Ephesus I (431)	from Acts of first session: I. 240–44. Acts of the session of 22 July: I. 911–45, including Canon 7 (943).
Antioch (445)	Acts: XIV. 15–150.
Antioch (Eastertide 448)	from Acts: X. 47–51, 54.
Berytus (Feb. 449)	Acts: X. 28–138.
Constantinople (Nov. 448)	Acts: I. 223–552.
Constantinople (8 April 449)	from Acts: I. 558–9.
Constantinople (13 April 449)	Acts: I. 555–849.
Constantinople (27 April 449)	Acts: I. 829–49.
Ephesus II (449)	Acts of First Session: I. 67–1067.
Chalcedon (451)	Second Summons to Dioscorus: III. 31. Third Summons to Dioscorus: III. 70. Letter to Marcian on the condemnation of Eutyches: III. 98. Letter to Eutyches informing him of his deposition: III. 99. Letter to the clergy of Alexandria: III. 100. Public Notice against Dioscorus, to the people of Constantinople: III. 101. Letter to Pulcheria: III. 103. Definition: V. 31–4. Address to Marcian: DAC 1. Letter to Pope Leo: DAC 2.

**(2) Conciliar canons**

Nicaea (325)	Canon 4: PE 37; XIII. 22. Canon 6 (original version): XVI. 17. Canon 6 (western version): XVI. 16.
Constantinople (381)	Canons: XVI. 18.

Antioch ( <i>c.</i> 328)	Canon 4: CD 9. Canon 5: IV. 90; CD 10. Canon 16: XI. 24. Canon 17: XI. 25.
Chalcedon (451)	Canons 1–27: pp. 92–103 above. Canon 28: XVI. 8.

### (3) Florilegia

Christological florilegium read at Ephesus I	I. 917.
Excerpts from Nestorius read at Ephesus I	I. 944.
dyophysite florilegium attached to Address to Marcian	DAC 1.

### (4) Documents from individuals

Anatolius of Constantinople	Letter to Pope Leo (December 451): DAC 8.
Bassianus of Ephesus	Petition to Marcian (451): XI. 7.
Carosus, Dorotheus and other archimandrites of Constantinople	Petition to Marcian (autumn 451): IV. 76. Petition to the council (17 October 451): IV. 83, 88.
Charisius, presbyter of Philadelphia	Petition to Ephesus I: I. 919–20.
Cyril of Alexandria	Second Letter to Nestorius (February 430): I. 240. Letter to John of Antioch (April 433): I. 246. Letter to Domnus of Antioch ( <i>c.</i> 443): XIV. 10.
Dioscorus, Plaints against, from	Athanasius, presbyter of Alexandria: III. 57. Ischyron, deacon of Alexandria: III. 51. Sophronius: III. 64. Theodore, deacon of Alexandria: III. 47.
Edessa, clergy of	Appeal on behalf of Bishop Ibas (February 449): X. 141.
Egyptian bishops	Petition to Marcian (by 17 October 451): IV. 25.
Enomius of Nicomedia	Petition to Marcian (451): XIII. 5.
Eusebius of Dorylaeum	Indictment of Eutyches (8 November 448): I. 225, 230. Petition to Marcian: I. 16. Indictment of Dioscorus (13 October 451): III. 5.
Eutyches	Petitions to Theodosius II (early 449): I. 572, 834. Petition to Ephesus II (449): I. 157, 164, 185.

Eutyches' monks	Petition to Ephesus II (449): I. 887–8.
Faustus and other archimandrites of Constantinople	Petition to Marcian (autumn 451): IV. 105.
Ibas of Edessa	Letter to Mari the Persian (433): X. 138.
Leo of Rome	Letter to Flavian of Constantinople, the Tome (13 June 449): II. 22. Letter to Pulcheria (13 April 451): DBC 4. Letter to Marcian (23 April 451): DBC 5. Letter to Marcian (24 June 451): DBC 7. Letter to Marcian (26 June 451): DBC 8. Letter to Bishop Paschasinus (24 June 451): DBC 9. Letter to the council (26 June 451): DBC 10; XV. 6. Letter to Pulcheria (20 July 451): DBC 11. Injunction to his delegates at Chalcedon: XVI. 14. Letter to Marcian (22 May 452): DAC 9. Letter to Anatolius of Constantinople (22 May 452): DAC 10. Letter to Marcian (21 March 453): DAC 12. Letter to the council fathers (21 March 453): DAC 13.
Marcian, emperor	Letter to Pope Leo (September 450): DBC 1. Letter to Pope Leo (22 November 450): DBC 2. Letter to the bishops (23 May 451): DBC 6. First letter to the council (September 451): DBC 12. Second letter to the council (September 451): DBC 14. Third letter to the council (22 September 451): DBC 15. Instructions to the council (22 October 451): V. 22. Draft canons (presented to the council on 25 October 451): VI. 17–19. Letter to the council, on the petition of Bassianus (read 29 October 451): XI. 5. Letter to Pope Leo (18 December 451): DAC 7. First Edict confirming Chalcedon (7 February 452): DAC 3. Second Edict confirming Chalcedon (13 March 452): DAC 4. Third Edict confirming Chalcedon (6 July 452): DAC 5. Fourth Edict confirming Chalcedon (18 July 452): DAC 6. Letter to Pope Leo (15 February 453): DAC 11. Letter to the monks of Alexandria (late 454): DAC 14.

- Nestorius Florilegium from writings of: I. 944.
- Photius of Tyre Arbitration in the case of Ibas (25 February 449): IX. 7.  
Petition to Marcian (autumn 451): PE 7.
- Proclus of Constantinople Letter to Domnus of Antioch (c.443): XIV. 11.
- Pulcheria, empress Letter to Pope Leo (22 November 450): DBC 3.  
Letter to the governor of Bithynia (September 451):  
DBC 13.
- Sabinianus of Perrhe Petition to Marcian: XIV. 5.  
Petition to the Council of Chalcedon: XIV. 6.
- Samuel and other presbyters  
of Edessa Plaint to the Council of Berytus (February 449): X.  
56, 73.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia Paraphrase of the Creed: I. 921.
- Theodosius II Mandate to the notary Damascius (26 October 448):  
X. 27.  
Instruction to the Home Synod (22 November 448):  
I. 468.  
Annotations on petitions of Eutyches (early 449): I.  
575, 836.  
Letter to Dioscorus (30 March 449): I. 24.  
Letter to Barsaumas (14 May 449): I. 48.  
Letter to Dioscorus (15 May 449): I. 47.  
Mandate to Count Helpidius (15 May 449): I. 49.  
Letter to Proclus governor of Asia (May 449): I. 50.  
Letter to Ephesus II (? May 449): I. 51.  
Letter to Dioscorus (August 449): I. 52.
- Valentinian I and Valens Edict raising Nicaea to metropolitan status: XIII. 27.  
Edict on the rights of Nicomedia: XIII. 30.

**(D) TOPICS**

## Abbreviations:

CD	Session on Carosus and Dorotheus, vol. 2, 164–8
Com.	Commentary
D	Session on Domnus, vol. 2, 310–12
DAC	Documents after the Council, vol. 3, 104–56
DBC	Documents before the Council, vol. 1, 86–110
Gen Intr.	General Introduction
PE	Session on Photius and Eustathius, vol. 2, 169–82

## Bishops

Election and confirmation: XI Com., 13–35, 50; XIV. 5.

Translation forbidden: Canon 5.

Degradation of: Athanasius of Perrhe XIV. Com., 122–59. Bassianus of Ephesus XI. Com., 7, 38; XII. 26. Dioscorus I. 1068; III. 79–96. Flavian of Constantinople I. 962–1066. Ibas of Edessa X. Com., 1. Sabinianus of Perrhe XIV. 5. Stephen of Ephesus XII. 26.

Restoration of: five suspended bishops IV. 14–18. Ibas of Edessa X. 161–81. Sabinianus of Perrhe XIV. 162. Theodoret of Cyrrhus VIII. 14–25.

Status and income of deposed bishops: X. 163; D; XII. 9–27; XIV. 162.

## Conciliar trials

Need for threefold summons: I. 402, 420; III. 66–70, 79–83; XIV. 43–77, 123, 131, 153–60.

Need for presence, and fair hearing, of the accused: I. 236, 868–70; PE 28–33; X. 3–5, 19.

Need for presence of the accuser: I. 187–8.

Need for three witnesses: X. 91, 101.

Prejudice in favour of bishops accused by their clergy: X. Com. (pp. 267–8); XI. Com. (n. 5).

Silencing of plaintiffs: X. 37n.

Charges classed as serious: X. 74.

Presiding bishop, decisive character of his verdict: III. Com. (pp. 34–5); X. Com. (p. 269).

Penalties for vexatious accusation: I. 481–3.

Excommunication as judicial penalty: I. 887; III. 98; PE 27.

Impropriety of degrading bishops to presbyteral rank: PE 49–56.

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The proper court for various classes of plaintiff: Canon 9.

Consubstantiality, Dual, of Christ: I. 271, 490, 511–26, 541, 677–82; IV. 25n.

## Creed

Nicene Creed, Unique authority of: Gen Intr. (pp. 56–8); I. 142–8, 943, 943a–62;



II. 3, 7–12; V. 31–4. Variant versions of: V. Com. (appendix).  
 Creed of Constantinople: I. 160, 1072; II. 13–15; IV. 6–9; V. 31–4.  
 Baptism and the Creed: I. 157; II. 12; IV. 7, 9.66, 9.117, 93–5, 103, 108, 112, 115; V. 20.

#### Definition, Chalcedonian

Composition proposed by the chairman: II. 2, 6.  
 Episcopal resistance: II. Com. (p. 3), 3–9; IV. 5–7.  
 Draft definition debated and revised: V. Com., 3–29.  
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Easter, Date of: DBC 9.

#### Home Synod of Constantinople

Authority of: PE Com. (p. 171), 28–32.  
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Latin, Use of: Gen. Intr. (pp. 83–5); I. 6, 273–6, 330n., 336n., 964; III. 4, 97G.1n.; VI. 2, 9.1n.; XV. 5; XVI. 5, 10n.

#### Liturgical scandals

Episcopal consecration: XI. 14.  
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#### Metropolitans

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## Notaries and recording of conciliar proceedings

Gen Intr. (pp. 75–8); I. Com. (pp. 116–17), 122–30, 576–617, 721–828.

## Patriarchates, Rights of

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Antioch: Gen Intr. (p. 13); VII; IX. 7; X. 37–57, 110–13, 161–3; XIV. Com., XVI. 16.

Constantinople: Gen Intr. (pp. 13–15); XI. Com., 54–62; XIII. Com., 7, 12, 17–20, 37–40; XVI; Canons 9, 17; DAC 2, 8–10.

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*Theotokos*

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Criticized by Nestorius and his allies I. 918n., X. 138. They preferred *Christotokos* I. 944.1–2.

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## Tome of Leo

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