

*Decrees of the
Ecumenical Councils*

Volume One
Nicaea I to Lateran V

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Ephesus

431

INTRODUCTION

Nestorius, who had been condemned in a council at Rome on 11 August 430, asked the emperor Theodosius II to summon this council. The emperor therefore decided to summon it together with his co-emperor Valentinian III and with the agreement of Pope Celestine I. Theodosius's letter of 19 November 430 requested all those who had been summoned to be present at Ephesus on 7 June 431, the feast of Pentecost.

On 22 June, however, before the arrival either of the Roman legates or the eastern bishops led by John of Antioch, Cyril of Alexandria began the council. Nestorius was summoned three times but did not come. His teaching was examined and judgment passed upon it, which 197 bishops subscribed at once and others later accepted¹.

Shortly afterwards John of Antioch and the easterners arrived: they refused communion with Cyril and set up another council. The Roman legates (the bishops Arcadius and Projectus and the priest Philip), on arriving, joined Cyril and confirmed the sentence against Nestorius. Then the council in its fifth session on 17 July excommunicated John and his party².

The documents of the Cyrilline council³, the only one which is ecumenical, are included below and are as follows. 1) The central dogmatic act of the council⁴ is its judgment about whether the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius, or Nestorius's second letter to Cyril, was in conformity with the Nicene creed, which was recited at the opening of the council's proceedings. Cyril's letter was declared by the fathers to be in agreement with Nicaea, Nestorius's was condemned. Both are here printed⁵. Mention is made of Cyril's letter in the definition of Chalcedon⁶. 2) The 12 anathemas and the preceding explanatory letter, which had been produced by Cyril and the synod of Alexandria in 430 and sent to Nestorius⁷, were read at Ephesus and included in the proceedings⁸. 3) The

¹ See E. Gerland — V. Laurent, *Corpus notitiarum episcopatum ecclesiae orientalis graecae*, fasc. II, Part II (Council of Ephesus), Kadi-Koey 1936, 36 and 51.

² ACO I I 3, 24–26.

³ On the teaching of the council: I Ortiz de Urbina, *Il dogma di Efeso*, *Revue des études byzantines* 11 (1953) 233–240; H. M. Diepen *Douze dialogues de christologie ancienne*, Rome 1960, 49–94; and especially A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, London ²1975, 443–501.

⁴ J. Lebon, *Autour de la définition de foi au concile d'Ephèse (431)*, *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 8 (1931) 393–412.

⁵ See below pp. 40–50. For Cyril's letter: ACO I I 1, 25–28 (Greek text); ACO I V 337–340 (Latin version from the Quesnel collection). For Nestorius's letter: ACO I I 1, 29–32 (Greek text); ACO I III 23–26 (Latin version of Rusticus).

⁶ See below p. 85.

⁷ ACO I I 1, 33–42 (Greek text); ACO I V 236–244 (Latin version of Dionysius Exiguus).

⁸ See below pp. 50–61. ACO I I 2, 36.26.

decision about Nestorius⁹. 4) The letter of the council advising all the bishops, clergy and people about the condemnation of John of Antioch; and some paragraphs dealing with the discipline of the Nestorian party¹⁰. 5) A decree on the faith, approved in the sixth session on 22 July, which confirmed the Nicene creed, ordered adherence to that alone and forbade the production of new creeds¹¹. 6) A definition against the Messalians¹². 7) A decree about the autonomy of the church of Cyprus¹³.

Both councils sent legates to the emperor Theodosius, who approved neither and sent the bishops away¹⁴. Nestorius had already been given permission to revisit his monastery at Antioch¹⁵, and on 25 October 431 Maximianus was ordained patriarch at Constantinople¹⁶. The decrees of the council were approved by Pope Sixtus III shortly after his own ordination on 31 July 432¹⁷.

The reconciliation between the Cyrilline party and the eastern bishops was not easy. In the end, on 23 April 433, Cyril and John of Antioch made peace. John's profession of faith was accepted by Cyril and became the doctrinal formula of union. It is included here¹⁸, together with Cyril's letter in which he at some length praises John's profession and accepts it, adding to it some explanation about his own expressions¹⁹; this letter is mentioned in the definition of Chalcedon²⁰. Shortly afterwards, probably in 436, Nestorius was definitely sent into exile by the emperor²¹.

The English translation is from the Greek text, which is the more authoritative version.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H-L 2, 287–377; Percival 191–242; DThC 5 (1918) 137–163; DDrC 5 (1953) 362–364; LThK 3 (21959) 923; DHGE 15 (1963) 562–574; NCE 5 (1967) 458–461;

⁹ See below pp. 61–62. ACO I I 2, 54 (Greek text); ACO I III 82–83 (Latin version of Rusticus).

¹⁰ See below pp. 62–64. The paragraphs in question were accepted into the Greek canonical collections as canons 1–6 of the council of Ephesus. We give the text according to the manuscripts of the acts of the council: ACO I I 3, 26–28 (in Greek); ACO I IV 242–243 (in Latin, from the collection of the Cassinese monks).

¹¹ See below pp. 64–66. This was received into the canonical collections as canon 7 of the council of Ephesus. We give the text according to the manuscripts of the acts of the council, while omitting the patristic florilegium and also what was done in connection with the priest Charisius: ACO I I 7, 89 and 105–106 (in Greek); ACO I III 120–121 and 133 (Latin version of Rusticus). On this decree see M. Jugie, *Le décret du concile d'Éphèse sur les formules de foi et la polémique anticatholique en Orient*, *Echos d'Orient* 34 (1931) 257–270.

¹² See below pp. 66–67. ACO I I 7, 117–118 (Greek text); ACO I V 354–355 (Latin version from the Winter collection).

¹³ See below pp. 68–69. ACO I I 7, 122 (Greek text); ACO I V 360 (Latin version from the Winter collection).

¹⁴ ACO I I 7, 142. ¹⁵ ACO I I 7, 71; see 7, 76 ff.

¹⁶ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica (Church History)* 7, 37, 19 (ed. R. Hussey, 2, 822).

¹⁷ ACO I I 7, 144 ff.

¹⁸ See below pp. 69–70. The Greek text is in ACO I I 4, 8–9 (A); 4, 17 (B); 7, 159 (C); see also ACO I I 7, 70.15–22 (D). We have appended the Latin version of Rusticus, ACO I III 186–187.

¹⁹ See below pp. 70–74. ACO I I 4, 17–20 (Greek text); ACO I III 189–191 (Latin version of Rusticus). ²⁰ See below p. 85. ²¹ ACO I I 3, 67.

HC 2 (1980) 103–107; E. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, Strasbourg 1914; id., *Neue Aktenstücke zum Ephes. Konzil von 431*, Abhandl. Bayr. Ak. W. 1920; id., various commentaries in ACO, vol. 1; P. Batiffol, *Un épisode du concile d'Éphèse (juillet 431) d'après les actes coptes de Bouviant*, *Mélanges Schlumberger*, Paris 1924, 28–39; R. Devreese, *Les actes du concile d'Éphèse*, *Revue des sciences philos. et théol.* 18 (1929) 233–242, 408–431; I. Rucker, *Ephesinische Konzilakten in armenisch-georgischer Überlieferung*, Sitzungsber. Bayr. Ak. W. 1930, 3 (see *Orientalia Christiana periodica* 1 (1935) 503); id., *Rund um das Recht der 20 Ephes. Anklagezitate — aus Nestorius wider Nestorius — im Lichte der syrischen Nestoriusapologie genannt Liber Heraclidis*, Ochsensbronn 1930; id., *Ephes. Konzilakten in latein. Überlieferung*, *ibid.* 1931; A. d'Alès, *Le dogme d'Éphèse*, Paris 1931; A. N. Diamantopoulos, *Concilium Ephes. oecum. III* (in Greek), Athens 1933; G. Neyron, *S. Cyrille et le concile d'Éphèse*, *Kyrielliana (Sémin. francisc. orient.)* Cairo 1947; I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Il dogma di Efeso*, *Revue des études byzantines* 11 (1953), 233–240; H. M. Diepen, *Douze dialogues de christologie ancienne*, Rome 1960, 49–94; P.-Th. Camelot, *Éphèse et Chalcédoine*, *Histoire des conciles* 2, Paris 1961; T. Sagi-Bunic, *Documentatio doctrinalis Ephesino-Chalcedonensis*, *Laurentianum* 3 (1962) 499–514; id., “*Deus perfectus et homo perfectus*”, *A concilio Ephesino ad Chalcedonense*, Rome 1965; A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, London 21975; A. J. Festugière (ed.), *Éphèse et Chalcédoine, actes des conciles*, Paris 1982.

Κυρίλλου ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα
πρὸς Νεστόριον

Τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ
συλλειτουργῷ Νεστορίῳ Κύριλλος ἐν
Κυρίῳ χαίρειν

Καταφλυαροῦσι μὲν, ὡς μανθάνω,
5 τινὲς τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπολήψεως ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς
θεοσεβείας, καὶ τοῦτο συχνῶς, τὰς
τῶν ἐν τέλει συνόδους καιροφυλα-
κοῦντες μάλιστα, καὶ τάχα που καὶ
τέρπειν οἰόμενοι τὴν σὴν ἀκοήν καὶ
10 ἀβουλήτους πέμπουσι φωνάς, ἡδίκη-
μένοι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐλεγχθέντες δέ, καὶ
τοῦτο χρηστῶς, ὃ μὲν ὅτι τυφλοὺς
ἡδίκηει καὶ πένητας, ὃ δὲ ὡς μητρὶ
ξίφος ἐπανατείνας, ὃ δὲ θεραπεαίνῃ
15 συγκεκλωφῶς χρυσίον ἀλλότριον καὶ
τοιαύτην ἐσχηκῶς αἰεὶ τὴν ὑπόληψιν,
ἣν οὐκ ἂν εὐξαιτό τις συμβῆναί τισιν
καὶ τῶν λίαν ἐγθρῶν. Πλὴν οὐ πολὺς
τῶν τοιούτων ὁ λόγος ἐμοί, ἵνα μήτε
20 ὑπὲρ τὸν δεσπότην καὶ διδάσκαλον
μήτε μὴν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας τὸ τὴν
ἐνούσης ἐμοὶ βραχυτήτος ἐκτείνωμι
μέτρον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τὰς τῶν
φαύλων διαδρᾶναι σκαιότητας, ὡς
25 ἂν ἔλοιτό τις διαβιῶν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι
μὲν ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας μεστὸν ἔχοντες
τὸ στόμα τῷ πάντων ἀπολογῆσονται
κριτῇ¹. τετράψομαι δὲ πάλιν ἐγὼ
πρὸς τὸ ὅτι μάλιστα πρέπον ἐμαυτῷ
30 καὶ ὑπομνήσω καὶ νῦν ὡς ἀδελφὸν ἐν
Χριστῷ τῆς διδασκαλίας τὸν λόγον
καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει φρόνημα μετὰ
πάσης ἀσφαλείας ποιῆσθαι πρὸς
τοὺς λαοὺς, ἐννοεῖν τε ὅτι τὸ σκανδα-
35 λίσαι καὶ μόνον ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τῶν
πιστευόντων εἰς Χριστὸν² ἀφόρητον
ἔχει τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ
πληθὺς εἴη τοσαύτη τῶν λελυπη-
μένων, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάσης εὐτεχνίας ἐν
40 χρεῖα καθεστήκαμεν πρὸς γε τὸ
δεῖν ἐμφρόνως περιελεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα
καὶ τὸν ὑγιᾶ τῆς πίστεως κατευρῶναι
λόγον τοῖς ζητοῦσι τὸ ἀληθές; Ἔσται
δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, εἰ τοῖς τῶν

¹ Cf. Rm 3, 14. ² Cf. Mt 18, 6.

Second letter of Cyril to Nestorius

Cyril sends greeting in the Lord to the most religious and reverend fellow-
minister Nestorius

I understand that there are some who are talking rashly of the reputation in which I hold your reverence, and that this is frequently the case when meetings of people in authority give them an opportunity. I think they hope in this way to delight your ears and so they spread abroad uncontrolled expressions. They are people who have suffered no wrong, but have been exposed by me for their own profit, one because he oppressed the blind and the poor, a second because he drew a sword on his mother, a third because he stole someone else's money in collusion with a maidservant and since then has lived with such a reputation as one would hardly wish for one's worst enemy. For the rest I do not intend to spend more words on this subject in order not to vaunt my own mediocrity above my teacher and master or above the fathers. For however one may try to live, it is impossible to escape the malice of evil people, whose mouths are full of cursing and bitterness and who will have to defend themselves before the judge of all¹.

But I turn to a subject more fitting to myself and remind you as a brother in Christ always to be very careful about what you say to the people in matters of teaching and of your thought on the faith. You should bear in mind that to scandalise even one of these little ones that believe in Christ² lays you open to unendurable wrath. If the number of those who are distressed is very large, then surely we should use every skill and care to remove scandals and to expound the healthy word of faith to those who seek the truth. The most effective way to achieve this end will be zealously to occupy ourselves with the words of the holy

¹ See Rm 3, 14. ² See Mt 18, 6.

ἀγίων πατέρων περιτυγχάνοντες
λόγοις περὶ πολλοῦ τε αὐτοὺς ποιῆ-
σαι σπουδάζοιμεν καὶ δοκιμάζοντες
ἑαυτοὺς εἰ ἔσμεν ἐν τῇ πίστει κατὰ
5 τὸ γεγραμμένον¹, ταῖς ἐκείνων ὀρθαῖς
καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτους δόξαις τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν
ἐννοίας εὖ μάλα συμπλάττοιομεν.

scriptum est¹, tum demum rectis
institutis sensus nostros animosque

10 Ἔφη τοίνυν ἡ ἅγια καὶ μεγάλη
σύνδοδος² αὐτὸν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρός
κατὰ φύσιν γεννηθέντα υἱὸν μονο-
γενῆ, τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεόν
ἀληθινόν, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτός, τὸν
15 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν ὁ πατήρ,
κατελθεῖν σαρκωθῆναι ἐνανθρωπήσαι
παθεῖν ἀναστῆναι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ
ἀνελθεῖν εἰς οὐρανούς. Τούτοις καὶ ἡμᾶς
ἔπεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς
20 δόγμασιν, ἐννοοῦντας τί τὸ σαρκω-
θῆναι καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαι δηλοῖ τὸν
ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον. Οὐ γὰρ φαμέν ὅτι ἡ
τοῦ λόγου φύσις μεταποιηθεῖσα γέ-
γονε σὰρξ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅτι εἰς ὄλον
25 ἄνθρωπον μετεβλήθη τὸν ἐξ ψυχῆς καὶ
σώματος, ἐκεῖνο δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι σάρκα
ἐψυχωμένην ψυχῇ λογικῇ ἐνώσας ὁ
λόγος ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀφρά-
στως τε καὶ ἀπερινοήτως γέγονεν
30 ἄνθρωπος καὶ κεχρημάτικεν υἱὸς
ἀνθρώπου, οὐ κατὰ θέλησιν μόνην ἢ
εὐδοκίαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὡς ἐν προσλήψει
προσώπου μόνου· καὶ ὅτι διάφοροι
μὲν αἱ πρὸς ἐνότητα τὴν ἀληθινὴν
35 συνεχεθεῖσαι φύσεις, εἷς δὲ ἐξ
ἀμφοῖν Χριστὸς καὶ υἱός, οὐχ ὡς
τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνηρημέ-
νης διὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν, ἀποτελεσασῶν δὲ
μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τὸν ἕνα κύριον καὶ
40 Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν θεότητός τε καὶ
ἀνθρωπότητος διὰ τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ
ἀπορρήτου πρὸς ἐνότητα συνδρομῆς.
Οὕτω τε λέγεται, καίτοι πρὸ αἰώνων
ἔχων τὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ
45 πατρὸς, γεννηθῆναι καὶ κατὰ σάρκα

circumcidamus scandala et illis qui
quaerunt veritatem, sanam rectam-
que fidei dirigere rationem. Id au-
tem facile fiet, si patrum recensentes
scripta sanctorum, eos plurimi faci-
amus et nosmet ipsos consulentes si
in fide consistimus, secundum quod
formemus.

Ait igitur sancta et magna syn-
odus² ipsum qui est ex Deo Patre
naturaliter natus, Filium unigeni-
tum, Deum verum de Deo vero,
lumen de lumine, per quem et cum
quo omnia fecerit Pater, hunc de-
scendisse, incarnatum esse et homi-
nem factum, passum esse, surrexisse
tertia die et ascendisse rursus in
caelos. Haec nos sequi verba debe-
mus; his nos convenit obtemperare
dogmatibus, considerantes quid sit
incarnatum esse et hominem factum
Dei Verbum. Non enim dicimus
quod Dei natura conversa vel im-
mutata facta sit caro nec quod in
totum hominem, qui est ex anima
et corpore, transformata sit, sed
illud magis quod carnem animatam
anima rationabili sibi copulaverit
Verbum substantialiter, ineffabiliter
et inreprehensibiliter factus sit homo
et nuncupatus sit etiam filius ho-
minis, non nuda tantummodo vol-
untate, sed nec adsumptione sola
personae, sed quod diversae qui-
dem naturae in unum convenerint,
unus tamen ex ambabus Christus
et Filius, non evacuata aut sublata
diversitate naturarum per coniunc-
tionem, sed quia simul nobis effe-
runt unum Dominum et Christum
et Filium, id est divinitas et humani-
tas, per arcanam illam ineffabilem-
que copulationem ad unitatem. Ita-
que is qui ante saecula omnia est

¹ Cf. 2 Cor 13, 5.

² Symb. Nicaenum (v. supra p. 5).

fathers, to esteem their words, to examine our words to see if we are holding to their faith as it is written¹, to conform our thoughts to their correct and irreproachable teaching.

The holy and great synod, therefore, stated² that the only begotten Son, begotten of God the Father according to nature, true God from true God, the light from the light, the one through whom the Father made all things, came down, became incarnate, became man, suffered, rose on the third day and ascended to heaven. We too ought to follow these words and these teachings and consider what is meant by saying that the Word from God took flesh and became man. For we do not say that the nature of the Word was changed and became flesh, nor that he was turned into a whole man made of body and soul. Rather do we claim that the Word in an unspeakable, inconceivable manner united to himself hypostatically flesh enlivened by a rational soul, and so became man and was called son of man, not by God's will alone or good pleasure, nor by the assumption of a person alone. Rather did two different natures come together to form a unity, and from both arose one Christ, one Son. It was not as though the distinctness of the natures was destroyed by the union, but divinity and humanity together made perfect for us one Lord and one Christ, together marvellously and mysteriously combining to form a unity. So he who existed and was begotten of the Father before all ages is also said to have been begotten according to the flesh of a woman, without the divine nature either beginning to

¹ See 2 Cor 13, 5.

² Nicene creed (see above p. 5).

ἐκ γυναικός, οὐχ ὡς τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι λαβούσης ἐν τῇ ἀγία παρθένῳ οὔτε μὴν δεηθείσης ἀναγκαίως δι' ἐαυτὴν δευτέρας γενήσεως μετὰ τὴν ἐκ πατρὸς, (ἔστι γὰρ εἰκατόν τε ἡμῶν καὶ ἀμαθὲς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ συναϊδίον τῷ πατρὶ δεῖσθαι λέγειν ἀρχῆς τῆς εἰς τὸ εἶναι δευτέρας), ἐπειδὴ δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐνώσας ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον προῆλθεν ἐκ γυναικός, ταύτη τοι λέγεται γεννηθῆναι σαρκικῶς. Οὐ γὰρ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη κοινός ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου, εἴθ' οὕτως καταπεφοίτηκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς μήτρας ἐνωθεὶς ὑπομεῖναι λέγεται γέννησιν σαρκικὴν, ὡς τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς τὴν γέννησιν οἰκειούμενος. Οὕτω φαμέν αὐτὸν καὶ παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου παθόντος εἰς ἰδίαν φύσιν ἢ πληγὰς ἢ διατρήσεις ἡλῶν ἢ γοῦν τὰ ἕτερα τῶν τραυμάτων, (ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι καὶ ἀσώματον), ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ γεγονός αὐτοῦ ἴδιον σῶμα πέπονθεν ταῦτα, πάλιν αὐτὸς λέγεται παθεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἢν γὰρ ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι. Κατὰ τὸν ἴσον δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθνάναι νοοῦμεν· ἀθάνατος μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀφθαρτος καὶ ζωὴ καὶ ζωοποιός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάλιν τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα χάριτι θεοῦ, καθά φησιν ὁ Παῦλος, ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου¹, λέγεται παθεῖν αὐτὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θάνατον, οὐχ ὡς εἰς πείραν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θανάτου τό γε ἦκον εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν, (ἀποπληξία γὰρ τοῦτο λέγειν ἢ φρονεῖν), ἀλλ' ὅτι, καθάπερ ἔφην ἀρτίως, ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ἐγεύσατο θανάτου. Οὕτω καὶ ἐγγεγραμμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκός, πάλιν ἢ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ λέγεται, οὐχ

¹ Cf. Heb 2, 9.

natus ex Patre, etiam ex muliere carnaliter dicitur procreatus, non quia divina ipsius natura de sacra Virgine sumpsit exordium nec quod propter se ipsam opus habuit secundo nasci post illam nativitatem quam habebat ex Patre, (est enim ineptum et stultum hoc dicere quod is qui ante omnia saecula est consempternus Patri, secundae generationis eguerit, ut esse inciperet); sed quia propter nos et propter nostram salutem naturam sibi copulavit humanam et processit ex muliere, idcirco dicitur natus esse carnaliter. Neque enim primum natus est homo communis de sancta Virgine et tunc demum inhabitavit in eo Verbum, sed in ipsa vulva uteroque virginali se cum carne coniunxit et sustinuit generationem carnalem, carnis suae nativitatem suam faciens. Sic illum dicimus et passum esse et resurrexisse, non quia Deus Verbum in sua natura passus sit aut plagas aut clavorum transfixiones aut alia vulnera, (Deus namque incorporealis extra passionem est), sed quia corpus illud quod ipsius proprium factum est, passum est, ideo haec omnia pro nobis ipse dicitur passus; inerat enim in eo corpore quod patiebatur, Deus qui pati non poterat. Simili modo et mortem ipsius intellegimus. Immortale enim et incorruptibile est naturaliter et vita et vivificans Dei Verbum, sed quia corpus ipsius proprium gratia Dei iuxta Pauli vocem pro omnibus mortem gustavit¹, idcirco ipse dicitur mortem passus esse pro nobis, non quod ipse mortem esset expertus quantum ad ipsius naturam pertinet, (insania est enim hoc vel sentire vel dicere), sed quod, ut supra diximus, vera caro

exist in the holy virgin, or needing of itself a second begetting after that from his Father. (For it is absurd and stupid to speak of the one who existed before every age and is coeternal with the Father, needing a second beginning so as to exist.) The Word is said to have been begotten according to the flesh, because for us and for our salvation he united what was human to himself hypostatically and came forth from a woman. For he was not first begotten of the holy virgin, a man like us, and then the Word descended upon him; but from the very womb of his mother he was so united and then underwent begetting according to the flesh, making his own the begetting of his own flesh.

In a similar way we say that he suffered and rose again, not that the Word of God suffered blows or piercing with nails or any other wounds in his own nature (for the divine, being without a body, is incapable of suffering); but because the body which became his own suffered these things, he is said to have suffered them for us. For he was without suffering, while his body suffered. Something similar is true of his dying. For by nature the Word of God is of itself immortal and incorruptible and life and life-giving, but since on the other hand his own body by God's grace, as the apostle says, tasted death for all¹, the Word is said to have suffered death for us, not as if he himself had experienced death as far as his own nature was concerned (it would be sheer lunacy to say or to think that), but because, as I have just said, his flesh tasted death. So too, when his flesh was raised to life, we refer to this again as his resurrection, not as though he had

¹ See Heb 2, 9.

ἐκ γυναικός, οὐχ ὡς τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι λαβούσης ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρθένῳ οὔτε μὴν δεηθείσης ἀναγκαιῶς δι' ἑαυτὴν δευτέρας γεννήσεως μετὰ τὴν ἐκ πατρὸς, (ἔστι γὰρ εἰκατόν τε ἰσοῦ καὶ ἀμαθὲς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ συναἰδιον τῷ πατρὶ δεῖσθαι λέγειν ἀρχῆς τῆς εἰς τὸ εἶναι δευτέρας), ἐπειδὴ δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηριαν ἐνώσας ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον προῆλθεν ἐκ γυναικός, ταύτῃ τοι λέγεται γεννηθῆναι σαρκικῶς. Οὐ γὰρ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη κοινός ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου, εἴθ' οὔτως καταπεφοίτηκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς μήτρας ἐνωθείς ὑπομεῖναι λέγεται γέννησιν σαρκικὴν, ὡς τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς τὴν γέννησιν οικειούμενος. Οὕτω φαιμέν αὐτὸν καὶ παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου παθόντος εἰς ἰδίαν φύσιν ἢ πληγᾶς ἢ διατρήσεις ἤλων ἢ γούν τὰ ἕτερα τῶν τραυμάτων, (ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι καὶ ἀσώματον), ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ γεγονός αὐτοῦ ἴδιον σῶμα πέπονθεν ταῦτα, πάλιν αὐτὸς λέγεται παθεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι. Κατὰ τὸν ἴσον δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τεθνάναι νοοῦμεν ἄθνατος μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀφθαρτος καὶ ζωὴ καὶ ζωοποιός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάλιν τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα χάριτι θεοῦ, καθά φησιν ὁ Παῦλος, ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου¹, λέγεται παθεῖν αὐτὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θάνατον, οὐχ ὡς εἰς ἧπειραν ἐλθὼν τοῦ θανάτου τό γε ἦκον εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν, (ἀποπληξία γὰρ τοῦτο λέγειν ἢ φρονεῖν), ἀλλ' ὅτι, καθάπερ ἔφη ἀρτίως, ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ ἐγεύσατο θανάτου. Οὕτω καὶ ἐγγεραμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκός, πάλιν ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ λέγεται, οὐχ

¹ Cf. Heb 2, 9.

exist in the holy virgin, or needing of itself a second begetting after that from his Father. (For it is absurd and stupid to speak of the one who existed before every age and is coeternal with the Father, needing a second beginning so as to exist.) The Word is said to have been begotten according to the flesh, because for us and for our salvation he united what was human to himself hypostatically and came forth from a woman. For he was not first begotten of the holy virgin, a man like us, and then the Word descended upon him; but from the very womb of his mother he was so united and then underwent begetting according to the flesh, making his own the begetting of his own flesh.

In a similar way we say that he suffered and rose again, not that the Word of God suffered blows or piercing with nails or any other wounds in his own nature (for the divine, being without a body, is incapable of suffering); but because the body which became his own suffered these things, he is said to have suffered them for us. For he was without suffering, while his body suffered. Something similar is true of his dying. For by nature the Word of God is of itself immortal and incorruptible and life and life-giving, but since on the other hand his own body by God's grace, as the apostle says, tasted death for all¹, the Word is said to have suffered death for us, not as if he himself had experienced death as far as his own nature was concerned (it would be sheer lunacy to say or to think that), but because, as I have just said, his flesh tasted death. So too, when his flesh was raised to life, we refer to this again as his resurrection, not as though he had

¹ See Heb 2, 9.

ὡς πεπόντος εἰς φθοράν, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐγήγερται σῶμα.

5 Οὕτω Χριστὸν ἕνα καὶ κύριον ὁμο-
λογοῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπον συμ-
προσκυνοῦντες τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ το-
μῆς φαντασία παρεισκρίνηται διὰ τοῦ
10 λέγειν τὸ 'συν', ἀλλ' ὡς ἕνα καὶ τὸν
αὐτὸν προσκυνοῦντες, ὅτι μὴ ἀλλό-
τριον τοῦ λόγου τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ,
μεθ' οὗ καὶ αὐτῷ συνεδρεῦει τῷ
πατρὶ, οὐχ ὡς δύο πάλιν συνεδρευόν-
των υἱῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνός καθ' ἑνωσιν
15 μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός. Ἐὰν δὲ τὴν
καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν ἢ ὡς ἀνέφικτον
ἢ ὡς ἀκαλλῆ παραιτώμεθα, ἐπι-
πτομεν εἰς τὸ δύο λέγειν υἱούς· ἀνάγκη
20 γὰρ πᾶσα διορίσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν
μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἰδικῶς τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ
κλήσει τετιμημένον, ἰδικῶς δὲ πάλιν
τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον υἰότητος ὀνομά τε
καὶ χρῆμα ἔχοντα φυσικῶς. Οὐ διαρε-
25 τέον τοιγαροῦν εἰς υἱούς δύο τὸν ἕνα
κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Ὅνῃσει δὲ
κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς πί-
στεως λόγον εἰς τὸ οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ εἰ
προσώπων ἔνωσιν ἐπιφημιζώσι τινες.
30 οὐ γὰρ εἶρηκεν ἡ γραφή ὅτι ὁ λόγος
ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον ἦνωσεν ἑαυτῷ,
ἀλλ' ὅτι γέγονε σὰρξ¹. τὸ δὲ σὰρκα
γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν
εἰ μὴ ὅτι παραπλησίως ἡμῖν μετέσχεν
35 αἵματος καὶ σαρκός², ἴδιόν τε σῶμα
τὸ ἡμῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ προῆλθεν
ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γυναικός, οὐκ ἀποβεβλη-
κῶς τὸ εἶναι θεός καὶ τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ
γεννηθῆναι πατρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
40 προσλήψει σαρκός μεμενηκῶς ὅπερ
ἦν.

Τοῦτο πρεσβεῦει πανταχοῦ τῆς
45 ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως ὁ λόγος· οὕτως

¹ Cf. Io 1, 14. ² Cf. Heb 2, 14.

fallen into corruption — God forbid — but because his body had been raised again.

So we shall confess one Christ and one Lord. We do not adore the man along with the Word, so as to avoid any appearance of division by using the word "with". But we adore him as one and the same, because the body is not other than the Word, and takes its seat with him beside the Father, again not as though there were two sons seated together but only one, united with his own flesh. If, however, we reject the hypostatic union as being either impossible or too unlovely for the Word, we fall into the fallacy of speaking of two sons. We shall have to distinguish and speak both of the man as honoured with the title of son, and of the Word of God as by nature possessing the name and reality of sonship, each in his own way. We ought not, therefore, to split into two sons the one Lord Jesus Christ. Such a way of presenting a correct account of the faith will be quite unhelpful, even though some do speak of a union of persons. For scripture does not say that the Word united the person of a man to himself, but that he became flesh¹. The Word's becoming flesh means nothing else than that he partook of flesh and blood like us²; he made our body his own, and came forth a man from woman without casting aside his deity, or his generation from God the Father, but rather in his assumption of flesh remaining what he was.

This is the account of the true faith everywhere professed. So shall we find that

¹ See Jn 1, 14.

² See Heb 2, 14.

ipsius mortem gustavit. Ita et resur-
gente carne, ipsius rursus resur-
rectionem dicimus, non quia in cor-
ruptionem ceciderat, absit, sed quia
resurrexit corpus.

Ita Christum unum et dominum
confitemur, non tamquam hominem
cum Verbo coadorantes, ne divi-
sionis quaedam species inducatur,
sed unum iam et eundem adorantes,
quia non est alienum a Verbo cor-
pus suum, cum quo ipsi etiam ad-
sident Patri. Nec hoc ita dicimus
quasi duobus filiis adsidentibus, sed
uno cum carne per unitatem, quia
si talem copulationem factam per
substantiam aut quasi impassibilem
aut quasi parum decoram noluerim-
us accipere, in id incidimus ut
duos filios esse dicamus. Necessè
est enim discernere et dicere homi-
nem separatim fuisse sola filii appel-
latione honoratum et rursus Ver-
bum quod est ex Deo et nomine et
veritate Filius Dei; sed discernere
in duos filios non debemus unum
dominum Iesum Christum. Neque
enim id adiuvat rectam fidei ratio-
nem, licet nonnulli copulationem
nescio quam perhibeant persona-
rum. Non dixit enim scriptura Ver-
bum Dei personam sibi hominis
adsumpsisse, sed carnem factum
esse¹, id autem est ostendere Dei
Verbum similiter ac nos participatum
habuisse carnis et sanguinis² et
corpus nostrum proprie suum fe-
cisse et hominem ex muliere proces-
sisse, non abiecta nec deposita
deitate aut generatione illa quam
habebat ex Patre, sed mansisse etiam
in adsumptione carnis Deum, quod
erat.

Hoc ubique rectae fidei ratio pro-
testatur; in tali sensu sanctos patres

εὐρήσομεν τοὺς ἁγίους πεφρονηκότας
πατέρας· οὕτω τεθαρσῆκασι θεοτόκον
εἰπεῖν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον, οὐχ ὡς
τῆς τοῦ λόγου φύσεως ἦτοι τῆς
5 θεούτητος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι
λαβούσης ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου,
ἀλλ' ὡς γεννηθέντος ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῦ
ἁγίου σώματος ψυχωθέντος λογικῶς,
ὡ καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνωθεὶς ὁ λόγος
10 γεγενῆσθαι λέγεται κατὰ σάρκα.
Ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἀγάπης τῆς ἐν
Χριστῷ γράφω, παρακαλῶν ὡς ἀδελ-
φὸν καὶ διαμαρτυρούμενος ἐνώπιον
τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν
15 ἀγγέλων ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ
φρονεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν, ἵνα σφίζηται
τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ εἰρήνη καὶ τῆς
ὁμονοίας καὶ ἀγάπης ὁ σύνδεσμος
ἀρραγῆς διαμένει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦ
20 θεοῦ.

Νεστορίου ἐπιστολὴ δευτέρα
πρὸς Κύριλλον

Τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ καὶ θεοσεβεστάτῳ
συλλειτουργῷ Κυρίλλῳ Νεστόριος ἐν
25 κυρίῳ χαίρειν. Τὰς μὲν καθ' ἡμῶν
ὑβρεῖς τῶν θαυμαστῶν σου γραμμάτων
ἀφίημι ὡς μακροθυμίας ἀξίας ἱατρικῆς
καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν
κατὰ καιρὸν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀποκρίσεως·
30 ὁ δὲ γε σιωπῆς οὐκ ἀνέχεται, ὡς
μέγαν φέρον, εἰ σιγηθεῖη, τὸν
κίνδυνον, τούτου, καθὼς ἂν οἶός τε
ᾧ, οὐ πρὸς μακρολογίαν ἀποτεινόμε-
νος, ποιήσασθαι πειράσομαι τὴν
35 διήγησιν σύντομον, τὸν τῆς σκοτεινῆς
καὶ δυσπέπτου μακρηγορίας ναυτια-
σμὸν φυλαττόμενος. Ἄρξομαι δὲ
ἀπὸ τῶν πανσόφων τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης
φωνῶν, αὐτὰς αὐτολεξεῖ παραθεῖς.
40 Τίνας τοίνυν αἱ τῆς θαυμαστῆς τῶν
σῶν γραμμάτων διδασκαλίας φωναί;

Ἡ ἁγία φησὶν καὶ μεγάλη σύνοδος
αὐτὸν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρός κατὰ
45 φύσιν γεννηθέντα υἷον μονογενῆ, τὸν

fuisse comperimus; ideo illi non
dubitarunt sanctam Virginem dicere
Theotocon, non quod Verbi natura
deitasque in sancta Virgine sumpsit
exordium, sed quod ex ea natum sit
sacrum illud corpus animatum ani-
ma rationabili, cui substantialiter
adunatum Dei Verbum carnaliter
natum esse dicitur. Haec igitur prae
caritate in Christo scribo, quaerens
tamquam fratrem et contestans cor-
ram Christo et electis angelis ut haec
nobiscum et sentias simul et doceas,
ut ecclesiarum pax salva servetur et
concordiae caritatisque vinculum
indissolubile maneat sacerdotibus
Dei.

Nestorii epistula altera ad
Cyrillum

Reverentissimo et deo amicissimo
comministro Cyrillo Nestorius in
domino salutem. Iniurias quidem
quae contra nos sunt, mirandarum
tuarum litterarum dimitto, utpote
medicinali patientia dignas et per
ipsas res secundum tempus ad eas
responsione; quod vero taciturnita-
tem non patitur, quasi magnum
ferat, si taceatur, periculum, hoc
secundum quod possibile est mihi,
non ad multiloquium extensus, fa-
cere temptabo narrationem compen-
diosam, obscuri et indigestibilis
longi sermonis vomitum cavens.
Incipiam autem a sapientissimis tuae
dilectionis vocibus, ipsas isdem ser-
monibus apponens. Quae sunt igitur
ammirandae tuarum litterarum doc-
trinae voces?

Sancta inquit et magna synodus
ipsum ex deo et patre secundum
naturam genitum filium unigenitum,

the holy fathers believed. So have they dared to call the holy virgin, mother of God, not as though the nature of the Word or his godhead received the origin of their being from the holy virgin, but because there was born from her his holy body rationally ensouled, with which the Word was hypostatically united and is said to have been begotten in the flesh. These things I write out of love in Christ, exhorting you as a brother and calling upon you before Christ and the elect angels, to hold and teach these things with us, in order to preserve the peace of the churches and that the priests of God may remain in an unbroken bond of concord and love.

Second letter of Nestorius to Cyril

Nestorius sends greeting in the Lord to the most religious and reverend fellow-minister Cyril. I pass over the insults against us contained in your extraordinary letter. They will, I think, be cured by my patience and by the answer which events will offer in the course of time. On one matter, however, I cannot be silent, as silence would in that case be very dangerous. On that point, therefore, avoiding longwindedness as far as I can, I shall attempt a brief discussion and try to be as free as possible from repelling obscurity and undigestible prolixity. I shall begin from the wise utterances of your reverence, setting them down word for word. What then are the words in which your remarkable teaching finds expression?

“The holy and great synod states that the only begotten Son, begotten of God the Father according to nature, true God from true God, the light from the light,

ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεὸν ἀληθινόν, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ φωτός, τὸν δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκεν ὁ πατήρ, κατελθεῖν σαρκωθῆναι ἐνανθρωπήσαι παθεῖν ἀναστῆναι.

Ταῦτα τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας τὰ ῥήματα καὶ γνωρίζεις ἴσως τὰ σά' ἄκουε δὲ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀδελφικὴν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας παραίνεσιν καὶ ἦν ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος Παῦλος τῷ φιλομένῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ Τιμοθέῳ διεμαρτύρατο „πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει, τῇ παρακλήσει, τῇ διδαχῇ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν καὶ σεαυτὸν σώσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντάς σου“¹. Τί δέ μοι τὸ πρόσεχε βούλεται; ὅτι τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ἀναγνώσκων παράδοσιν συγγνώμης ἀξίαν ἠγγνόησας ἄγνοιαν, παθητὸν αὐτοῦς εἰρηκέναι νομίσας τὸν τῷ πατρὶ συναίδιον λόγον ἔγκυψον δέ, εἰ δοκεῖ, τοῖς ῥητοῖς ἀκριβέστερον καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἐκεῖνον τῶν πατέρων εὐρήσεις χορὸν οὐ τὴν ὁμοούσιον θεότητα παθητὴν εἰρηκότα οὐδὲ πρόσφατον γεννητὴν τὴν τῷ πατρὶ συναίδιον οὐδὲ ἀναστῆσαν τὴν τὸν λελυμένον ναὸν ἀναστήσασαν. Κἄν μοι τὰς ἀκοὰς εἰς ἀδελφικὴν ἰατρείαν παράσχῃς, αὐτάς σοι τὰς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων φωνὰς παραθέμενος τῆς κατ' ἐκείνων ἀπαλλάξω συκοφαντίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν δι' ἐκείνων.

Πιστεύω τοίνυν φασί, καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ. Σκόπησον ὅπως τὸ κύριος καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Χριστός καὶ μονογενής καὶ υἱός πρότερον θέντες τὰ κοινὰ τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὡς θεμελίους ὀνόματα τότε τὴν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐποικοδομοῦσι παράδοσιν, ἵνα τῶν ὀνομάτων τῆς φύσεως ἐκατέρας κοινῶν τιῶν σημαντικῶν

ex deo vero deum verum, lumen de lumine, per quem omnia fecit pater, descendisse, incarnari, humanari, pati, resurgere.

Haec sunt tuae reverentiae verba, et cognoscis forte tua; audi vero et a nobis fraternam pro pietate ammonitionem et quam magnus ille Paulus amato a se Timotheo contestatus est: *attende lectioni consolationi doctrinae. Hoc enim faciens, et te salvabis et eos qui te audiunt*¹. Quid autem mihi hoc *attende* vult? quia sanctorum illorum ex superficie legens traditionem venia dignam ignorasti ignorantiam, passibilem eos dixisse arbitratus patri consempternum verbum. Inspice, si placet, dicta diligentius, et illum divinum reperies patrum chorum non consubstantialem patri deitatem passibilem dicentes nec recentem natam patri consubstantialem nec resurgentem eam quae solutum templum suscitavit. Et si mihi aurem in fraternam medellam adhibueris, ipsas tibi sanctorum illorum patrum voces apponens a calumnia quae contra illos est, liberabo et ab illa quae contra divinas scripturas per illos est.

Credo igitur in dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium eius unigenitum. Considera quomodo dominus et Iesus et Christus et unigenitus et filius primum ponentes, communia deitatis et humanitatis, ut fundamenta, nomina, tunc humanationis et resurrectionis et passionis superaedificant traditionem, ut nominibus naturae utriusque communibus quibusdam significativis propositis neque quae filiationis et

the one through whom the Father made all things, came down, became incarnate, became man, suffered, rose.”

These are the words of your reverence and you may recognise them. Now listen to what we say, which takes the form of a brotherly exhortation to piety of the type of which the great apostle Paul gave an example in addressing his beloved Timothy: “Attend to the public reading of scripture, to preaching, to teaching. For by so doing you will save both yourself and your hearers”¹. Tell me, what does “attend” mean? By reading in a superficial way the tradition of those holy men (you were guilty of a pardonable ignorance), you concluded that they said that the Word who is coeternal with the Father was passible. Please look more closely at their language and you will find out that that divine choir of fathers never said that the consubstantial godhead was capable of suffering, or that the whole being that was coeternal with the Father was recently born, or that it rose again, seeing that it had itself been the cause of resurrection of the destroyed temple. If you apply my words as fraternal medicine, I shall set the words of the holy fathers before you and shall free them from the slander against them and through them against the holy scriptures.

“I believe”, they say, “also in our Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son”. See how they first lay as foundations “Lord” and “Jesus” and “Christ” and “only begotten” and “Son”, the names which belong jointly to the divinity and humanity. Then they build on that foundation the tradition of the incarnation and resurrection and passion. In this way, by prefixing the names which are common to each nature, they intend to avoid separating expressions applicable

¹ 1 Tm 4,13.16.

¹ 1 Tm 4, 13.16.

προκειμένων μήτε τὰ τῆς υἰότητος
καὶ κυριότητος τέμνηται μήτε τὰ
τῶν φύσεων ἐν τῷ τῆς υἰότητος
μοναδικῷ συγχύσεως ἀφανισμῷ κιν-
δυνεύη. Τοῦτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς παιδευτῆς
5 ὁ Παῦλος γεγένηται, ὃς τῆς ἐναν-
θρωπήσεως τῆς θείας τὴν μνήμην
ποιούμενος καὶ μέλλων τὰ τοῦ πάθους
ἐπάγειν, πρότερον θεὸς τὸ Χριστός,
10 τὸ κοινόν, ὡς μικρῷ πρότερον ἔφην,
τῶν φύσεων ὄνομα, προσάγει τὸν
λόγον ἀμφοτέραις πεπεῳδη ταῖς
φύσεσιν. Τί γὰρ φησιν; „τοῦτο
φρονείσθω ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ
15 Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων
οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἠγῆσατο τὸ εἶναι
ἴσα θεῷ». ἀλλ', ἵνα μὴ τὰ καθ' ἕκα-
στον λέγω, « ὑπήκουος ἐγένετο μέχρι
θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, »¹.
20 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐμέλλεν τοῦ θανάτου
μεμνησθαι, ἵνα μὴ τὸν θεὸν λόγον
ἐντεῦθεν τις παθητὸν ὑπολάβῃ, τίθησιν
τὸ Χριστός, ὡς τῆς ἀπαθούς καὶ
παθητῆς οὐσίας ἐν μοναδικῷ
25 προσώπῳ προσηγορίαν σημαντικὴν,
ὅπως καὶ ἀπαθῆς ὁ Χριστός καὶ
παθητὸς ἀκινδύνως καλοῖτο, ἀπαθῆς
μὲν θεότητι, παθητὸς δὲ τῇ τοῦ
σώματος φύσει.

30 Πολλὰ λέγειν περὶ τοῦτου δυνά-
μενος καὶ πρῶτόν γε τὸ μὴδὲ
γεννήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, ἀλλ'
ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκείνους
μνημονεύσαι πατέρας, τὴν τῆς βρα-
35 χυλογίας ἐν προοιμίῳ ὑπόσχεσιν
χαλινοῦσαν τὸν λόγον αἰσθάνομαι καὶ
πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης
κινουσαν κεφάλαιον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν μὲν
τῶν φύσεων ἐπήγουν διαίρεσιν κατὰ
40 τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ θεότητος
λόγον καὶ τὴν τούτων εἰς ἑνὸς
προσώπου συνάφειαν. Καὶ τὸ τὸν
θεὸν λόγον δευτέρας ἐκ γυναικὸς μὴ
φάσκειν δεδεῆσθαι γεννήσεως καὶ τὸ
45 πάθους ἀδεκτὸν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν

dominationis sunt, secentur neque
ea quae naturarum sunt, in filiationis
singularitate confusionis extermina-
tione periclitentur. In hoc enim eis
eruditor Paulus factus est, qui
humanationis divinae memoriam
faciens et futurus inferre quae pas-
sionis sunt, prius ponens Christus,
commune, sicut paulo ante dixi,
naturarum nomen, infert sermonem
utrasque condecentem naturas. Quid
enim dixit? *hoc sapiatur in vobis quod
et in Christo Iesu; qui cum in forma dei
esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se
aequalem deo, sed, ne per singula
dicam oboediens factus est usque ad
mortem, mortem autem crucis.*¹ Quo-
niam enim memoriam mortis factu-
rus erat, ut ne verbum deum hinc
aliquis aestimet passibilem, ponit
Christus tamquam impassibilis et
passibilis substantiae in singulari
persona appellationem significati-
vam, quatenus et impassibilis Chri-
stus et passibilis sine periculo
vocetur, impassibilis quidem deitate,
passibilis autem corporis natura.

30 Multa dicere de hoc valens et
primum quidem neque nativitatibus
in dispensatione, sed humanationis
sanctos illos memoriam fecisse pa-
tres, brevis sermonis in initiis
35 pollicitationem sentio refrenare ser-
monem et ad secundum tuae
dilectionis movere capitulum, in
quo naturarum quidem laudabam
divisionem secundum humanitatis
et deitatis rationem et earum in
unius personae coniunctionem et
quod deus verbum secunda ex
muliere non eguisse dicitur nati-
vitate, et passionis incapabilem pro-
fiteri deitatem. Orthodoxa enim,

to sonship and lordship and at the same time escape the danger of destroying the distinctive character of the natures by absorbing them into the one title of "Son". In this Paul was their teacher who, when he remembers the divine becoming man and then wishes to introduce the suffering, first mentions "Christ", which, as I have just said, is the common name of both natures and then adds an expression which is appropriate to both of the natures. For what does he say? "Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus, who though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped", and so on until, "he became obedient unto death, even death on a cross"¹. For when he was about to mention the death, to prevent anyone supposing that God the Word suffered, he says "Christ", which is a title that expresses in one person both the impassible and the passible natures, in order that Christ might be called without impropriety both impassible and passible; impassible in godhead, passible in the nature of his body.

I could say much on this subject and first of all that those holy fathers, when they discuss the economy, speak not of the generation but of the Son becoming man. But I recall the promise of brevity that I made at the beginning and that both restrains my discourse and moves me on to the second subject of your reverence. In that I applaud your division of natures into manhood and godhead and their conjunction in one person. I also applaud your statement that God the Word needed no second generation from a woman, and your confession that the godhead is incapable of suffering. Such statements are truly orthodox and

¹ Ph 2, 5-8.

¹ Ph 2, 5-8.

θεότητα. Ὁρθόδοξα γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ταῖς τῶν αἱρέσεων πασῶν περὶ τὰς δεσποτικὰς φύσεις ἐναντία κακοδοξίας. Τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ εἰ μὲν τινα σοφίαν κεκρυμμένην ἐπήγετο ταῖς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἀκοαῖς ἀκατάληπτον, τῆς σῆς ἐστὶν ἀκριβείας εἰδέναι· ἐμοὶ γοῦν τὰ πρῶτα καταστρέφειν ἐδόκει. Τὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀπαθῆ κηρυχθέντα καὶ δευτέρως γεννήσεως ἄδεκτον πάλιν παθητὸν καὶ νεόκτιστον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἰσήγεν, ὡς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ προσόντων τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ συναφείᾳ διεφθαρμένων ἢ μικροῦ τινος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νομιζομένου τοῦ τὸν ἀναμάρτητον ναὸν καὶ τῆς θείας ἀχώριστον φύσεως τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτωλῶν γέννησιν τε καὶ τελευτὴν ὑπομεῖναι ἢ πιστεῦσθαι τῆς δεσποτικῆς οὐκ ὀφειλοῦσης φωνῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους βοῶσης· „λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν,“¹ οὐ· λύσατέ μου τὴν θεότητα καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερθήσεται.

Πάλιν πλατύναι κἀνταῦθα βουλόμενος, τῇ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἀναστέλλομαι μνήμη· ῥητέον δ' οὖν ὅμως βραχυλογία χρησάμενον. Πανταχοῦ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ἥνικα ἂν μνήμην τῆς δεσποτικῆς οἰκονομίας ποιῆται, γέννησις ἡμῖν καὶ πάθος οὐ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραδίδοται, ὡς καλεῖσθαι κατὰ ἀκριβεστέραν προσηγορίαν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Χριστοτόκον, οὐ θεοτόκον. Καὶ ἄκουε ταῦτα τῶν εὐαγγελίων βοώντων· „Βίβλος, φησὶν, γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ.“² Δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱὸς ὁ θεὸς λόγος οὐκ ἦν. Δέχου καὶ ἄλλην, εἰ δοκεῖ, μαρτυρίαν· „Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.“³

¹ Io 2, 19.² Mt 1, 1.³ Mt 1, 16.

sicut vere est, huiusmodi sunt et haeresium omnium pravis sensibus circa dominicas naturas contraria. Reliqua autem, si quidem aliquam sapientiam occultam inferebant legentium auribus inconprehensibilem, tuae est diligentiae scire; mihi vero illa prima pervertere videbantur. In primis enim impassibilem praedicatum et secundae nativitatis incapabilem iterum passibilem et in recenti creatum nescio quomodo intulit, quasi haec quae secundum naturam dei verbo assunt, templi copulatione corrupta sint aut parum aliquid hominibus putetur quod sine peccato templum et a divina inseparabile natura pro peccatoribus nativitatem et mortem sustinisset, aut non credi debeat dominica vox ad Iudaeos clamans: *solvite templum hoc, et in tribus diebus suscitabo illud*,¹ non: *solvite meam divinitatem et in tribus diebus suscitabitur*.

Rursus dilatare hic volens, a pro-missionis memoria retrahor; dicendum tamen est utenti brevi sermone. Ubique divina scriptura, quando-cumque memoriam facit dominicae dispensationis, nativitatem nobis et passionem non deitatis, sed humanitatis Christi tradidit, ut vocetur secundum integram appellationem sancta virgo Christi genetrix, non dei genetrix. Et audi haec evangelii clamantibus: *Liber, inquit, generationis Iesu Christi filii David, filii Abraham*,² et certum est quia David filius deus verbum non erat. Accipe, si placet, et aliud testimonium: *Iacob autem genuit Ioseph virum Mariae, ex qua natus est Iesus, qui dicitur Christus*.³

45

equally opposed to the evil opinions of all heretics about the Lord's natures. If the remainder was an attempt to introduce some hidden and incomprehensible wisdom to the ears of the readers, it is for your sharpness to decide. In my view these subsequent views seemed to subvert what came first. They suggested that he who had at the beginning been proclaimed as impassible and incapable of a second generation had somehow become capable of suffering and freshly created, as though what belonged to God the Word by nature had been destroyed by his conjunction with his temple or as though people considered it not enough that the sinless temple, which is inseparable from the divine nature, should have endured birth and death for sinners, or finally as though the Lord's voice was not deserving of credence when it cried out to the Jews: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up."¹ He did not say, "Destroy my godhead and in three days it will be raised up."

Again I should like to expand on this but am restrained by the memory of my promise. I must speak therefore but with brevity. Holy scripture, wherever it recalls the Lord's economy, speaks of the birth and suffering not of the godhead but of the humanity of Christ, so that the holy virgin is more accurately termed mother of Christ than mother of God. Hear these words that the gospels proclaim: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham."² It is clear that God the Word was not the son of David. Listen to another witness if you will: "Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called the Christ."³ Consider a further piece of evidence:

¹ Jn 2, 19.² Mt 1, 1.³ Mt 1, 16.

Σκόπει πάλιν ἑτέραν ἡμᾶς διαμαρτυρομένην φωνήν· „τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαριάς τῷ Ἰωσήφ, εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου.“¹ Κτίσιμα δὲ πνεύματος τίς ἂν τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὑπολάβοι θεότητα; Τί δεῖ λέγειν καὶ τὸ „ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ“²; Καὶ πάλιν τὸ „σὺν Μαρίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ“³ καὶ τὸ „τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἔστιν ἁγίου“⁴ καὶ τὸ „λάβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ φεῦγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον“⁵ καὶ τὸ „περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα“⁶ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐθις ὅτι „ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί“⁷ καὶ πάλιν „Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν“⁸ καὶ „Χριστοῦ παθόντος σαρκί“⁹ καὶ „τοῦτό ἐστιν“, οὐχ ἡ θεότης μου, ἀλλὰ „τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλῶμενον.“¹⁰

Καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων φωνῶν διαμαρτυρομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος μὴ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ νομίζειν θεότητα πρόσφατον ἢ πάθους σωματικοῦ δεκτικὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συνημμένην τῇ φύσει τῆς θεότητος σάρκα (ὅθεν καὶ κύριον τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἑαυτὸν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ υἱὸν ὀνομάζει· „τί γὰρ φησιν, ὑμῖν δοκεῖ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; τίνας υἱὸς ἐστι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· τοῦ Δαυὶδ. Ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ, λέγων· εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου;“¹¹ ὡς υἱὸς ὢν πάντως τοῦ Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν θεότητα κύριος), εἶναι μὲν οὖν τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ θεότητος τὸ σῶμα

Considera iterum alteram atestantem nobis vocem: *Iesu vero Christi generatio ita erat: desponsata enim matre eius Maria Ioseph, inventa est in utero habens de spiritu sancto*¹. Creaturam vero spiritus quis utique unigeniti aestimabit deitatem? Quid oportet dicere et quod ait quia *mater Iesu erat ibi*², et rursus *cum Maria matre Iesu*³, et *quod in ea natum est, ex spiritu sancto est*⁴, et *accipe puerum et matrem eius et fuge in Aegyptum*⁵ et *de filio eius qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem*⁶, et de passione rursus quia *deus suum filium misit in similitudine carnis peccati et de peccato condemnavit peccatum in carne*⁷, et iterum *Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris*⁸, et *Christo passo in carne*⁹, et *hoc est non deitas, sed corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur*¹⁰,

et mille aliis vocibus protestantibus hominum generi non filii putare deitatem recentem aut passionis corporeae capabilem, sed coniunctam naturae deitatis carnem. Unde et dominum David Christus semet ipsum et filium nominat. *Quid enim, ait, vobis videtur de Christo? cuius est filius? Dicunt ei: David. Respondit Iesus et dixit eis: quomodo ergo David in spiritu dominum eum vocat, dicens: dixit dominus domino meo, sede a dextris meis?*¹¹ utpote filius existens omnino David secundum carnem, secundum deitatem autem dominus. Esse enim filii deitatis corpus templum et templum secundum summam quandam et divinam unitum coniunctio-

“Now the birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way. When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, she was found to be with child of the holy Spirit.”¹ But who would ever consider that the godhead of the only begotten was a creature of the Spirit? Why do we need to mention: “the mother of Jesus was there”²? And again what of: “with Mary the mother of Jesus”³; or “that which is conceived in her is of the holy Spirit”⁴; and “Take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt”⁵; and “concerning his Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh”⁶? Again, scripture says when speaking of his passion: “God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin in the flesh”⁷; and again “Christ died for our sins”⁸; and “Christ having suffered in the flesh”⁹; and “This is”, not “my godhead”, but “my body, broken for you”¹⁰.

Ten thousand other expressions witness to the human race that they should not think that it was the godhead of the Son that was recently killed but the flesh which was joined to the nature of the godhead. (Hence also Christ calls himself the lord and son of David: “What do you think of the Christ? Whose son is he?” They said to him, ‘The son of David.’ Jesus answered and said to them, ‘How is it then that David inspired by the Spirit, calls him Lord, saying, “The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand”?’”¹¹. He said this as being indeed son of David according to the flesh, but his Lord according to his godhead.) The body therefore is the temple of the deity of the Son, a temple which is united to it in a

¹ Mt 1, 18. ² Io 2, 1. ³ Ac 1, 14. ⁴ Mt 1, 20. ⁵ Mt 2, 13. ⁶ Rm 1, 3. ⁷ Rm 8, 3. ⁸ 1 Cor 15, 3. ⁹ 1 Pt 4, 1.

¹⁰ 1 Cor 11, 24. ¹¹ Mt 22, 42-44.

¹ Mt 1, 18. ² Jn 2, 1. ³ Ac 1, 14. ⁴ Mt 1, 20. ⁵ Mt 2, 13. ⁶ Rm 1, 3. ⁷ Rm 8, 3. ⁸ 1 Cor 15, 3. ⁹ 1 Pt 4, 1. ¹⁰ 1 Cor 11, 24. ¹¹ Mt 22, 42-44.

ναὸν καὶ ναὸν κατ' ἄκραν τινὰ καὶ
θεῖον ἠνωμένον συνάφειαν, ὡς οἰ-
κειοῦσθαι τὰ τούτου τὴν τῆς θεότητος
φύσιν, ὁμολογεῖσθαι καλὸν καὶ τῶν
εὐαγγελικῶν παραδόσεων ἄξιον· τὸ
δὲ δὴ τῷ τῆς οἰκειότητος προστρίβειν
ὀνόματι καὶ τὰς τῆς συνημμένης
σαρκὸς ιδιότητας, γέννησιν λέγω καὶ
πάθος καὶ νέκρωσιν, ἢ πλανωμένης
ἐστίν, ἀδελφέ, καθ' Ἐλληνας διανοίας
ἢ τὰ τοῦ φρενοβλαβοῦς Ἀπολιναρίου
καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νοσοῦσης
αἰρέσεων, μᾶλλον δὲ τι κάκεινων
βαρύτερον.

Ἄνάγκη γὰρ τῷ τῆς
οἰκειότητος τοῦς τοιούτους παρα-
συρομένους ὀνόματι καὶ γαλακτο-
τροφίας κοινωνῶν διὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα
τὸν θεὸν λόγον ποιεῖν καὶ τῆς κατὰ
μικρὸν ἀξέχσεως μέτοχον καὶ τῆς ἐν
τῷ τοῦ πάθους καιρῷ δειλίας καὶ
βοηθείας ἀγγελικῆς ἐνδεᾶ. Καὶ σιωπῶ
περιτομῆν καὶ θυσίαν καὶ ἰδρώτας
καὶ πείναν, ἃ τῇ σαρκὶ μὲν ὡς δι'
ἡμᾶς συμβάντα προσκυνητὰ προσα-
πτόμενα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς θεότητος ταῦτα
καὶ ψευδῆ λαμβανόμενα καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς
συκοφάνταις δικαίας κατακρίσεως
αἴτια.

Αὐταὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων αἱ
παραδόσεις· ταῦτα τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν
τὰ παραγγέλματα· οὕτω τις καὶ τὰ
τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῆς θείας καὶ τὰ
τῆς αὐθεντίας θεολογεῖ· „ταῦτα μελέ-
τα· ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι, ἵνα σοῦ ἡ προκοπὴ
φανερὰ ᾗ πᾶσιν“¹, ὁ Παῦλος πρὸς
πάντας φησίν. Τῆς δὲ γε τῶν
σκανδαλιζομένων φροντίδος καλῶς
μὲν ποιεῖς ἀντεχόμενος καὶ χάρις τῇ
τῶν θεῶν μεριμνητικῆ σου ψυχῇ καὶ
τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν φροντιζούσῃ· γίνωσκε
δὲ πεπλανημένον σαυτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τῆς ἀγίας συνόδου καθη-
ρημένων, ὡς τὰ Μανιχαίων φρονούν-
των, ἢ τῶν τῆς σῆς ἰσως διαθέσεως

¹ 1 Tm 4, 15.

nem, quatenus propria ducat quae
eius sunt, divina natura, confiteri
bonum est et dignum evangelica-
rum traditionum; nomini vero pro-
priificationis carnis atterere etiam
carnis proprietates, nativitatem dico
et passionem et mortem, aut errantis
est secundum paganos, frater, intel-
legentiae aut laesae mentis Apollinarii
et Arrii et quae sunt aliarum
aegrotantium haereseon, magis vero
et illis aliquid gravius.

Necesse est
enim proprietatis huiusmodi subin-
de tractos nomine et lactis nutri-
menti socium propter proprietatem
deum verbum facere et paulatim
incrementi participem et in tempore
passionis pavoris et auxilio
angelorum eguisse. Et taceo circum-
cisionem et sacrificium et sudores
et esuritionem, quae carni quidem
coaptata adoranda sunt quippe quae
propter nos everenerunt, in deitate
vero haec et mendacia sunt, cum
suscipiuntur, et nobis ut calumniatoribus
condemnationis iustae causa.

Haec sunt sanctorum patrum
traditiones, haec divinarum scrip-
turarum praecepta; sic aliquis et
quae sunt misericordiae divinae et
quae sunt auctoritatis, deifice loqui-
tur; *haec meditare, in his esto, ut tuus
profectus manifestus sit omnibus*¹, Pau-
lus ad omnes dicit. Quod vero pro
scandalizatis curam geris, bene
quidem facis esse sollicitus et gratia
sit divinatorum curam gerenti animae
tuae et pro his quoque qui apud nos
sunt, sollicitae; cognosce autem
deceptum esse temet ipsum ab eis
qui hic a sancta synodo depositi
sunt utpote quae sunt Manichae-

¹ 1 Tm 4, 15.

high and divine conjunction, so that the divine nature accepts what belongs to the body as its own. Such a confession is noble and worthy of the gospel traditions. But to use the expression “accept as its own” as a way of diminishing the properties of the conjoined flesh, birth, suffering and entombment, is a mark of those whose minds are led astray, my brother, by Greek thinking or are sick with the lunacy of Apollinarius and Arius or the other heresies or rather something more serious than these.

For it is necessary for such as are attracted by the name “propriety” to make God the Word share, because of this same propriety, in being fed on milk, in gradual growth, in terror at the time of his passion and in need of angelical assistance. I make no mention of circumcision and sacrifice and sweat and hunger, which all belong to the flesh and are adorable as having taken place for our sake. But it would be false to apply such ideas to the deity and would involve us in just accusation because of our calumny.

These are the traditions of the holy fathers. These are the precepts of the holy scriptures. In this way does someone write in a godly way about the divine mercy and power, “Practise these duties, devote yourself to them, so that all may see your progress”¹. This is what Paul says to all. The care you take in labouring for those who have been scandalised is well taken and we are grateful to you both for the thought you devote to things divine and for the concern you have even for those who live here. But you should realise that you have been misled either by some here who have been deposed by the holy synod for Manichaeism or by clergy of your own persuasion. In fact the church daily

¹ 1 Tm 4, 15.

κληρικῶν. Τὰ γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθ' ἑκάστην προκόπτει καὶ τὰ τῶν λαῶν ἐν ἐπιδόσει διὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριν τοσαύτη, ὡς τὰ τοῦ προφήτου τούτου βλέποντας τὰ πλήθη βοᾶν „πλησθήσεται ἡ γῆ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸν κύριον ὡς ὕδωρ πολὺ κατακαλύψαι θαλάσσης“.¹ Τὰ τε τῶν βασιλέων ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ χαρᾷ πεφωτισμένου τοῦ δόγματος, καὶ ἵνα συνελθὼν ἐπιστείλω, ἐκείνην ἐπὶ ταῖς θεομάχοις ἀπάσαις αἰρέσεσιν καὶ τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀρθοδόξιᾳ καθ' ἑκάστην εὔροι τις ἂν παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν φωνὴν πληρουμένην: „ὁ οἶκος Σαουλ ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἡσθένει καὶ ὁ οἶκος Δαυὶδ ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο.“²

Ταῦτα τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἀδελφῶν πρὸς ἀδελφὸν συμβουλευματα: „εἰ δέ τις φιλονεικεῖ“, κεχράζεται καὶ δι' ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ὁ Παῦλος „ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ.“³ Πᾶσαν τὴν σὺν σοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφότητα ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πλεῖστα προσαγορευόμεν. Ἐρρωμένος ὑπερευχόμενος ἡμῶν διατελοίης, δέσποτα τιμιώτατε καὶ θεοσεβέστατε.

30 Ἐπιστολὴ Κυρίλλου πρὸς Νεστόριον τρίτη⁴

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεόν...⁵

35 Ἐπιβόμενοι δὲ πανταχῇ ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὁμολογίαις αἷς πεποιθῆνται λαλοῦντος ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνομιῶν ἰχνηλατοῦντες τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ βασιλικὴν ὥσπερ ἐρχόμενοι τρίβον, φαμὲν ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθεὶς τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἀληθινός, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ φωτός, ὁ

orum, sapientes, aut forsā a clericis qui sunt tuae caritatis. Quae sunt enim ecclesiae, cottidie proficiunt et quae populorum, in augmento per gratiam Christi sunt tanto, ut videntes multitudines ea quae sunt prophetae, clament: *implebitur terra ad cognoscendum dominum quasi aqua multa coperire maria*¹. Ea vero quae attinent ad imperantes, in supereminenti laetitia sunt illuminato dogmate, et ut colligens scribam, illam in omnibus haeresibus quae contra deum reluctantur, et ecclesiae rectis dogmatibus cottidie quis reperiet apud nos vocem impleri: *domus Saul ibat et infirmabatur, et domus David ibat et firmabatur*².

Haec a nobis utpote fratribus ad fratrem suasionis sunt; *si vero aliquis contendit*, praekonabitur et per nos ad huiusmodi Paulus: *nos talem consuetudinem non habemus nec ecclesiae dei*³. Omnem quae tecum est in Christo fraternitatem et ego et qui mecum sunt, plurimum salutamus. Incolumis orans pro nobis permanens, domine honoratissime et deocolentissime.

Cyrilli epistula tertia ad Nestorium⁴

Credimus in unum Deum...⁵

Sequentes itaque per omnia sanctorum martyrum confessiones, quas loquente in eis sancto Spiritu protulerunt, et intentioni quae est in eorum intellectibus, aequis vestigiis inhaerentes atque iter ambulantes regium, profitemur quod ipsum unigenitum Dei Verbum, Deum natum ex ipsa Patris essentia, de Deo vero Deus verus, lumen de lumine, per

¹ Is 11, 9. ² 2 Rg 3, 1. ³ 1 Cor 11, 16.

⁴ Omittitur hic epistolae praefatio. ⁵ Symbolum Nicaenum (v. supra p. 5).

progresses here and through the grace of Christ there is such an increase among the people that those who behold it cry out with the words of the prophet, "The earth will be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the water covers the sea"¹. As for our sovereigns, they are in great joy as the light of doctrine is spread abroad and, to be brief, because of the state of all the heresies that fight against God and of the orthodoxy of the church, one might find that verse fulfilled, "The house of Saul grew weaker and weaker and the house of David grew stronger and stronger"².

This is our advice from a brother to a brother. "If anyone is disposed to be contentious", Paul will cry out through us to such a one, "we recognize no other practice, neither do the churches of God"³. I and those with me greet all the brotherhood with you in Christ. May you remain strong and continue praying for us, most honoured and reverent lord.

Third letter of Cyril to Nestorius⁴

We believe in one God...⁵

Following in all points the confessions of the holy fathers, which they made with the holy Spirit speaking in them, and following the direction of their opinions and going as it were in the royal way, we say that the only-begotten Word of God, who was begotten from the very essence of the Father, true God from true God, the light from the light and the one through whom all things in heaven and

¹ Is 11, 9. ² 2 Kg 3, 1. ³ 1 Cor 11, 16.

⁴ We omit the preface of the letter. ⁵ Nicene creed (see above p. 5).

δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἕνεκα σωτηρίας κατελθὼν καὶ καθείς ἑαυτὸν εἰς κένωσιν ἐσαρκώθη τε καὶ ἐνηθρώπησε, τοῦτέστι σάρκα λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτὴν ποιησάμενος, ἐκ μήτρας τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπέμεινε γέννησιν καὶ προῆλθεν ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γυναικός, οὐχ ὅπερ ἦν ἀποβελγικῶς, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ γέγονεν ἐν προσλήψει σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, καὶ οὕτω μεμενηκῶς ὅπερ ἦν, θεὸς δηλονότι φύσει τε καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. Οὕτε δὲ τὴν σάρκα φαμὲν εἰς θεότητος τραπῆναι φύσιν, οὔτε μὴν εἰς φύσιν σαρκὸς τὴν ἀπόρρητον τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου παρενεχθῆναι φύσιν ἄτρεπτος γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος παντελῶς ὁ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ μένων κατὰ τὰς γραφάς¹, ὀρώμενος δὲ καὶ βρέφος καὶ ἐν σπαργάνοις ὡν ἔτι καὶ ἐν κόλπῳ τῆς τεκούσης παρθένου πᾶσαν ἐπλήρου τὴν κτίσιν ὡς θεὸς καὶ σύνεδρος ἦν τῷ γεγεννηκότι· τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἀποσον τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμέγεθες καὶ περιορισμῶν οὐκ ἀνέχεται. Ἰησοῦσθαί γε μὴν σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες τὸν λόγον, ἕνα προσκυνοῦμεν υἱὸν καὶ κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, οὔτε ἀνὰ μέρος τιθέντες καὶ διορίζοντες ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν ὡς συνημμένους ἀλλήλοις τῇ τῆς ἀξίας καὶ αὐθεντίας ἐνότητι, (κενοφωνία γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτερον οὐδέν), οὔτε μὴν Χριστόν ἰδικῶς ὀνομάζοντες τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον καὶ ὁμοίως ἰδικῶς Χριστόν ἕτερον τὸν ἐκ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἕνα μόνον εἰδότες Χριστόν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρός λόγον μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός· τότε γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνως κέχρισται μεθ' ἡμῶν, καίτοι τοῖς ἀξίοις τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα διδοῦς αὐτὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μέτρου², καθά φησιν ὁ μακάριος εὐαγγελιστῆς Ἰωάννης. Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο φαμὲν ὅτι κατ' ὀκνη-

¹ Cf. Mt 3, 6. ² Cf. Io 3, 34.

earth were made, for our salvation came down and emptying himself he became incarnate and was made man. This means that he took flesh from the holy virgin and made it his own, undergoing a birth like ours from her womb and coming forth a man from a woman. He did not cast aside what he was, but although he assumed flesh and blood, he remained what he was, God in nature and truth. We do not say that his flesh was turned into the nature of the godhead or that the unspeakable Word of God was changed into the nature of the flesh. For he (the Word) is unalterable and absolutely unchangeable and remains always the same as the scriptures say¹. For although visible as a child and in swaddling cloths, even while he was in the bosom of the virgin that bore him, as God he filled the whole of creation and was fellow ruler with him who begot him. For the divine is without quantity and dimension and cannot be subject to circumscription.

We confess the Word to have been made one with the flesh hypostatically, and we adore one Son and Lord, Jesus Christ. We do not divide him into parts and separate man and God in him, as though the two natures were mutually united only through a unity of dignity and authority; that would be an empty expression and nothing more. Nor do we give the name Christ in one sense to the Word of God and in another to him who was born of woman, but we know only one Christ, the Word from God the Father with his own flesh. As man he was anointed with us, even though he himself gives the Spirit to those who are worthy to receive it and not in measure, as the blessed evangelist John says².

¹ See Mt 3, 6. ² See Jn 3, 34.

σεν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ λόγος ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κοινῷ τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου γεγεννημένῳ, ἵνα μὴ θεοφόρος ἄνθρωπος νοοῖτο Χριστός· εἰ γὰρ καὶ 5 ἔσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος², εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ κατοικῆσαι ἅπαν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς³, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐννοοῦμεν ὅτι γενόμενος σάρξ, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις 10 κατοικῆσαι λέγεται, κατὰ τὸν ἴσον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τρόπον γενέσθαι διοριζόμεθα τὴν κατοικῆσιν· ἀλλ' ἐνωθεὶς κατὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐκ εἰς σάρκα τραπεῖς, τοιαύτην ἐποιήσατο τὴν κατοικῆσιν, 15 ἣν ἂν ἔχειν λέγοιτο καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἑαυτῆς σῶμα. Εἰς οὖν ἄρα Χριστὸς καὶ υἱὸς καὶ κύριος, οὐχ ὡς συνάφειαν ἀπλῶς τὴν ὡς ἐν ἐνότητι τῆς ἀξίας ἢ γοῦν 20 αὐθεντίας ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου πρὸς θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐνοῖ τὰς φύσεις [ἢ] ἰσοτιμία· καὶ γοῦν Πέτρος τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότημοι μὲν ἀλλήλοις καθὼ καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἅγιοι μαθηταί, πλὴν 25 οὐχ εἰς οἱ δύο. Οὐτε μὴν κατὰ παράθεσιν τὸν τῆς συναφείας νοοῦμεν τρόπον (οὐκ ἀπόχρη γὰρ τοῦτο πρὸς ἔνωσιν φυσικὴν), οὔτε μὴν ὡς κατὰ μέθεξιν σχετικὴν, ὡς καὶ 30 ἡμεῖς κολλώμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν πνεῦμα ἐσμὲν πρὸς αὐτόν⁴, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ τῆς συναφείας ὄνομα παραιτούμεθα ὡς οὐκ ἔχον ἱκανῶς σημεῖναι τὴν ἔνωσιν. 35 Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ θεὸν ἢ δεσπότην τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρός λόγον ὀνομάζομεν, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν ἀναφανδὸν τέμνωμεν εἰς δύο τὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν καὶ κύριον, καὶ δυσφημίας 40 ἐγκλήματι περιπέσωμεν, θεὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δεσπότην ποιοῦντες αὐτόν· ἐνωθεὶς γὰρ, ὡς ἤδη προείπομεν, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν, θεὸς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ὅλων, δεσπόζει δὲ τοῦ παν- 45 τός, οὔτε δὲ αὐτός ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλός ἐστιν

mensuram, sicut beatus evangelista Ioannes adseruit¹. Sed nec illud dicimus quod Dei Verbum velut in homine communi, qui de sancta Virgine natus est, habitavit, ne Deum homo Christus habitatorem possidere credatur. Quamvis enim *Verbum habitaverit in nobis*² et dictum sit *in Christo habitare omnem plenitudinem deitatis corporaliter*³, atamen intellegimus eum quod caro factus, non sicut in sanctis habitare dicatur, nec talem in ipso habitationem factam definire temptavimus; sed unitus iuxta naturam nec in carnem penitus commutatus, talem sibi fecit habitationem qualem et anima hominis habere creditur ad proprium corpus. Unus igitur est Christus Filius et dominus, non velut coniunctionem quamlibet, ut in unitate dignitatis et auctoritatis, hominis habentis ad Deum; non enim potest unire naturas sola dignitatis aequalitas. Denique Petrus et Ioannes aequalis sunt alterutrum dignitatis, propter quod et apostoli et sancti discipuli esse monstrantur; verumtamen uterque non unus est. Nec iuxta conlationem vel connectionem modum coniunctionis advertimus (hoc enim ad unitatem non sufficit naturalem) nec secundum participationis affectum, sicut nos etiam adherentes Domino unus cum eo spiritus sumus⁴, immo potius coniunctionis nomen evitamus, tamquam non existens idoneum quod significet unitatis arcanum. Sed neque Deum aut dominum Christi Verbum Dei Patris adserimus, ne iterum manifestius in duo dividamus unum Christum Filium et dominum et in crimen sacrilegii recidamus, Deum illi se ipsum

¹ Cf. Io 3, 34.² Io 1, 14.³ Col 2, 9.⁴ Cf. 1 Cor 6, 17.

But we do not say that the Word of God dwelt as in an ordinary man born of the holy virgin, in order that Christ may not be thought of as a God-bearing man. For even though “the Word dwelt among us”², and it is also said that in Christ dwelt “all the fulness of the godhead bodily”³, we understand that, having become flesh, the manner of his indwelling is not defined in the same way as he is said to dwell among the saints, he was united by nature and not turned into flesh and he made his indwelling in such a way as we may say that the soul of man does in his own body.

There is therefore one Christ and Son and Lord, but not with the sort of conjunction that a man might have with God as unity of dignity or authority. Equality of honour by itself is unable to united natures. For Peter and John were equal in honour to each other, being both of them apostles and holy disciples, but they were two, not one. Neither do we understand the manner of conjunction to be one of juxtaposition for this is not enough for natural union. Nor yet is it a question of relative participation, as we ourselves, being united to the Lord, are as it is written in the words of scripture “one spirit with him”⁴. Rather do we deprecate the term “conjunction” as being inadequate to express the idea of union. Nor do we call the Word from God the Father, the God or Lord of Christ. To speak in that way would appear to split into two the one Christ and Son and Lord and we might in this way fall under the charge of blasphemy, making him the God and Lord of himself. For, as we have already said, the Word of God was united hypostatically with the flesh and is God of all and Lord of the universe, but is neither his own slave or master. For it is foolish or rather

² Jn 1, 14.³ Col 2, 9.⁴ See 1 Cor 6, 17.

οὔτε δεσπότης· εὐθες γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη καὶ δυσσεβὲς τὸ οὕτω φρονεῖν ἢ λέγειν· ἔφη μὲν γὰρ θεὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πατέρα¹, καίτοι θεὸς ὢν φύσει καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠγνοήκαμεν ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ εἶναι θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν ὑπὸ θεῷ κατὰ γε τὸν πρόποντα νόμον τῆ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος φύσει· αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο θεὸς ἢ δεσπότης; Οὐκοῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅσον ἦκεν εἶπε γε τὸ πρόπον τοῖς τῆς κενώσεως μέτροις, ὑπὸ θεῷ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι φησιν· οὕτω γέγονε καὶ ὑπὸ νόμον², καίτοι λαλήσας αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον καὶ νομοθέτης ὑπάρχων ὡς θεός. Παραιοῦμεθα δὲ λέγειν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ 'διὰ τὸν φοροῦντα καὶ τὸν φορούμενον σέβω· διὰ τὸν ἀόρατον προσκυνῶ τὸν ὁρώμενον'. Φρικτὸν δὲ πρὸς τοῦτω κάκεινο εἰπεῖν 'ὁ ληφθεὶς τῷ λαβόντι συγχεματίζει θεός'· ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγων διατέμνει πάλιν εἰς δύο Χριστοὺς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἴστησιν ἀνὰ μέρος ἰδικῶς καὶ θεὸν ὁμοίως ἕρνεῖται γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως τὴν ἔνωσιν, καθ' ἣν οὐχ ὡς ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ συμπροσκυνεῖται τις οὔτε μὴν συγχεματίζει θεός, ἀλλ' εἰς νοεῖται Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς μονογενῆς, μὴ προσκυνῆσει τιμώμενος μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός. Ὁμολογοῦμεν δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθεὶς υἱὸς μονογενῆς, καίτοι κατὰ φύσιν ἰδίαν ὑπάρχων ἀπαθῆς, σαρκὶ πέπονθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν³ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ σταυρωθέντι σώματι, τὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ἀπαθῶς οικειούμενος πάθη· χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγείνατο θανάτου⁴, διδούς αὐτῷ τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα, καίτοι κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχων ζωῆ⁵ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἡ ἀνάστασις· ἵνα γὰρ ἀρρήτῳ δυνάμει πατήσας τὸν θάνατον ὡς ἐν γε δὴ

facientes et dominum. Unitus quippe, sicut superius diximus, Deus Verbum carni secundum subsistentiam, Deus quidem est omnium et dominatur universitati, verumtamen nec servus est sibi ipse nec dominus, quia ineptum est vel potius impium hoc sentire vel dicere. Quamvis enim Deum suum Patrem dixerit¹, cum Deus sit etiam ipse natura et de illius essentia, tamen nullatenus ignoramus quod manens Deus, homo quoque factus sit, qui sub Deo iuxta debitam legem naturae humanitatis existeret. Ipse vero sibi quomodo vel Deus poterit esse vel dominus? Ergo sicut homo quantum decenter exinanitionis mensurae congruit, sub Deo se nobiscum esse disseruit. Hoc etiam modo sub lege factus est², quamvis ipse promulgaverit legem et legislator ut Deus exstiterit. Cavemus autem de Christo dicere „propter adsumptem veneror adsumptum et propter invisibilem adoro visibilem“³. Horrendum vero super hoc etiam illud adicere „is qui susceptus est cum eo qui suscepit, connuncupatur Deus“⁴. Qui enim haec dicit, dividit iterum in duos Christos eum qui unus est, hominem seorsum in parte et Deum similiter in parte constituens. Evidenter enim dividit unitatem, secundum quam non alter cum altero coadoratur, aut connuncupatur Deus, sed unus intellegitur Christus Iesus Filius Dei unigenitus, una servitute cum propria carne venerandus. Confitemur etiam quod idem ipse qui ex Deo Patre natus est Filius unigenitus Deus, licet iuxta naturam suam expers passionis exstiterit, pro nobis tamensecun-

¹ Cf. Io 20, 17. ² Cf. Gal 4, 4. ³ Cf. 1 Pt 4, 1. ⁴ Heb 2, 9. ⁵ Cf. Io 11, 25.

impious to think or to speak in this way. It is true that he called the Father "God"¹ even though he was himself God by nature and of his being; we are not ignorant of the fact that at the same time as he was God he also became man, and so was subject to God according to the law that is suitable to the nature of manhood. But how should he become God or Lord of himself? Consequently as man and as far as it was fitting for him within the limits of his self-emptying, it is said that he was subject to God like ourselves. So he came to be under the law² while at the same time himself speaking the law and being a lawgiver like God.

When speaking of Christ we avoid the expression: "I worship him who is carried because of the one who carries him; because of him who is unseen, I worship the one who is seen." It is shocking to say in this connexion: "The assumed shares the name of God with him who assumes." To speak in this way once again divides into two Christs and puts the man separately by himself and God likewise by himself. This saying denies openly the union, according to which one is not worshipped alongside the other, nor do both share in the title "God", but Jesus Christ is considered as one, the only begotten Son, honoured with one worship, together with his own flesh.

We also confess that the only begotten Son born of God the Father, although according to his own nature he was not subject to suffering, suffered in the flesh for us according to the scriptures³, and was in his crucified body, and without himself suffering made his own the sufferings of his own flesh, for "by the grace of God he tasted death for all"⁴. For that purpose he gave his own body to death, though he was by nature life⁵ and the resurrection, in order that, having trodden down death by his own unspeakable power, he might first in his own flesh

¹ See Jn 20, 17. ² See Gal 4, 4. ³ See 1 Pt 4, 1. ⁴ Heb 2, 9. ⁵ See Jn 11, 25.

πρώτη τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ γένηται πρωτό-
 5 τοκος ἐκ νεκρῶν¹ καὶ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν
 κεκοιμημένων², ὁδοποιήσῃ τε τῇ
 ἀνθρώπου φύσει τὴν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν
 ἀναδρομὴν, χάριτι θεοῦ, καθάπερ
 10 ἔφημεν ἀρτίως, ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο
 θανάτου, τριήμερός τε ἀνεβίω σκυ-
 λεύσας τὸν ἄδην· ὥστε κἄν λέγεται
 δι' ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι ἢ ἀνάστασις
 15 τῶν νεκρῶν³, ἀλλὰ νοοῦμεν ἄνθρωπον
 τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ γεγονότα λόγον καὶ
 λελύσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου τὸ
 κράτος· ἥξει δὲ κατὰ καιροῦ ὡς
 εἷς υἱὸς καὶ κύριος ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ
 20 πατρὸς, ἵνα κρίνῃ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν
 δικαιοσύνῃ⁴, καθὰ γέγραπται.

hominem facta sit *resurrectio mortuorum*⁵,
 25 tamen intellegimus hominem
 factum Verbum quod ex Deo est, et per ipsum mortis imperium fuisse
 destructum; veniet autem temporibus praefinitis, sicut est unus Filius et
 dominus, in gloria Patris, ut iudicet orbem terrarum in aequitate, sicut
 scriptura testatur⁷.

Ἀναγκαίως δὲ κάκεῖνο προσθήσο-
 25 μεν· καταγγέλλοντες γὰρ τὸν κατὰ
 σάρκα θάνατον τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ
 τοῦ θεοῦ, τουτέστιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 τὴν τε ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβίωσιν καὶ τὴν
 εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦντες,
 30 τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 τελοῦμεν λατρείαν, πρόσιμέν τε οὕτω
 ταῖς μυστικαῖς εὐλογίαις καὶ ἀγιαζό-
 μεθα, μέτοχοι γινόμενοι τῆς τε ἀγίας
 σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ
 πάντων ἡμῶν σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, καὶ
 35 οὐχ ὡς σάρκα κοινὴν δεχόμενοι, μὴ
 γένοιτο, οὔτε μὴν ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἡγιασμέ-
 νου καὶ συναφθέντος τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ
 τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἀξίας ἢ γοῦν ὡς θείαν
 ἐνοίκησιν ἐσχηκότος, ἀλλ' ὡς ζωοποι-
 40 ὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου·
 ζωὴ γὰρ ὢν κατὰ φύσιν ὡς θεός,
 ἐπειδὴ γέγονεν ἐν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 σάρκα, ζωοποιὸν ἀπέφηεν αὐτὴν,

dum scripturas carne perpressus
 sit¹ et erat in crucifixo corpore, pro-
 priae carnis impassibiliter ad se
 referens passiones. *Gratia vero Dei*
*pro omnibus gustavit mortem*², tradens
 ei proprium corpus, quamvis natu-
 raliter ipse vita sit et resurrectio
 mortuorum³. Nam ut mortem in-
 effabili potentia proculcaret ac pri-
 mus in sua carne primogenitus ex
 mortuis fieret⁴ et primitiae dormien-
 tium⁵ viamque faceret humanae na-
 turae ad incorruptionis recursus,
gratia Dei, sicut supra dictum est,
pro omnibus gustavit mortem et tertio
 die resurgens spoliavit infernum.

Idcirco quamvis dicatur quod *per*
 25 *hominem* facta sit *resurrectio mortuorum*⁵,
 tamen intellegimus hominem
 factum Verbum quod ex Deo est, et per ipsum mortis imperium fuisse
 destructum; veniet autem temporibus praefinitis, sicut est unus Filius et
 dominus, in gloria Patris, ut iudicet orbem terrarum in aequitate, sicut
 scriptura testatur⁷.

Necessarie igitur et hoc adicimus.
 Adnuntiantes enim secundum car-
 nem mortem unigeniti Filii Dei, id
 est Iesu Christi et resurrectionem
 eius et in caelis ascensionem pariter
 confitentes, incruentam celebramus
 in ecclesiis sacrificii servitutem, sic
 etiam ad mysticas benedictiones
 accedimus et sanctificamur, partici-
 pes sancti corporis et pretiosi san-
 guinis Christi omnium nostrum
 redemptoris effecti, non ut commu-
 nem carnem percipientes, quod ab-
 sit, nec ut viri sanctificati et Verbo
 coniuncti secundum dignitatis uni-
 tatem aut sicut divinam possidentis
 habitationem, sed ut vere vivifica-
 tricem et ipsius Verbi propriam fac-
 tam. Vita enim naturaliter ut Deus
 existens, quia propriae carni unitus
 est, vivificatricem eam esse pro-

¹ Cf. 1 Pt 4, 1. ² Hcb 2, 9. ³ Cf. Io 11, 25. ⁴ Cf. Col 1, 18. ⁵ Cf. 1 Cor 15, 20.

⁶ Cf. 1 Cor 15, 21. ⁷ Cf. Ac 17, 31.

become the firstborn from the dead⁴ and “the first fruits of them that sleep”⁵.
 And that he might make a way for human nature to return to incorruption by the
 grace of God, as we have just said, “he tasted death for all” and on the third day
 he returned to life, having robbed the underworld. Accordingly, even though it
 is said that “through man came the resurrection of the dead”⁶, yet we under-
 stand that man to have been the Word which came from God, through whom
 the power of death was overcome. At the right time he will come as one Son and
 Lord in the glory of the Father, to judge the world in justice⁷, as it is written.

We will necessarily add this also. Proclaiming the death according to the flesh
 of the only begotten Son of God, that is Jesus Christ, and professing his return
 to life from the dead and his ascension into heaven, we offer the unbloody worship
 in the churches and so proceed to the mystical thanksgivings and are sanctified,
 having partaken of the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ, the saviour of us
 all. This we receive not as ordinary flesh, heaven forbid, nor as that of a man who
 has been made holy and joined to the Word by union of honour, or who had a
 divine indwelling, but as truly the life-giving and real flesh of the Word. For
 being life by nature as God, when he became one with his own flesh, he made it
 also to be life-giving, as also he said to us: “Amen I say to you, unless you eat the

⁴ See Col 1, 18. ⁵ See 1 Cor 15, 20. ⁶ See 1 Cor 15, 21. ⁷ See Ac 17, 31.

ὥστε κἂν λέγη πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα¹, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπου τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνὸς καὶ αὐτὴν εἶναι λογιούμεθα (πῶς γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρώπου σὰρξ ζωοποιὸς ἔσται κατὰ φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτῆς;), ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδίαν ἀληθῶς γενομένην τοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος τε καὶ χρηματίσαντος.

Τὰς δὲ γε ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν φωνὰς οὔτε ὑποστάσει διὐσιν οὔτε μὴν προσώποις καταμερίζομεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι διπλοῦς ὁ εἰς καὶ μόνος Χριστός, κἂν ἐκ δύο νοῆται καὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων εἰς ἐνόητα τὴν ἀμέριστον συνενηγεμένους, καθάπερ ἀμέλει. καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ ψυχῆς νοεῖται καὶ σώματος καὶ οὐ διπλοῦς μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐξ ἀφοῦν. Ἄλλὰ τὰς τε ἀνθρωπίνους καὶ πρὸς γε τούτω τὰς θεϊκὰς παρ' ἐνὸς εἰρησθαι διακείσόμεθα, φρονούντες ὁρθῶς· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ θεοπρεπῶς λέγη περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἑωρακῶς ἐμὲ ἑώρακε τὸν πατέρα² καὶ ἔγω καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐσμέν³, τὴν θεϊαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπόρρητου ἐννοοῦμεν φύσιν, καθ' ἣν καὶ ἐν ἔστι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα διὰ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, εἰκῶν τε καὶ χαρακτήρ καὶ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ⁴. ὅταν δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος μέτρον οὐκ ἀτιμάζων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσλαλήῃ· νῦν δὲ με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτείνειν, ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμῖν λελάληκα⁵, πάλιν οὐδὲν ἤττον αὐτὸν τὸν ἐν ἰσότητι τε καὶ ὁμοιότητι τοῦ πατρὸς θεὸν λόγον καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ μέτρων ἐπιγινώσκομεν· εἰ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον τὸ πιστεῦναι ὅτι θεὸς ὢν φύσει γέγονε σὰρξ ἢ γοῦν ἄνθρωπος ἐψυχωμένος ψυχῆ λογικῆ, ποῖον ἂν ἔχοι λόγον τὸ ἐπαισχύνεσθαί τινα ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ

fessus est, et ideo, quamvis dicat ad nos *amen amen dico vobis, nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem*¹, non tamen eam ut hominis unius ex nobis existimare debemus (quomodo enim iuxta naturam suam vivificatrix esse caro hominis poterit?), sed ut vere propriam eius factam, qui propter nos filius hominis et factus est et vocatus.

Eas autem voces quas Salvator noster in evangelio protulit, non in duabus subsistentiis aut personis omnino partimur. Non enim duplex est unus Christus et solus, quamvis ex duabus diversisque rebus ad unitatem cognoscatur individuum convenisse, sicut homo quoque, ex anima constans et corpore, non duplex potius, sed unus est ex utroque. Humanas ergo et divinas in super voces ab uno Christo dictas animadvertentes recte sentimus. Cum enim Deo dignissime loquitur de se ipso *qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem*² et *ego et Pater unum sumus*³, divinam eius intellegimus ineffabilemque naturam, secundum quam unum est cum Patre suo propter unam eandemque substantiam, imago et character splendorque gloriae eius⁴ existens. Cum vero humanae naturae mensuram nullatenus inhonors Iudaeos adloquitur *nunc me quaeritis occidere, hominem qui veritatem vobis locutus sum*⁵, item non minus eum qui in similitudine et aequalitate Patris est, Deum Verbum etiam in mensuris humanitatis eius agnoscimus. Si autem necessario creditur quod natura Deus existens factus sit caro, immo potius homo animatus anima rationali, quae causa est ut in eius quilibet

flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood"¹. For we must not think that it is the flesh of a man like us (for how can the flesh of man be life-giving by its own nature?), but as being made the true flesh of the one who for our sake became the son of man and was called so.

For we do not divide up the words of our Saviour in the gospels among two hypostases or persons. For the one and only Christ is not dual, even though he be considered to be from two distinct realities, brought together into an unbreakable union. In the same sort of way a human being, though he be composed of soul and body, is considered to be not dual, but rather one out of two. Therefore, in thinking rightly, we refer both the human and divine expressions to the same person. For when he speaks about himself in a divine manner as "he that sees me sees the Father"², and "I and the Father are one"³, we think of his divine and unspeakable nature, according to which he is one with his own Father through identity of nature and is the "image and impress and brightness of his glory"⁴. But when, not dishonouring the measure of his humanity, he says to the Jews: "But now you seek to kill me, a man who has spoken the truth to you"⁵, again no less than before, we recognise that he who, because of his equality and likeness to God the Father is God the Word, is also within the limits of his humanity. For if it is necessary to believe that being God by nature he became flesh, that is man ensouled with a rational soul, whatever reason should anyone have for being ashamed at the expressions uttered by him should they happen to

¹ Io 6, 53. ² Io 14, 9. ³ Io 10, 30. ⁴ Cf. Heb 1, 3. ⁵ Io 8, 40.

¹ Jn 6, 53. ² Jn 14, 9. ³ Jn 10, 30. ⁴ See Heb 1, 3. ⁵ Jn 8, 40.

φωναίς, εἰ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρωπο-
 πρεπῶς; εἰ γὰρ παραιτοῖτο τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπων πρέποντας λόγους, τίς ὁ
 ἀναγκάσας γενέσθαι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄν-
 5 θρωπων; ὁ δὲ καθεὶς ἑαυτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς
 εἰς ἐκούσιον κένωσιν διὰ ποίαν
 αἰτίαν παραιτοῖτο ἂν τοὺς τῆ κενώ-
 σει πρέποντας λόγους; ἐνὶ τοιγαρ-
 οῦν προσώπῳ τὰς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελί-
 10 οῖς πάσας ἀναθετέον φωνάς, ὑποστά-
 σει μιᾷ τῆ τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη·
 κύριος γὰρ εἶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός¹ κατὰ
 τὰς γραφάς. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καλοῖτο καὶ ἀπό-
 στολος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας
 15 ἡμῶν², ὡς ἱερουργῶν τῷ θεῷ καὶ
 πατρὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ δι'
 αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ προσκομι-
 ζομένην τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίαν καὶ
 μὴν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, πάλιν
 20 αὐτὸν εἶναί φαμεν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ κατὰ
 φύσιν υἱὸν μονογενῆ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώ-
 πῳ προσνεοῦμεν παρ' αὐτὸν ἑτέρῳ
 ἢ τε τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸ
 δὲ τὸ χρῆμα· γέγονε γὰρ ἡμεσίτης θεοῦ
 25 καὶ ἀνθρώπων³ καὶ διαλλακτὴς εἰς
 εἰρήνην, ἑαυτὸν ἀναθεὶς εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐω-
 δίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ⁴. Τοιγάρτοι
 καὶ ἔφασκεν Ἰησοῦς καὶ προσφορὰν
 οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω
 30 μοι, [ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρ-
 τίας οὐκ εὐδόκησας,] τότε εἶπον ἰδοὺ
 ἡμεῖς ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται
 περὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ποιῆσαι, ὁ θεός, τὸ
 θέλημά σου⁵. Προσκεκέρμικε γὰρ
 35 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας τὸ
 ἴδιον σῶμα καὶ οὐκ ὑπὲρ γε μᾶλλον
 ἑαυτοῦ· ποίας γὰρ ἂν ἐδεήθη προσφο-
 ρᾶς ἢ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, κρείττων
 ἀπάσης ὑπάρχων ἁμαρτίας ὡς θεός;
 40 εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἡμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦν-
 ται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ⁶, καθὼ γεγό-
 ναμεν ἡμεῖς ἑτοιμοὶ πρὸς παραφορὰν
 καὶ κατηρρώστησεν ἡ ἀνθρώπου
 φύσις τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐχ

vocibus erubescat, si eas homine
 dignas effatus est? quod si sermones
 homini congruentes abicit, iuxta nos
 hominem fieri quis coegit? cum
 vero se propter nos ad exinanitionem
 spontaneam misericorditer inclinavit,
 quam ob causam dignos exinanitione
 sermones effugerit? uni igitur personae
 cunctas eius in evangelio voces adscribimus,
 uni substantiae Verbi scilicet incarnati,
 quia unus est dominus Iesus Christus¹,
 ut scriptum est. Appellatum vero
 apostolum et pontificem confessionis
 nostrae² tamquam sacrificantem
 Deo et Patri fidei nostrae confessionem,
 quae a nobis ipsi et per ipsum
 Deo et Patri incessanter offertur,
 iterum cum dicimus qui ex Deo est
 secundum naturam Filius unigenitus,
 nec homini praeter eum alteri
 sacerdotii nomen et officium deputamus.
 Factus est enim mediator Dei
 et hominum³ et reconciliator ad pacem,
 semet ipsum Deo et Patri pro nobis
 offerens in odorem suavitatis⁴.
 Ideoque dicebat: sacrificium et
 oblationem noluit, holocausta et pro
 peccato non tibi placuerunt; corpus
 autem perfecisti mihi. Tunc dixi: ecce
 venio, in capite libri scriptum est de me,
 ut faciam, Deus, voluntatem tuam⁵.
 Obtulit enim proprium corpus non
 pro se, sed pro nobis in odorem
 suavitatis. Nam qua pro se oblatione
 vel sacrificii indigeret ab omni
 peccato liber ut Deus exsistens? quod
 si omnes peccaverunt et egent gloriam
 Dei⁶ secundum hoc quod sumus ad
 mutabilitatis excessum proniores
 effecti et peccatis aegrotavit huma-
 na natura, ipse vero non ita, ideoque
 nos gloria eius evincimur, cur erit
 ultra iam dubium quod agnus verus

be suitable to him as man? For if he should reject words suitable to him as man, who was it that forced him to become a man like us? Why should he who submitted himself to voluntary self-emptying for our sake, reject expressions that are suitable for such self-emptying? All the expressions, therefore, that occur in the gospels are to be referred to one person, the one enfleshed hypostasis of the Word. For there is one Lord Jesus Christ¹, according to the scriptures.

Even though he is called "the apostle and high priest of our confession"², as offering to the God and Father the confession of faith we make to him and through him to the God and Father and also to the holy Spirit, again we say that he is the natural and only-begotten Son of God and we shall not assign to another man apart from him the name and reality of priesthood. For he became the "mediator between God and humanity"³ and the establisher of peace between them, offering himself for an odour of sweetness to the God and Father⁴. Therefore also he said: "Sacrifice and offering you would not, but a body you have prepared for me; [in burnt offerings and sacrifice for sin you have no pleasure]. Then I said, 'Behold I come to do your will, O God', as it is written of me in the volume of the book"⁵. For our sake and not for his own he brought forward his own body in the odour of sweetness. Indeed, of what offering or sacrifice for himself would he have been in need, being as God superior to all manner of sin? For though "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God"⁶, and so we are prone to disorder and human nature has fallen into the weakness of sin, he is not so and consequently we are behind him in glory. How then can

¹ Cf. 1 Cor 8, 6. ² Heb 3, 1. ³ 1 Tm 2, 5. ⁴ Cf. Eph 5, 2.
⁵ Heb 10, 5-7. ⁶ Rm 3, 23.

¹ See 1 Cor 8, 6. ² Heb 3, 1. ³ 1 Tm 2, 5. ⁴ See Eph 5, 2.
⁵ Heb 10, 5-7. ⁶ Rm 3, 23.

οὕτως, καὶ ἠττώμεθα διὰ τοῦτο τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, πῶς ἂν εἴη λοιπὸν ἀμφίβολον ὅτι τέθυται δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἀμνὸς ὁ ἀληθινός; Καὶ τὸ λέγειν ὅτι προσκεκόμεν ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν, ἀμοιρήσειεν ἂν οὐδαμῶς τῶν εἰς δυσσέβειαν ἐγκλημάτων· πεπλημμέληκε γὰρ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὔτε μὴν ἐποίησεν ἀμαρτίαν· ποίας οὖν ἐδέχθη προσφορᾶς, ἀμαρτίας οὐκ οὔσης ἐφ' ἧπερ ἂν γένοιτο καὶ μάλα εἰκότως; Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος 'ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάσει'¹, νοοῦντες ὀρθῶς οὐχ ὡς δόξης ἐπιδεᾶ τῆς παρ' ἐτέρου φαμέν τὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ ἕνα τὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δόξαν ἐλεῖν, ὅτι μὴδὲ κρείττον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς ἐνδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεότητος ἐχρῆτο τῷ ἰδίῳ πνεύματι πρὸς μεγαλοουργίας, δεδοξάσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τις λέγοι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς περὶ τῆς ἐνούσης ἰσχύος αὐτῷ τυχόν ἢ γούν ἐπιστήμης τῆς ἐφ' ἕταρ οὖν ὅτι δοξάσουσί με. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ὑποστάσει τὸ πνεῦμα ἰδικῆ καὶ δὴ καὶ νοεῖται καθ' ἑαυτό, καθὼ πνεῦμά ἐστιν καὶ οὐχ υἱός, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐστιν οὐκ ἀλλότριον αὐτοῦ· πνεῦμα γὰρ ἀληθείας² ὠνόμασται καὶ ἔστιν Χριστὸς ἢ ἀλήθεια³ καὶ προχεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός· ἐνεργῆσαν τοιγαροῦν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ διὰ χειρὸς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων τὰ παράδοξα μετὰ τὸ ἀνελθεῖν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐδόξασεν αὐτόν· ἐπιστεύθη γὰρ ὅτι θεὸς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστίν, πάλιν αὐτὸς ἐνεργῶν διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πνεύματος. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἔφρασκεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ ὑμῖν⁴. Καὶ οὕτω πού φαμεν ὡς ἐκ μετοχῆς τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι σοφόν τε καὶ δυνατόν, παντέλειον γὰρ καὶ ἀπρο-

¹ Io 16, 14. ² Io 16, 13. ³ Cf. Io 14, 6. ⁴ Io 16, 14. ⁵ Cf. 1 Cor 1, 24.

there be any further doubt that the true lamb was sacrificed for us and on our behalf? The suggestion that he offered himself for himself as well as for us is impossible to separate from the charge of impiety. For he never committed a fault at all, nor did he sin in any way. What sort of offering would he need then, since there was no sin for which offering might rightly be made?

When he says of the Spirit, "he will glorify me"¹, the correct understanding of this is not to say that the one Christ and Son was in need of glory from another, and that he took glory from the holy Spirit, for his Spirit is not better than he nor above him. But because he used his own Spirit to display his godhead through his mighty works, he says that he has been glorified by him, just as if any one of us should perhaps say for example of his inherent strength or his knowledge of anything that they glorify him. For even though the Spirit exists in his own hypostasis and is thought of on his own, as being Spirit and not as Son, even so he is not alien to the Son. He has been called "the Spirit of truth"², and Christ is the truth³, and the Spirit was poured forth by the Son, as indeed the Son was poured forth from the God and Father. Accordingly the Spirit worked many strange things through the hand of the holy apostles and so glorified him after the ascension of our lord Jesus Christ into heaven. For it was believed that he is God by nature and works through his own Spirit. For this reason also he said: "He (the Spirit) will take what is mine and declare it to you"⁴. But we do not say that the Spirit is wise and powerful through some sharing with another, for he is all perfect and in need of no good thing. Since he is the Spirit of the power and

¹ Jn 16, 14. ² Jn 16, 13. ³ See Jn 14, 6. ⁴ Jn 16, 14.

δεές ἐστὶν παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμεως καὶ σοφίας¹, τουτέστιν τοῦ υἱοῦ, πνεῦμά ἐστὶν, αὐτόχρομα σοφία ἐστὶ καὶ δύναμις.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θεὸν ἐνωθέντα σαρκὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἢ ἀγία παρθένος ἐκτέτοκε σαρκικῶς, ταύτῃ τοι καὶ θεοτόκον εἶναι φάμεν αὐτήν, οὐχ ὡς τῆς τοῦ λόγου φύσεως τῆς ὑπάρξεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχούσης ἀπὸ σαρκός, (ἴην γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν² καὶ αὐτός ἐστι τῶν αἰώνων ὁ ποιητής, συναΐδιος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός), ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη προείπομεν, ἐπειδὴ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσας ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ἐκ μήτρας αὐτῆς γέννησιν ὑπέμεινε σαρκικὴν, οὐχ ὡς δεηθεὶς ἀναγκαιῶς ἦτοι διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν καὶ τῆς ἐν χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν ἐσχάτοις τοῦ αἰῶνος καιροῖς γεννήσεως, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴν τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἡμῶν εὐλογῆσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τεκούσης γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ἐνωθέντα σαρκὶ παύσθαι λοιπὸν ἢ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ γένους ἀρὰ πέμπουσα πρὸς θάνατον τὰ ἐκ γῆς ἡμῶν σώματα καὶ τὸ ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα³ δι' αὐτοῦ καταργούμενον ἀληθὲς ἀποφῆνῃ τὸ διὰ τῆς τοῦ προφήτου φωνῆς 'κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας⁴ καὶ πάλιν ἀφείλεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου⁵. ταύτης γὰρ ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας φάμεν αὐτὸν οἰκονομικῶς καὶ αὐτὸν εὐλογῆσαι τὸν γάμον καὶ ἀπελθεῖν κεκλημένον ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις⁶.

Ταῦτα φρονεῖν δεδιδάγμεθα παρὰ τε τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν, καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν μακα-

id est Filii Spiritus creditur et ideo ipsa re et subsistentia virtus et sapientia conprobatur.

Igitur quia Deum carni unitum iuxta subsistentiam sancta Virgo corporaliter peperit, idcirco eam Dei geneticem esse profiteamur, non quod Verbi naturam existendi principium de carne sortita sit, (erat enim in principio Verbum et Deus erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum² et ipse est conditor saeculorum, Patri coaeternus et universitatis creator), sed quod, ut superius diximus, iuxta subsistentiam sibimet uniens humanam naturam, natiuitatem sustinuerit ex ipsa vulva corpoream, non quod egerit necessario aut propter suam naturam natiuitate ista, quae est in extremis saeculi facta temporibus, sed ut ipsas benediceret substantiae nostrae primitias et dum eum carni unitum mulier edidisset, illa quae adversus omne genus humanum maledictio fuerat prolata, desineret nec iam morti nostra corpora destinaret, illud quoque quod dictum est in tristitia paries filios³, ipse dissolvens, verum esse monstraret quod prophetae voce praedixerat absorpta est mors in victoria⁴ et iterum abstulit Deus omnem lacrimam ab omni facie⁵. Propter hanc etenim causam dicimus eum dispensatorie et ipsis benedixisse tunc nuptiis, cum in Canan Galilaeae cum sanctis vocatus apostolis adesse dignatus est⁶.

Haec sapere sumus edocti a sanctis apostolis et evangelistis et ab omni scriptura divinitus inspirata nec non et a beatis patrum confes-

¹ Cf. 1 Cor 1, 24. ² Io 1, 1. ³ Gn 3, 16. ⁴ 1 Cor 15, 54 (cf. Is 25, 8). ⁵ Is 25, 8. ⁶ Cf. Io 2, 1-2.

wisdom of the Father¹, that is the Son, he is himself, evidently, wisdom and power.

Therefore, because the holy virgin bore in the flesh God who was united hypostatically with the flesh, for that reason we call her mother of God, not as though the nature of the Word had the beginning of its existence from the flesh (for "the Word was in the beginning and the Word was God and the Word was with God"², and he made the ages and is coeternal with the Father and craftsman of all things), but because, as we have said, he united to himself hypostatically the human and underwent a birth according to the flesh from her womb. This was not as though he needed necessarily or for his own nature a birth in time and in the last times of this age, but in order that he might bless the beginning of our existence, in order that seeing that it was a woman that had given birth to him, united to the flesh, the curse against the whole race should thereafter cease, which was consigning all our earthly bodies to death, and in order that the removal through him of the curse, "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"³, should demonstrate the truth of the words of the prophet: "Strong death swallowed them up"⁴, and again, "God has wiped every tear away from all faces"⁵. It is for this cause that we say that in his economy he blessed marriage and, when invited, went down to Cana in Galilee with his holy apostles⁶.

We have been taught to hold these things by the holy apostles and evangelists and by all the divinely inspired scriptures and by the true confession of the

¹ See 1 Cor 1, 24. ² Jn 1, 1. ³ Gn 3, 16. ⁴ 1 Cor 15, 54 (see Is 25, 8). ⁵ Is 25, 8. ⁶ See Jn 2, 1-2.

ρίων πατέρων ἀληθοῦς ὁμολογίας·
τούτοις ἄπασι καὶ τὴν σὴν εὐλάβειαν
συναίνεσαι χρῆ καὶ συνθέσθαι δίχα
δόλου παντός· ἃ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀναγκαῖον
ἀναθεματίσαι τὴν σὴν εὐλάβειαν,
ὕποτέτακται τῆδε ἡμῶν τῆ ἐπιστολῆ.

α'. Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ θεὸν εἶναι
κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν παρ-
θένον (γεγέννηκε γὰρ σαρκικῶς
σάρκα γεγονότα τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον)¹,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

β'. Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ σαρκεὶ καθ'
ὑπόστασιν ἠνώσθαι τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ
πατρός λόγον ἕνα τε εἶναι Χριστὸν
μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός, τὸν αὐτὸν
δηλονότι θεόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

γ'. Εἴ τις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Χριστοῦ
διαίρει τὰς ὑποστάσεις μετὰ τὴν
ἔνωσιν, μόνῃ συνάπτων αὐτάς συνα-
φεία τῆ κατὰ τὴν ἁξίαν ἢ γοῦν
αὐθεντίαν ἢ δυναστείαν καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ
μᾶλλον συνόδῳ τῆ καθ' ἔνωσιν
φυσικῆν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

δ'. Εἴ τις προσώποις δυσὶν ἢ γοῦν
ὑποστάσεσιν τὰς τε ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελι-
κοῖς καὶ ἀποστολικοῖς συγγράμμασι
διανέμει φωνάς, ἢ ἐπὶ Χριστῷ παρὰ
τῶν ἁγίων λεγομένας ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ
περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ
παρὰ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον ἰδικῶς
νοουμένῳ προσάπτει, τὰς δὲ ὡς
θεοπρεπεῖς μόνῳ τῷ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς
λόγῳ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ε'. Εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν θεοφόρον
ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ
μᾶλλον θεὸν εἶναι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν
ὡς υἱὸν ἕνα καὶ φύσει, καθὸ ἕγγονε

sionibus veritate subnixis; his om-
nibus etiam tuam religionem con-
cordare et praeter aliquem dolum vel
fictionem consentire iam convenit.
Quae vero religioni tuae anathe-
matizare necesse est, huic epistolae
nostrae subiecta sunt; quod si mini-
me, eisdem subiectam sententiam
consequeris.

I. Si quis non confitetur Deum
esse veraciter Emmanuel et prop-
ter hoc ipsum Dei genetricem san-
ctam Virginem (peperit enim carna-
liter Verbum quod ex Deo est sec-
undum quod scriptum est *et Ver-
bum caro factum est*)¹, a. s.

II. Si quis non confitetur carni
substantialiter unitum esse Verbum
Patris, unum quoque esse Christum
cum propria carne et eundem ipsum
sine dubio Deum simul et homi-
nem, a. s.

III. Si quis in uno Christo divi-
dit substantias post unionem, sola
eas societate coniungens ea quae
secundum dignitatem est vel etiam
auctoritatem aut potestatem, et non
magis conventu ad unitatem natu-
ralem, a. s.

IV. Si quis duabus personis vel
subsistentiis decernat eas voces
quae tam in evangelicis quam apo-
stolicis litteris continentur, vel
etiam eas quae de Christo a sanctis
dicuntur vel ab ipso Christo de se
ipso, et aliquas quidem ex his tam-
quam homini praeter Dei Verbum
adplicandas crediderit, aliquas vero
tamquam Deo dignas soli Verbo
Dei Patris deputaverit, a. s.

V. Si quis audet dicere Christum
[hominem] ἄνθρωπον θεοφόρον, id est
hominem Deo utentem seu portan-
tem, et non Deum esse veraciter

blessed fathers. To all these your reverence ought to agree and subscribe without any deceit. What is required for your reverence to anathematise we subjoin to this epistle.

1. If anyone does not confess that Emmanuel is God in truth, and therefore that the holy virgin is the mother of God (for she bore in a fleshly way the Word of God become flesh)¹, let him be anathema.

2. If anyone does not confess that the Word from God the Father has been united by hypostasis with the flesh and is one Christ with his own flesh, and is therefore God and man together, let him be anathema.

3. If anyone divides in the one Christ the hypostases after the union, joining them only by a conjunction of dignity or authority or power, and not rather by a coming together in a union by nature, let him be anathema.

4. If anyone distributes between the two persons or hypostases the expressions used either in the gospels or in the apostolic writings, whether they are used by the holy writers of Christ or by him about himself, and ascribes some to him as to a man, thought of separately from the Word from God, and others, as befitting God, to him as to the Word from God the Father, let him be anathema.

5. If anyone dares to say that Christ was a God-bearing man and not rather

¹ Io 1, 14.

¹ Jn 1, 14.

σὰρξ ὁ λόγος¹ καὶ κεκοινωνήκε παρα-
πλησίως ἡμῖν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός²,
ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

5 ζ'. Εἴ τις λέγει θεὸν ἢ δεσπότην
εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρός
λόγον καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον τὸν αὐτὸν
ὁμολογεῖ θεὸν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον,
ὡς γεγονότος σαρκὸς τοῦ λόγου¹
κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ζ'. Εἴ τις φησὶν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐνηρ-
γῆσθαι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὸν
Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς
εὐδοξίαν περιῆφθαι, ὡς ἑτέρῳ παρ'
15 αὐτὸν ὑπάρχοντι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

η'. Εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν τὸν ἀναλη-
φθέντα ἄνθρωπον συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι
δεῖν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι
καὶ συγγραμματίζειν θεὸν ὡς ἕτερον
20 ἑτέρῳ, (τὸ γὰρ 'συν' αἰεὶ προστιθέμενον
τοῦτο νοεῖν ἀναγκάσει), καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ
μᾶλλον μᾶλλον προσκυνήσει τιμᾷ τὸν
Ἐμμανουὴλ καὶ μίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δοξο-
λογίαν ἀνάπτει καθὼς γέγονε σὰρξ ὁ
25 λόγος¹, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

θ'. Εἴ τις φησὶν τὸν ἕνα κύριον
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δεδοξάσθαι παρὰ τοῦ
πνεύματος, ὡς ἀλλοτρίᾳ δυνάμει τῆ
δι' αὐτοῦ χρώμενον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ
30 λαβόντα τὸ ἐνεργεῖν δύνασθαι κατὰ
πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ τὸ πλη-
ροῦν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὰς θεοσημείας,
καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ
πνεῦμά φησιν, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐνήργηκε
35 τὰς θεοσημείας· ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ι'. Ἄρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον τῆς
ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν³ γεγενῆσθαι Χριστὸν
ἢ θεία λέγει γραφή, προσκεκόμικε δὲ
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας
40 τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ⁴. εἴ τις τοίνυν
ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον ἡμῶν γεγε-
νησθαι φησὶν οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ
λόγον, ὅτε γέγονε σὰρξ καὶ καθ'
ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕτερον παρ'
45 αὐτὸν ἰδικῶς ἄνθρωπον ἐκ γυναικός,
ἢ εἴ τις λέγει καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ

dixerit, tamquam unicum Filium
per naturam, secundum quod *Ver-
bum caro factum est* (et) participaverit
nobis similiter carne et sanguine², a. s.

VI. Si quis dicit Deum vel domi-
num esse Christi Dei Patris Verbum
et non magis eundem ipsum con-
fiteatur Deum et hominem simul
propter quod *Verbum caro factum
est* secundum scripturas, a. s.

VII. Si quis dicit tamquam in
hominem Iesum Deum Verbum
fuisse operatum et unigeniti digni-
tatem tamquam alteri praeter ipsum
existenti tribuit, a. s.

VIII. Si quis audet dicere ad-
sumptum hominem coadorari cum
Deo Verbo oportere et connum-
pari Deum, tamquam alterum cum
altero (adiectio enim unius syllabae hoc cogit intellegi), et non
magis una reverentia veneratur
Emmanuel emnamque ei glori-
ficationem dependit iuxta quod
*Verbum caro factum est*¹, a. s.

IX. Si quis unum dominum Iesum
Christum glorificatum dicit ab Spiritu
sancto, tamquam ab aliena virtute,
qua per eum uteretur, et ab eo ac-
ceperit efficaciam contra immundos
spiritus, et per eum implese divina
signa et non magis proprium eius
esse Spiritum dicat, sicut et Patris,
per quem signa operatus est, a. s.

X. *Pontificem et apostolum confessionis nostrae*³ factum esse Christum divina scriptura commemorat; obtulit enim semet ipsum pro nobis Deo Patri in odorem suavitatis⁴. Si quis ergo pontificem et apostolum nostrum alium dixerit esse factum praeterquam ipsum Deum Dei Verbum, quando factum est caro et secundum nos homo, sed quasi alterum praeter ipsum specialiter

God in truth, being by nature one Son, even as "the Word became flesh"¹, and is made partaker of blood and flesh precisely like us², let him be anathema.

6. If anyone says that the Word from God the Father was the God or master of Christ, and does not rather confess the same both God and man, the Word having become flesh¹, according to the scriptures, let him be anathema.

7. If anyone says that as man Jesus was activated by the Word of God and was clothed with the glory of the Only-begotten, as a being separate from him, let him be anathema.

8. If anyone dares to say that the man who was assumed ought to be worshipped and glorified together with the divine Word and be called God along with him, while being separate from him, (for the addition of "with" must always compel us to think in this way), and will not rather worship Emmanuel with one veneration and send up to him one doxology, even as "the Word became flesh"¹, let him be anathema.

9. If anyone says that the one Lord Jesus Christ was glorified by the Spirit, as making use of an alien power that worked through him and as having received from him the power to master unclean spirits and to work divine wonders among people, and does not rather say that it was his own proper Spirit through whom he worked the divine wonders, let him be anathema.

10. The divine scripture says Christ became "the high priest and apostle of our confession"³; he offered himself to God the Father in an odour of sweetness for our sake⁴. If anyone, therefore, says that it was not the very Word from God who became our high priest and apostle, when he became flesh and a man like us, but as it were another who was separate from him, in particular a man from a woman, or if anyone says that he offered the sacrifice also for himself and not

¹ Io 1, 14. ² Cf. Heb 2, 14. ³ Heb 3, 1. ⁴ Cf. Eph 5, 2.

¹ Jn 1, 14. ² See Heb 2, 14. ³ Heb 3, 1. ⁴ See Eph 5, 2.

προσενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν προσφορὰν καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ μόνων ἡμῶν, (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδεήθη προσφορᾶς ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς ἀμαρτίαν), ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ια'. Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου σάρκα ζωοποιὸν εἶναι καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐτέρου τινὸς παρ' αὐτὸν συνημμένου μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἢ γοῦν ὡς μόνην θείαν ἐνοίκησιν ἐσχηκότος, καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ζωοποιόν, ὡς ἔφημεν, ὅτι γέγονεν ἰδία τοῦ λόγου τοῦ πάντα ζωογονεῖν ἰσχύοντος, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ιβ'. Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον παθόντα σαρκὶ καὶ ἑσταυρωμένον σαρκὶ καὶ θανάτου γευσάμενον σαρκί, γεγονότα τε πρωτότοκον ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν¹, καθὼς ζωὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ ζωοποιὸς ὡς θεός, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

¹ Απόφασις ἐξενεχθεῖσα κατὰ Νεστορίου ἢ καθαιροῦσα αὐτόν

Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπε· Πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴτε ὑπακοῦσαι βουλευθέντος τοῦ τιμωτάτου Νεστορίου τῇ παρ' ἡμῶν κλήσει μὴτε μὴν τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποσταλέντας ἀγιωτάτους καὶ θεοσεβεστάτους ἐπισκόπους προσδεξαμένους, ἀναγκαίως ἐγωρήσαμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν δυσσεβηθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ φωράσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρτίως παρ' αὐτοῦ ῥηθέντων κατὰ τὴνδε τὴν μητρόπολιν καὶ προσμαρτυρηθέντων δυσσεβῶς φρονούντα καὶ κηρύττοντα, ἀναγκαίως κατεπειχθέντες ἀπὸ τε τῶν κανόνων

¹ Cf. Col 1, 18.

hominem ex muliere, et si quis dicit quia pro se obtulit se ipsum oblationem et non magis pro nobis solis (non enim indignit oblatione qui peccatum nescivit), a. s.

XI. Si quis non confitetur carnem Domini vivificatricem esse tamquam propriam ipsius Dei Verbi, sed quasi alterius cuiuspiam praeter ipsum, coniuncti quidem secundum dignitatem aut secundum quod solam divinam inhabitationem habuerit, et non potius, ut diximus, vivificatricem esse, quia facta est propria Verbi Dei, cui omnia vivificare possibile est, a. s.

XII. Si quis non confitetur Deum Verbum carne passum esse et carne crucifixum et mortem carne gustasse factumque primogenitum ex mortuis¹, secundum quod est et vita et vivificator ut Deus, a. s.

Sententia prolata a sancto concilio contra impium et inimicum rectae fidei Nestorium damnans eum

Sancta synodus dixit: Super alia neque obaudire volente honoratissimo Nestorio nostram vocationem neque a nobis destinatos sanctissimos et dei optimos cultores episcopos suscipiente, necessario accessimus ad discussionem impie ab eo dictorum et deprehendentem eum et ex epistulis eius et ex scriptis quae lecta sunt, et de nuper ab eo dictis in hac metropoli et probatis per testium depositionem impie sapientem et praedicantem necessario coacti tam ex canonibus quam ex epistula sanctissimi patris nostri et comministri Caelestini episcopi Ro-

rather for us alone (for he who knew no sin needed no offering), let him be anathema.

11. If anyone does not confess that the flesh of the Lord is life-giving and belongs to the Word from God the Father, but maintains that it belongs to another besides him, united with him in dignity or as enjoying a mere divine indwelling, and is not rather life-giving, as we said, since it became the flesh belonging to the Word who has power to bring all things to life, let him be anathema.

12. If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh and was crucified in the flesh and tasted death in the flesh and became the first born of the dead¹, although as God he is life and life-giving, let him be anathema.

The judgment against Nestorius

The holy synod said: As, in addition to all else, the excellent Nestorius has declined to obey our summons and has not received the holy and God-fearing bishops we sent to him, we have of necessity started upon an investigation of his impieties. We have found him out thinking and speaking in an impious fashion, from his letters, from his writings that have been read out, and from the things that he has recently said in this metropolis which have been witnessed to by others; and as a result we have been compelled of necessity both by the canons

¹ See Col 1, 18.

καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου
πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ
Κελεστίνου [τοῦ] ἐπισκόπου τῆς
'Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας δακρύσαντες
5 πολλὰ ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν σκυθρωπὴν
κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐχωρήσαμεν ἀπόφασιν.
'Ὁ βλασφημηθεὶς τοίνυν παρ' αὐτοῦ
κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὤρισε
διὰ τῆς παρουσίας ἁγιωτάτης συνόδου
10 ἀλλότριον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν Νεστορίον
τοῦ τε ἐπισκοπικοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ
παντὸς συλλόγου ἱερατικοῦ.

Ἐπιστολὴ συνοδικὴ περὶ τῶν
ἀνατολικῶν ἐπισκόπων

15 Ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμένη συνόδος ἡ
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συγκροτηθεῖσα ἐκ
θεσπίσματος τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων
βασιλέων τοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν
τε καὶ πόλιν ἐπισκόποις πρεσβυτέροις
20 διακόνους καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ.
Συναχθέντων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ εὐσεβὲς
γράμμα ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ μητροπόλει,
ἀπεστάτησαν τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὄντες
τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριάκοντα μικρῶ πρὸς,
25 ἔξαρχον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀποστασίας
ἐσχηκότες τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείων
ἐπίσκοπον Ἰωάννην, ὧν καὶ τὰ
ὀνόματά ἐστι ταῦτα
πρῶτος αὐτὸς Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀντιο-
30 χείας Συρίας

.....¹

οἵτινες τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας,
μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες ἄδειαν ὡς ἐξ
αὐθεντίας ἱερατικῆς εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι
35 τινὰς βλάπτειν ἐκ ταύτης ἢ ὠφελεῖν
διὰ τὸ καὶ τινὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶναι
καθηρημένους, πρὸ πάντων μὲν τὰ
Νεστορίου καὶ τὰ Κελεστίου φρονήμα-
τα ἐπιφερόμενοι σαφέστατα ἀπεδεί-
40 χθησαν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἐλέσθαι μεθ'

¹ Sequuntur nomina aliorum 33 orientalium episcoporum.

manorum ecclesiae lacrimantes sae-
pius ad hanc maerore plenam contra
eum venimus sententiam.

Qui blasphematus igitur ab eo
est dominus noster Iesus Christus,
definiit per praesentem sanctissimam
synodum alienum esse eundem
Nestorium tam ab episcopali digni-
tate quam etiam ab omni collegio
sacerdotali.

Synodi epistula generalis de
orientalibus episcopis

Sancta et universalis synodus quae
in Epheso congregata est ex decreto
piissimorum principum, unicuique
sanctae synodo quae per singulas
mundi partes est, in domino
salutem. Nobis secundum pias
litteras congregatis in Ephesia
civitate, recesserunt nonnulli ex
nobis numero paulo amplius quam
triginta, principem suae apostasiae
habentes Antiochenorum episco-
pum Iohannem, quorum et nomina
haec sunt:

Idem Iohannes Antiochiae Syriae

.....¹

Qui habentes secum quosdam
depositos, ante omnia quidem Ne-
storii et Caelestii sententias vindicantes
manifestissime demonstrati
sunt, eo quod nobiscum contra
Nestorium minime acquiescant;
quos et communi sententia sancta
synodus et omni ecclesiastica com-
munionem alienos effecit et cuncta

and by the letter of our most holy father and fellow servant Celestine, bishop of the church of the Romans, to issue this sad condemnation against him, though we do so with many tears.

Our lord Jesus Christ, who has been blasphemed by him, has determined through this most holy synod that the same Nestorius should be stripped of his episcopal dignity and removed from the college of priests.

Synodical letter about the eastern bishops

The holy and ecumenical synod, gathered together in Ephesus at the behest of the most pious princes, [sends greeting] to the bishops, priests, deacons and the whole people in every province and city. When we had gathered together in accordance with the pious decree in the metropolis of Ephesus, some separated themselves from us, a little more than thirty in number. The leader of this apostasy was John, bishop of Antioch, and their names are as follows.

First the same John, bishop of Antioch in Syria,

.....¹

These men, despite the fact that they were members of the ecclesiastical community, had no licence either to do harm through their priestly dignity or to do good, because some among their number had already been deposed. Their support of the views of Nestorius and Celestius was clearly shown by their refusal to condemn Nestorius together with us. By a common decree the sacred

¹ The names of 33 other eastern bishops follow.

ἡμῶν Νεστορίου καταψηφίσασθαι· οὐστυνας δόγματι κοινῶ ἢ ἅγια σύνοδος πάσης μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας ἀλλοτρίους ἐποίησεν, πᾶσαν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν ἱερατικὴν περιεῖλεν, δι' ἧς ἡδύναντο βλάπτειν ἢ ὠφελεῖν τινάς.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐχρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας τῆς συνόδου καὶ μείναντας κατὰ χώραν ἢ πόλιν διὰ τινὰ αἰτίαν ἢ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἢ σωματικὴν μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τετυπωμένα, γνωρίζομεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἁγιότητι τε καὶ ἀγάπῃ ὅτι περ εἴτε ὁ μητροπολίτης τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀποστατήσας τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου προσέθετο τῶ· τῆς ἀποστασίας συνεδρίῳ ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο προστεθείη ἢ τὰ Κελεστίου ἐφρόνησεν ἢ φρονήσει, οὗτος κατὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων διαπράττεσθαι τι οὐδαμῶς δύναται, πάσης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας ἐντεῦθεν ἡδὴ ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου ἐκβεβλημένος καὶ ἀνενέργητος ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόποις καὶ τοῖς περὶ μητροπολίταις τοῖς τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας φρονούσιν ὑποκείσεται εἰς τὸ πάντῃ καὶ τοῦ βαθμοῦ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθῆναι.

Εἰ δὲ τινες² ἐπαρχιωῶται ἐπίσκοποι ἀπελείφθησαν τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου καὶ τῇ ἀποστασίᾳ προσετέθησαν ἢ προστεθῆναι πειραθεῖεν ἢ καὶ ὑπογράψαντες τῇ Νεστορίου καθαιρέσει ἐπαλινδρόμησαν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀποστασίας συνέδριον, τούτους πάντῃ κατὰ τὸ δόξαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ τοῦ βαθμοῦ ἀποπίπτοντας.

Εἰ δὲ τινες³ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει ἢ χώρᾳ κληρικῶν ὑπὸ Νεστορίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντων

sacerdotii operatione privavit per quam possent vel nocere vel iuvare. Quia¹ vero oportuit et eos qui defuerunt a synodo et perstiterunt in unaquaque prouincia, non ignore rare quae de his decreta sint, notum vestrae facimus sanctitati quia sive metropolitanus quis cuiuslibet regionis abscedens ab hoc sancto et universali conventu, adiectus est ad illud apostasiae concilium vel post haec si se illi commiserit vel si ea quae sunt Caelestii, [post haec] sapuit sive sapuerit, contra suae regionis episcopus nihil poterit praevalere, omni ecclesiastica communione a praesenti iam hac synodo factus extorris atque privatus effectu; sed et ipsis suae regionis episcopis et affinis undique metropolitanis, qui orthodoxe sentiunt, subiacebit, ut in totum et episcopatus gradu privetur.

Si vero² aliqui paroeciales episcopi, relicto hoc sancto concilio, eidem discessioni adiuncti sint aut adiungi temptaverint, aut si quis ex his qui subscripserunt deiectioni (Nestorii), ad conventum reversi sint discessionis eiusdem, hos omnino secundum quod huic sanctae synodo placuit, esse sacerdotio alienos et ab eodem cadere gradu.

Si vero³ et quidam clericorum qui in unaquaque sunt civitate, a Nestorio vel ab his qui una sunt, eo

synod has expelled them from ecclesiastical communion and deprived them of the exercise of their priestly office, through which they have been able to harm some and help others.

Since¹ it is necessary that those who were absent from the synod and remained in the country or the city, on account of their own church affairs or because of their health, should not be ignorant of the decisions formulated concerning these matters, we make it known to your holinesses that if any metropolitan of a province dissents from the holy and ecumenical synod and attaches himself to the assembly of the revoltors, or should do so later, or should he have adopted the opinions of Celestius, or do so in the future, such a one is deprived of all power to take steps against the bishops of his province. He is thereby cast out by the synod from all ecclesiastical communion and is deprived of all ecclesiastical authority. Instead he is to be subjected to the bishops of his own province and the surrounding metropolitans, provided they be orthodox, even to the extent of being completely deposed from the rank of bishop.

If any² provincial bishops have absented themselves from the holy synod and have either attached themselves or attempted to attach themselves to the apostasy, or after subscribing the deposition of Nestorius have returned to the assembly of apostates, these, according to the decision of the holy synod, are to be deprived of the priesthood and deposed from their rank.

If any³ clerics either in city or country have been suspended by Nestorius and those with him from their priesthood because of their orthodoxy, we have

¹ Canon Eph. I. ² Canon Eph. II. ³ Canon Eph. III

¹ Canon 1 of Ephesus.

² Canon 2 of Ephesus.

³ Canon 3 of Ephesus.

τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐκωλύθησαν διὰ τὸ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν, ἐδικαιώσαμεν καὶ τούτους τὸν ἴδιον ἀπολαβεῖν βαθμὸν, κοινῶς δὲ τοὺς τῆ ὀρθοδόξῳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ συμφρονούντας κληρικούς κελεύομεν τοῖς ἀποστατήσασιν ἢ ἀφισταμένοις ἐπισκόποις μὴδ' ὅλως ὑποκεῖσθαι κατὰ μὴδένα τρόπον.

10 Εἰ δὲ τινὲς¹ ἀποστατήσασιν τῶν κληρικῶν καὶ τολμήσασιν ἢ κατ' ἴδιαν ἢ δημοσίᾳ τὰ Νεστορίου ἢ τὰ Κελεστίου φρονῆσαι, καὶ τούτους εἶναι καθηρημένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας 15 συνόδου δεδικαιώται.

“Ὅσοι² δὲ ἐπὶ ἀτόποις πράξεσιν κατεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας συνόδου ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων καὶ τούτοις ἀκανόνιστως κατὰ τὴν ἐν 20 ἅπασιν αὐτοῦ ἀδιαφορίαν ὁ Νεστόριος ἢ οἱ τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονούντες ἀποδοῦναι ἐπειράθησαν ἢ πειραθεῖεν κοινωνίαν ἢ βαθμὸν, ἀνωφελήτους μένειν καὶ τούτους καὶ εἶναι οὐδὲν ἤττον 25 καθηρημένους ἐδικαιώσαμεν.

“Ὁμοίως³ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες βουληθεῖεν τὰ περὶ ἐκάστου πεπραγμένα ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ οἰωδῆποτε τρόπῳ παρασαλεύειν, 30 ἢ ἀγία σύνοδος ὤρισεν, εἰ μὲν ἐπίσκοποι ἢ κληρικοί εἶεν, τοῦ οἰκείου παντελῶς ἀποπίπτειν βαθμοῦ· εἰ δὲ λαϊκοί, ἀκοινωνήτους ὑπάρχειν.

35 “Ὅρος περὶ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως

Ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδος πίστιν ἐξέθετο ταύτην· Πιστεύομεν . . .⁴

40 Τῇ μὲν οὖν ἀγίᾳ ταύτῃ πίστει πάντας συντίθεσθαι προσήκει· ἔχει γὰρ εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἀποχρώντως εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν. Ἐπειδὴ

quod recte saperent, ab officio suspensi sunt, et hos proprio gradui restitui sanximus, communiter vero eos clericos qui eadem sapiunt quae haec orthodoxa et universalis synodus, iubemus his qui abscesserunt sive abscessuri sunt, omnino non esse subiectos neque ullo modo subiaccere.

Si qui¹ vero abscesserint clericorum et praesumpserint vel clam vel palam ea quae Nestorii aut ea quae Caelestii sunt, sentire, et hos a sancta synodo esse depositos.

Quicumque² vero ob incongruis factis ab hoc sancto conventu deiecti sunt seu ab episcopis propriis et his irregulariter circa indiscretionem per omnia suam Nestorii aut hi qui ea quae eius sunt, sentiunt, reddere communionem vel gradum temptaverint, absque ullo esse solacio et nihilo minus illos depositos permanere sancivimus.

Similiter³ vero et si quicumque voluerint ea quae de singulis acta sunt in hac sancta synodo Ephesena, quolibet modo commovere, eadem sancta synodus definivit, si episcopi aut clerici fuerint, ut omni modo a gradu proprio excidant; si vero laici, sint communionem privati.

Definitio de fide apud Nicaeam conscripta

Nicaena synodus hanc fidem exposuit: Credimus . . .⁴

Sanctae quidem huic fidei omnes consentire convenit; habet enim pie atque sufficienter ad utilitatem totius orbis terrae. Quia vero aliqui

¹ Canon Eph. IV ² Canon Eph. V

³ Canon Eph. VI; cf. conc. Carth. (419), c. 94 (CSP 355-356).

⁴ Sequitur symbolum nicaenum. V. p. 3 adn. 9 sub sigla E 2.

thought it right that these should regain their proper rank; and in general we decree that those clerics who are in agreement with the orthodox and ecumenical synod should in no way be subject to those bishops who have revolted or may revolt from it.

If any¹ clerics should apostatise and in private or in public dare to hold the views of Nestorius or Celestius, it is thought right that such should stand deposed by the holy synod.

Whoever² have been condemned of improper practices by the holy synod or by their own bishops, and have been uncanonically restored to communion and rank by Nestorius or his sympathisers, with their habitual lack of discrimination, such persons we have decreed gain nothing by this and are to remain deposed as before.

Similarly³ if anyone should wish in any way to upset the decisions in each point taken in the holy synod of Ephesus, the holy synod decides that if they are bishops or clerics they should be completely deprived of their own rank and if they are laity they should be excommunicated.

Definition of the faith at Nicaea

The synod of Nicaea produced this creed: We believe . . .⁴

It seems fitting that all should assent to this holy creed. It is pious and sufficiently helpful for the whole world. But since some pretend to confess and accept it,

¹ Canon 4 of Ephesus. ² Canon 5 of Ephesus.

³ Canon 6 of Ephesus; see council of Carthage (419), canon 94 (CSP 355-356; trans. Percival 490).

⁴ The Nicene creed follows. See p. 3 note 9, under the sign E 2.

δὲ τινὲς προσποιῶνται μὲν ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ συντιθεσθαι, παρερμηνεύουσι δὲ τῶν ἐνοιῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦν καὶ σοφίζονται τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πλάνης ὄντες υἱοὶ καὶ ἀπωλείας τέκνα, ἐδέησεν ἀναγκαίως ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων παραθέσθαι χρήσεις πληροφορησάσιν δυναμένας τίνα τε τρόπον νενοήκασιν αὐτὴν καὶ κηρῶσαι τεταρρήκασιν, ὥστε δηλονότι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὀρθοὺς καὶ ἀμώμητον ἔχοντας πίστιν ὡς τὸ καὶ νοεῖν καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν καὶ κηρύττειν αὐτὴν.

.....¹

Τούτων τοίνυν ἀγνωσθέντων, ὥρισεν² ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προφέρειν ἢ γούν συγγράφειν ἢ συντιθέναι παρὰ τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικαέων συναχθέντων σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· τοὺς δὲ τολμῶντας ἢ συντιθέναι πίστιν ἑτέραν ἢ γούν προκομίζειν ἢ προφέρειν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ ἐξ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἢ ἐξ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἢ γούν ἐξ αἰρέσεως οἰασθησοῦν, τούτους, εἰ μὲν εἴεν ἐπίσκοποι ἢ κληρικοί, ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ τοὺς κληρικούς τοῦ κλήρου· εἰ δὲ λαϊκοὶ εἴεν, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι. Κατὰ τὸν ἴσον δὲ τρόπον, εἰ φωραθεῖεν τινες εἴτε ἐπίσκοποι εἴτε κληρικοί εἴτε λαϊκοὶ ἢ φρονούντες ἢ διδάσκοντες τὰ ἐν τῇ προκομισθείσῃ ἐκθέσει παρὰ Χαρισίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ γούν τὰ μακρὰ καὶ διεστραμμένα Νεστορίου δόγματα, ἃ καὶ ὑποτέτακται, ὑποκείσθωσαν τῇ ἀποφάσει τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης καὶ

¹ Sequuntur florilegium locorum ex scriptis patrum et gesta de Charisio presbytero.

² Hinc usque ad finem = Canon Eph. VII.

simulant quidem eam se confiteri et consentire, male autem interpretantur sensuum virtutem secundum quod eis placet, et circumveniunt veritatem, filii existentes erroris et nati perditionis, opus fuit necessario sanctorum patrum et orthodoxorum adicere testimonia quae satisfacere valeant quemammodum intellexerunt eam et praedicare praesumpserunt, ut palam sit quia omnes rectam et immaculatam habentes fidem sic et intellegunt et interpretantur et praedicant eam.

.....¹

His igitur recitatis decrevit² sancta synodus aliam fidem nulli licere proferre vel conscribere vel componere praeter illam quae definita est a sanctis patribus qui Nicaeam per spiritum sanctum conuenerunt; illos vero qui audent fidem aliam vel componere vel proferre volentibus converti ad agnitionem veritatis sive ex gentilitate sive ex Iudaismo sive ex alia qualibet haeresi, si episcopi quidem fuerint aut clerici, alienos esse episcopos ab episcopatu et clericos a clero; si vero laici sint, anathematizari. Simili modo si qui deprehensi fuerint sive episcopi sive clerici vel laici vel credentes vel docentes ea quae scripta sunt in expositione quae a Charisio presbytero prolata est de inhumanatione unigeniti filii dei, aut certe polluta et perversa Nestorii dogmata, quae etiam subiecta sunt, eos subiacere sententiae sanctae huius et universalis synodi, ita ut sit palam episcopum quidem alienum fore episcopatu et deponendum, clericum vero a clero similiter summovendum et

while at the same time distorting the force of its expressions to their own opinion and so evading the truth, being sons of error and children of destruction, it has proved necessary to add testimonies from the holy and orthodox fathers that can fill out the meaning they have given to the words and their courage in proclaiming it. All those who have a clear and blameless faith will understand, interpret and proclaim it in this way.

.....¹

When these documents had been read out, the holy synod² decreed the following. It is not permitted to produce or write or compose any other creed except the one which was defined by the holy fathers who were gathered together in the holy Spirit at Nicaea. Any who dare to compose or bring forth or produce another creed for the benefit of those who wish to turn from Hellenism or Judaism or some other heresy to the knowledge of the truth, if they are bishops or clerics they should be deprived of their respective charges and if they are laymen they are to be anathematised. In the same way if any should be discovered, whether bishops, clergy or laity, thinking or teaching the views expressed in his statement by the priest Charisius about the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God or the disgusting, perverted views of Nestorius, which underlie them, these should be subject to the condemnation of this holy and ecumenical synod. A bishop clearly is to be stripped of his bishopric and

¹ At this point there follows a florilegium of the writings of the fathers and an account of what was done about the priest Charisius.

² From here to the end = Canon 7 of Ephesus.

οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου, ὥστε δηλονότι
τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον ἀλλοτριουῖσθαι
τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ εἶναι καθηρημένον,
τὸν δὲ κληρικὸν ὁμοίως ἐκπίπτειν
5 τοῦ κλήρου· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός τις εἴη,
καὶ οὗτος ἀναθεματιζέσθω καθὰ
προεῖρηται.

“Ὅρος κατὰ τῶν δυσσεβῶν μεσσα-
λιανιτῶν ἢ γοῦν εὐχιτῶν

10 Συνελθόντες ἐφ’ ἡμῶν οἱ εὐλαβέστα-
τοι καὶ θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι
Οὐαλεριανός καὶ Ἀμφιλόχιος καὶ
σκέψιν προθέντες κοινὴν περὶ τῶν
λεγομένων ἐν τοῖς τῆς Παμφυλίας
15 μέρεσι μεσσαλιανιτῶν εἴτουν εὐχι-
τῶν ἢ γοῦν ἐνθουσιαστῶν εἴτε
ὀπωσοῦν ἢ μιαιωτάτη τῶν μνημονευ-
θέντων αἵρεσις σαφηνισθεῖη, ἡμῶν δὲ
διασκοπούντων, προεκόμισεν ὁ εὐλα-
20 βέστατος καὶ θεοσεβέστατος ἐπίσκο-
πος Οὐαλεριανός χαρτίον συνοδικὸν
περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν συνταχθὲν ἐν τῇ
μεγάλῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ τοῦ
μακαρίας μνήμης Σισινίου¹· ὃ καὶ
25 ἀναγνωσθὲν ἐπὶ πάντων ἔδοξεν εὖ
πεποιῆσθαι καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔχειν. Καὶ
συνήρεσεν ἅπανιν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς
θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις Οὐαλε-
ριανῷ καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίῳ καὶ πᾶσι
30 τοῖς τῶν Παμφύλων καὶ Λυκαόνων
ἐπαρχιῶν εὐλαβεστάτοις ἐπισκό-
ποις τὰ ἐν τῷ συνοδικῷ χαρτίῳ
τυπωθέντα κρατεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ κατὰ
μηδένα τρόπον παραβαίνεισθαι αὐτά,
35 βεβαίων ὄντων δηλαδὴ καὶ τῶν
πεπραγμένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ὥστε
τούς ὄντας κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν τῆς
μεσσαλιανῶν ἢ γοῦν ἐνθουσιαστῶν
αἰρέσεως ἢ καὶ ἐν ὑποψίαις τῆς τοι-

¹ Cf. Grumel, 49.

deposed, a cleric to be deposed from the clergy, and a lay person is to be
anathematised, as was said before.

Definition against the impious Messalians or Euchites

The most pious and religious bishops Valerian and Amphilochius came together
to us and made a joint enquiry about the so called Messalians or Euchites or
Enthusiasts, or whatever name this appalling heresy goes under, who dwell in
the region of Pamphylia. We made investigation and the god-fearing and reve-
rent Valerian produced a synodical document concerning these people, which
had been drawn up in great Constantinople in the time of Sisinnius of blessed
memory¹. When this had been read out in the presence of all, it was agreed that it
had been well made and was correct. We all agreed, as did the most religious
bishops Valerian and Amphilochius and all the pious bishops of the provinces of
Pamphylia and Lycaonia, that what had been inscribed in the synodical docu-
ment should be confirmed and in no way disobeyed, clearly without prejudice
to the acts of Alexandria. Consequently those anywhere in that province who
subscribed to the heresy of the Messalians or Enthusiasts, or who were sus-
pected of the disease, whether clerical or lay, are to come together; if they sign

¹ See Grumel, 49.

αύτης νόσου γεγενημένους, εἴτε κλη-
ρικοί εἴτε λαϊκοί, μεθοδεύεσθαι,
καὶ ἀναθεματίζοντας κατὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ
μνημονευθέντι συνοδικῷ διηγορευ-
μένα ἐγγράφως, μένειν τοὺς μὲν
κληρικούς ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, τοὺς δὲ
λαϊκοὺς ἐν τῇ κοινῳνίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας·
ἀνανεύοντας δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ μὴ
ἀναθεματίζοντας, τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέ-
ρους καὶ διακόνους καὶ τοὺς ἑτερόν-
τινα βαθμῶν ἔχοντας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἐκπίπτειν καὶ κλήρου καὶ βαθμοῦ καὶ
κοινωνίας, τοὺς δὲ λαϊκοὺς ἀναθε-
ματίζεσθαι. Μοναστήρια δὲ μὴ συγ-
χωρεῖσθαι ἔχειν τοὺς ἐλεγχομένους
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ ζιζάνιον ἐκτείνεσθαι
καὶ ἰσχύειν πράττεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα παν-
τὶ σθένει χωρῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τούτων
σπουδῆς αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν θεοφι-
λεστάτων ἐπισκόπων Οὐαλεριανοῦ
καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίου καὶ τῶν κατὰ
πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εὐλαβεστάτων
ἐπισκόπων. Συνήρесе δὲ πρὸς τούτοις
ἀναθεματισθῆναι τὸ βιβλίον τὸ προ-
φερόμενον τῆς μιαιφάνου ἐκείνης αἰρέ-
σεως τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς
Ἀσκητικόν, τὸ προκομισθὲν παρὰ
τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου
ἐπισκόπου Οὐαλεριανοῦ, ὡς παρὰ
τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἐκτεθέν, καὶ εἴ τι
ἕτερον σύνταγμα τῆς ἐκείνων ἀνοσιό-
τητος εὐρίσκειτο παρὰ τισι, καὶ
τοῦτο εἶναι ἀνάθεμα. Ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἀλλήλοις συμβεβηκότων τότε εἰς
ὁμοφυλίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν καὶ διάθεσιν,
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐγγράφως τὰ δόξαντα
φανερὰ καταστήσαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ τις
γένηται ζήτησις περὶ τούτων ἐν
τῷδε τῷ πράγματι αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς
θεοσεβεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις Οὐαλερι-
ανῷ καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ
πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εὐλαβεστάτοις
ἐπισκόποις καὶ εἴ τι δόξειεν ἀνακύ-
πτειν τῶν δυσχερῶν ἢ ἀμφισβητήσιμων, εὖ ἔδοξεν ἔχειν παραληφθέν-
των τῶν θεοσεβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἢ Λυκίων ἢ Λυκαόνων, οὐκ ἀπολιμ-
πανομένου τοῦ μητροπολίτου ἢ ἂν ἔλαιντο ἐπαρχίας, εἰς τύπον ἀνάγεσθαι
τὸν δέοντα διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν μεσιτείας τὰ κινούμενα.

the anathemas according to what was promulgated in the aforementioned synod, should they be clergy they should remain such and if laity they are to remain in communion. But if they decline and do not anathematise, if they are presbyters or deacons or hold any other rank in the church, they are to forfeit their clerical status and grade and communion, and if they are laity let them be anathematised.

In addition, those who have been condemned are not to be permitted to govern monasteries, lest tares be sown and increase. The vigorous and zealous execution of all these decrees is enjoined upon the reverent bishops Valerian and Amphilocheus and the other reverent bishops throughout the whole province. Furthermore it seemed good that the filthy book of this heresy, which has been published and is called by them *Asceticon*, should be anathematised, as being composed by heretics, a copy of which the most pious and religious Valerian brought with him. Any other production savouring of the like impiety which is found anywhere is to be treated similarly.

In addition, when they come together, they should commit clearly to writing whatever conduces to the creation of concord, communion and order. But if any discussion should arise in connexion with the present business among the most godly bishops Valerian, Amphilocheus and the other reverent bishops in the province, and if something difficult or ambiguous crops up, then in such a case it seems good that the godly bishops of Lycia and Lycaonia should be brought in, and the metropolitan of whatever province these choose should not be left out. In this way the disputed questions should through their means be brought to an appropriate solution.

Ψῆφος περὶ τοῦ ὅτι οἱ
Κύπριοι δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰς
χειροτονίας ποιοῦνται¹

**Votum: quod episcopi Cyprii
ordinationes per se ipsos faciant¹**

Sancta synodus dixit:

Rem hanc quae praeter ecclesiasticas constitutiones et sanctorum patrum canones innovatur et omnium libertatem attingentem annuntiavit pientissimus episcopus Reginus et qui cum eo pientissimi episcopi provinciae Cypri Zenon et Evagrius. Unde quoniam communes morbi maiore egent remedio, eo quod maius damnum afferant, si non est vetus mos quod episcopus Antiochenus ordinat in Cypro, sicut libellis et propriis vocibus docuerunt pientissimi viri sanctorum ecclesiarum in Cypro praesules, qui ad sanctam synodum accesserunt, a nullo impetantur vel vim patiantur, secundum canones sanctorum patrum et veterem consuetudinem per se ipsos ordinationes pientissimorum episcoporum facientes. Istud etiam in aliis dioecesibus et in omnibus provinciis servetur, ut nullus pientissimorum episcoporum aliam provinciam, quae non antea et ab initio fuit suae, sub suam vel saltem eorum qui sibi praesunt, manum trahat; sed si quis apprehenderit et in suam fecerit, eam restituat, ut ne patrum canones praetereantur neque sub sacerdotii praetextu mundanae potestatis fastum subintroducatur, ne paulatim et clam libertas amittatur quam nobis donavit proprio sanguine dominus noster Iesus Christus omnium hominum liberator. Visum

Resolution: that the bishops of Cyprus may themselves conduct ordinations¹

The holy synod declared:

The most reverent bishop Rheginus and with him Zenon and Evagrius, revered bishops of the province of Cyprus, have brought forward what is both an innovation against the ecclesiastical customs and the canons of the holy fathers and concerns the freedom of all. Therefore, since common diseases need more healing as they bring greater harm with them, if it has not been a continuous ancient custom for the bishop of Antioch to hold ordinations in Cyprus — as it is asserted in memorials and orally by the religious men who have come before the synod — the prelates of the holy churches of Cyprus shall, free from molestation and violence, use their right to perform by themselves the ordination of reverent bishops for their island, according to the canons of the holy fathers and the ancient custom.

The same principle will be observed for other dioceses and provinces everywhere. None of the reverent bishops is to take possession of another province which has not been under his authority from the first or under that of his predecessors. Any one who has thus seized upon and subjected a province is to restore it, lest the canons of the fathers be transgressed and the arrogance of

- ¹ Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπε·
⁵ Πράγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καινοτομοῦμενον καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπτόμενον προσήγγειλεν ὁ θεοσεβέστατος συνεπίσκοπος Ῥηγίνος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εὐλαβεστάτοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Κυπρίων ἐπαρχίας Ζήνων καὶ Εὐάγριος. Ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοινὰ πάθη μείζονα δεῖται τῆς θεραπείας, ὡς καὶ μείζονα τὴν βλάβην φέροντα, εἰ μὴδὲ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον παρεκλούθησεν, ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχείων πόλεως τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιεῖσθαι χειροτονίας, καθὰ διὰ τῶν λιβέλλων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων φωνῶν ἐδίδαξαν οἱ εὐλαβεστάτοι ἄνδρες οἱ τὴν πρόσοδον τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ποιησάμενοι, ἔξουσιν τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον οἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον προεστῶτες, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ποιούμενοι. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται, ὥστε μὴδὲνα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἐτέραν οὐκ οὔσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἢ γοῦν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τις κατέλαβε καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν πεποιήται βιασάμενος, τοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβιάζωνται, μὴδὲ ἐν

¹ Cf. conc. Nic. I, cc. 6-7 (v. supra p. 9); conc. Constantin. I, c. 2 (v. supra pp. 31-32); Can. ap. 34-35 (CSP 24); conc. Antioch. (341), cc. 9, 13, 22 (CSP 110, 114, 121); conc. Sard. (342/343), cc. 3, 11, 12 (CSP 162-163, 175-176).

¹ See council of Nicaea I, canons 6-7 (see above p. 9); council of Constantinople I, canon 2 (see above pp. 31-32); Apostolic canons 34-35 (CSP 24; trans. Percival 596); council of Antioch (341), canons 9, 13, 22 (CSP 110, 114, 121; trans. Percival 112, 115, 119); council of Sardica (342/343), canons 3, 11, 12 (CSP 162-163, 175-176; trans. Percival 416-417, 425-427).

ἱεροργίας προσήματι ἐξουσίας τυ-
 φος κοσμικῆς παρεισδύηται, μηδὲ
 λάθωμεν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κατὰ μικρὸν
 ἀπολέσαντες, ἣν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο
 τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν
 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
 ἐλευθερωτής. Ἐδοξεν τοίνυν τῇ ἀγίᾳ
 καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ σφύζεσθαι
 ἐκάστη ἐπαρχία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβίαστα
 τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 καὶ ἄνωθεν κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατήσαν
 ἔθος, ἄδειαν ἔχοντος ἐκάστου μητρο-
 πολίτου τὰ ἴσα τῶν πεπραγμένων
 πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσφαλῆς ἐκλαβεῖν. Εἰ δέ τις μαχόμενον τύπον τοῖς νῦν
 ὀρισμένοις προκομίσει, ἄκυρον τοῦτον εἶναι ἔδοξεν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ
 οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ.

Γράμματα περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης

Περὶ δὲ τῆς θεοτόκου παρθένου ὅπως
 καὶ φρονούμεν καὶ λέγομεν, τοῦ τε
 τρόπου τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ μονο-
 γενοῦς^α υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίως, οὐκ
 ἐν προσθήκῃς μέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν πλη-
 ροφορίας εἶδει, ὡς ἄνωθεν ἕκ τε τῶν
 θείων γραφῶν ἕκ τε τῆς παραδόσεως
 τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων παρειληφότες
 ἐσχῆκαμεν, διὰ βραχέων ἐροῦμεν,
 οὐδὲν τὸ σύνολον προστιθέντες τῇ
 τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ
 ἐκτεθείσῃ πίστει. Ὡς γὰρ ἔφθημεν
 εἰρηκότες, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐξαρκεῖ καὶ
 εὐσεβείας γνώσιν καὶ πάσης αἰρετικῆς
 κακοδοξίας ἀποκήρυξιν¹. Ἐροῦμεν δὲ
 ἡμῶν κατατολιμῶντες τῶν ἀνεπίκτων,
 ἀλλὰ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς οἰκείας ἀσθε-
 νείας ἀποκλείοντες τοῖς ἐπιφύεσθαι
 βουλομένοις ἐν οἷς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων
 διασκεπτόμεθα.

Ἄομολογοῦμεν^β τοιγαροῦν τὸν κύ-
 ριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν
 υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, θεὸν

^α μονογενοῦς om. C

^β hinc incipit D

^γ τὸν om. BCD

¹ Cf. supra, Definitionem de fide Nicaena, p. 64 .

secular power effect an entry through the cover of priestly office. We must avoid bit by bit destroying the freedom which our lord Jesus Christ, the liberator of all people, gave us through his own blood. It is therefore the pleasure of the holy and ecumenical synod to secure intact and inviolate the rights belonging to each province from the first, according to the custom which has been in force from of old. Each metropolitan has the right to take a copy of the proceedings for his own security. If any one produces a version which is at variance with what is here decided, the holy and ecumenical synod unanimously decrees it to be of no avail.

Formula of union

We will state briefly what we are convinced of and profess about the God-bearing virgin and the manner of the incarnation of the only begotten^a Son of God — not by way of addition but in the manner of a full statement, even as we have received and possess it from of old from the holy scriptures and from the tradition of the holy fathers, adding nothing at all to the creed put forward by the holy fathers at Nicaea. For, as we have just said, that creed is sufficient both for the knowledge of godliness and for the repudiation of all heretical false teaching¹. We shall speak not presuming to approach the unapproachable; but we confess our own weakness and so shut out those who would reproach us for investigating things beyond the human mind.

We confess^b, then, our lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect man of a rational soul and a body, begotten before all ages from the Father in his godhead, the same in the last days, for us and for our

^a only begotten omitted in C. ^β D begins here.

¹ See above, Definition of the faith at Nicaea, p. 64.

τέλειον καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐκ
 ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος, πρὸ
 αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα
 κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτου δὲ
 5 τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ
 διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν^δ ἐκ
 Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου κατὰ τὴν
 ἀνθρωπότητα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ
 τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ
 10 ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότη-
 τα. Δύο γὰρ φύσεων ἕνωσις γέγονεν·
 δι' ὃ ἓνα Χριστόν, ἓνα υἱόν, ἓνα
 κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν. Κατὰ ταύτην
 τὴν τῆς ἀσυγχύτου ἐνώσεως ἔννοιαν
 15 ὁμολογοῦμεν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον
 θεοτόκον διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν λόγον
 σαρκωθῆναι καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαι καὶ
 ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συλλήψεως ἐνωσάσαι
 ἑαυτῷ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ληφθέντα ναόν.^ε
 20 Τὰς δὲ εὐαγγελικὰς καὶ ἀποστολικὰς
 περὶ τοῦ κυρίου φωνὰς ἴσμεν τοὺς
 θεολόγους ἄνδρας τὰς μὲν κοι-
 νοποιούντας ὡς ἐφ' ἑνὸς προσώπου,
 τὰς δὲ διακρινόντας ὡς ἐπὶ δύο
 25 φύσεων καὶ τὰς μὲν θεοπροπεῖς κατὰ
 τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὰς δὲ
 ταπεινὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα
 αὐτοῦ^ς παραδιδόντας.

30 Κυρίλλου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν
 Ἀντιοχείας περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης¹

Ταύταις² ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες ταῖς ἱεραῖς
 φωναῖς οὕτω τε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς φρο-
 νοῦντας εὐρίσκοντες (,εἷς γὰρ κύριος,
 35 μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα³), ἐδοξά-
 σαμεν τὸν τῶν ὅλων σωτῆρα θεόν,
 ἀλλήλοις συγχαίροντες ὅτι ταῖς θεο-
 πνεύστοις γραφαῖς καὶ τῇ παραδόσει
 40 τῶν ἁγίων ἡμῶν πατέρων συμβαί-
 νουσαν ἔχουσι πίστιν αἱ τε παρ' ἡμῖν

hominem perfectum ex anima ratio-
 nali et corpore, ante saecula quidem
 ex patre natum secundum divinita-
 tem, in novissimis autem diebus
 eundem propter nos et nostram
 salutem ex Maria virgine secundum
 humanitatem, consubstantialem pa-
 tri secundum deitatem eundem et
 consubstantialem nobis secundum
 humanitatem. Duarum enim natura-
 rum unio facta est, propter quod
 unum Christum, unum filium,
 unum dominum confitemur. Secun-
 dum hanc inconfusae unitio-
 nis intellegentiam confitemur sanctam
 virginem dei genetricem eo quod
 deus verbum incarnatus sit et in-
 humanatus et ex ipso conceptu
 univerit sibi illud quod ex ea
 sumptum est templum. Evangelicas
 autem et apostolicas de domino
 voces novimus deiloquos viros alias
 quidem communicantes tamquam
 super una persona, alias autem
 dividentes tamquam super duabus
 naturis et deoquentes quidem se-
 cundum deitatem Christi, humiles
 autem secundum humanitatem eius
 tradentes.

Cyrelli epistula ad Ioannem
 Antiochenum de pace¹

His² vestris relectis sacris vocibus
 atque ita et nos sapere invenientes
 (unus enim deus, una fides, unum
 35 baptisma³) glorificavimus omnium
 salvatorem deum, alterutris con-
 gaudentes quoniam scripturis divi-
 nitus inspiratis et traditioni sanctorum
 patrum nostrorum consonan-
 tem fidem habent nostrae et vestrae

^δ τὸν αὐτὸν ... σωτηρίαν om. D ^ε hic deficit D ^ς αὐτοῦ om. B. codd C

¹ Omittitur epistolae praefatio. ² Praecedit formula unionis, vide supra.

³ Eph 4, 5.

salvation^δ, born of Mary the virgin, according to his humanity, one and the same consubstantial with the Father in godhead and consubstantial with us in humanity, for a union of two natures took place. Therefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. According to this understanding of the unconfused union, we confess the holy virgin to be the mother of God because God the Word took flesh and became man and from his very conception united to himself the temple he took from her^ε. As to the evangelical and apostolic expressions about the Lord, we know that theologians treat some in common as of one person and distinguish others as of two natures, and interpret the god-befitting ones in connexion with the godhead of Christ and the lowly ones with his humanity.

Letter of Cyril to John of Antioch about peace¹

Having² read these holy phrases and finding ourselves in agreement (for "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism"³), we have given glory to God who is the saviour of all and rejoice together that our churches and yours are at one in professing the same faith as the inspired scriptures and the tradition of our holy

^δ the same, for us ... salvation omitted in D.

^ε D ends here.

¹ We omit the preface of the letter.

² The letter begins with the formula of union, see above. ³ Eph 4, 5.

καὶ αἱ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκκλησίαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπιθύμηται τῶν φιλοσογεῖν εἰωθότων τινὰς σφρηκῶν ἀγρίων δίκην περιβομβεῖν καὶ μοχθηροῦς ἐρεύγεσθαι κατ' ἐμοῦ λόγους, ὡς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατακομισθὲν καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου λέγοντος τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, δεῖν ᾤθηται ὀλίγα περὶ τούτου πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν. Ὡ ἀνόητοι καὶ μόνον εἰδότες τὸ συκοφαντεῖν, πῶς εἰς τοῦτο παρηνέχθητε γνώμης καὶ τοσαύτην νενοσήκατε τὴν μωρίαν; Ἐδδει γὰρ ἔδει σαφῶς ἐννοεῖν ὅτι σχεδὸν ἅπας ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἁγίων συγκεκρότηται διαβεβαιουμένων ὅτι θεοτόκος ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγία παρθένος. Ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα γεγενῆσθαι φαμέν τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν σωτήρος Χριστοῦ, πῶς ἂν ἔτι νοῖτο θεοτόκος; Τίνα γὰρ ὄλως τέτοκεν, εἰ μὴ ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς ὅτι γεγέννηκε κατὰ σάρκα τὸν Ἐμμανουήλ; Γελάσθωσαν τοῖνον οἱ ταῦτα περὶ ἐμοῦ πεφλυαρηκότες. Οὐ γὰρ ψεύδεται λέγων ὁ μακάριος προφήτης Ἡσαίας, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱὸν καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός¹. Ἀληθεύει δὲ πάντως καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Γαβριήλ πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν παρθένον εἰπὼν, „μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαριάμ· εὖρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν“².

Ὅταν δὲ λέγωμεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄνωθεν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, οὐχ ὡς ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθείσης τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα φαμέν, ἐπόμενοι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεοσεσίῳ Παύλῳ διακεκραγότει σαφῶς „ὁ

ecclesiae. Quoniam vero comperi quosdam vituperare solentium vesparum agrestium modo circumsonare et malignos contra me sermones eructare tamquam e caelo depositum et non ex sancta virgine sanctum corpus Christi esse confitear, oportere arbitratus sum pauca de hoc contra eos dicere. O insensati et tantum calumniari docti, quemammodum in hoc estis sensu delapsi et in hac tanta stultitia languistis? Oportebat enim, oportebat sapienter intellegere quoniam nobis paene omne certamen de fide provenit confirmantibus quoniam sancta virgo dei genetrix est. Sed si de caelo et non ex ipsa sanctum corpus omnium nostrum salvatoris Christi factum esse diceremus, quomodo iam intellegetur dei genetrix? Quem enim omnino peperit, si non est verum quia peperit secundum carnem Emmanuhel? Rideantur igitur haec de me garriantes. Nec enim beatus propheta Esaias mentitus est dicens: *ecce virgo in utero habebit et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen eius Emmanubel, quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus*¹. Vere autem et sanctus Gabrihel ad beatam virginem dicit: *noli timere, Maria; invenisti enim gratiam apud deum. Ecce concipies in utero et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum. Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum*².

Quando autem dicimus de caelo et de sursum dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, non quasi de sursum et de caelo deposita eius sancta carne talia dicimus, sed magis sequentes dicatissimum Paulum aperte clamantem: *primus homo de*

fathers. But since I discovered that there are some always eager to find fault, who buzz around like angry wasps and spit forth evil words against me, to the effect that I say that the holy body of Christ came down from heaven and not from the holy virgin, I thought it necessary in answer to them to say a little about this matter to you.

O fools, whose only competence is in slander! How did you become so perverted in thought and fall into such a sickness of idiocy? For you must surely know that almost all our fight for the faith arose in connexion with our insistence that the holy virgin is the mother of God. But if we claim that the holy body of our common saviour Christ is born from heaven and was not of her, why should she still be considered God-bearer? For whom indeed did she bear, if it is untrue that she bore Emmanuel according to the flesh? It is rather they who speak such nonsense against me who deserve to be ridiculed. For the holy prophet Isaiah does not lie when he says, “Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted God with us”¹. Again the holy Gabriel speaks total truth when he says to the blessed virgin: “Do not fear, Mary. You have found favour with God, and behold you will conceive in your womb and bear a son and you will call his name Jesus. For he will save his people from their sins”².

But when we say that our lord Jesus Christ came from heaven and above, we do not apply such expressions as “from above” and “from heaven” to his holy flesh. Rather do we follow the divine Paul who clearly proclaimed: “The first

¹ Is 7, 14. ² Lc 1, 30, 31; Mt 1, 21.

¹ Is 7, 14. ² Lk 1, 30, 31; Mt 1, 21.

πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ὁ κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ¹.

Μεμνήμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτήρος λέγοντος „οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου², καίτοι γεγέννηται κατὰ σάρκα, καθάπερ ἔφην ἀρτίως, ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφοιτήσας θεὸς λόγος „κεκένωκεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών³ καὶ κεχηρμάτισκεν υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου μετὰ τοῦ μείναι ὃ ἦν, τουτέστι θεός (ἀτρεπτος γὰρ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος κατὰ φύσιν ἐστίν), ὡς εἷς ἤδη νοούμενος μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ λέγεται καταελθεῖν, ὠνόμασται δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ⁴, τέλειος ὢν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ νοούμενος.

Εἷς γὰρ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ ἡ τῶν φύσεων μὴ ἀγνοῖται διαφορά, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἔνωσιν πεπραχθαι φαμέν. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ὅτι κράσις ἢ σύγχυσις ἢ φυρμός ἐγένετο τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὴν σάρκα, καταξιωσάτω ἢ σὴ ὁσιότης ἐπιστομίζεῖν. Εἰκόσ γὰρ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα περὶ ἐμοῦ θρυλεῖν ὡς ἢ πεφρονηκός ἢ εἰρηκός, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀφέστηκα τοῦ φρονῆσαί τι τοιοῦτον, ὥστε καὶ μαίνεσθαι νομίζω τοὺς οἰθηθέντας ὅλως ὅτι τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα⁵ περὶ τὴν θεῖαν τοῦ λόγου φύσιν συμβῆναι δύναται. Μένει γὰρ ὃ ἐστίν, αἰεὶ καὶ οὐκ ἠλλοίωται⁶, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἠλλοιωθεῖν πώποτε καὶ μεταβολῆς ἔσται δεκτικὴ. Ἄπαθῆ δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογοῦμεν ἅπαντες, καὶ εἰ πανσόφως αὐτὸς οἰκονομῶν τὸ

¹ 1 Cor 15, 47.

² Io 3, 13.

³ Ph 2, 7.

⁴ Cf. 1 Cor 15, 47.

⁵ Cf. Ic 1, 17.

⁶ Cf. Mt 3, 6.

man was of the earth, earthly, the second man is the Lord from heaven¹.

We also recall our Saviour who said: "No one has gone up into heaven except him who came down from heaven, the son of man"². Yet he was born, as I have just said, from the holy virgin according to the flesh.

But since God the Word, who came down from above and from heaven, "emptied himself, taking the form of a slave"³, and was called son of man, though all the while he remained what he was, that is God (for he is unchangeable and immutable by nature), he is said to have come down from heaven, since he is now understood to be one with his own flesh, and he has therefore been designated the man from heaven⁴, being both perfect in godhead and perfect in humanity and thought of as in one person. For there is one lord Jesus Christ, even though we do not ignore the difference of natures, out of which we say that the ineffable union was effected. As for those who say that there was a mixture or confusion or blending of God the Word with the flesh, let your holiness see fit to stop their mouths. For it is quite likely that some should spread it abroad that I have thought or said such things. But I am so far from thinking anything of the kind that I think that those are quite mad who suppose that "a shadow of change"⁵ is conceivable in connexion with the divine nature of the Word. For he remains what he is always and never changes⁶, nor could he ever change or be susceptible of it. Furthermore we all confess that the Word of God is impassible, though in his all-wise economy of the mystery he is seen to attribute to himself

¹ 1 Cor 15, 47.

² Jn 3, 13.

³ Ph 2, 7.

⁴ See 1 Cor 15, 47.

⁵ See Jas 1, 17.

⁶ See Mt 3, 6.

μυστήριον ἑαυτῷ προσνέμων ὀρθῶτο
τὰ τῆ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ συμβεβηκότα πάθη.

Ταύτη τοι καὶ ὁ πάνσοφος Πέτρος
„Χριστοῦ οὖν φησὶ παθόντος ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν σαρκί¹ καὶ οὐχὶ τῆ φύσει τῆς
ἀρρήτου θεότητος. Ἴνα γὰρ αὐτὸς
τῶν ὄλων σωτὴρ εἶναι πιστεύηται,
κατ' οὐκείωσιν οἰκονομικῆν εἰς ἑαυτὸν,
ὡς ἔφη, τὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς
ἀναφέρει πάθη, ὁποῖόν ἐστιν τὸ διὰ
τῆς τοῦ προφήτου φωνῆς προαναφω-
νούμενον ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ „τὸν νῶτόν μου
δέδωκα εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας
μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν
μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης
ἐμπυσιμάτων².”

Ὅτι δὲ ταῖς τῶν
ἁγίων πατέρων δόξαις ἐπόμειθα παν-
ταχοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς τοῦ μακαρίου
καὶ πανευφήμου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθα-
νασίου, τὸ κατὰ τι γοῦν ὄλως ἔξω
φέρεσθαι παραιτούμενοι, πεπεισθῶ
μὲν ἢ σὴ ὁσιότης, ἐνδοιαζέτω δὲ τῶν
ἄλλων μηδεὶς. Παρέθηκα δ' ἂν καὶ
χρήσεις αὐτῶν πολλάς, τοὺς ἑμαυτοῦ
λόγους ἐξ αὐτῶν πιστούμενος, εἰ μὴ
τὸ μῆκος ἐδεδίειν τοῦ γράμματος, μὴ
ἄρα πως γένηται διὰ τοῦτο προσκορές.
Κατ' οὐδένα δὲ τρόπον σαλεύεσθαι
παρὰ τινων ἀνεχόμεθα τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν
πίστιν ἣτοι τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον
παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἡμῶν πατέρων τῶν
ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντων κατὰ καιροῦς
οὔτε μὴν ἐπιτρέπομεν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ
ἐτέροις ἢ λέξιν ἀμείψαι τῶν ἐγκειμέ-
νων ἐκεῖσε ἢ μίαν γοῦν παραβῆναι
συλλαβὴν, μεμνημένοι τοῦ λέγοντος
„μὴ μέταιρε ὄρια αἰώνια, ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ
πατέρες σου³.”

Οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοὶ οἱ
λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ
καὶ πατρός, ὃ ἐκπορεύεται μὲν ἐξ
αὐτοῦ, ἐστιν δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῦ
υἱοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον. Καὶ

disponens mysterium sibimet ipsi
inpertiens videatur eas quae acces-
serunt carni propriae passiones.
Ideo utique et sapientissimus Petrus
inquit *Christo igitur passo pro nobis*
*carne*¹ et non natura inenarrabilis
deitatis. Ut enim ipse salvator esse
omnium crederetur, secundum pro-
prietatem dispensativam ad semet
ipsum, ut dixi, carnis suae refert
passiones, quale est illud quod per
prophetae vocem tamquam ab ipso
ipsum, ut dixi, carnis suae refert
passiones, quale est illud quod per
prophetae vocem tamquam ab ipso
praedicitur: *dorsum meum dedi ad*
verbera et maxillas meas ad palmas,
faciem autem meam non averti a foeditate
*sputorum*².

Quoniam vero ubique sequimur
sanctorum patrum sententias, ma-
xime patris nostri beatissimi
et praedicandissimi Athanasii, om-
nino in aliquo ab eo deviare vitantes,
tua quidem sanctitas credat, aliorum
vero ambigat nullus. Apposuissem
utique et testimonia multa eorum,
ex ipsis mea verba confirmans, nisi
prolixitatem meae epistolae timuis-
sem, ne forte per hoc fastidium
legentibus generetur. Nullo vero
modo moveri ab aliquibus patrum
fidem aut ipsum fidei symbolum
quod a sanctis patribus nostris in
Nicaea convenientibus illo tempore
definitum est, sed neque permitti-
mus nobismet ipsis aut aliis aut
unum mutare dictorum ibidem
positorum aut unam syllabam prae-
terire, meminimus autem dicentem:
noli transgredi terminos aeternos quos
*posuerunt patres tui*³.

Neque enim
loquebantur illi, sed spiritus dei
patris, qui procedit quidem ex ipso,
est autem et a filio non alienus
secundum essentiae rationem. Et

¹ 1 Pt 4,1. ² Is 50,6. ³ Pro 22,28.

the sufferings undergone by his own flesh. So the all-wise Peter speaks of
“Christ suffering for us in the flesh”¹ and not in the nature of his unspeakable
godhead. For in order that he might be believed to be the saviour of all, in
accordance with our economic appropriation, as I said, he refers to himself the
sufferings of his own flesh, in much the same way as is suggested through the
voice of the prophet coming as it were from him in advance: “I gave my back to
the smiters and my cheeks to blows; I hid not my face from shame and
spitting”².

Let your holiness be persuaded and let no one else cherish any doubt, that we
everywhere follow the opinions of the holy fathers especially those of our
blessed and glorious father Athanasius, with whose opinions we differ not in the
slightest. I would have added many of their testimonies, proving my opinions
from theirs, had I not feared that the length of the letter would be made tedious
thereby. We do not permit anyone in any way to upset the defined faith or the
creed drawn up by the holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea as the times
demanded. We give neither ourselves nor them the licence to alter any expres-
sion there or to change a single syllable, remembering the words: “Remove not
the ancient landmarks which your fathers have set”³.

For it was not they that spoke, but the Spirit of God the Father, who proceeds
from him and who is not distinct from the Son in the essence. We are further

¹ 1 Pt 4, 1. ² Is 50, 6. ³ Pro 22, 28.

πρός γε τοῦτο ἡμᾶς οἱ τῶν ἁγίων
 μυσταγωγῶν πιστοῦνται λόγοι. Ἐν
 μὲν γὰρ ταῖς Πράξεσιν τῶν ἀποστό-
 λων γέγραπται „ἐλθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν
 5 Μυσίαν ἐπειράζον εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν
 πορευθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτοὺς
 τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ“¹. Ἐπιστέλλει δὲ
 καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Παῦλος „οἱ δὲ ἐν
 σαρκὶ ὄντες θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται.
 10 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκί, ἀλλ’ ἐν
 πνεύματι, εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ
 ἐν ὑμῖν· εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ
 ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ“². Ὅταν
 δὲ τινὲς τῶν τὰ ὀρθὰ διαστρέφειν
 15 εἰωθότων τὰς ἐμὰς παρατρέπωσι
 φωνὰς εἰς τὸ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦν, μὴ θαυ-
 μαζέτω τοῦτο ἢ σὴ ὀσιότης, εἰδυῖα
 ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ πάσης αἰρέσεως ἐκ τῆς
 θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς τὰς τῆς ἑαυτῶν
 20 πλάνης συλλέγουσιν ἀφορμάς, τὰ διὰ
 τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὀρθῶς εἰρημένα
 ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κακονοίαις παραφθεί-
 ροντες καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις κεφαλαῖς τὴν
 ἄσβεστον ἐπαντλοῦντες φλόγα.
 25 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μεμαθήκαμεν ὅτι καὶ
 τὴν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἐπίκτητον
 ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρὸς
 ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου ὀρθοδόξως ἔχουσιν
 παραφθείραντες τινὲς ἐκδεδώκασιν,
 30 ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἀδικεῖσθαι πολλούς, διὰ
 τοῦτο, χρήσιμόν τι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἐπινοοῦντες τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐξ ἀντι-
 γράφων ἀρχαίων τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν καὶ
 35 ἀπλανῶς ἐχόντων ἀπεστείλαμεν τὰ
 ἴσα τῇ σὴ ὀσιότητι.

¹ Ac 16, 7. ² Rm 8, 8, 9.

ad hoc ipsum vero nos sanctorum
 arcana docentium verba confirmant.
 In Actibus namque apostolorum
 scriptum est: *venientibus autem in*
Moesiam, temptabant ire in Bithyniam
*et non permisit eos spiritus Iesu*¹. Scribit
 autem et sacratissimus Paulus: *qui*
autem in carne sunt, deo placere non
possunt. Vos autem non estis in carne,
sed in spiritu, si quidem spiritus dei
habitat in vobis. Si quis autem spiritum
Christi non habet, hic non est eius.²
 Quando autem quidam eorum qui
 recta pervertere solent, meas voces
 in hoc quod eis placuerit, mutant,
 non ammiratur hoc tua sanctitas,
 sciens quoniam et omnes haeretici
 de scriptura divinitus inspirata sui
 colligunt erroris occasiones, ea quae
 per spiritum sanctum recte dicta
 sunt, suae mentis malitia corrumpentes
 et super sua capita flammam
 inextinguibilem haurientes.

Quoniam vero didicimus quod et
 epistolam praedicandissimi patris
 nostri Athanasii ad beatum Epictetum
 destinatam orthodoxe habentem
 corrumpentes quidam ediderunt,
 ut per hoc plurimi nocerentur,
 propterea utile aliquid et necessarium
 fratribus providentes ex anti-
 quis exemplaribus quae apud nos
 sunt, et nullum errorem habentibus
 tuae sanctitati paria destinavimus.

confirmed in our view by the words of our holy spiritual teachers. For in the Acts of the Apostles it is written: “When they came to Mysia, they tried to go to Bithynia and the Spirit of Jesus did not permit them”¹. And the divine Paul writes as follows: “Those who are in the flesh cannot please God. But you are not in the flesh, you are in the spirit, if the Spirit of God really dwells in you. And anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him”². When, therefore, any of those who love to upset sound doctrine pervert my words to their way of thinking, your holiness should not be surprised at this, but should remember that the followers of every heresy extract from inspired scripture the occasion of their error, and that all heretics corrupt the true expressions of the holy Spirit with their own evil minds and they draw down on their own heads an inextinguishable flame.

Since therefore we have learnt that even the letter of our glorious father Athanasius to the blessed Epictetus, which is completely orthodox, has been corrupted and circulated by some, with the result that many have been injured, therefore, thinking it both useful and necessary for the brethren, we have despatched to your holiness accurate copies of the original, unadulterated writings which we have.

¹ Ac 16, 7. ² Rm 8, 8, 9.