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A THEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE CHRISTOLOGY OF
NESTORIUS IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS TIMES

The Reverend Graham Hendy, B.A.

A Thesis for the Degree of M.A.

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The Reverend Graham Hendy B.A.   Abstract of Thesis of M.A.

The Patriarch Nestorius was condemned as an heretic at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. ¯ During the last century, following the rediscovery of many of his writings, several important scholars have examined his case. Their conclusions have varied considerably; on the whole they have been too kind to him.

This thesis begins by examining the life of Nestorius to put the controversies in context. In particular, the question of whether he was still alive at the time of Chalcedon is examined; also the length of time he spent in exile. Certainly he was alive until shortly before the Council met, but that is all we can say with certainty.

Following this discussion, the historical reasons for the condemnation of Nestorius are treated. The political and sociological controversies between Alexandria, Constantinople, Rome, Antioch and Jerusalem are examined, together with the differences between the Antiochene and Alexandrian schools of theology. Personality and group conflicts no doubt played their part, but could not have led to Nestorius' condemnation on their own.

A major section of the thesis is concerned with the Christology of the main theological schools. Their concepts are examined and the variations among individual representatives of the Antiochene school particularly are examined. All this helps to set Nestorius' work in context.

After a short critical chapter on the literary history of Nestorius' writings, including references to Abramowski's recent work on a dual-authorship hypothesis of the Book of Heracleides, we turn to Nestorius' own thought and vocabulary. The conclusion reached suggests that although Nestorius' intentions were good, and that he rendered good service by safeguarding the humanity of Christ, he ended up in a cul-de-sac, when it came to establishing the unity of Christ's person in the Prosopon. We also conclude that the Book of Heracleides did little or nothing to help his case.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.O.   Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E.Schwartz

C.S.C.O.   Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris - Louvain)

C.S.E.L.   Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Wien)

C.Q.R.   Church Quarterly Review

Dr. H.   G.R.Driver & L.Hodgson, The Bazaar of Heracleides

D.O.P.   Dumbarton Oaks Papers, ed. Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.)

D.T.C.   Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, ed. A.Vacant -
            E.Mangenot - E.Amann (Paris 1909 ff)

Greg.   Gregorianum. Rivista di studi teologici e filosofici (Rome)

J.T.S.   Journal of Theological Studies (old series numbered in Roman
                    numerals; new series in arabic numerals)

Mansi.   Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio
            (Florence 1759ff - Venice 1769ff; Paris - Arnhem- Leipzig 1901 -
                                                                    1927)

M.S.R.   Mélanges de Science Religieuse (Lille)

Or.Chr.   Oriens Christianus (Leipzig 1901-41; Wiesbaden 1953ff)

P.G.   Patrologiae cursus completus, ed J.P.Migne: Ser. graeca
                    (Paris 1857 - 66)

P.L.   Patrologiae curs s completus, ed J.P.Migne: Ser. latina
                    (Paris 1944-55)

P.W.K.   Pauly - Wissowa - Kroll, Realencyklopädie der klassischeu
            Alterum swissenschaft (Stuttgart)

Rev. Thom. Revue Thomiste (Paris)

R.H.E.   Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Louvain)

R.S.P.T.   Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques (Paris)

R.S.R.   Recherches de Science Religieuse (Paris)

S.C.   Source Chrétiennes (Paris)

Schol.   Scholastik (Freiburg im Breisgau)

T.D.   Textus et Documenta, series theologica (Rome)

T.U.   Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchr. Literatur,
            ed O.V. Gebhardt - A.v. Harnack, etc (Leipzig)

Z.N.T.W.   Zeitschrift für Neutestament liche Wissenschaft und die Kunde
            der älteren Kirche (Berlin)

Chapter One

CONTROVERSY AND TRAGEDY: A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF

NESTORIUS, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE

'There are few more interesting figures on the great canvass of the history of Christian Doctrine than that of the learned, eloquent, and austerely religious abbot of the monastery of Euprepius outside the city of Antioch, called unexpectedly to the see of Constantinople, like a second Chrysostom; eagerly setting to work to make the Christian faith a reality in the life of the capital of the Empire; suddenly charged with heretical teaching and involved in a merciless doctrinal controversy; deposed from his bishoprick, excommunicated, deserted by friends who really shared his beliefs, banished to a remote spot in the deserts of Egypt, dying in exile.'

This is how J.F.Bethune-Baker opened a work[1] published over sixty years ago marking an important change in the history of Nestorian research and criticism. The literary discoveries which made such an impact at that time will be reviewed in a later chapter.   For the moment it is necessary to note in passing the biographical context of the Book of Heracleides and the correspondence between the Patriarch and other important figures of his time, omitting for the moment their literary-critical and textual importance.

Very little is known of Nestorius' early life, but it is thought that he was born and reared in Germanicia which is in the district of the Euphrates.[2] He remained under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch when he was ordained priest and entered the monastery of Euprepius.   It appears that he was extremely fervent and might be accused of obduracy or even fanaticism.   He was a great extempore preacher at the Cathedral of Antioch and may have been as 'golden-mouthed' as S.John, whose see of Constantinople he was to hold briefly at a later date.   In many ways the lives of the two men have their parallels.[3] His enemies accused him in similar vein of pride in eloquence and hasty remarks, but this was no doubt a cover for their criticism of the content.   Indeed they used the same rhetorical methods as Nestorius did when they so desired - though perhaps not so effectively.

A collection of the sermons of Nestorius was published over a period and must have spread further afield than the confines of Antioch.[4]   It may have been the reading of these which won him the favour of the Emperor, for like the young Chrysostom, at first he enjoyed the patronage of the Court, though with both, this was short lived.[5]   G.L.Prestige compares the two patriarchs, whose

consecrations were separated only by a matter of thirty years.[6] He says that Nestorius was in many ways extremely like, in other ways extremely unlike, John. Both were monks, both hailed from Antioch, both were great preachers, both were devout, able and diligent. But Nestorius had a deeper speculative and intellectual interest in theology - 'a touch of that brilliant dialectical inquisitiveness which so intensely irritates the moralists and statesmen against the intellectuals.'[7]

Nevertheless at the instigation of the Emperor he was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople in April 428. He is reported to have said to his patron:[8] 'Imperial Majesty, give me the land purged of heretics, and I will give you heaven in return: assist me in destroying the heretics and I will help you obliterate the Persians.'

True to his word it was only five days after his consecration that, learning an Arian chapel was still in existence, he began to pull it down. In fact the Arians themselves completed the process and more besides, for they set fire to the remains and burnt down a lot of other buildings; yet it was Nestorius who gained the nickname 'Pyromaniac' or 'Firebrand'.[9] Nevertheless he was supported in his campaign by the Emperor who at his request issued a harsh law making the penalties for heresy even more extreme.[10] Nestorius then began a systematic attack against the Novatians, the Quartodecimans, and the Macedonians. Like Chrysostom he attacked loose living and thus made many enemies in addition to those he inherited by the mere fact of being an Antiochene and the holder of the See of New Rome.[11]

The first major controversy concerned the use of the term $\theta\epsilon o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$ and Nestorius' reaction to that use. Obviously it already had citizen rights at Alexandria but possibly it had only just been introduced at Constantinople.[12] Bethune-Baker compares the growth of its use to that of $\acute{o}\mu oo\acute{u}\sigma\iota o\varsigma$,[13] but there was one great difference because the latter was a technical term imposed on, though unused by, the common people. On the other hand $\theta\epsilon o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$ was a term of popular devotion. Nestorius and his associates attacked it not so much because of growing piety towards the Blessed Virgin Mary, but because there were doctrinal implications involved. It seemed that the humanity of Jesus Christ was not being sufficiently safeguarded - 'this was a subtle danger that needed to be exposed. So Nestorius was forced into the position of one who brings technical objections against a popular term.'[14]

There seems to be some difference of opinion as to how the dispute began, but Nestorius probably did not spark it off. His views were in any case more moderate than those of the presbyter Anastasius, whom, according to Socrates, he had brought with him from Antioch and whom he permitted to preach against the title $\Theta\epsilon o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$ in November 428.[15]

Nestorius himself began a course of sermons on Christmas Day which continued until spring 429, in which he was able to rebut the local attacks of Eusebius (later Bishop of Dorylaeum) and Proclus (who was to succeed him after a short interval in the See of Constantinople). It is clear that Nestorius was not aware of the full tradition which sanctioned the use of this term, for even in the Book of Heracleides he asked:[16]

> 'First prove unto us that the fathers called her the mother of God or that God the Word was born in flesh or that he was born at all and at the same time both suffered and died and rose, and explain unto us how they say that God suffered and rose. But if it had surely been fabricated by thee, and thou art calumniating the fathers, how can anyone without doubt admit the rest of these things? For thou hast made them all doubtful, because thou hast not said those things which the fathers have said but hast changed even the very term.'

This was in answer to Cyril's affirmation that 'we have found that the holy fathers thought thus and that they thus were confident in calling the holy virgin the mother of God. Thus we say that he both suffered and rose.'[17]

As a result he was felt by Cyril to be a $\sigma\kappa\acute{a}\nu\delta\alpha\lambda o\nu$ $o\grave{\iota}\kappa o\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$.[18] First, Cyril sent his encyclical Ad Monachos Aegypti.[19] Without even questioning Nestorius, he circulated reports that he was a heretic and sent letters to the Emperor's sister and other officials at Court.[20] The evidence of widespread bribery is found in the letter of Cyril's archdeacon Epiphanius to Maximianus (who was to succeed Nestorius at Constantinople).[21]

Nestorius explained that he found the dispute already begun when he arrived at Constantinople, and his affirmations are made both in the Book of Heracleides, in the Tragoedia, and in a letter to John of Antioch written in December 430.[22] The disputants could not decide whether Mary should be called $\Theta\epsilon o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$ or $\grave{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$. In order to decide the matter he had suggested the use of the term $X\rho\iota\sigma\tau o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$.[23] We have to ask when Nestorius actually took this action. Was it in his 'first sermon on the $\Theta\epsilon o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$' which may date from the end of 428 or possibly at the beginning of 429?[24] Unfortunately for this theory the term $X\rho\iota\sigma\tau o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$ does not occur in the fragments of this sermon.[25] Apparently the two parties which called each other 'Manicheans' and 'Photinians'

arrived at his palace and asked him to arbitrate. He soon realised that
neither side was heretical in the sense each was using its terminology and it
was then that he suggested the alternative term Χριστοτόκος.[26] Thus
according to Nestorius the controversy would have been settled, but for the
fact that Cyril interfered. In the Book of Heracleides he goes on to attribute
the magnification of the controversy to the action of those who were disappoint-
ed over the election, and the partisans of Cyril who wanted bribes which he
did not give, and who also wanted to discredit him over the question of certain
Alexandrians who had brought complaints about Cyril to Constantinople.[27]

Loofs draws three points from this account.[28] First, Nestorius said he
advised the two groups in his own home. This is confirmed in his 'first sermon
on Θεοτόκος'.[29] This is important because it relates to the second point.
Nestorius affirmed that he would allow both terms equally although he advised
Χριστοτόκος; yet in the sermon (preserved in large fragments) he seemed to dis-
allow Θεοτόκος totally, and he was continually accused of refusing to give Mary
that title.[30] Even John of Antioch in August of the following year asked him
to yield on this point,[31] and it is in reply to him that Nestorius wrote the
letter already mentioned above. However if we accept the statement of Nest-
orius at its face value, it seems that, when passing judgement in camera, he
was prepared to allow the term Θεοτόκος as tolerable. This is confirmed by
his reply to John of Antioch.[32] Also when he wrote his first letter to
Caelestine, Bishop of Rome, he still allowed the term when rightly understood -
'the term may be tolerated'.[33] Yet he was afraid that the term, which he had
not found in the fathers, was liable to lead to misunderstanding and heresy
and so he undoubtedly opposed it.[34] Nevertheless in a sermon preached in the
spring 429 he affirmed: 'If you will use the term Θεοτόκος with simple faith,
it is not my custom to grudge it you.'[35] And in a rather later sermon he was
able to say: 'I have already repeatedly declared that if anyone of you or
anyone else be simple and has a preference for the term Θεοτόκος , then I have
nothing to say against it - only do not make a Goddess of the virgin (θεάν).'[36]

Meanwhile Caelestine of Rome began to ask questions.[37] Nestorius explained
his position quite clearly in his first two letters to the Bishop of Rome
written in either the summer of 428 or spring 429:[38]

> 'There are even some of our clergy, some of them merely ignorant, but others
> with conscious heretical intent, who openly blaspheme God the Word, con-
> substantial with the Father, representing Him as having received His first
> origin from the Virgin Mother of Christ....in speaking of the deification
> of the flesh and its transition to Godhead they rob both flesh and Godhead

of their real nature. But this is not all. They dare to treat the Virgin Mother of Christ as in some kind of way divine, like God.... If however anyone justifies this title Mother of God because of the conjunction with God the Word of the manhood that was born, and not because of the mother, then I say that this title is not suitable for her, for a real mother must be of the same substance as that which is born of her: yet the application of the term to her is tolerable on one ground only, viz that the temple of God the Word which is inseparable from Him was derived from her - not that she herself was the Mother of God the Word.'

The same sort of thing is repeated in the second letter sent at the same time together with copies of some of his sermons.[39] There was however some delay because Rome did not have available translators to examine the Greek original, and Caelestine wrote to Alexandria asking for further information on the matter.

In June 429 Cyril sent his first letter to Nestorius, the first part of which is quoted in the Book of Heracleides.[40] Nestorius was prepared to reply peacefully to this. What then caused the outburst? It was, according to Loofs, to be found in the third point which can be drawn from the account in the Book of Heracleides, that the intrigues of Cyril were largely responsible, in the general context of interpatriarchal rivalries. We have already noted the passage in which Nestorius tells of accusations made against Cyril in Constantinople.[41] Loofs says: 'Cyril is regarded by Nestorius as having framed the dogmatic controversy for no other reason than to keep these accusations in the background.'[42] Loofs provided evidence by pointing to a letter written by Cyril to his clerical agents in Constantinople:

'I had till now no quarrel with him and wish him betterment; but for supporting my enemies he shall give answer before God. No wonder if the dirtiest persons of the city, Chairemon, Victor and others, speak ill of me. May he, who incites them, learn that I have no fears about a journey or about answering them. Often the providence of the Saviour brings it about that little things cause a synod to be held, through which his Church is purified. But even if others and honourable men should accuse me on his instigation - that wretched man shall not hope that he can be my judge. I will withstand him, if I come thither, and it is he who shall answer for error.' [43]

'If he possesses the right faith, then shall be made the most perfect and firmest peace. If he longs for that, let him compose an orthodox confession of faith and send it to Alexandria.....Then, I too, ... will publish a writing and declare that nobody shall reproach one ·of my fellow-bishops because of his words - so I shall say - are rightly meant.'[44]

'I received and read the petition you sent me, which, after having received my consent, is purposed for presentation to the Emperor. But since it contains various complaints against my brother there - or what shall I call him? - I kept it back for the time, lest he should reproach you saying: you accused me as a heretic before the Emperor. But I composed another petition, in which I declined to be judged by him, pointing to his enmity and proposing that....the judgements be handed over to other officials. Read this petition, and present it, if need be. And if you see that he continues to scheme against me and really tries to set all things against me, write it to me at

once.   Then I shall choose some wary and prudent men and send them as
soon as possible. For, as it is written, I will not give sleep to my
eyes or slumber to mine eyelids till I have finished the fight for the
salvation of all (Psalm 132,4).' 45

This last section, which is missing from Marius Mercator's version, was
held by Garnier and other scholars to be a supplement to the letter. Nestorius
quoted it after recounting his clash with Cyril's agents who had interfered
with his Χριστοτόκος judgement.[46]   Yet Cyril wrote the main letter, preserved
by Marius Mercator, at the same time as his epistola dogmatica (ad Nestor. II)
in January 430, though Nestorius knew that Cyril admitted to certain accusations
before either letter had been written.   What is more Nestorius gave no hint
that he was quoting only part of a letter, and it is unlikely he would have
omitted the vitriolic remarks in the main letter if it had been attached to
the 'supplement'.   We may therefore conclude that the so-called 'supplement-
letter' was a separate missive written as early as Cyril's first letter to
Nestorius or even before.[47]

Loofs concludes that Cyril could have quite easily come to terms with
Nestorius over the dogmatic controversy 'if he had not had, on account of the
charges brought against himself, an interest in discrediting him...   Nestorius
was not quite guiltless, as he had been incautious in his polemics against the
Θεοτόκος.   But it does not seem to have been his fault that he made an enemy
of Cyril.'[48]

Nor is it really his fault that Rome began to side with Alexandria against
him.[49]   It is true that after he had sent his first letters to Caelestine,
he received in the autumn (429) some Pelagian exiles from the West.   It must
be admitted that he wrote to the Bishop of Rome to ask for more information
about them.[50]   Bethune-Baker noted[51] that he wrote as a brother bishop and
Caelestine did not like the word of Rome to be questioned.   This was further
fuel to the fire which Cyril's agents in Rome had been stirring up from the
late spring 429 until approximately the same time the following year, culmin-
ating in the arrival of Poseidonius with Cyril's letter to Caelestine together
with supporting documents.[52]   The conflict really began to grow intense.   At
the end of 429 Basil and his monks had petitioned the Emperor for a General
Council to deal with Nestorius.   Soon after Cyril wrote his second (dogmatic)
letter to Nestorius at the same time as that to his agents already mentioned.
Nestorius' reply,[53] written in Lent, is more aggressive.   It is about this
time that Cyril sent out the letters to the Court already mentioned.[54]

In fact the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius[55] is quite moderate in its approach and reads strangely in the light of phrases in his letter to his agents sent about the same time. He passed lightly over the subject of the accusations made against him, and probably hoped at this stage that dogmatic agreement might avoid further disputation. He quoted the creed of Nicaea and then went on to comment on it:[56]

> 'For we do not affirm that the nature of the Word underwent a change and became flesh, or that it was transformed into a complete human being consisting of soul and body; but rather this, that the Word, having in an ineffable and inconceivable manner personally καθ' ὑπόστασιν united to himself flesh animated with living soul, became man and was called Son of Man, yet not of mere will or favour, nor again by the simple assumption to himself of a human person, and that while the natures which were brought together into this true unity were diverse there was of both one Christ and Son: not as though the diverseness of the natures were done away by this union, but rather Godhead and Manhood completed for us the one Lord and Christ and Son by their unutterable and unspeakable concurrence into unity....

> 'We must not then divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. To hold this will no wise contribute to soundness of faith, even though some make a show of acknowledging a union of person(προσώπον ἕνωσις). For Scripture does not say that the Word united to himself the person of man, but that he became flesh. But this expression the Word became flesh is nothing else than that he became a partaker of flesh and blood, like us and made our body his own, and came forth a man of a woman, not casting aside his being God, and his having been begotten of God the Father, but even in the assumption of flesh remaining what he was.

> 'This is the doctrine which strict orthodoxy everywhere prescribes. Thus shall we find the holy Fathers to have held. So did they make bold to call the holy virgin θεοτόκος. Not as though the nature of the Word or his Godhead had its beginning from the holy Virgin, but forasmuch as his holy body, endued with a rational soul, was born of her, to which Body also the Word was personally united, on this account he is said to have been born after the flesh.

> 'Thus writing even now out of love which I have in Christ, I entreat thee as a brother, and charge thee before Christ, and the elect angels, to hold and teach these things with us, that the peace of the Churches may be preserved, and that the bond of harmony and love between the priests of God may remain unbroken'.

As can be seen, a one-sided use of Christological terminology was already present and it is not surprising that in spite of its conciliatory tone, Nestorius realised the hidden force behind it and answered sharply.[57] His action would appear to be justified, for at the same time Cyril was compiling his five treatises against Nestorius, which quoted and condemned adapted quotations from Nestorius' sermons. He then sent these documents translated into Latin to the Bishop of Rome together with a covering letter.[58]

That Rome took up her position with Alexandria rather than with Antioch (Constantinople) is perhaps explained in part by the fact that John Cassian had already, before the summer of 430, written seven books against Nestorius,[59] based on the four sermons sent first to Rome by Nestorius himself with his first letter to Caelestine.[60]   The prejudice which had been brought about by the case of the Pelagians has been mentioned.[61]   Probably Cyril's agents in Rome had ensured that things went the right way, and this rather than a lack of translators explains the delay of Caelestine's reply. Interpreters there certainly were in the persons of Poseidonius, a deacon sent with Cyril's latest works, and John Cassian, whose assistance had been requested by Archdeacon Leo.   Cassian was already convinced that there was a heresy present connected with that of Pelagius, and as he was not a particularly clear-sighted Christological scholar himself, he turned his task into a full censure of the accused, ably provoked by Poseidonius.[62]   Possibly it was because he had just been occupied with the Pelagian controversy that he allowed his recent preoccupations to overflow into the new dispute.   Certainly the evidence available about Nestorius had little to do with Pelagianism.

In August Nestorius was condemned at a Council in Rome, and Caelestine wrote to Cyril instructing him to carry out the sentence.[63]   From this time forward Cyril was assured of Roman support whatever happened and he acted accordingly. Caelestine also wrote to John of Antioch, Rufus of Thessalonica, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Flavian of Philippi to inform them of the decision.[64] He also wrote to Nestorius[65] and ordered him to recant on the question of θεοτόκος within ten days or else suffer excommunication.   Cyril immediately wrote to Juvenal of Jerusalem[66] and John of Antioch[67] to win their support, and John in turn wrote to Nestorius and begged him to submit.[68]   Nestorius' reply to John we have already noted.[69]   In November he wrote his third letter to the Bishop of Rome[70] and again he allowed the use of the term θεοτόκος without its Apollinarian connotations.

Theodosius II and Valentinian III summoned a General Council to meet at Ephesus at Pentecost 431.   Thus the relatively minor incident concerning a Mariological or Christological term had attained ecumenical proportions, but the dispute is probably best described as the occasion rather than the cause of the conflict which necessitated a council.[71]   However this meant that the affair was taken out of the hands of local bishops and put before the judgement of the Emperor and the whole episcopal college.[72]

Cyril was not deterred by this and called a synod at Alexandria. He then wrote in the name of this meeting his third letter to Nestorius, the epistola synodica with its 12 anathemas,[73] which he sent to Nestorius with the Pope's letter. Nestorius was to accept within the prescribed limit or suffer the consequences. On 6 December Nestorius received Cyril's letter, but Caelestine's sentence of excommunication could not be put into effect because of the Imperial Letter convoking a General Synod at Ephesus.

The Third Letter to Nestorius is too well known to be quoted at length.[74] It upheld the hypostatic union ($\kappa\alpha\theta'$ $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$); it denied that the indwelling of Christ was similar to that in the saints; it refused to accept words like 'juxtaposition' or 'conjunction' as adequate to describe the union; it denied that worship of the assumed could be separated from worship of the assumer; it declared that God suffered impassibly in the Crucified Body; it refused to separate the words of Jesus into those appropriate to either nature; it used the expression 'one incarnate person of the Word' ($\dot{\upsilon}\pi o\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\iota\tilde{\alpha}$ $\tau\tilde{\eta}$ $\tauo\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\lambda\acute{o}\gammaο\upsilon$ $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$);[75] and finally it upheld the term which occasioned the dispute - $\Theta\epsilon o\tau\acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$. The letter concluded with the 12 anathemas. 'Deliberately provocative, these anathemas summarise the Cyrillic Christology in uncompromising terms'.[76] It is quite clear that Cyril did not mean Nestorius to accept them. Indeed he speaks of them as 'the twelve Articles which were written irreverently and shamefully against God the Word, immortal and incorruptible....'[77]

Now both sides began to prepare for battle and to enlist the support of as many as possible. There followed a great spate of writing. On 13 and 14 December Nestorius preached two sermons (XVIII and XIX)[78] and sent them to Cyril with counter-anathemas. He replied to John of Antioch[79] and made sure of his support by informing him of Cyril's anathemas. In his turn John enlisted the support of Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret of Cyprus on the side of Nestorius; in the outcome they proved firmer allies that John himself. Meanwhile Cassian continued his polemic,[80] and Marius Mercator wrote the 'Nestorii blasphemiarum capitula'[81] based on the December sermons. Cyril wrote the 'Apologia contra Theodoretum pro XIII capitibus',[82] as well as the 'Apologia contra Orientales',[83] in reply to Andrew, and 'Adversus Nestorii blasphemias libri V'.[84] Fearing that even then Nestorius might be able to evade the issue, he wrote to Caelestine and asked him what was to be done if Nestorius should recant.[85] The difference of personality shows itself in the Bishop of Rome's reply, dated 7 May 431, for he pointed out that 'God willeth not the

death of a sinner', and exhorted Cyril to do what he could to win back
Nestorius. [86]

A month later it was Pentecost, and on 12 June there assembled at Ephesus,
Nestorius with ten bishops, the counts Irenaeus and Candidianus (the latter
representing the Emperor, with letters of introduction), Cyril with fifty
bishops, Juvenal of Jerusalem with some fifteen bishops of Palestine, Flavian
of Philippi with the bishops of Macedonia, and Besulas the deacon representing
the church of Africa. The first act of the host bishop, Memnon, was to
close the churches of Ephesus to the Nestorians. The next round of the
conflict had begun.

It will be necessary to examine the account of the council only very
briefly for the result is known.[87] The Council was summoned for 21 June and
Cyril was the highest ranking prelate present then. He received a letter
from John of Antioch saying that he and the Syrian bishops would be delayed
only a few days.[88] Yet the next day (22 June) he opened the council with
dubious authority of Caelestine's commission of investigation.[89] There was
a protest by 68 bishops including 21 metropolitans; and Candidianus, as the
representative of the Emperor, complained, but was overruled.[90]

Yet 160 bishops met with Cyril, Juvenal and Memnon.[91] After Candidianus
had read his instructions and been ignored, some bishops supporting Nestorius
arrived and tried to raise the matter of the official protest, but with the
Count they were ejected. The bishops summoned Nestorius and he refused to
appear. Then a second summons was sent and finally a third in the form of a
citation.[92] He was then condemned and deposed in absentia.

The Creed of Nicaea was read. Then Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius
was read and was voted to be orthodox, but when Nestorius' reply was delivered
it received an unfavourable vote.[93] Then the letter of Caelestine to Cyril
was read, and Cyril's Third Letter to Nestorius with the anathemas. This
was followed by extracts from Nestorius' own lips, quotations from the fathers,
and thus proof that Nestorius was a heretic.[94] These documents were read
without a vote and it is significant that the fathers did not receive Cyril's
Third Letter with the same acclamation they accorded to his Second.

Candidianus posted formal notices against the meeting, and did the same
the next day, but he did not dare to lay hands on the bishops. His fear was

well founded if the popular support as seen from the reactions of the crowd
when Nestorius' condemnation leaked is to be trusted.   The following declar-
ation was made:[95]

'To Nestorius, new Judas.   Know that by reason of thine impious preachings
and of thy disobedience to the canons, on the 22nd of this month of June, in
conformity with the rules of the church, thou hast been deposed by the Holy
Synod, and that thou hast now no longer any rank in the Church!
This anathema immediately received 197 signatures.[96]   It was made public the
following day.

Candidianus sent a report to the Emperor, which is not preserved but
which is mentioned in the Imperial reply to the synod.   This was the result
of a formal protest made by Nestorius and 10 other bishops favourable to him.[97]

Four days later John of Antioch and the Eastern bishops arrived with a
perfect battery of excuses.[98]   A rival synod was immediately opened at which
45 were present[99] including Candidianus and some of the bishops who had not
met with Cyril.   The Count gave a report of the proceedings, [100] and then
read his letter of Imperial authority.   It was with Candidianus' support that
the bishops deposed Cyril and Memnon.[101]   There were riots as John tried to
enforce his decrees and Memnon was supported by the local people.   Meanwhile
Candidianus sent a stream of reports to the Emperor.

This is how d'Alès summarises the situation:[102]
'Il y a dès lors dans Ephèse deux conciles ennemis qui s'anathématisent l'un
l'autre.   Néanmoins leurs attitudes respectives diffèrent profondément. De la
part du conciliabule présidé par Jean d'Antioche, la rupture est officielle et
complète dès la première heure; de la part du concile présidé par Cyrille
d'Alexandrie, elle n'est encore que virtuelle. Ce concile a prononcé l'anathème
contre Nestorius; a l'égard de ses adhérents, il se reserve. Il ne demandait
qu'à rallier tous les évêques orientaux; mais l'acte inconsidéré de Jean
d'Antioche a creusé un abîme entre les deux fractions de l'episcopat catholique
et singulièrement compliqué l'oeuvre d'union.
        'Telle est la situation au soir du 26 juin 431.'

On 29 June there arrived an Imperial rescript, condemning Cyril's hasty
act and appointing a new commissioner. Representatives of both parties went
to Constantinople to present their case to Theodosius, and the stalemate
continued at Ephesus.   Then on 10 July Caelestine's legates arrived from Rome:
and, as ordered, they supported Cyril.   The priest Philip presented his
credentials together with those of the bishops Arcadius and Projectus. They
heard the acts of the Cyrilline synod and subscribed to the condemnation of
Nestorius.[105]

While subsequent sessions which amounted to nothing more than party-synods continued,[104] the Emperor at Constantinople continued to hear both sides of the case. The fourth and fifth sessions (16 and 17 July)[105] realised the need to overthrow the authority of John's council in order to reverse his condemnations and depositions. That they did not depose John is thought by Duchesne to be the result of the moderation of the Romans.[106] They did pronounce an excommunication against John and his adherents to the total of 54, including his supporters mentioned above, together with Theodoret of Cyrus and Paul of Emesa.[107] Meanwhile Caelestine and the Emperor were furnished with biassed reports.[108] A sixth session was held on 22 July which ratified the acts of a month previous and declared that the Nicene Creed was sufficient as a statement of doctrine and that no additions should be made to it. This received 197 signatures.[109]

At the seventh session the Cypriots made themselves independent of Antioch, and Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem also made attempts to gain further jurisdiction. d'Alès summarises:[110]

'Le mois de juillet s'acheva sans que les deux assemblées rivales eussent repris contact. Le comte Irénée s'etait rendu à la Cour pour appuyer les doléances du parti oriental.'

In August the Emperor sent as his new representative Count John, 'comes sacrarum largitionum'. He ratified the depositions of Cyril, Memnon and Nestorius and put them in prison. He read the letters of the Emperor to the majority of those present and tried to reconcile the Easterns with Cyril but without result.[111] As he could not dissolve the Council, he referred the matter to the Emperor.[112] The letters to and fro continued throughout the month. d'Alès notes that the communication of the Oriental party was quite conciliatory (and as we shall see later) was the basis for the ultimate reunion.[113] This contrasted with the letter of the Cyrilline party.[114] In spite of this the Cyrilline party had a large number of supporters in the capital including the archimandrite Dalmatius who possessed great moral authority there, and was able to influence the Emperor. Indeed the palace doors appeared to be always open to him.[115] The clergy of the capital also complained to the Emperor about the depositions of Cyril and Memnon,[116] and the former encouraged them with letters.[117]

This was the situation at the end of August, and in September the Emperor made fresh attempts to reconcile the parties.[118] Each of the Councils was to send eight representatives to Chalcedon.[119] On 11 September the Emperor

arrived and met them. The oriental representatives still remained convinced
that they were right and they wrote to certain bishops who were unsure of their
position with a certain calm certainty of their position as against that of the
Cyrilline party. D'Alès notes[120] how they wrote to Rufus, Metropolitan of
Thessalonica and declared that Cyril's position was nothing other than
Apollinarianism in disguise and how Apollinarius and his disciples had been
condemned. On their own side they claimed that they represented the faith of
Nicaea, and also that of Eustathius of Antioch, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of
Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Athanasius and other fathers. They told Rufus that
they had been summoned to Constantinople, and that the Emperor had constantly
ordered the Cyrilline party to abandon the Twelve Anathemas, but that these had
remained intractible. Nevertheless it seems likely that the presence of the
two Roman legates in the Cyrilline party must have had some influence on the
Emperor.

Theodoret disputed with Acacius and thought he had the better of the
debate, but there was a complete refusal to discuss the Twelve Anathemas. It
became clear there was no hope of a settlement, although there is evidence that
the Easterns could accept the $\theta\epsilon o\tau \acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$.[121]

With the bishops of Rome and Alexandria in alliance against Nestorius,
and supported by most of the bishops in the Empire, Theodosius was convinced
that his course of action was clear. A sentence of exile would be issued against
Nestorius and probably executed without delay.[122] However it seems possible
that Nestorius suggested to the Emperor that he should be sent back to his
monastery, if an orthodox peace could be established as a result. Apparently
permission was given and he left without being disgraced, and came to Antioch
in September.[125] This is d'Alès' account, but it seems probable that by this
time he had already lost favour with the Emperor, and he attributed this to
his lack of bribery, and the overwhelming action of Cyril in this field. His
summary of Cyril's actions at Ephesus is interesting:[124]

'And I was summoned by Cyril who had assembled the council, even by
Cyril who was the chief thereof. Who was judge? Cyril And who was the
accuser? Cyril. Who was bishop of Rome? Cyril. Cyril was everything.
Cyril was the bishop of Alexandria and took the place of the holy and saintly
bishop of Rome, Celestinus.'

Meanwhile because Theodosius had been impressed by the Alexandrian-
Roman alliance, he invited them to consecrate a successor to Nestorius. The
choice fell on Maximianus, a venerable and respected presbyter of Constantinople
and he was consecrated on 25 October in the presence of all three Roman legates.[125]

Because no agreement had been reached it was necessary to conclude the Council, and the methods employed by the Emperor do not suggest that he had decided in favour of Cyril's council rather than that of John of Antioch. The dissolution took place by means of two decrees. In the first the bishops were ordered to return home, seek peace and try to repair the damage done. Cyril and Memnon were still officially deposed and were not included in this order.[126] But Cyril escaped and entered Alexandria in triumph on 30/31 October, but he did not receive a total welcome in Egypt. Isidore of Pelusium spoke out against him and accused him of being like his uncle Theophilus who had attacked St John Chrysostom.[127] Cyril kept quiet about the anathemas which by this time caused him no little embarrassment. A second imperial rescript addressed this time only to the Cyrilline council declared that Cyril and Memnon might return to their sees, but that there was to be no condemnation of the Easterns.[128] So Cyril was established at Alexandria and John had returned to Antioch.

There remained a party of Nestorians at Constantinople supported by Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, and they made numerous protests to the Emperor and wrote letters to important sees during the next few months.[129] A sentence of deposition was made against Dorotheus, together with Himerius of Nicomedia, Eutherius of Tyana and Helladius of Tarsus by Maximianus, Juvenal, Flavian and others, though only Himerius was forced out. The Orientals maintained their attitude when returning to their sees. The Emperor even tried to get John to bandon his anathemas.[130]

Thus the Council of Ephesus was over; but what council? To become a General Council the decisions taken at Ephesus had to receive general assent. The following years are really an account of the various stages which led to that agreement. In the process Nestorius was abandoned, but not, it must be admitted, the best of Antiochene Christology. From a state in which there were two enemy councils facing each other, it took only 22 months to achieve at least the appearance of concord.

The Emperor's peace mission was entrusted to Aristolaus, a tribune and lawyerwho was sent in 432 both to Alexandria and Antioch.[131] The new Pope Xystus III also wanted a settlement and wrote in these terms to the respected Acacius of Beroea.[132] The Emperor wrote to him and also to St Simeon Stylites.[133] Acacius also wrote to Cyril[134] and suggested that he should only adhere to Nicaea as explained in Athanasius' letter to Epiptetus, and therefore he was to lay aside both his own and Nestorius' writings. Cyril replied,[135] defending

his anathemas, but making the condemnation of Nestorius an essential pre-requisite for peace. Maximianus naturally required the latter but was willing to sacrifice the anathemas. Many at Court concurred and so Cyril set out to bribe all those whom he felt held sway there.

His modifications did however suit the taste of John of Antioch and Acacius and also the bishops of the provinces of Phoenicia (Tyre and Damascus), of Syria (Antioch and Apamea) and of Arabia (Bostra). In Cilicia there was strong feeling for the memory of Theodore of Mopsuestia; Helladius was influential as were Eutherius, Himerius and Alexander of Hierapolis. Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata had a moderating influence within the province. Although they agreed that Cyril had explained away his anathemas, they did not see that it was necessary to condemn Nestorius.

John of Antioch left to Theodoret the theological debate. D'Alès says that John was only an average theologian, but he did see the great necessity for religious peace in the Empire.[136] He sent Paul of Emesa to Alexandria to represent him and Acacius of Beroea, the senior bishop in the East. Paul and the letters he brought with him were well received at his destination. The matter of the anathemas was dropped. Cyril had previously drafted a long letter (abridged by d'Alès) only extant in Latin[157] after reaching agreement with Aristolaus. This was sufficiently moderate to make a peace settlement more likely.[158] Acacius was overjoyed when he received this letter through the magistrate Maximus, and he wrote in this vein to Alexander of Hierapolis,[159] but the latter would not change his conviction that Cyril was a heretic in the line of Apollinarius.

The propositions which Paul of Emesa brought appeared to be more acceptable to Cyril. He explained the Oriental position in the cathedral and Cyril accepted this, and Paul was allowed to preach twice subsequently,[140] on Christmas Day 452 and on 1 January 453. Paul had offered to pronounce the anathemas against Nestorius but Cyril did not insist on this, and sent him back after admitting him to communion, together with Aristolaus and two Alexandrian deacons, and with a formulary which expressly condemned Nestorius and his teaching. In return for John's signature, letters of communion would be exchanged. The Orientals were thereby forced to acknowledge that Nestorius was wrong and condemn his teaching. They hoped it would be enough to have Maximianus confirmed in the now vacant see of Constantinople but Nestorius was demanding his own reinstatement. Now too the Emperor had resumed

relations with Cyril and so Nestorius had to be abandoned. John secured small modifications of vocabulary and then signed the documents together with other notable Orientals. Acacius did not, and Duchesne seems to think he had died by this time.[141] Others like Helladius, Eutherius, Himerius and Dorotheus refused and wrote to Cyril, Xyxtus and Maximianus to explain their position.

Paul returned with John's letters and the statement: 'Depositum sive damnatum habemus Nestorium...anathematismo subicientes quaecumque ab eo aliene ac peregrine dicta sunt contra apostolicam doctrinam.'[142] It was deliberately vague, but it accepted the faith traditionally expressed at Nicaea, the term Theotokos, the deposition of Nestorius and the condemnation of his errors, recognised the elevation of Maximianus, and renewed communion with orthodox churches. The letters of John of Antioch to the Pope, to Cyril and to Maximianus are extant.[145]

The confession of faith which John made and which Cyril was to accept is interesting in that the terms are the same employed by the Eastern bishops at Ephesus. We have noted above[144] that their council gathered round John of Antioch expressed their faith and Count John had included this in a letter to Theodosius.[145] It is primarily intended as a doctrinal statement of their views without any reference to a reconcilation with Cyril, and is dated August 431. Nevertheless Cyril came to accept it and included it in his reply, the 'Laetentur' letter,[146] and is known as the Formulary of Reunion. Except for the addition of a last sentence, it is verbally identical with the original.

The actual formula contained in Cyril's letter is quite brief:[147]

'We confess, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect Man, consisting of a rational soul and a body, begotten of the Father before the ages as touching his Godhead, the same, in the last days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, as touching his Manhood; the same of one substance with the Father as touching his Godhead, and of one substance with us as touching his Manhood. For of two natures a union has been made. For this cause we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord.
'In accordance with this sense of the unconfused union, we confess the holy Virgin to be Θεοτόκος , because God the Word became incarnate and was made man, and from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her. And as to the expressions concerning the Lord in the Gospels and Epistles, we are aware that theologians understand some as common, as relating to one Person, and others they distinguish, as relating to two natures, explaining those that befit the divine nature according to the Godhead of Christ, and those of a humble sort according to his Manhood.'

The original lacked the final section on exegesis which is included in this Formulary of Reunion proper. Its moderation is striking and its ultimate

authership unknown although its original was a doctrinal statement issuing from the Council of Eastern bishops at Ephesus sent to the Emperor in a letter to Count John written in August 431. The letter began by praising the Emperor's wisdom and mentions the indiscretion of Cyril which caused such a turmoil. It advocates a return to the pure doctrine of Nicaea but wished to do justice to the principal points made by Cyril, e.g. in the Third Anathema Cyril suggested ἕνωσις φυσική, but John suggested δύο φύσεων ἕνωσις γέγονε. He also admitted Θεοτόκος without adding the counterbalance ἀνθρωποτόκος, and thus was accepting the traditional word of the Fathers. D'Alès notes that the letter was a private one, possibly in circumstances which militated against similar statements of an official nature.[148]

It is often stated[149] that the original statement of faith was the composition of Theodoret, but the difficulty is that Theodoret is usually regarded as a 'hard-liner', perhaps rather more over his support of Nestorius personally rather than in his own theological propositions. He certainly refused to disown Nestorius explicitly in the reunion negotiations which followed and the point in his case was not pressed. His answer to the Twelve Anathemas is fairly firm although at certain points the scholiast Arethas stated that in the controversy between Theodoret and Cyril it was a question of six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.[150]   T.Sagi Bunic doubts[151] whether Theodoret, or at least Theodoret alone, was the author. D'Alès ascribes the statement to John of Antioch,[152] noting its remarkable openness towards the opinions of Cyril and explains this partly as the moderation of John himself and partly as the result of the bad tactical position of the Orientals at the time. Indeed he asks specifically: 'Fut-elle du goût de Théodoret, esprit beaucoup moins prompt que Jean aux resolutions extrêmes? Nous ne le savons pas; il y a lieu d'en douter.'[153]

The Eastern bishops avoided a vote on a document which might have divided them and in both Greek and Latin versions it has reached us as the collective thought of the Council convened by John without individual signatures. Even so Alexander of Hierapolis who later headed the Nestorian opposition disclaimed it. Sixteen months later it became the basis for reconciliation together with the exegetical addition. It was, as we have seen, proposed by John[154] and warmly received by Cyril,[155] for he was content to accept the Antiochene document as long as his anathemas were not actually condemned, so that his session at Ephesus could be recognised as the General Council.

News of the agreement was sent to the Pope, to the Emperor and to the Patriarch of Constantinople by both John and Cyril.   But not everyone accepted it, and it is ironical that both Cyril and John were believed to have sold the pass by a minority of their followers.   Cyril had to defend the agreement to his more extreme followers.[156]   Once again Isidore of Pelusium did not like what Cyril had done and in a letter told him not to give in under threat.   Duchesne suggests[157] that the Emperor, through Aristolaus, had threatened Cyril with exile.   Perhaps it is a little surprising that Cyril could accept it though in the long run he gave little away in doing so.   The clue here is that, provided Nestorius was abandoned by his allies, Cyril was prepared to be conciliatory about anything else.[158]   But his successor Dioscorus, after his accession, refused to be bound by the Reunion.

For Cyril the condition precedent for reunion with the Eastern bishops was that they explicitly abandoned Nestorius.   John of Antioch was willing to accept the condition, but many more disagreed with him, especially in Cilicia under Alexander of Hierapolis.   Andrew of Samosata was soon appeased and put himself in communion with Acacius of Melitene and Rabbulas of Edessa.   Helladius of Tarsus and Eutherius of Tyana wrote to the Pope for support, thinking him to be very different from Caelestine, Theodoret could accept the Formulary of Reunion but not the abandonment of Nestorius.   He would rather have both his hands cut off than abandon his friend.[159]   Nestorius' own reaction seems to be contained in the next document in the Latin collection[160] - a firm rejection of the basis of union.   But Loofs notes:[161] 'Nestorius could have accepted the confession of faith on which the union was based.   It was, therefore, really tragic that the anathema against him was the price of the peace.   He was now also robbed of his former friends, and there cannot be the least doubt that for this painful experience, too, he had to thank Saint Cyril.'   A rather negative reaction of Alexander of Hierapolis , described as 'alter Nestorius' is further evidence of Antiochene opposition.[162]

It is important to note that those Eastern bishops who refused to condemn Nestorius claimed that it was John of Antioch and not Cyril who had given way and therefore refused either to accept the Formulary or to disown Nestorius.

Maximianus died on 12 April, 434, and Proclus was enthroned at Constantinople in the face of the few who still advocated the return of Nestorius.[165] Theodoret, influenced by Simon Stylites, entered into communion with John and

the latter did not require him to condemn his friend. Most of the Cilicians followed his example though some recalcitrants were sent into exile.[164] In view of the origin and contents of the Formulary of Reunion it was not surprising that so many of the Antiochene party felt they were quite able to assent to it. Therefore in April only the firm Alexander of Hierapolis and seventeen other bishops[165] had to be deposed and these were sent to the Egyptian mines.[166] It is true that for the time some, including Theodoret, assented without actually condemning Nestorius. Their support counted for very little because in August 455 an edict of Theodosius proscribed the writings of Nestorius and the meetings of his followers.[167] They were to be called Simonians; his books were forbidden to be read, copied or kept; existing copies were to be burnt; meetings were forbidden, even outside towns. The tremendous effect which such an order for the virtual destruction of All Nestorius' works had on the attempt of modern scholarship to asses his real position will be noted in a later section. Count Irenaeus and the priest Photius were banished to Petra and their goods confiscated.[168] Aristolaus made sure that all who had not formally condemned Nestorius did so, and eventually even Theodoret signed.

Soon after this edict Nestorius was banished to Arabia. There is no doubt that Cyril would have urged this, and before he died Pope Caelestine had petitioned the Emperor for the same thing. However two accounts, the authority of Evagrius the historian and also a Nestorian legend, seem to point the finger at Nestorius' old friend John of Antioch as precipitating the decision. It must have been very difficult for the reconciled Antiochene leader to keep the peace when he had Nestorius in his own territory, probably attracting sufficient interest as a 'confessor' even if he was not actually agitating. Whether or not jealousy of a challenge to his own authority influenced John need not concern us very much. The result was that Nestorius was banished even further afield, though not to Arabia, for he is next seen at Oasis in Upper Egypt, and it was here, as far as we know, that he spent the remainder of his life.

There he was to live as an outcast for at least sixteen years and outlived many of the other original contestants at Ephesus. The Pope Caelestine had died soon after the Council had ended in 452, and his successor Xystus died in 440. In the same year John of Antioch and Dalmatius the Abbot who seems to have influenced the Emperor against Nestorius,[169] died. The former was succeeded by his nephew Domnus and the latter succeeded as abbot by Eutyches.[170] Four years later his arch-enemy Cyril also departed this life and he was succeeded by Dioscorus. In 446 Flavian was consecrated the third bishop of New Rome since

Nestorius' deposition,[171] and in Old Rome the former Archdeacon Leo became Pope.

The stage was now set for the final round of the struggle and the principle protagonists established in the sees. Dioscorus and Eutyches represented the extreme Alexandrian position while Leo on the other hand was a better Christologian than Caelestine and his Tome represented the traditional Western position with marked affinities to the starting point of Nestorius.

At Constantinople the Emperor Theodosius II was strongly influenced by Eutyches, and his godson, the imperial eunuch Chrysaphius. On the other side were Flavian the patriarch, a moderate Dualist, and Pulcheria, the sister and successor of Theodosius. The struggle at court between Chrysaphius and Pulcheria is well documented in an article by Goubert in Das Konzil von Chalkedon (Vol.I), a three volume collection of essays written by French and German scholars to commemorate the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Chalcedon.[172] In 447 Theodoret attacked Eutyches in 'Eranistes' (Beggar-Man). The swing was felt when Irenaeus was deposed unlawfully by the Emperor as a supporter of Nestorius, though Irenaeus, then a lawman, had actively opposed Nestorius in the events leading up to Ephesus (431).[173] The Formulary of Reunion was overthrown and Cyril made the arbiter of orthodoxy. A certain Photius was made bishop of Tyre and they condemned Theodoret to house arrest to prevent his presence at synods. Eutyches tried to gain the support of Leo who replied evasively.

On 8 November 448 Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaeum, set the wheels in motion when at the so-called σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα, meeting at Constantinople, he initiated a charge of heresy against Eutyches in the form of a libellus. The trial lasted for seven sessions (12-22 November) and the proceedings have been recorded.[174] In the first session after the charge, Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius and the Formulary of Reunion were read out, thus bringing to the fore the phrase ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν.[175] Flavian then read out a confession of faith which contained the following important formula:[176]

> 'We acknowledge that Christ is from two natures after the Incarnation, in one hypostasis and one person confessing one Christ, one Son, one Lord.'

He thus tried to balance two Christological points of view.

Although it is clear that Flavian understood the phrase 'out of two natures' in the sense of 'in two natures', Eutyches accepted it and gave it a twist which made it a Monophysite slogan and so unusable by the orthodox. With his other phrase to describe the union, which he had taken over from his

predecessor at Constantinople, Proclus, he was very much more successful.
The Chalcedonian Definition used it as a source for the formula 'the one
hypostasis and the one prosopon'.[177]

'There now appears the most important christological document of its
kind which the Latin Church produced. The impulse came for it from the East'.[178]
Eutyches only appeared at the last session of the council, entered a formal
protest against the judgement and appealed 'to the holy council of the Bishops
of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Thessalonica'.[179] The omission of Antioch
was probably deliberate. He sent letters to many bishops including one to
Leo,[180] in which he gives his version of the hearing in which he declared he was
not allowed to have a fair say and that the judgement had already been prepared,
and his life had been in danger. We may note in passing that the treatment
accorded to Flavian at the council of Ephesus a few months later, was far worse
than the treatment he is supposed to have inflicted on Eutyches at this stage.

While Leo waited, Eutyches spread his propaganda and enlisted the
support of the Emperor through Chrysaphius, and the former wrote in his favour
to Leo, and only then did Leo reply.[181] After investigating the Home Synod,
Theodosius agreed to call a General Council on 30 March, 449. The decree
and the rescripts to Dioscorus and Archimandrite Barsumas show that the clear
intention was the removal of Flavian, thereby crushing the last remnants of 'Nest-
orianism', and the reinstatement of Eutyches.[182] Dioscorus was to preside and
the chief Antiochene, Theodoret, barred from the meeting. Flavian realised
what was intended and wrote to Leo,[183] who became alarmed and sent a Papal deleg-
ation to Constantinople, consisting of Julius of Puteoli, the presbyter Renatus
(who died en route), the deacon Hilary and the notary Dulcitius. His letters
were unsuccessful in preventing the council which met at Ephesus on 8 August 449.

About 140 bishops had come to the council but the event was completely
dominated by monastic strong-arm men. Eutyches had brought monks from Constant-
inople, Barsumas more from Syria, and Dioscorus had twenty suffragans, more monks
and the parabolani.[184] The papal legates were armed only with Leo's Tome to
Flavian.[185] At this stage of the controversy the Tome of Leo became the decisive
document (a partial, though not complete comparison being the Formulary of Reunion,
after the Council of Ephesus, 431). That it was rejected by the supporters of
Eutyches is not surprising since in their eyes it smacked of the opinions of
Nestorius.[186]

At the first session Eutyches was allowed to read out his numerous representations, but although the Roman legates continually demanded that Leo's Tome should be read at the outset, they were thwarted by Eutyches' rumour that they were allies of Flavian.   Eutyches was reinstated by the votes of 115 of the Fathers, but Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum were deprived for having violated the ruling at Ephesus that no addition should be made to the Creed of Nicaea.[187] This refusal of the Council to allow the Tome of Leo to be read breaks the traditional alliance between Rome and Alexandria.   The deacon Hilary tried to protest by shouting 'Contradicitur'.   Then all hell was let loose for Dioscorus gave the signal and soldiers, monks and parabolani broke in, and the Synod became chaotic. . As a result Leo gave the proceedings the nickname, 'the Latrocinium' or 'Robber-council'.[188]

At a later session on 22 August Ibas of Edessa, Domnus of Antioch and Theodoret were deposed and exiled.   Immediately after this session Hilary returned as fast as possible to Rome, with a letter from Flavian asking Leo to spread propaganda and win over the support of the court and the monks of the east.   A synod was held at Rome (29 September-15 October) and from it letters were sent to Theodosius, to Pulcheria, to the clergy and people of Constantinople, and to four important archimandrites.   Meanwhile the Emperor had remained stedfast and in November had appointed as successor to Flavian the Alexandrian apocrisarius Anatolius.[190]   Replies to the letters were received in March 450 from Pulcheria, the clergy and people, and two of the archimandrites.   The Latrocinium certainly resulted in the death of Flavian and this is fully elaborated in the Liber Heraclidis.[191]   Leo sent another delegation to the East on 16 July 450 with his Tome and with more letters.[192]

So matters stood in apparent deadlock, when on 28 July the Emperor suddenly died as a result of a riding accident, and was succeeded by Pulcheria. The Tome of Leo was then translated into Greek and was promulgated in a synod at Constantinople in October.   Meanwhile Pulcheria had secured the assassination of Chrysaphius, and on 25 August had married and taken as consort an elderly soldier called Marcian.   In a letter to Leo announcing his election, Marcian declared he was ready to assist the restoration of peace in the Church by calling a new General Council.[193]

The decree first called on the bishops to meet in September 451 at Nicaea, and when they were assembled Eutyches excommunicated Leo.   Because of the threat of the Hun invasion, Marcian could not go to Nicaea and ordered the

bishops to move to Chalcedon. In the first session on 8. October Theodoret
was re-admitted as a bishop, while Eusebius of Dorylaeum took up the attack
again, this time against Dioscorus. The minutes of the Latrocinium and the
synod of Constantinople were read. Flavian's memory was vindicated. After
Dioscorus and his followers had been removed from the assembly, all those
present burst into singing the Trisagion, which is the first reported occasion
of its use.[194]

On 10. October, Session II was mainly occupied with a discussion
of Leo's Tome.[195] In the third session, three days later, Dioscorus was
formally deprived of his episcopal office. But it was only under considerable
pressure from Marcian that the bishops agreed to draw up a new confession of
faith.[196] Even in the fourth session (17. October) the Council declared:
'The Rule of Faith as contained in the Creed of Nicaea, confirmed by the Council
of Constantinople, expounded at Ephesus under Cyril, and set forth in the Letter
of Pope Leo when he condemned the heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches' was perfectly
acceptable to them.[197] The Chalcedonian Definition as an independent addit-
ional statement of faith was due to the pressure of the Imperial commissioners.
The first attempt by a drafting committee under the chairmanship of Anatolius
which met on 21. October was not accepted. It is no longer extant.[198] From
the following discussion it appears that it was Cyrillian in essence and almost
certainly contained the formula $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\delta\acute{u}o$ $\phi\acute{u}\sigma\epsilon\omega\nu$.[199] To this the commissioners
took exception because it echoed too closely the usage of Dioscorus (now
condemned) and failed to harmonise with the 'in duabus naturis' of the Tome of
Leo.

The assembly agreed that a committee formed by the emperor should work
out this final definition in accordance with the doctrine of the Tome of Leo.[200]
It can still be seen that Leo did not get his own way. He thought that the
whole controversy could be settled doctrinally by the acceptance of his Tome by
the Council. The inclusion of the Letters of Cyril was not only the recognition
of an important tradition of Eastern Christology but also by implication an
indication that, while Chalcedon reversed the council of Ephesus (449), it had no
intention of going back on the Council of Ephesus (431). However, the evidence
would seem to suggest that Cyril's third letter to Nestorius with the attached
anathemas did not attain the same status as his second letter to Nestorius and
as the letter to John of Antioch.

Twenty three bishops assembled with the Imperial commissioners in the
oratory of St Euphemia, and on 22. October they produced a long declaration of

faith before the whole assembly. This was formally promulgated in the presence of Marcian and Pulcheria on 25 October. The Acts cite first a lengthy preamble, and then quote the creeds of Nicaea (525) and of Constantinople (381). It accepted the documents already noted, of Cyril, Leo, Flavian, and possible references from Theodoret.[201] This document of faith was to be totally binding on all Christians. Then it set out what is now properly called the 'Chalcedonian Definition:[202]

> 'Wherefore, following the holy Fathers, we all with one voice confess our Lord Jesus Christ one and the same Son, the same perfect in Godhead, the same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, the same consisting of a reasonable soul and a body, of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, the same of one substance with us as touching the manhood, like us in all things apart from sin; begotten of the Father before the ages as touching the Godhead, the same in the last days, for us and for our salvation, born from the Virgin Mary, the $\Theta \epsilon o \tau \acute{o} \kappa o s$, as touching the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation ($\dot{\alpha} \sigma \upsilon \gamma - \chi \acute{u} \tau \omega s, \dot{\alpha} \tau \rho \acute{\epsilon} \pi \tau \omega s, \dot{\alpha} \delta \iota \alpha \iota \rho \acute{\epsilon} \tau \omega s, \dot{\alpha} \chi \omega \rho \acute{\iota} \sigma \tau \omega s$); the distinction of natures being in no way abolished because of the union, but rather the characteristic property of each nature being preserved, and concurring into one person and one subsistence ($\dot{\epsilon} i s \dot{\epsilon} \nu \pi \rho \acute{o} \sigma \omega \pi o \nu \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \mu \acute{\iota} \alpha \nu \acute{u} \pi \acute{o} \sigma \tau \alpha \sigma \iota \nu$), not as if Christ were parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and only-begotten God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ; even as the Prophets from the beginning spoke concerning him, and our Lord Jesus Christ instructed us, and the Creed of the Fathers was handed down to us.'

The documents which are chiefly used to construct it are a most representative collection. While Dualist Christology is well represented in the second half, the first half again indicates the intention of the council not to abandon the Monist emphasis of St Cyril. 'Here, as in almost no other formula from the early councils all the important centres of church life and all the trends of contemporary theology, Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, have contributed towards the framing of a common expression of faith. It would be a mistake to understand Chalcedon merely as a reaction to the Cyrillian council of Ephesus.'[205] It can be said that Chalcedon asserted the reconcilability of Cyril and Leo.[204] Theodoret and Ibas were restored to their bishoprics after anathematising Nestorius, while Domnus received a pension from his successor.[205]

All that remains to be asked is whether the confession of faith included Nestorius either by mistake or design. It may appear that the events of the Council were known to Nestorius and that he considered its decrees had vindicated him.[206] What he apparently did not know was that the Council condemned him alongside Eutyches as a heretic.

We now turn to the final stages of his life and try to assess the
date of his death and his final epitaph. Nestorius, it will be remembered,
had been exiled to the desert. Evagrius quotes fragments from two letters of
Nestorius to the governor of Thebais.[207] He had been captured by invaders at
Oasis but, when released, gave himself up to the governor, who sent him to four
different places of exile. These events took place soon after 435 because he
mentioned the Council of Ephesus as in the recent past. He probably lived the
life of a monk and may have been attached to some desert monastery, for, although
he was attacked by the leader of the Egyptian monks, Schnoute, he seems to have
won respect for his devotion and personal life. But it is not surprising that
until the discovery of the Liber Heraclidis, scholars thought that the exiled
patriarch who felt old as a result of his trouble, was soon released from his
sufferings by death.

The Liber Heraclidis informs us that Nestorius was alive much later,
and a life of Dioscorus, written in Coptic,[208] says that he was summoned to the
Council of Chalcedon, but died before the summons reached him. Bedjan who
notes that Nestorius was aware of the death of Theodosius II in July 450,
writes:[209]

> 'L'auteur de sa vie, aussi bien que l'historien Zacharie le rhéteur
> prétendent qu'il fut appelé au concile, convoqué le 17 mai 451. S'il
> faut en croire ces données, Nestorius serait resté en Afrique de
> l'année 436 a l'année 451, qui serait l'année de sa mort.'

Evagrius, who mentions this account of Zacharias, rejected it not because he
knew Nestorius had died, but because the Council had anathematised rather than
welcomed him.[211]

Following Bethune-Baker, Driver and Hodgson note the reference to the
death of Theodosius and the flight of Dioscorus, and therefore give 451 or 452
as the terminus as quem.[212] Loofs, however, rejects this view as unjustified.[213]
Before coming to a decision on this, it is better to begin with a possible
terminus a quo and to work forward from this.

For a systematic answer four questions are of vital importance.
Did Nestorius know the Tome of Leo? Did Nestorius know the events of the
Latrocinium? Did Nestorius know of the death of Theodosius II? Did Nestorius
know of the events leading up to Chalcedon?

We have noted how Leo sent a delegation of three to Ephesus in June
449 with his Tome to Flavian.[214] It is also clear that Nestorius was not only
aware of the Tome, but also agreed with its contents. The doctrine of the

'communicatio προσωπον' (if the expression may be permitted) which he elaborates, seems to reflect the use of the communicatio idiomatum to which Leo makes so strong an appeal in the Tome itself.[215]

There are also definite references to the Tome in the Liber Heraclidis:[216] 'This stirred up the Emperor, and he had not wanted him (i.e. Eutyches) to be thrust out by deposition, but he was not heard. He therefore prepared all things for the deposition of Flavian and for the restoration of Eutyches. He commenced by attaching to him(self) the bishop of Alexandria and the bishop of Rome by written accounts of what was done against Eutyches; and one agreed and one agreed not (with him). For the bishop of Rome had read the things which were done against Eutyches and had condemned Eutyches for impiety; but, when I found and read this account, I gave thanks unto God that the Church of Rome was confessing correctly and without fault, although they (the Romans) were otherwise (disposed) towards me myself.'

Slightly later in his account of the Council of Ephesus, Nestorius actually mentioned the existence of the Tome, or rather the attempts by the two remaining Roman legates to have it read at the outset of the council:[217] 'The bishop of Rome was not (there), nor the See of Saint Peter, no the apostolic honour, nor the primacy dear to the Romans, but he of Alexandria sat in authority and made him of Antioch also to sit with him; and he of Rome - and we mean Julian, who represented the holy bishop of Rome - was asked if he was in agreement with the holy council and wished to read in this account what was done at Constantinople. He (the bishop of Alexandria), as one that had authority, then asked and spoke as though even passing sentence against them. Yet they (the Romans) conceded however unto him their intended purpose, not that he should accept that which they wished nor et that he should give unto them the primacy, but that, if the bishop of Rome should agree with him, he should accept him as an addition to his party, and otherwise, supposing he were found (to be) against them, he might reprove him afar as one that had not authority even in a single (thing), wanting to prove unto every man that they should not look unto the bishop of Rome, since he was not able to aid him of Constantinople. For after Julian had said: "For this do we wish, that the deed which was committed should be read out, if the letter of our Father Leo has first been read," afterwards indeed Hilary the deacon of the holy bishop of Rome said: "After these records which you now want to read had been read before him, he (Leo) then sent that which he sent". When he had heard these things and there was naught that he ought to say, he (the bishop of Alexandria) passed the opposite sentence concerning them: that "this indeed was a procedure pleasing (unto him), that the things which were done should be read out and then the writings of the pious bishop of Rome".'

It is quite clear from these accounts that Nestorius was well aware of the Tome of Leo and seems to have been sufficiently aware of its contents to ascribe to the author many reverent epithets. This answers our first question and allows a positive terminus a quo to be established which would allow a document written in June 449 to reach the desert exile of Nestorius. We may now turn to consider the second question, whether or not Nestorius was fully aware of the events of August 449. We have already partly answered the question by

noting that he knew of the account of the opening session of the council.

We can be certain that Nestorius was alive at the time of the Latrocinium for he spent a considerable proportion of Book II Part 2 of the Treatise of Heracleides dealing with the treatment of Flavian during that tragic affair and compared his own fate at the General Council of Ephesus. Flavian died as a result of the ill treatment of the monks under Barsumas in mid-August, 449.[218] Nestorius remarks:[219]

> 'By means of the liberty (accorded) by the Emperor they were doing all things by force, so that suddenly there came about the decease of Flavian, distressed so that he had no respite in all the accusations against him and was amazed and perished.'

And again:[220]

> '...The Emperor was as one that desired not his life but wanted to punish him and not to keep him alive. And thus they brought him down by force and gave him to a man (that was) a murderer so as to destroy him and to send him without mercy, in word indeed unto his (own) place, but in reality unto destruction. And thus he was dragged away and led off, (with strength) sufficient only to survive   four days, as men say, while every day his soul was being released from his body, and they counted his decease (as) a festival for them(selves)....'

We can thus firmly establish a terminus a quo when Nestorius was certainly alive as August 449, or to be more precise a time after that to allow the news of the Latrocinium and the deposition of Ibas, Irenaeus, Domnus and Theodoret to reach Nestorius in the desert.[221] Scholars have tried to establish a later terminus a quo, but I propose to show that there is nothing in the Liber Heraclidis which can positively indicate that Nestorius himself was alive later than the end of 449.

Bethune-Baker was rather more confident when he began an article:[222] 'The recovery of the work of Nestorius...the Book of Heracleides shows conclusively that Nestorius survived the Council of Chalcedon.'

In Session I of the Council of Chalcedon on 8 October 451 it is recorded that after the proceedings, the whole assembly broke spontaneously into the singing of the Trisagion. This was the first occasion when we know that it was used. The occasion seems to be alluded to in the Book of Heracleides, but as we shall see in a later section, we have to discount this, as the portions which include it are later interpolations.[223]

Another possible piece of evidence which is alleged to show that Nestorius was aware of the Council of Chalcedon, is that he knew of the deposition

and exile of Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria after Cyril. Nestorius certainly
seems to allude to the downfall of Dioscorus:[224]

> 'And he who was able (to do) everything, that is Dioscorus, bishop of Alex-
> andria, was reckoned as naught. I say indeed, as naught, since he had recourse
> to flight and was looking out (means) not to be deprived and banished into
> exile.'

Duchesne says:[225] 'The last fact that he has mentioned in his
memoirs is a local fact, the flight of Dioscorus to escape deposition and exile.
This relates to some rumour, or to some episode otherwise unknown but prior to
the Council of Chalcedon. Of that Nestorius does not speak.'

Bethune-Baker notes that in fact Dioscorus attended the Council of
Chalcedon and tried to bluff his way through the proceedings. He was informally
deposed on 8 October as we have seen, and was formally deprived of his office
at the third session five days later. Bethune-Baker says that, although the
Emperor issued an edict confirming the decrees on 7 February 452, he did not
issue the decree of banishment until 6 July. He felt therefore that Nestorius
wrote the passage after the Council but before the 'Acta' or the notice of
banishment had reached him in the Upper Nile region.[226]

But this is far too great an assumption from such a small piece of
evidence. In the context, the Council of Chalcedon is not mentioned at all,
and Nestorius has just declared that God has replaced Caelestine by Leo,[227] so
that truth might out:[228]

> 'God allowed these things to come to pass contrariwise, that he might cause
> the bishop of Rome, who was exercising the direction of the plotting of the
> Council in Ephesus against me, to pass away, and (that) he might make him
> agree with and confirm what was said by the bishop of Constantinople.'

Surely the Bishop of Constantinople in question here is Flavian, and there is
no doubt that Dioscorus, worried by a possible alliance between Constantinople
and Rome, might exhibit the anxiety which Nestorius describes with a metaphorical
hyberbole, before the Latrocinium. He is therefore describing the attempts of
Flavian to win support and to defend his condemnation of Eutyches in the period
between the Synod of Constantinople in November 448 and the Latrocinium. That
this meeting rather than the Council of Chalcedon is the meeting to which refer-
ence is being made seems to be confirmed by Nestorius' remarks later in the
paragraph:[229]

> 'But God...proved it by his (the Emperor's)aid in (the affair of) Eutyches and
> in (that of) Flavian, whereby it was seen that he gave not (permission) for
> an assembly to be held, and those who were assembled permitted not aught to be
> said except what they were commanded (to say); but they condemned themselves

also in fear and in ignominy.'

Here he is certainly referring to the Latrocinium.

So far there is no evidence that Nestorius was writing after the
Council of Chalcedon.   Bethune-Baker also cites the references to the invasions
of the barbarians together with earthquakes as evidence of a later death for
Nestorius.[250] He cites in particular the prophecy that Leo would deliver up
the sacred vessels to buy off the barbarians who were surrounding Rome under
Attila in 452.[251]   Unfortunately again this evidence cannot be counted because
the references to the disasters prophesied[252] occur in the interpolations already
mentioned, and to which Abramowski has called attention.

We are thus forced back in our attempt to determine the terminus ad
quem to the remaining question which we asked at the beginning of the discussion.
Some scholars cite the alleged knowledge by Nestorius of the death of the Emperor
Theodosius II on 28 July 450.[253]   The succession of Pulcheria, who took as
husband and Emperor, the soldier-senator Marcian, meant an immediate swing of
imperial favour against Eutyches and Dioscorus.   If it could be proved that
Nestorius was aware of the death of Theodosius II, he would have been aware of
its political importance and the possibility of his own vindication at a General
Council.   He certainly notes on one single occasion that 'Theodosius, who had
raised himself up against God, was taken from (their) midst'.[254]   However, again,
we have to discount this piece of evidence as authentic to Nestorius because it
comes within one of the interpolations, and no other evidence is found to suggest
Nestorius knew of the event, in sections that were written by him.

In order to make his hypothesis work Bethune-Baker had to discount
the evidence recorded by Evagrius of a belief current at the time of the Council
of Chalcedon that Nestorius was already dead.[255]   Evagrius cites[256] a letter of
Eustathius of Berytus, who had been deprived because he had accepted the
proceedings of the Latrocinium, but was later reinstated because he only did so
under pressure.   The extract from his letter is important evidence:

ὑπαντήσαντες δὲ, πάλιν οἱ ζητοῦντες Νεστορίου τὰ λείψαντα τῆς συνόδου
κατεβόων· Οἱ ἅγιοι διὰ τί ἀναθεματίζονται; ὡς ἀναγκήσαντα τὸν
βασιλέα τοῖς δορυφόροις ἐπιτρέψαι μακρὰν αὐτοὺς ἀπέλασαι.

_ M.F.Reveillout translates this passage:[257] 'là arrivèrent ceux
qui suivent avec opiniâtreté le parti de Nestorius et ils se mirent à vociférer
contre le concile...'   But Bethune-Baker translates the passage:[258] 'and those
who were going to fetch the remains of Nestorius came again and carried out against
the Council, saying, Why are holy men anathematised?   So that the Emperor was

indignant and ordered his guards to drive them off to a distance'. He justifies
this translation because of the comment Evagrius makes immediately afterwards:
'How then Nestorius was summoned (or recalled) when he had already departed this
life (τῶν ἐντεῦθεν μεταστάς), I cannot tell'.

It is true there were all sorts of legends about the death of
Nestorius, including one that he died of cancer of the tongue, but these were
no doubt, the pious hopes of his opponents. However the letter of Eustathius
of Berytus makes it clear that a report of Nestorius' recent death seems to
have been circulating at the time of the Council of Chalcedon and that his friends
were setting off for Egypt to collect the body. Bethune-Baker relates the
story of the dream of Macarius, bishop of Tkou, just before the council members
were about to set off, a dream which appeared to come true when a messenger
arrived with the actual news of Nestorius' death. He suggests that this was a
case of wish-fulfilment and that extremists of the Alexandrian party tried to
make sure that the rumour spread.[239] In support of this theory he suggests
that Evagrius did not make use of the later portions of the Treatise of Hera-
cleides, simply because he was bored with the repetions of the earlier sections
and did not bother to complete his reading. This would seem to be a little
harsh to the historian. However an alternative view that Evagrius had a first
Greek edition which did not have the second section of Book II seems equally
possible. In any case we cannot lightly dismiss a story current at the time
that Nestorius was dead before the Council of Chalcedon.

Having answered the questions at the beginning of our attempt to
decide on the evidence for the date of the death of Nestorius, it is possible
to summarise as follows. It can be shown that Nestorius was aware of the Tome
of Leo, and also of the events of the Latrocinium, and also of the death of
Flavian. Even if we take Chadwick's view that the latter did not die until
February 450, we have an effective terminus a quo. It almost turns out to be
the terminus ad quem also, because we cannot show from the Book of Heracleides
that Nestorius knew of the death of Theodosius, and either the summoning or the
results of the Council of Chalcedon. The date of the death of Theodosius is
known to have been on 28 July 450.

We are thus left with the conclusion that the last possible evidence
from the Treatise itself which can certainly be ascribed to Nestorius, is that
the Latrocinium had taken place and its full effect known. To allow this time
to filter through to Nestorius, we must admit that he was alive and able to
write the last section of the Treatise in the winter 449-450. It is almost

certain that he did not know that the Emperor Theodosius had died or else he would have included a reference to this, as a disciple seems to have done shortly after.[240] Everything here depends upon the extent of the interpolations. Possibly Nestorius knew of the Emperor's death and at least the possibility of a new council being called for which the Treatise may have been a brief for the defence in absentia.

The most probable view appears to be that Nestorius died some time in 450 and about the sametime as Theodosius. This would explain the rumours current in the Alexandrian party about a possible return of Nestorius to favour or alternatively about his recent death. Both would fit well with the growing fears of the extreme Alexandrians, who immediately after the accession of Marcian and Pulcheria could see the way events would turn, even before the convocation of a General Council was issued.

Therefore Nestorius ended his long exile in the desert still proclaiming his innocence. Some of his humble closing remarks may be quoted:[241]

'But may Nestorius be anathematised; but may they say what I pray them to say concerning God... But I have endured the torment of my life and all my (fate) in this world as the torment of one day and lo! I have now already got me to (the time of my) dissolution, and daily every day I beseech God to accomplish my dissolution, whose eyes have seen the salvation of God.'

A concluding epitaph is provided by Loofs: 'How rich the years of exile were in tragic events we have seen already (in his first lecture). I merely remark here that Nestorius in these years was even before his death a dead man for the world - I mean the orthodox church. He now was nothing but the condemned heretic, nothing but the cause of offence thrust out from the people of God.

'He was really not dead: he hailed with joy the change of the situation after the robber-synod, hailed with joy Leo's letter to Flavian, hailed with joy the new council he saw in prospect.[242] He did not live to experience the fact that this council, too, condemned him and that also Theodoret, who even up to his death held to him, was forced to consent to his condemnation. With this the tragedy of Nestorius' life came to an end. Now he was regarded by all in the church as a cursed heretic; now for him came to pass what, according to the edict of 435, was to be the future of his adherents: he had not only supported the punishment of being covered with ignominy during his lifetime, but also after his death did not escape from ignominy.

'The orthodox saw in his sufferings nothing but a just penalty:
Nestorius himself called his life a tragedy. I, too, used the same expression.
But his life was a tragedy only if he was guiltless. The question as to
whether he was guiltless (will concern us later).'[245]

Chapter One   Notes

1.   J.F.Bethune-Baker, Nestorius and his Teaching. p.1

2.   Socrates, H.E. VII,29 (P.G.lxvii,804A). Many of the details of Nestorius' life are to be found in L.Duchesne, Early History of the Christian Church, Volume III, chs. X & XI.

3.   See also infra, p. 44f.

4.   J.F.Bethune-Baker, ibid., p.6, n.2, quoting Gennadius (fl.480), 'he composed innumerable tracts on various subjects in which with subtle malice he distilled the poison of his heresy - which betrayed itself afterwards, though for some time his high moral character hid it' (de viris illustribus, liii).

5.   cf. DrH, pp.270-7, where the Emperor's choice of Nestorius as a candidate for the See of New Rome is asserted.

6.   G.L.Prestige, Fathers and Heretics, ch.6: 'Nestorius: or, Redeemed Humanity'.

7.   Ibid., p.259

8.   Socrates, H.E. VII,29 (P.G.lxvii,804B); cf. the account in Duchesne, p.220f.

9.   Ibid., P.G. lxvii. 804C

10.   Codex Theodos. XVI,5,65 (May 30, 428); Duchesne. p.221

11.   See infra, p. 40f.

12.   The earliest use of the term is in Hippolytus (though probably this is an interpolation). Alexandrian references are early and frequent, e.g. Origen, Peter of Alexandria, Alexander of Alexandria, Athanasius, Didymus, and Cyril. Among Origenists, e.g. Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyril of Jerusalem and the Cappadocians. For Antioch there are only two references: in Eustathius, one certainly and the other probably, spurious, and intwo spurious Homilies of Chrysostom. See G.W.H.Lampe, Patristic Lexicon, p.639ff.

13.   J.F.Bethune-Baker, ibid., p.13ff

14.   Ibid., p.14, but see infra, p.5, n.23

15.   Socrates. H.E.VII. 32 (P.G. lxvii.808C-9A); cf. Duchesne, pp.227-9

16.   DrH., p.149

17.   Cyril, Ep.IV ad Nestor. II, Bindley-Green, p.97,11.95-7: οὕτως εὑρήσομεν τοὺς ἁγίους πεφρονηκότας πατέρας· οὕτω τεθαρσηκότι Θεοτόκον εἰπεῖν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον.

18.   Cyril, Ep.II ad Nestor.I, A.C.O. I,I,i, p.24,11,23-4: A.Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, p.370; ibid., 'Das Scandalum oecumenicum des Nestorius in kirchlich-dogmaticher und theologiegeschtlicher Sicht', Schol. 26 (1961), pp.321-56; Duchesne, p.231f.

19.20. Cyril, Ep.I ad Monachos, A.C.O. I,I,i, pp.10-23; Orat. ad Augustas, A.CO. I,5, pp.20-61; Orat. ad Dominas, A.C.O., I.5, pp.102-118: Orat. ad Theodosianum. A.C.O. I,I,i, pp.42-72

21.   Preserved in the Synodicon adv. trag. Iren. ch. 203, Theodoret Opp. (P.G. lxxxiv, 826A-829A).

22.   DrH., pp. 98ff; Nestorius, Ep VII ad Joann., Nestoriana, p.185; Trag., Nest., p.203

23.   Nestorius also proposed Θεοδόχος ('she who received God'). This would have been very close verbally to Θεοτόκος and could be used devotionally which ἀνθρωποτόκος καὶ Θεοτόκος could not.

24.   Sermo, IX, Nestoriana, pp.249-264, preserved complete in Latin by Marius Mercator (P.L. xlviii, 828B-829B); some fragments are also preserved in Greek.

25.   Sermo IX, ibid.; cf Nestoriana, pp.134-146

26.   DrH., pp.99f.

27.   Ibid., pp.100f.

28.   F.Loofs, Nestorius and his place in the History of Christian Doctrine, pp.29ff.

29. Sermo IX, Nestoriana, p.251,21ff.: 'Audiant haec, qui ..., sicut modo cognovimus, in (ex?) nobis invicem frequenter sciscitantur: Θεοτόκος ... Maria, an autem ἀνθρωποτόκος ?'

30. Ibid., pp.249-264; cf. Sermo XVIII, Nestoriana, p.300,15: 'Non, dicit, inquiunt, τὸ Θεοτόκος, et hoc est totum, quod nostris sensibus ab illis opponitur.'

31. John of Antioch, Ep. ad Nestor., A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.93-6

32. Nestorius, Ep. VII ad Joann. Ant., Nestoriana, pp.163-6, see esp. p.185, 10f.: 'Volentibus concessi, ut pie genitricen vel particen dei virginem nominarent.'

33. Nestorius, Ep. I ad Caelestin. I, Nestoriana, pp.165-8, see esp. p.167,24: 'ferri tamen potest hoc vocabulum.'

34. Sermo X, Nestoriana, p.275f.

35. Ibid., p.272, 13f

36. Sermons Fr. III, Nestoriana, p.353,17ff.

37. Caelestine, Ep. ad Nestor., I,1,i, pp.77-83.

38. Nestorius, Ep.I ad Caelest. I, Nestoriana, pp.165-8, preserved only in Latin.

39. Nestorius, Ep. II ad Caelest. II, Nestoriana, pp.170-2, see esp. p.171.

40. DrH., pp.103ff. The full text is given in A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.23-5

41. Supra, p.4, n.27

42. Op.cit., p.33.; Duchesne, pp.231-4

43. Cyril, Ep. X ad apokrisarios Constantinopoli constitutos, A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.110-2, cf. Latin translation of Marius Mercator, P.L. xlviii, 813A-814A

44. Ibid., P.L. xlviii, 817A-B, preserved only inLatin.

45. Ibid., P.G. lxxvii, 68C-69A, preserved only in Greek.

46. DrH., p.101

47. For the fuller argument see Loofs, op.cit., pp.38-41

48. Ibid., p.41

49. See infra, p. 40f.

50. Nestorius, Ep.II ad Caelest. II, Nestoriana, pp.169-72; Duchesne, p.229f.

51. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.8f

52. Cyril, Ep. XI ad Caelest. I, P.G. lxxvii, 80B-89A

53. Nestorius, Ep.V ad Cyrill.II, Nestoriana, pp.173-80

54. See supra. p.3, n.20.

55. Cyril Ep.IV ad Nestor. II, Bindley-Green, pp.95-7, A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.25-8

56. Ibid.

57. See refs. DrH., pp.141f., 162, 257

58. Cyril, Ep. XI ad Caelest., A.C.O. I,1,v, pp.10-12

59. John Cassian, De Incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium Libri VII, P.L. 1, 9-272; CSEL xvii, 235-591; cf. Nestoriana, pp.51-7

60. Nestorius, Ep. I ad Caelest, I, Nestoriana, pp.165-8

61. See supra, p.6

62. For a fuller treatment, see Grillmeier, pp.292-9

63. Caelestine, Ep. XI ad Cyrill., P.L. 1,459C-463C; also preserved in Greek (A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.75-7); Duchesne, p.254f.

64. Caelestine, Ep. XII ad Joann. Ant., P.L. 1, 465A-69A

65. Caelestine, Ep. XIII ad Nestor., P.L. 1,469B-85A

66. Cyril, Ep. XVI ad Juvenal, A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.96-8

67. Cyril, Ep. XII ad Joann. Ant., A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.92-3

68. John of Antioch, Ep. ad Nestor., A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.93-6; Duchesne, p.238, e sp. n.3.

69. Nestorius, Ep. VII ad Joann. Ant., Nestoriana, pp.183-6; See supra, pp.3-4

70. Nestorius, Ep. VI ad Caelest. III, Nestoriana, pp.181-2

71. The fact that Cyril was able to reach agreement relatively easily with the Syrian bishops provided they disowned Nestorius evidence of this. For evidence of the patriarchal rivalries, and the assessment of the relative importance of doctrinal and ecclesiastical issues in the condemnation of Nestorius, see infra. Ch. Two.

72. From the Records of the things which were done against me at Ephesus.
Peter, priest of Alexandria and chief of the secretaries says: 'When
formerly the reverend Nestorius received consecration to become bishop
of the holy church of Constantinople, and a few days were passed by, his
homilies which disturbed those who read them were brought by certain men
from Constantinople, so that there rose on that account much disturbance
in the holy church. When then the reverend bishop of Alexandria, Cyril,
learned this, he wrote one letter and a second unto his reverence, full
of counsels and warning; and in reply to these he wrote that he listened
not, hardening himself and resisting the things which were written. And
withal again, when the reverend bishop, Cyril, learned that the letters
and books of his homilies had been sent by him to Rome, he also wrote to
the pious bishop of the church of Rome, Celestinus, by the hand of the
deacon Poseidonius, whom he commanded, (saying), "if thou findest that
the books and the homilies and the letters have been delivered, give also
t hese things which have been written by me; but if not, bring them
back hither without now delivering them." But when he found that his
letter and his homilies had been delivered, necessarily he also delivered
(those of Cyril). And those things which were proper...were written by
the pious and saintly bishop of Rome, Celestinus.' (DrH., pp.131f)
73. Cyril, Ep. XVII ad Nestor, III, A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.10-25; Bindley-Green
pp. 108-115; Duchesne, pp.236ff.
74. Ibid.
75. The phrase or a similar one was originally Apollinarian, but Cyril thought
it was derived from Athanasius. The existence of Apollinarian forgeries
particularly in the form of the ascription of Apollinarian treatises to
F athers of a more orthodox reputation was known in the sixth century
(see Leontius, Adversus fraudes Apollin.). Paul Galtier, Saint Cyrille
et Apollinaire (Gregorianum XXXVII, pp.584-600), argues convincingly that
these false attributions imposed themselves upon Cyril and affected his
Christology. H.M.Diepen, Douze dialogues de christologie ancienne,
defends both the integrity of Cyril and the orthodoxy of the phrase as he
used it, keenly but without complete success.
76. J.N.D.Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p.324.
77. DrH., p.268.
78. Nestoriana, pp.297-313, and pp.313-22. The counter-anathemas of Nestorius
are however not now usually regarded-as genuine.
79. Nestorius, Ep. VII ad Joann. Ant., Nestoriana, pp.185-6.
80. P.L. 1, 9-272; see supra, p.8.
81. P.L. xlviii, 828B-829B
82. Theodoret, Reprehensio XII Capitulorum (with Cyril's replies), A.C.O.
I,6, pp.108-45.
83. Cyril, Apologia XII Capitulorum contra Orientales (with Andrew of Samosata's
criticisms), A.C.O. I,7, pp.33-68.
84. Cyril, Explanatio XII Capitulorum, A.C.O. I, 5, pp.15-26
85. Cyril, Ep. XI ad Caelest., A.C.O. I,i,v, pp.10-12.
86. Caelestine, Ep. ad Cyrill., A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.75-77.
87. See L.Duchesne, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.240-252; A. d'Alès, Le Dogme d'Éphèse,
pp.116-223.
88. A.C.O. I,1,i,30, p.119; Ep.XXII, P.G. lxxvii,132; d'Alès, pp.135,138.
89. Duchesne, p.243,n.1; d'Alès, pp.139-42.
90. Count Candidianus' instructions forebade him to be present at doctrinal
debates, but he was able to see that meetings were fairly conducted, and
was to keep order outside; see Duchesne, p.242.
91. d'Alès, p.142.
92. Ibid., pp.142-4.
93. Ibid., p.145.
94. Ibid., pp.145-9.
95. Duchesne, p.246.

96. d'Alès, p.149
97. Ibid., pp.150-1. (Nestorius, Fritilas of Heraclea, Dexianus of Seleucis, Basil of Thessaly, Himerius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Apamea, Eutherius of Tyana, Maximus of Anazabus, Alexander of Hierapolis, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, and Helladius of Tarsus.)
98. Duchesne, p.246,n.6.
99. Ibid., p.247, n.5.
100. A.C.O. I,iv,87; d'Alès, p.151.
101. d'Alès, p.154f.
102. Ibid., pp.155f.
103. Ibid., pp.164-7.
104. Loofs summarises: 'Two party-councils had sat and cursed each other; the dogmatic question had remained undecided.' (Op.cit., p.53)
105. A.C.O. I,1,3,89, pp.17-24; d'Alès, pp.168ff.
106. Duchesne, p.249.
107. A.C.O. I,i,3,90, pp.24-5.
108. A.C.O. I,i,3,92, pp.28-30.
109. A.C.O. I,i,7,76, pp.95-105.
110. d'Alès, p.172.
111. A.C.O. I,i,3,93,pp.31-2.
112. A.C.O. I,i,7,45, pp.67-8.
113. d'Alès, p.175f.; A.C.O. I,i,7,48, pp.69-?; A.C.O. I,iv,1,106, pp.57-8.
114. d'Alès, pp.176f.; A.C.O. I,i,3,94., pp.32-3.
115. d'Alès, p.180.
116. A.C.O. I,i,3,103-4, pp.49-51.
117. A.C.O. I,i,3,100, pp.45-6.
118. Duchesne, pp.253ff.
119. From Cyril's council there went the Romans Philip and Arcadius, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavian of Philippi, Firmius of Caesarea, Theodotus of Ancyra, Acacius of Melitene, and Euoptius of Ptolemais.
From John's council the representatives were John himself, Himerius of Nicomedia, John of Damascus, Paul of Emesa representing Acacius of Beroea, Macarius of Laodicea representing Cyrus of Tyre, Apringius of Chalcis representing Alexander of Apamea, Theodoret of Cyrus representing Alexander of Hierapolis, and Helladius of Ptolemais.
120. d'Alès, p. 184; A.C.O. I,i,3,97, pp.39-42.
121. Synodicon, 47.
122. A.C.O. I,i,3,111-2, pp.68-70.
123. A.C.O. I,i,7,55-6, p.71; Synodicon, 15; 24-6.
124. DrH., p.132. Nestorius' account of the Council of Ephesus is reported in the L.H. (DrH., pp.106-42, 267-85).
125. A.C.O. I,i,7,84, pp. 124-5. The exact date is given by Socrates, H.E. VII,37 (P.G. lxvii, 825B).
126. A.C.O. I,iv,1,118, pp.68-9.
127. Isidore of Pelusium, Ep. CCCX (P.G. lxxvi, 370)
128. A.C.O., I,iv,1,122, pp.73-4.
129. Evidence is recounted in d'Alès, pp.191-4.
130. Synodicon, 50,203.
131. d'Alès, p.195; A.C.O. I,i,4,120, pp.3-5.
132. Synodicon, 55; cf. d'Alès, 197,199f.
133. Synodicon, 51; A.C.O. I,i,7,103, p.146; Letter to Simon - Syn., 52; A.C.O. I,i,4,121, p.5f.
134. Synodicon, 123,129; A.C.O. I,i,7,105, p.146. The six propositions are listed by d'Alès, p.199f, and examined on pp.200ff.
135. Ep. XIV, P.G. lxxvii,97; A.C.O. I,i,1,16, pp.98-9. Ep. XV, P.G. lxxvii, 100-1; A.C.O. I,i,1,17, pp.99-100; d'Alès, p.197.
136. d'Alès, p.194.

137. A.C.O. I,i,7 (Collectio Atheniensis),107, pp.147-150; Ep. XXXIII
P.G. lxxvii, 157-162.

138. pp.202-6.

139. A.C.O. I,i,7,106, p.147.

140. A.C.O. I,i,4,124-5, pp.8-11

141. Duchesne, p.264.

142. Synodicon, 91.

143. A.C.O. I,i,4,130, p.35.

144. Supra, p.11.

145. Preserved in Latin - A.C.O. I,iv,1, pp.55-7; in Greek - A.C.O. I,i,7,
pp. 69-70.

146. Ep. XXXIV, Bindley-Green, pp.141-4.

147. Bindley-Green, p.142.

148. Op.cit, p.300.

149. e.g. Duchesne, p.263.

150. A.C.O. I,i,6, pp.125f (on article 4). The Greek is 'eleven' and 'ten & one'.

151. T.Sagi-Bunic, Deus Perfectus, Homo Perfectus, p.24.

152. Op.cit., p.300ff.

153. p.302.

154. John of Antioch, Ep. ad Cyrill. preserved as Cyril Ep. XXXVIII, A.C.O.
I,iv, pp.7-9.

155. Cyril, Ep. XXXIX ad Joann. Ant. A.C.O. I,iv, pp.15-20; Bindley-Green,
pp.141-4.

156. Cyril, Ep. XL ad Acaciam, A.C.O. I,iv, pp.20-32; Ep. XLIV ad Eulogium,
ibid., pp.35-7; Ep. XLV ad Successum I, A.C.O. I,vi, pp.151-7; Ep.XLVI
ad Successum II, pp.157-62.

157. p.265, n.1.

158. For the two Cyrils, conciliatory and recalcitrant, see Duchesne, p.281f.

159. Theodoret, Ep. ad Nestor. A.C.O. I,iv,2 pp.149-50 preserved only in Latin.

160. A.C.O. I,iv,2, pp.150-3. The attempts to get a uniform settlement are
described in the L.H. (DrH. pp.286-93).

161. Op.cit., p.56.

162. A.C.O. I,iv,3,189, line 24; cf. Ep. ad Andream Samosatem, A.C.O. I,iv,2,
pp.131-2.

163. Synodicon, 150.

164. Synodicon, 190.

165. d'Alès lists (p.296f) the following: from A.C.O. I,iv,3,279, p.203-4:
Alexander of Hierapolis, Abbibus of Dolichium, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis,
Valerian and Eudocius from the same province of Moesia, Meletius of
Mopsuestia, Zenobius of Zephyrium in Cilicia, Eutherius of Tyana,
Anastasius of Tenedus, Pausian of Ypata, Basil of Larissa, Julian of
Sardica, Theosebus of Cios, Acylinus of Barbalissus, and Maximian of
Dimitrias.

166. See Nestorius' own account, DrH. pp.529-35.

167. Cod. Theos. xvi.5,66.

168. Synodicon 188,9.

169. DrH., pp.272-8.

170. The rise of Eutyches is described in the L.H. (DrH., pp.536-45). He had
500 monks under his rule.

171. DrH., p.536. He was a man of moderate views, and although not a
partisan, more favourable to the fortunes of the Orientals.

172. A.Grillmeier and H.Bacht (eds.) Das Konzil von Chalkedon I-III, Wurzburg,
1951-4, 1959,1962. See esp. Vol. I, pp.303-21.

173. Irenaeus had earlier gained favour with the Emperor, had been brought
back from exile and elevated as a bishop, and made Metropolitan of Tyre.
He had been recognised as such in Antioch, Asia Minor and Constantinople.What
remains of the Tragoedia of Irenaeus contained in the Synodicon was trans-
lated into Latin in the sixth century in a MS of Monte Casino (Casiensis).

174. A.C.O. II,1,i, pp.100-45.

175. Ibid., pp.104-11.

176. Ibid., p.114,11.8-10: καὶ γὰρ ἐκ δύο φύσεων ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸν Χριστὸν

εἶναι μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν, ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει καὶ ἑνὶ προσώπῳ ἕνα Χριστόν, ἕνα υἱόν, ἕνα κύριον ὁμολογοῦντες.

177. For a fuller account see Grillmeier, pp.456-9.
178. Ibid., p.460.   For the following, see Grillmeier, pp.460-5;   cf H.Bacht, in Chalkedon, II, pp.197-231.
179. A.C.O. II, 1,i, p.175, no. 818.
180. Extant in two versions of a Latin translation, A.C.O. II,4,p.145 no.108 and II,2,i, pp.55ff.
181. Leo, Ep. XXIV ad Theod., A.C.O. II, pp.3-4.
182. A.C.O. II,1,i, p.68, no.24;   p.71, nos,47-8.
183. A.C.O. II,1,i, pp.39-40.
184. An organised band of 'sick attendants' at the Patriarch of Alexandria's disposal;   cf. H.Bacht, Chalkedon II, p.227, no.40.
185. Leo, Ep. XXVIII, Tomus ad Flavianum, ed. Bindley-Green, pp.168ff. P.L. liv, 755A-781A.
186. DrH., p.340.
187. Actio VI of 22 July, A.C.O. I,1,vii, p.105f;   cf. Duchesne, pp.287-91.
188. 'in illo Ephesino non iudicio sed latrocinio';   Ep. XCV ad Pulcheriam Aug., of 20 July, 451, A.C.O. II,4,p.51.
189. Ep.XXIX ad Theod., P.L. liv, 781A-785B;   Ep.XXX,XXXI ad Pulcher., 785D-795A.;   Ep.XXXII ad Faust. Martin. et reliquos archimandrit., 795A-797A.
190. See H.Chadwick, 'The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople: a Prologue to the Council of Chalcedon', JTS NS 6, pp.17-34, where it is maintained that Flavian did not die until February 450.   It seems more likely that he died before the end of the Latrocinium in August 449.
191. DrH., pp.345-62.
192. Epp. LXIX-LXXI, P.L. liv, 875-9.
193. inter Ep. Leon., Ep.LXXIII, P.L. liv, 899ff.
194. cf DrH., pp.365ff.; Duchesne, pp.298-301.
195. See Duchesne, pp.301ff; esp. p.301, n.1.
196. See Duchesne, pp.303-4.
197. A.C.O. II,1,ii, p.93. no.6 cf. Duchesne pp.304-6.
198. A.C.O. II,1,ii, p.123f. no. 3;   cf. Duchesne, p.306.
199. A.C.O. II,1,ii, p.123f no.13.
200. A.C.O. II,1,ii, p.124f nos.22-8 cf Duchesne, p.306f.
201. cf. the detailed analysis in I.Ortiz de Urbina, Chalkedon I, pp.398-401; whether or not Theodoret had a hand in the symbol which eventually became included as the Formulary of Reunion in Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch, has been mentioned, supra. p.17.
202. Bindley-Green, pp.191-95;   R.V.Sellers, The Council of Chalcedon, p.210f.; A.C.O. II,I,ii, pp.129-30;   Latin, A.C.O. II,3,ii, p.210f.
203. Grillmeier, p.482.
204. cf. P.Galtier, 'Sainte Cyrille d'Alexandrie et saint Léon le Grand à Chalcédoine', Chalkedon I, pp.345-87.
205. Duchesne, p.308f.
206. DrH.,pp.369-80, less interpolations (see infra, p. 27ff)
207. Evagrius, H.E. I,7, P.G. lxxxvi 2, 2436B-2437B;   Nestoriana, pp.198-201.
208. Discovered at Fayum and printed in the Revue égyptologique, 1880-3.
209. Bedjan, p.VI.
211. Evagrius, H.E. II,2, P.G. lxxx 2, 2492B.
212. DrH., p.x.
213. Loofs, op.cit., p.19, cf. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.55, and JTS IX,36, pp.601-5.
214. Supra, p.21.
215. DrH., p.241.
216. DrH., p.340.
217. Ibid., p.345f.
218. cf. H.Chadwick, op.cit., JTS NS 6.   It will be seen in my argument that the slightly later dating of Dr Chadwick does not really help.

219. DrH., p.343

220. Ibid., p.362, cf. p.376

221. Ibid., p.348

222. J.Bethune-Baker, 'The Date of the Death of Nestorius: Schenute, Zacharias, Evagrius', JTS IX,36, pp.601-5.

223. DrH., p.365ff., of the thesis of Abramowski, reviewed infra, p. 104-109.

224. DrH., p.375

225. Duchesne, p.311

226. Bethune-Baker, Nestorius, p.35

227. He ignores the intervening reign of Sixtus III.

228. DrH., p.375

229. Ibid.

230. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.34f., n.4.

231. Ibid., p.379

232. DrH., esp. pp.362-9, 372f., 379

233. cf. DrH, p.x; Bethune-Baker, p.35f

234. DrH., p.369

235. JTS cit. p.604

236. Evagrius. H.E. II,2, P.G. lxxxvi 2, 2491B

237. M.E.Reveillout, 'Senuti, le prophète', Revue de l'histoire des religions viii.,p.571, n.1.

238. J.T.S. cit., p.602

239. Ibid., p.604f

240. See the theory of Abramowski reviewed infra, p. 104ff; cf. Duchesne, p.314f., who thinks that Marcian had just decided to end his exile.

241. DrH., pp.370,379

242. Not if the above hypothesis is accepted.

243. Loofs, pp.cit., pp.59-60; the words in parenthesis are mine.

Chapter Two

WHAT ARE THE HISTORICAL REASONS FOR THE CONDEMNATION OF NESTORIUS?

It is necessary first of all to define the limits set within this
chapter. G.L.Prestige has summarised the causes of Nestorius' fall as :
a. the unorthodox inferences which others drew from the extreme Antiochene
school of thought; b. the resentment at the man and his see as upstarts.[1]
We are not concerned at this juncture with the question whether the opponents
of Nestorius were right in their judgements concerning his orthodoxy; rather
we will examine the political and ecclesiastical causes. While it is important
to recall with Sellers, 'yet at bottom the conflict was governed, not by the
political, but by the religious motive, each side being firmly persuaded that
it was fighting for the preservation of the truth of the Gospel'[2], the directly
theological issues in the downfall of Nestorius will be reserved for consider-
ation in later chapters.

Rome: Old and New

The whole conflict can easily be summarised. Fear and jealousy of the
rise in prestige of Constantinople on the part of the ancient sees of the Church
was the root cause of their attacks on the holders of the bishopric of 'new
Rome'. One the one side there was tradition and prestige and on the other
political threats and the rise of upstart sees - Constantinople of course,
but Jerusalem and Ephesus also come into the story.

The principal upstart was New Rome. Unlike the Apostolic See of the West
(and for that matter the Apostolic Sees in the East), the See of Constantinople
had no real claim to Apostolic foundation, though an attempt was later made
to remedy this by attributing this to St Andrew and perhaps by the description
of Constantine as the 'equal of the Apostles' ($\iota\sigma\alpha\pi\acute{o}\sigma\tauo\lambda o\varsigma$). This appeal
to apostolic foundation was not an empty desire for prestige, but the basis for
real and moral authority. It had been given to Constantinople largely because
the emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire had decided to enhance the prestige of
the bishop in their civil capital. When Constantine refounded Constantinople,
it was inevitable that the see of Byzantium would sometime be raised to the
status of a Patriarchate. This was a corollary of state control over the Church.
But it did mean that the old authority of Rome, the capital of the West, was

being challenged by an upstart, and from the point of view of Rome this had
to be resisted. Indeed the pretensions of Constantinople led to a working
alliance between Rome and Alexandria. The axis tended to be political rather
than theological for Western Christology had more in common with Antioch rather
than Alexandria. If Leo's Tome is any guide, Rome had greater sympathy with
Eastern dualist Christology than with Alexandrian monism.[3]

It is a matter of continual controversy as to how great was the
authority of the Bishop of Rome in the early period of the Church. It is
interesting to note that Cyril of Alexandria writing to Pope Caelestine I in
order to get his support call'd him 'Most Holy Father' in spite of his own
seniority of consecration, and in his letter[4] recalled the tradition that
serious questions were to be submitted for judgement to Rome. He did not
mention that this tradition had been ignored when Theophilus, then Bishop of
Alexandria, had sought to remove John Chrysostom, in spite of the pleas of
the Pope.

Alexandria was not the only plaintiff to the see of Rome and we find
both contenders repeatedly writing to the Pope and explaining their theological
positions, and often attempting to prevent their opponents' mail getting through.[5]
In many controversies the contestants wrote numerous letters - to the emperors,
to court and civil officials, and to bishops of other important sees, to win
support for their cause.[6] Nevertheless it does seem that many appealed to the
Pope as a particularly weighty authority, not so much because they thought he
was a test of orthodoxy but because there was no doubt that he had considerable
influence. Prestige neatly sums up the position: 'Rome never condoned anything
that it believed to be heresy; having few positive theological gifts of its
own it maintained a faithful guardianship over other people's.'[7]

Certainly in 380 Theodosius I had proclaimed that his measure of
orthodoxy was the faith held by the two sees of Rome and Alexandria. The
Council of Constantinople in the following year assigned to Constantinople as
the New Rome the place of honour in the east that Rome enjoyed in the west, a
position of pre-eminence before all the other sees except the Papal city.[8]
The city built by Constantine had until then no metropolitan status, much less
that of a patriarchate. The primacy was one of respect and not of jurisdiction
and it was not until the Council of Chalcedon seventy years later that the
Patriarch was given metropolitan status over some bishops from the 'diocese'
of Asia Minor.[9]

'That this primacy among Eastern patriarchates did not extend to matters of faith is proved by the remarkably slow progress towards universal recognition of the Creed associated with the Council of Constantinople in 381. It is a strange fact that it was the Creed of the Council of Nicaea which remained the canon of strict orthodoxy until the Council of Chalcedon (451) which accepted the Creed of Nicaea but ratified or gave jurisdictional authority to the Creed of Constantinople.[10] Neither the Council of Ephesus (431) nor the Latrocinium of 449 appealed to any other Creed than that of Nicaea. Even the Home Synod called at Constantinople by Flavian against Eutyches in 448 did not quote the creed of 381. Cyril was a stickler for the Creed of Nicaea as the sufficient test of orthodoxy and poured scorn on Nestorius for a supposed alteration of the clause on the Incarnation. While Kelly's solution[11] that the term 'the faith of Nicaea' might have a wider reference to orthodox creeds other than the Creed of Nicaea itself and while certainly both Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius used creeds which were fuller than the Nicene architype and which overlap with the Creed of 381, it is clear that neither the friends nor the enemies of Constantinople considered that any special doctrinal significance belonged to a Creed produced by a Council held in the capital city of the East until it received ecumenical status at the Council of Chalcedon.

But this gradual rise of Constantinople inevitably caused jealousy on the part of the Patriarchs of Rome and Alexandria and they became firm allies in most disputes before the Council of Chalcedon. Rome certainly was very suspicious of the domination of the Church in Constantinople by the Court, and no doubt feared that with the delicate situation in the Western half of the Roman Empire, an ascendency for the civil authorities in the East might mean that New Rome completely superseded Old Rome.

In 395 on the death of Theodosius I the empire was divided between his two sons and from then on it is necessary to think of the two parts of the Empire separately. It has already been noted that the Church in the East, and particularly that of Constantinople, was very much tied up with the Emperor. In the West the situation was entirely different. The Papacy enjoyed a position of authority much more independent of the Empire. The Court might be at Milan or Ravenna, but in Rome the Pope was the sole leader. Further, the unstable political situation in the West, the frequent rise of usurpers and the growing threat from the barbarians greatly increased the spiritual authority and political power of the Pope. The Pope might be able to master the Western Emperor, but it looked as though his brother in Constantinople might be able to have greater influence with the more powerful Eastern Emperor. Naturally, the

the Popes resented the position but, although they tried to influence the eastern
court through the western, they were not very successful as in the case of
Chrysostom and much later Flavian.[12]   They needed more powerful allies in the
'Popes' of Alexandria.

In these circumstances it was only to be expected that the Pope Caelestine
(422-32) and his successors should have opposed the Nestorian cause when its
prime-mover was Patriarch of New Rome.   Papal opposition was basically caused
by the fear of a new authority in the church and a new influence in the civilised
Empire and, theological issues aside, this would have been enough to stir the
Pope. _ In fact he wrote a letter to Cyril in 430 from a Roman synod which _
made the following points:[13] Nestorius' teaching was unacceptable, therefore
his excommunications were void; therefore he must retract or step down, and
do so within ten days of receiving the letter; he must profess the doctrine of
the churches of Rome and Alexandria; Cyril was appointed as a representative
of Rome as well as in his own right to execute the sentence.

It is interesting to note that Nestorius had not merely to subscribe   _
to the faith of Nicaea, but to the interpretation of that faith by the churches
of Rome and Alexandria.   We have seen how Cyril interpreted this order.[14]   _
Meanwhile the Papal policy of allinace with Alexandria against Constantinople
and Antioch continued until just before Chalcedon when 'through his celebrated
Tome which he now sent to Flavian, the representative of Peter.... announced
to the world that the traditional alliance between his see and that of Alexandria
had been broken.'[15]   Leo realised that the truth was more important than
political manoeuvres, and that, if Rome held the truth, moderate Antiochene
Christology was more akin to it than the Alexandrian Christology expounded by
Eutyches, and Dioscorus the successor of Cyril.

_ It seems that Nestorius did himself a great injustice, much more than he
knew, in accepting the Pelagian exiles condemned in the west, into communion .
at Constantinople.   Any claim on Roman sympathy was gone, and the way was open
for Cyril.   By contrast at Chalcedon, Leo, affronted by the refusal to read
his Tome at the Latrocinium, was on the rampage against Dioscorus and Eutyches.
It was now clear that Rome could not simply give Alexandria carte blanche._
We have seen how Cyril interpreted this order; he behaved as if he had the
Roman proxy vote in his pocket.

Chrysostom and Nestorius

Scholars have noted the similarity of character between these two holders of the see of Constantinople,[16] and also the diversity of alliances which sought to remove them. Both were monks, both came from Antioch and also were considerably influenced by the Antiochene teaching. Both were eloquent preachers, and John's nickname bears witness to this. It was Nestorius' preaching, especially about the title Θεοτόκος that brought him into the controversy.[17] But Nestorius had a greater intellectual mind than his predecessor and was a greater speculative and creative theologian, though considerably influenced by Theodore of Mopsuestia.[18]

Because both Alexandria and Antioch had such tight party networks there was not much either side could do on its home-ground. Constantinople therefore became the natural battle-ground between the two. Constantinople was a new see without theological traditions, but there was a tendency for Antioch to get in its own candidates (though not always), and as a result the Popes of Alexandria tended to make their position intolerable. Thus Gregory of Nazianzus resigned in disgust (385), Chrysostom was exiled (398), Nestorius was condemned as a heretic and exiled (431), and Flavian died from ill-treatment (449). There was usually an Alexandrian chargé d'affaires in Constantinople who could be relied upon to stir up trouble at the appropriate moment, and so this procedure became standard drill. But we should note that not all the bishops of Constantinople were recruited from Antioch or had Antiochene christological sympathies. Often a balance of power between the two parties in the capital was maintained.

There was precedent for an attack on the occupant of the throne of Constantinople by a Patriarch of Alexandria. Cyril's uncle and predecessor, Theophilus, tried in 398 to get his own candidate consecrated bishop of Constantinople, but was forced to consecrate the candidate of the government's choice, Chrysostom, whom the imperial officers had kidnapped from Antioch for the purpose. Having failed to prevent the elevation of John, it was largely the power of Alexandria, together with imperial disfavour, and the attacks of local clergy who had been disciplined by Chrysostom, that brought about his downfall. Similarly, after a disputed candidature between the presbyter Philip and Proclus, bishop-elect of Cyzicus[19], it was the Emperor Theodosius II who chose another candidate from Antioch for the vacant see of Constantinople in 428, and Cyril was faced with Nestorius.

Isidore of Pelusium seems to have been the only one of the Alexandrian

camp who felt able to criticise his patriarch, but what this recluse had to say in his letter, concerning the impression made by Cyril at Ephesus, is important:[20] 'He is sister's son to Theophilus and in disposition takes after him. Just as the uncle openly expended his fury against the inspired and beloved John, so also the nephew seeks to set himself up in his turn, although there is considerable difference between the things at stake.'

There is a later example of Alexandrian interference in the episcopate of Cyril's successor Dioscorus (444-51). Unlike Cyril he was prepared to throw moderation to the winds and in the dispute over Eutyches he used every method possible to triumph over Flavian.[21] At the Latrocinium it was Diocorus together with Juvenal of Jerusalem who dominated the council (just as Cyril had done at his sessions of the Council of Ephesus) and condemned not only Nestorius and Ibas, but also Theodoret, Domnus and Flavian. The latter was to die at the hands of Dioscorus' followers.[22]

Therefore we have the case of Theophilus, who was said by contemporaries to have 'gone to Constantinople to degrade Chrysostom',[23] We have the pressures of Cyril against Nestorius. We have the ill-treatment and murder of Flavian to lay at the feet of Dioscorus. And, at an earlier date (379) we find that Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria had tried to put his candidate in place of Gregory of Nazianzus. In the case of Chrysostom the Court allied with Alexandria against the holder of the throne of Constantinople (and thereby Antioch). In the case of Nestorius, it was Alexandria and Rome against Antioch and a reluctant Court. In both cases the basic opposition came from Alexandria. What then were the reasons why the Alexandrian patriarchs were so opposed to their brothers at Constantinople and why in particular did Cyril have a grudge against Nestorius? We must now turn to examine his motives in this case.[24]

Like the Pope of Rome, the Pope of Alexandria felt threatened by the sudden rise of the Bishop of Constantinople. Rome had the apostolic authority of Peter and Paul, and Alexandria claimed the foundation of Mark, the 'interpreter of Peter', but Constantinople had only acquired the relics of Andrew and Luke in 357. Also Alexandria could boast St Athanasius who almost alone had defended the cause of orthodoxy when most of the East, including the see of Constantinople was under the sway of Arianism (c.357-80). The Bishop of Alexandria was sole metropolitan of Egypt and could command the support of its desert monks and his suffragan bishops. The relations between the bishops of Alexandria and the monks of Egypt was particularly close. Athanasius had alike supported and been supported by them during his exiles.[25] Cyril wrote his first letter in

the Nestorian controversy to the monks of Egypt.[26]   Dioscorus however alien-
ated them by his financial exactions from them. . Eusebius of Nicomedia said
that a bishop of Alexandria was 'a rich man and powerful and able to do
anything.'[27]   Certainly Cyril's power seems to have been very great when for
obvious reasons he sought the downfall of Nestorius, and, at the time of the
Council of Ephesus, he was accused of bribing the court officials.[28]   This
upstart Constantinople with another of its 'golden mouthed' bishops was a blow
to his prestige and the authority of his see,   By dealing with Nestorius,
Cyril hoped both to strike Constantinople by showing its bishop was not sound
in the faith and to enhance the prestige of Alexandria by showing the stedfast-
ness of its orthodoxy.

There was the added threat that Nestorius was following up the cause
of some Alexandrian clergy in Constantinople.[29]   After he had written the third
letter to Nestorius with its 12 anathemas[30] there was also the possibility of a
counter-charge against him.   Duchesne says:[31]   'As to the proceedings with
which he was threatened, Cyril was inwardly more concerned than he was willing
to avow.'   Therefore following the lead of his uncle, Cyril used a coup de force
by putting himself in the judgement seat to avoid being accused, and he openly
said: 'Let not this poor creature imagine that I shall allow myself to be tried
by him, whatever may be the type of accusers he will hire against me.   The roles
will be reversed.   I shall refuse to recognise his jurisdiction, and I shall
know well enough how to compel him to make his own defence.'[32]

In the dogmatic letter with its twelve anathemas attached, Cyril
demanded that Nestorius should affirm not so much the faith of the universal
church, but of the Alexandrianchurch, though this was also held to be the proper
interpretation of the Creed of Nicaea both by east and west.[33]   But Cyril
displayed a further reason for his attack when he held up Alexandria as the norm
of interpretation, for Nestorius was an exponent of the extreme position of
Antiochene Christology, the rival school.[34]   The Emperor decided, however, that
the whole dispute should be settled in the context of an oecumenical council.[35]

The Patriarch of Alexandria might claim the interpreter of Peter as
his forerunner, but the Patriarch of Antioch, like the Pope could point to the
Apostle himself being recorded in Antioch;[36]   and he might have argued that
whereas Alexandria had produced Athanasius the champion of orthodoxy, it had
also fostered the heresy of Apollinarius (and was later to produce Eutyches).

John of Antioch (428-41) had a huge 'diocese' under his sway and he too could count on the support of monks - those of Syria. In 451 he had no hesitation in excommunicating Cyril.[37] Like Nestorius he had venerated the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia, although he relied heavily for his doctrinal statements on Theodoret of Cyrus.[38] It was not surprising that he could not allow Antiochene Christology to decline before that of Alexandria. But in addition to the two rival schools of Christology, the whole question of the prestige of the two ancient patriarchates was at stake. By supporting Nestorius, John was defending Antioch, just as by attacking Nestorius, Cyril was attacking an Antiochene. When the Antiochene position seemed to be secured in the Formulary of Reunion. John felt reluctantly able to abandon Nestorius (though a few like Theodoret did not)[39] and this really sealed the deposition of the former Patriarch of Constantinople.

It may also be shown that theambition of Juvenal of Jerusalem and Memnon of Ephesus also served to assist the downfall of Nestorius. Of Juvenal Duchesne says:[40] 'This ambitious prelate was engaged at that time in trying to create a Patriarchate for himself at the expense of Antioch; it was a matter of grave moment to him not to offend the ecclesiastical potentate of Alexandria.' Further explanation is not needed, but Juvenal was not so much the henchman of Cyril as Memnon of Ephesus.[41] The ancient see of Ephesus had metropolitical status but the bishops of Constantinople were anxious to attach to their own obedience the two 'dioceses' of Asia and Pontus. In his enthusiasm to remove Nestorius, Memnon was willing to share imprisonment with Cyril by his whole-hearted support in the See where the Council had gathered.[42]

Imperial Pressure

In the East Church and State were considered virtually to be one. It was the Emperor who had called the oecumenical councils and ratified their canons and declarations. Theodosius I had nominated Chrysostom for the see of Constantinople in 398, and it was Theodosius II who nominated Nestorius to the same see thirty years later. Chrysostom had lost the support of the Court through his uncompromising preaching; Nestorius had slighted Pulcheria by refusing her the honours which she thought her due as a consecrated virgin. Actually for the first part of his reign Theodosius II was a minor, and from 414 his slightly older sister had been named Augusta. It was the later rivalry between brother and sister which laid the court open to intrigues and bribes from both sides.[43] In this Alexandria had considerably more resources than Constantinople.

Cyril not only used this method of inducement to win the support of
the Emperor; he also roused the monks around Constantinople under Dalmatius of
the monastry of Isaac to try to influence the court and citizens of Constantin-
ople. Meanwhile at Ephesus Count Candidian was seeking rather unsuccessfully
to prevent the moves of Cyril. His successor Count John arrested Nestorius,
Cyril and Memnon in order to maintain the balance of power, but he was not able
to reconcile them and realised only the Emperor could do this. But the Emperor
was powerless against the combined pressures of Rome and Alexandria. It is.
interesting to note that the reason why the Cyrilline sessions came to be
regarded as the oecumenical council of Ephesus (though not specifically by the
Emperor) was not that the . representatives of the Imperial interests had
been present at them and ratified their proceedings, but their acceptance by
the three legates of Caelestine on arrival.[44]

In fact Theodosius II had an amateur interest in theology, though
this was often surpassed by his other interest - hunting! His attitude was
not completely consistent. If Loofs is correct he called the Council at the
request of Nestorius and was not best pleased with his Patriarch when things
turned out badly. His attitude at the Latrocinium was wholly different from
his initial support of Nestorius. His influence was really balanced off by that
of the princesses. Despite her personal antipathy to Nestorius[45] it is almost
certain that Pulcheria had dualist tendencies, and this is confirmed by the new
turn of events which were to lead to the Council of Chalcedon. Thus the Court
was divided. Before Ephesus Cyril's move in writing separate treatises to
the princesses as well as to the Emperor himself greatly displeased Theodosius.

Nestorius was sent back to Antioch after the Council of Ephesus, but,
although Cyril was still 'deposed', he managed to escape back to Alexandria.
As Cyril and John of Antioch had not been brought into communion again at Ephesus,
Aristolaus was entrusted to bring this about.[46] Now imperial pressures were
able to make the leaders seek reconciliation; Cyril adopted a policy of moder-
ation and in 433 he and John were brought into communion on the basis of the
Formulary of Reunion. Attitudes to Nestorius had changed, Cyril had been
unofficially accepted back into his see. Antioch was forced to abandon
Nestorius in order to achieve peace with the rest of the church and to have most
of its own view-points accepted alongside moderate Alexandrian Christology.
Maximianus, the new Patriarch of Constantinople,was quite content with the
situation as long as Nestorius was firmly rejected and officially deprived.
Xyxtus of Rome (432-40) was delighted with the way things had turned out.

Only a few of his friends were prepared to stand by Nestorius for a little while longer.[47]

The story of Nestorius' deposition is not quite concluded. Dioscorus hounded his followers until even Theodoret abandoned his friend.[48] In this he was assisted by the fact that Pulcheria had been banished to a convent and the weak Theodosius was dominated by the Grand Chamberlain, Chrysaphius (441-50). His downfall was brought about after the accidental death of the Emperor.[49] It was this which made it possible for Pulcheria and Marcian to ensure that Constantinople should be the seat of the government of the church as well of the state. Also as Sellers says:[50] 'storms in the west did not deter Marcian and Pulcheria from embarking on their ambitious attempt once for all to put an end to the doctrinal controversies, which for so long had been affecting the well-being of Eastern Christendom.' It is a curious quirk of fate that either Nestorius himself or at least an early interpolator appears able to declare in the Book of Heracleides that whereas the Council might not have reinstated him, it had indirectly vindicated his Christology.[51]

Thus ends the tragedy of Nestorius, and it will have been seen that apart from any actual or assumed heresy on his part the force of circumstances and the pressure of opponents would have made any excuse a possible means of securing his downfall. As an Antiochene he might have expected Alexandrian opposition, and he lost Roman support by ecclesiastical tactlessness. What made his downfall historically inevitable was a combination of the ambitions and fears of the great sees led by Alexandria and Rome and the vacillations of a divided Court at Constantinople itself. Unlike Chrysostom who was theologically blameless in Alexandrian eyes, Nestorius gave a handle to them over the question of the $\theta\epsilon o\tau\acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$, which was based on a Christology in extreme opposition to that of Alexandria. Theological reasons apart there were sufficient political, social and ecclesiastical reasons for his fall from the throne of Constantinople.

It is therefore necessary to turn now to examine the theological background to the Nestorian crisis.

Chapter Two   Notes

1.   G.L.Prestige, Fathers and Heretics, p.120.
2.   R.V.Sellers, The Council of Chalcedon, p.7.
3.   See supra, ch. one, p. 26f.
4.   Cyril, Ep. XI ad Caelest. I, A.C.O. I,1,v, pp.10-12. Nestorius treated
      Caelestine as an equal. The term 'brother' however was a common place
      in correspondence between bishops (Nestorius, Ep. II ad Caelest. II,
      Nestoriana, pp.169-172, and the previous letter, Ep. I ad Caelest. I,
      Nestoriana, pp.165-8).
5.   e.g. Nestorius, Ep. I ad Caelest. I, Nestoriana, p.165-8; Nestorius ,
      Ep. II ad Caelest. II, Nestoriana, pp.170-2; Nestorius, Ep. VI ad
      Caelest. III, Nestoriana, pp.181-2.
6.   See supra, chapter one, notes, 19, 20, 22, 43, 66, 67, etc.
7.   Prestige, op.cit., p.126.
8.   Canon III, Mansi, iii, 560C; Bright, pp. xxi-ii.
9.   Canons IX, XXVIII,Bright pp.xli, xlvii.
10.   Chalcedonian Definition ii.75-85, Bindley-Green, pp.192ff.
11.   J.N.D.Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 3rd edition, pp.305-331.
12.   See supra, pp.21ff.
13.   Caelestine, Ep. XI ad Cyrill., P.L. 1,459C-463C; also preserved in
      Greek (A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.75-7). See supra, p.7.
14.   Supra, pp. 8-10.
15.   Sellers, ibid., p.74.
16.   e.g. Prestige, see supra, ch one, note 6.
17.   Supra, pp.2-4.
18.   Infra, pp. 96-89
19.   Socrates, H.E. VII,26 (P.G. lxvii 800).
20.   Isidore of Pelusium, Ep.CCCX (P.G.lxxvi,370)
21.   Supra, pp.22,27.
22.   Supra, pp.27,30.
23.   e.g. Palladius de Vita S.Joannis Chrysostomi (P.G. xlvii, 5-82).
24.   Supra, p.3ff.
25.   Athanasius, Vita Antonii (P.G. xxvi,840-972) cf. supra, pp.9ff.
26.   Cyril, Ep. ad monach. (A.C.O. I,1,i pp.10-23) cf. supra, p.27.
27.   Athanasius, Apol. c. Arian. 9 (P.G. xxv, 265)
28.   Supra, p.3, n.21.
29.   Supra, p.4.
30.   Cyril, Ep. XVII ad Nestor, III, A.C.O. I,1,i, pp.10-23; Bindley-Green,
      pp. 108-115.
31.   Duchesne, op.cit., Vol. III, p.233.
32.   Cyril, Ep. X ad apokrisarios Constantinopoli constitutos, A.C.O. I,1,i,
      pp.110-2, cf. Latin translation of Marius Mercator, P.L. xlviii,813A-814A.
33.   Cyril, E . XVII ad Nestor. III, A.C.O. I,1,i, pp. 10-23; Bindley-Green
      pp.108-115.
34.   See infra, chapter three.
35.   Supra, p.8.
36.   Gal. 2.11.
37.   Supra, p.10f.
38.   Supra, pp.12-16.
39.   Supra, p. 17.
40.   Duchesne, op.cit., Vol. III, p.241.
41.   See their respective roles at Ephesus and after, supra, pp.10,12
42.   Supra, p.10f.
43.   Supra, p.19.
44.   Supra, pp.10-12.

45. DrH., pp.96-7.   It is ironical that she should be champion of the Dualists at Chalcedon.
46. For the gradual acceptance of each other, see supra, pp. 13-16.
47. Supra, p.17.
48. Supra, p.23.
49. Supra, p.29.
50. Sellers, op.cit., p.98.
51. For the view that the point was made by an interpolator rather than by Nestorius himself, see pp. 27ff and 103f.

Chapter Three   THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CONCEPTS AND VOCABULARY OF THE ANTIOCHENE

                                  TRADITION AND OF ITS OPPONENTS TO THE TIME OF THE NESTORIAN

                                  CONTROVERSY.

The Council of Nicaea (325) opened up a new era in theological debate. The establishment of a norm with regard to at least the first two persons of the Trinity (the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was further clarified at Constantinople in 381) heralded a new division over the personality of Jesus Christ. Theology (in the strict sense of the doctrine of the Trinity) gave place to Christology in the important debates of the Fourth and Fifth centuries. Even Arianism had strands of a Christological heresy as well as a Trinitarian error.

Just as the early debate on the Godhead was closely linked to an examination of the Divine Economy, so Christology emanated from Soteriology and Anthropology in the works of the post-Nicene period.

Debates were staged between exponents of two basic schools of thought which have traditionally been designated Alexandrian and Antiochene. We shall see that such a division is far more complex than might at first appear. Just as some scholars use different terms to distinguish the rivals, so the pattern became more and more involved and some of the Fathers seemed to sit lightly within their own tradition and even to span both streams. These other distinguishing terms are 'Monist' and 'Dualist', 'unitive' and 'divisive', or (with Grillmeier) 'Logos-sarx' and 'Logos-anthropos'. As can be seen they all stem from attempts to relate the divine and human factors in the Person of our Lord.

From the beginning there was a considerable amount of agreement between the two traditions. Both sides held the normal Greek view of an absolute Being who was incorruptible, immortal, impassible. Both sides accepted the definitions of God as 'three persons in one substance' - Apollinarius and Diodore were both staunch Nicenes. Both sides saw the logical connection between the need for Man's redemption, and the answer to this in the Incarnation (and the Eucharist) through God's grace and Man's response. It is true within this framework they approached from different viewpoints as we shall see, and it is vital to see their differences within the perspective of this common ground.

To take the example of what each group meant by 'redemption', we may say that in broad and simple terms the Alexandrians thought 'of man's redemption

in terms of his deification' (that is incorruptibility),[1] whereas for Antiochenes it was a conversion of the will leading to the restoration of man's original moral harmony. The first was more ontological or mystical; the second was clearly ethical. It has therefore been said that Alexandrian thought was a form of Christian Platonism, and Antiochene thought was more in the tradition of a Christian Aristotelianism; or else the first was more Hellenistic, and the second more Hebraic. But the division was not merely one of words or method; their starting points were different.

The Alexandrians took the picture of Christ in the Johannine writings as their pattern. They began with the Discarnate Logos and moved into the particularity of the Incarnate by deductive methodology. The activity of the Logos was thus divided vertically. In contrast the Antiochenes began with the Synoptic view of the Man (the Incarnate Logos) and moved towards the unconditioned Logos with induction. Because of their basic premise that a deep and (almost) unbridgeable gulf existed between God and man, their division of the activity of the Logos may be seen horizontally. The Alexandrians stressed the unity of the Person of Christ but tended either to restrict the humanity of Christ or else to give it no theological importance. The Antiochenes put the accent upon the humanity but the forms of unity proposed were not able to contain the duality which they emphasised.

Before examining the two schools any more deeply, it is necessary to note the vocabulary they used, and the possibility of confusion in the terms themselves.

CHRISTOLOGICAL VOCABULARY

R.V.Sellers notes:[2]

'... in setting out to present the Gospel to the world, Christian teachers were compelled to use terms with which that world was familiar. This, however, is not to say that they took over the ideas with which these terms were associated among the Greeks.'

Terminology was still somewhat plastic or fluid even in Fifth century Christology. In Trinitarian thought it had been crystalised but the same terms were not used so confidently in Christology. The Council of Alexandria (362) under the influence of Athanasius, reached agreement upon the view that whatever the original meaning of the terms under review, henceforth in 'Theology' the Oneness of God would be expressed by οὐσία and φύσις; the Threeness by πρόσωπον or ὑπόστασις. The use of vocabulary was further complicated by the use of

Latin terms and their Greek parallels.[3]

ζ Bethune-Baker defines 'Substantia' as 'that by which anything subsists or exists, or the essence or underlying principle by which each res is what it is'. He then notes 'this comes to be an easy periphrasis for the thing itself'.[4] It can therefore mean the same as οὐσία or ὑπόστασις (though the original meaning of ὑπόστασις was closer to that interpretation). The Latin translations of the Greek of Irenaeus have 'substantia' for both words. Bethune-Baker then goes on to show the later use of the term and of its connection and use with 'Natura':[5]

'The difference which Tertullian defines .... between substantia and the nature of substantia practically held its ground throughout the later movements of Latin theology. Substantia is the term regularly employed to express the being of God - the Godhead in itself, as a distinct entity. The substantia has its own natura which is inseparable from it, but it is not its nature. The distinction does not seem to have been blurred in Latin as the distinction between οὐσία and φύσις and ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον were sometimes in Greek. Natura does not appear to be used as φύσις wasfor example by Apollinarius and to some extent by Cyril (e.g. in his anathemas against Nestorius, the distinction between ὑπόστασις and φύσις is uncertain). Marius renders the ὑπόστασις of Cyril sometimes by substantia, sometimes by subsistentia; while Cyril's use of φύσις , understood by Nestorius in its proper sense, was obviously so unguarded and lacking in precision that it was at times equivalent to ὑπόστασις or person.

'The retention of the distinction is most plainly perceived in the expression of the doctrine of the Person of Christ - the union of the Godhead and the Manhood. Latin theologians hesitate to speak of the union of the two natures merely. If they do not employ the term substantia, speaking of the substantia of Godhead and the substantia of manhood as united in the person of the Son, they use some other phrase to represent it rather than natura .... Leo, though he freely uses utraque natura, is careful to mark his full meaning by adding 'et substantia' to natura, and by interchanging with it the expression utraque forma - forma conveying a more definite conception of an actual entity (a substantial existence) than natura.'

These remarks on substantia have been quoted at length because they illustrate a point which applies to the use of other terms. Both terms οὐσία and ὑπόστασις can mean something which is either generic or specific. In secular usage ὑπόστασις meant a statue, a staging post on the imperial road, the sediment or dregs of wine. Socrates noted that it was a popular word and not a strictly philosophical coinage. It could naturally move in to replace the specific use of οὐσία which was used by Aristotle both in the specific and the generic sense, an ambiguity which the Church took over. By derivation the similar, though not identical, differences of meaning can be traced both with regard to φύσις and πρόσωπον . We now turn to these terms and examine them in more detail.

1. οὐσία.

This was a philosophical term used both by Plato and by Aristotle. In its primary sense it means distinctive individuality, particular existence, and really an individual. Aristotle used it to mean real concrete existence and thus a class of things. But he also used it to denote a class concept, that which all members of a particular genus had in common with each other. If we follow through the generic sense which Aristotle derived from individual particular existence to a class of things it could mean 'that which is common among a group of particulars'. It is in this sense that it came to mean 'substantia' and thus gave rise to the orthodox use of ὁμοούσιος. In Stoic circles οὐσία could also be used of the fundamental ground stuff out of which a number of entities could be constructed.

2. ὑπόστασις.

A metaphysical term which was later introduced to the scene. In its active sense it means 'that which gives support' hence a particular object or individual. The Alexandrians following Trinitarian usage used it to mean this in Christology, but the Antiochenes were more reluctant. In the passive sense however (and Tatian used it in the sense of 'substratum') it means 'that which underlies', 'the underlying principle or essence, that gives reality to a thing and constitutes it what it is', hence 'the matter', 'foundation', or 'reality and genuineness'. Although the Alexandrians used it in this sense also, it was really the word the Antiochenes used to express the concrete reality of Godhead and manhood in Christ. We can thus understand Cyril's use of the phrase 'one incarnate hypostasis (or physis) of the Logos'. When he spoke of union according to hypostasis or physis he made the following equation: ὑπόστασις = πρόσωπον. de Durand says the union is made more precise by calling it 'real union' or 'physical union'.[6]

The double meanings of both οὐσία and ὑπόστασις have now been made apparent. Origen tried to distinguish the two, but their use as equivalents was too firmly rooted. 'So the framers of the Creed of Nicaea and its anathemas still used οὐσία and ὑπόστασις as synonyms...' Later usage to which the Synod of Alexandria gave formal recognition could distinguish the two by restricting οὐσία to that wherein the Godhead was one Godhead and applying ὑπόστασις to that wherein the Godhead was three. For those who maintained the older equivalence of ousia and hypostasis to speak of τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις might seem to border on tritheism. The Synod regarded both usages as legitimate and recognised that despite the differences in terminology both sides sought to remain faithful to the substance of the Creed of Nicaea. Yet τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις

was so obviously useful that it became increasingly widely used and the older use of hypostasis as equivalent to ousia steadily dropped out of account in Trinitarian contexts, and so the agreement was not permanent. Thus the two terms $οὐσία$ and $ὑπόστασις$ expressed respectively the one Godhead and the forms of its existence, the manner of being of each of the Persons. By analogy in Christology 'Man' is $οὐσία$, a particular man is $ὑπόστασις$.[7]

3. $φύσις$.

Sellers says that it is 'an empirical rather than a philosophical term'.[8] It is found in popular use to mean nature. It could be used in the same two senses as $οὐσία$ and $ὑπόστασις$.[9] In the first place it could mean an individual, the person himself (= prosopon). In its generic sense it was equivalent to substantia, e.g. 'divine nature', 'nature of Godhead', 'our nature'. Apollinarius used it in the first sense and so did the later Alexandrians, e.g. 'one nature after the union'. As de Riedmatten points out[10] there is a difference between the use of $φύσις$ by Apollinarius and Cyril. The basic idea of the verb $φύω$ = 'I grow or plant' from which $φύσις$ is derived, Apollinarius used in a dynamic sense. For him the Logos was $τὸ ἡγεμόνικον$, the directive principle, almost the 'growing point' within the Incarnate Lord. By the time of Cyril the term had become ontological and ceased to be dynamic. Whether interpreted dynamically or ontologically the Alexandrians used $φύσις$ in the first or specific sense. The Antiochenes however preferred to give it a generic meaning. This difference of usage was a fruitful source of confusion in the Christological controversy between the two schools.

4. $Πρόσωπον$.[11]

'In regard to the Latin word persona the most important fact to notice is that, during the period with which we have to deal, it practically never means what 'person' means in popular modern usage. The sense of persona is different, even when it seems to be used very nearly in the sense of 'person', and when through the poverty of language it has no other representative in English as adequate as 'person'. It is always - even in such cases - a person looked at from some distinctive point of view, a person in particular circumstances; and the word conveys the notion much more of the environment than of the subject.

'In its primary meaning it signified an actor's mask, then the actor's part, and then a role assumed by somebody. In a secondary sense it was the equivalent of condicio, status, munus, e.g. slaves were $ἀπρόσωποι$. "Not of course that it is concerned as separate from living subject or agent, but that attention is fixed on the character or function rather than on the subject or agent". Tertullian used it for status, character, part function:
    - ' "I find both in the Gospels and in the Epistles a visible and an invisible God, with the recognition of a clear functional distinction in the condition of each, i.e. the mode of existence of, status of each ('sub manifesta et personali distinctione conditicionis utruisque')."(adv. Prax. 15)'

The history of προσωπον is similar. It was the translation of persona in Greek theology, and could have served, apart from the use made of the term by the Sabellians to express the temporary manifestations of the Godhead. The quest for another term which was not suspectible of a Sabellian construction ultimately led to the selection of hypostasis.

The word προσωπον was non-metaphysical and non-technical. We may summarise the three uses derived from the Semitic origin. First, it meant 'face' and so 'presence'. Second, it referred to external appearance and hence the 'individuality' or 'ownness' of a person - 'the external being or individual self as presented to an onlooker.'[12] Third, it was the individual himself. These varying uses were continued by the Antiochenes and therefore it is necessary to ask whether a theologian is thinking of something real or just an appearance. Sellers points out[13] that, although the Alexandrians sometimes used it in the older sense, they usually avoided it (unlike the Antiochenes) in doctrinal discussion.

The main difference of Nestorius from Theodore of Mopsuestia is in the way he developed this term. In Phil.2.5-11 he subdivided προσωπον into σχημα and μορφη . Although this term unlike the other three does not take on any generic sense in addition to its individual sense, we find Nestorius using it in two ways. He could say that each ουσια must have its own προσωπον , and also he bases his whole theory of the unity of Christ's person on the same term - the so called 'Prosopic union' which he holds against Cyril's 'Natural' or 'Hypostatic Union'.[14]

The Alexandrian School of Christology

It is important to note first that Grillmeier prefers the double framework 'Logos-sarx' and 'Logos-anthropos' to describe the developments of Christology from Origen to the Council of Ephesus and beyond. He points out that these do not entirely coincide. With the downfall of the two heretical forms of Logos-sarx' Christology (Arianism and Apollinarianism) and the overshadowing of the third, orthodox, form (which had found an outlet in Athanasius) then the growth of 'Logos-anthropos' Christology began really to take root.[15]

However, for the moment we shall examine the two strands as they are traditionally set out, and later study those individuals who are the forerunners and contemporaries of Nestorius.

According to Sellers Alexandrian doctors began with two basic principles:[16]

(1)'In Jesus Christ, the Logos, while remaining what he was, has, for our salvation, united manhood to himself, thereby making it his own; He is not, therefore, two Persons, but one Person, the Logos himself in his incarnate state.'

(2)'In Jesus Christ, the two elements of Godhead and manhood, each with its properties, are to be recognised; therefore, since these remain in their union in his Person, any idea of confusion or of change in respect of these elements must be eliminated.'

i. One Person - the Logos

'The fundamental principle of Monism which represents indeed their permanent contribution to Christology can be summarised in the words of the judicious Hooker "One Christ and He divine".'[17] This one Person is seen as the Logos in two phases - the Logos simpliciter and the Logos qualified.

For Origen the Logos was the image of God and the soul was the image of the Logos. Unity in Christ is achieved through the soul of Christ as a mediator between the Logos and the sarx, and was already united with the Logos from eternity through a direct vision of love.

The Christology of Athanasius follows the Alexandrian line and has two main points - Jesus Christ is a divine person, and in him God became man. The Son of God was sent from heaven and became man as Jesus Christ, but this did not mean there was a change in the divine Logos. Similarly the 'Statement of Belief' of the Origenist bishops opposed to Paul of Samosata speaks of 'one and the same Being'. Sellers says[18] that Athanasius used the term οὐσία the word the philosophers used in their classrooms, but, it should be observed, he used it in its simple meaning of 'being': 'When we hear "I am that I am",' he says, 'we understand the οὐσία of Him that is'. The Origenist bishops used οὐσία to mean a particular entity (= πρόσωπον) and a similar use is found in Apollinarius in his contest with Diodore.

Apollinarius was certain on the matter: 'If then He who was born of the Holy Virgin is called one, and it is he "through whom are all things", he is one person (μία φύσις ἐστιν), since it is impossible to divide one πρόσωπον into two. For in the Incarnation (σάρκωσις) the body is not a separate person (ἰδία φύσις), neither is the Godhead; but, just as one man is one person (μία φύσις), so also is he who became in the likeness of man, even Christ.'[19]

Cyril borrowed a phrase of Apollinarius (believing it to be of Athanasian origin), namely: 'μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη.'[20] Sometimes ὑπόστασις was substituted for φύσις and this brought it nearer to the Chalcedonian Definition. By later standards the basic formula was certainly heretical though it might just be defended by treating the participle as covering a full human nature. Even here, however, as Duchesne shrewdly notes, 'if you mean to assert two natures it is as well not to begin by saying there is only one.'[21] Nevertheless it is quite valid to see the Logos as the underlying directive principle of Jesus Christ. But whereas the Antiochenes employed a horizontal cross-sectioning of the Incarnate Logos into two simultaneous and parallel natures, the Alexandrians tended to see the Logos in a vertical cross-sectioning as Discarnate and then Incarnate. As Gregory of Nazianzus concluded: 'what He was, He continued to be, what He was not, He assumed'.[22]

Cyril believed the Logos was the same Person before and after the Incarnation but 'He who existed ἄσαρκος (is) now ἐνσώματος, the nature or ὑπόστασις of the Logos (is) now σεσαρκωμένη, the Logos himself is now σεσαρκωμένος.'[23] When he spoke of 'one (nature) after the union' or 'one out of two' (εἷς ἐκ δύο) this was not in the sense of substantis as we have seen. If φύσις = substantia it leads to the concept of mixture or confusion, but if φύσις = πρόσωπον, the Logos is merely shown to be the same through now incarnate.

This danger of 'mixture' language to emphasise the closeness of the union was a real one for the Alexandrians. It was open to grave misunderstanding. Cyril, however, expressly denied σύγκρασις or φυρμός (leavening) and preferred words like συνδρομή or σύνοδος (concurrence) which he derived from Malchion, Apollinarius, and Gregory of Nazianzus. So even before Chalcedon the wrong implications of mixture language were being repudiated.

How then did the Alexandrian doctors see the process of Incarnation? They employed the idea of Kenosis in successive rather than in simultaneous 'forms'. 'From the time of Apollinarius the equation σάρκωσις κένωσις became a cardinal principle for Monist Christology. For him it became co-extensive with the Incarnation itself, a permanent policy of self-limitation rather than with Origen an act of will with merely temporary consequences. From this insight of Apollinarius later Monists had no need to retreat.[24]

Kenosis was considered in three ways: a. πρόσ λημψις or addition. The Discarnate Logos was the Logos 'γυμνός' (bare), and after the Incarnation he assumed in addition whatever of humanity it was fitting he should assume; b. μείωσις . This meant the reduction in the compass of the Logos by allowing the humanity to prevail over himself. c. κρύψις . This was veiling or concealment of the Logos by human conditions.

Cyril was faced with the problem of the human experiences of Christ recorded in the Gospels, e.g. his ignorance, especially with regard to the date of the Parousia (Mark 13.32). This was the basic problem for all the Monists who without assigning sufficient importance to the humanity of our Lord, at the same time could not concede attribution of these weaknesses to the Godhead. As a result there was a tendency to scale down the human experiences of Jesus. They did not seem able to deal sufficiently with the Passion stories, for there are here many facts which do not fit easily into their thesis. In the Nestorian controversy this led Cyril to formulate the phrase 'the impassible Word suffered in the passible flesh' or more shortly 'He suffered impassibly', which Theodoret described as a ridiculous quibble.[25]

The Alexandrian school relied heavily on the 'communicatio idiomatum'. This was basically only an exegetical technique which even the Antiochenes employed. As will be seen later, even Nestorius spoke of the mutuality of the πρόσωπα . However, in Monism it was not just a metaphor but rather an ontological reality, and from Cyril's quibble, we are eventually led to the Monophysite war-cry 'One of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh'.

ii. Redemption and Christology

The Alexandrians were quite certain that the 'death of a man cannot annul death', as a result only the very God can save sinners.[26] They described redemption as a process of divinisation (ἀποθέωσις) or attaining of incorruptibility. The moral considerations of goodness of mankind are assumed, and so unlike the Antiochenes who saw it as an ethical process, the Alexandrians took a strongly ontological line. Yet the best of Alexandrian theology recognised that the Logos had imposed limitations upon himself. Nominally both schools in beginning their Christology from recognition of the need for redemption in Christ, saw that He had to be both God and man to make this effective. Although the Alexandrians put great stress on the One unified Person yet that which the very God put on must be 'by nature human flesh'.

'Athanasius, like Origen before him, sees that any Christology, if it is to be sound, must include the principle of "recognising" in Christ the elements of Godhead and Manhood, and, in accordance with their properties, seeing the difference between them.'[27]   Gregory of Nyssa noted:[28] 'The contemplation of the properties of the flesh and of the Godhead remains without confusion so long as each is contemplated by itself.' He meant that the properties can be seen as distinct when analysing them, for both the unity of Christ and his duality are valid in themselves depending on the basis of the examination and its starting point.

Like Origen, Athanasius, the Cappadocians, and even Apollinarius, it is quite clear that Cyril held the principle of 'recognising the different of the natures'. This was in order to safeguard the Alexandrian doctrine against the concept of mixture. But although he accepted the Double Homousion, he does not appear to recognise that both sides are on the same level.   As far as the Divine Nature is concerned this was firmly on an ontological basis - ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί.   But there is no doubt that he would have preferred as a correspondent - ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν .[29]

iii. Anthropology: some 'Logos-sarx' attempts

It is sometimes difficult to know what the Fathers meant by 'a human being', for some certainly thought in bipartite terms and others in tripartite, which they took over from pagan philosophy. When affirming that Jesus is 'man' the Origenists preferred to use 'τὸ σῶμα ' or 'τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ', though the later Alexandrians taken as a whole preferred σάρξ . It is clear that for this tradition the humanity has merely adjectival or instrumental sign- ificance - it is merely the human conditioning of the continuing Logos. Nevertheless some Monists in using this term, gave the humanity greater scope than others.

a. Arianism. We have seen that the question of the soul in Christ is not just a side issue because it affects the total picture of redemption, yet Eustathius is led to ask:[30] 'But why do they (the Arians) take so much trouble to show that Christ took a body without a soul (ἄψυχον σῶμα)?'

Grillmeier thinks that, although the Trinitarian peculiarities of Arianism began about 318-323, their Christological views go back to the Subordinationism of Lucian of Antioch and Origen. The doctrine of the

Incarnation, he asserts, was the starting point of the whole Arian system for the supposed creatureliness of the Logos was dependent on the fact that the Logos was so closely linked to the sarx.[31] Athanasius quotes the Arian as saying, 'If he (the Logos) was very God of very God, how could he become man?' Also to the Nicenes, 'How dare you say that the Logos shares in the Father's existence, if he had a body so as to experience all this?'[32]

Eusebius of Caesarea's contact with Arian circles is proof that a strict Logos-sarx framework existed even in first generation Arianism, and is a built-in weakness of that heresy. Eusebius thought that the lack of a soul and its replacement by the Logos was essential if his hypostatic distinctness from the Father was to be safeguarded - i.e. that he is a distinct ὑπόστασις from the Father. To do this he had to loosen the unity between Logos and sarx (and is thus divisive), but this according to Grillmeier, is quite distinct still from Antiochene Logos-anthropos Christology.

These are not isolated instances. Eudoxios (fl. 357-369) declared that the Logos became 'flesh' not 'man' for he had no soul. And Lucian said: 'What need was there for a soul, for the worship of a perfect man alongside God? John too, loudly proclaims the truth, "The word was made flesh". This means that the Word was compounded with the flesh (συνετέθη σαρκί) and certainly not with a soul.. ...., rather did it unite itself with a body, so as to become one with it...'[33] But according to Theodore: 'But our Holy Fathers warned us of all these (the Arians), by saying, "who was incarnate and was made man" (σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα). by which we believe that that which was taken is a complete man in whom God, the Word dwelt.'[34]

That this Word-flesh Christology framework was not confined to the Arians is proved by the Christological opinions of two firm anti-Arian teachers, Athanasius and Apollinarius. The latter described the former as his friend and teacher and, as we have seen, a phrase of Apollinarius of great importance in later Christological controversy could be passed off as of Athanasian authorship.[35]

b. Athanasius. It is not absolutely clear whether Athanasius believed in a merely verbal Logos-sarx framework or a real one, i.e. was a soul present in Christ though not theologically important, or was there no physical soul at all? It seems clear that Athanasius regarded the Logos as a real personal agent in the redemptive action and not least in the Passion and Death of Jesus Christ. This brings up the old difficulties of Christ's suffering. He seemed to put

experiences normally associated with the soul in the context of the flesh, and therefore the Logos-sarx framework was sufficient to explain the death of Jesus. In him the death of Christ meant separation of the Logos from the human body. He had greater difficulty in explaining the 'trouble of soul' and the human ignorance of Jesus within this framework. But we should note that in the Synod of Alexandria it appeared that the principle of Gregory of Nazianzus was being expressed: 'that which is not taken is not healed, but whatever is united to God is saved.'[36] According to Grillmeier it may be correct to see the recognition of the soul of Christ in the Christological expressions of the Tomus ad Antiochenos (362), and the classical statement: 'The (Word) became man and did not come into a man'.[37] Grillmeier is perhaps too charitable to Athanasius, and we may compare his treatment with that of Kelly who is more critical.[38]

c. <u>Apollinarius</u>. He was largely the founding father of this tradition but his Christology is anhypostatic rather than enhypostatic. The humanity of Christ was only constituted by the union of divine pneuma and earthly sarx. The fleshly nature of Christ was taken from the Virgin and only became divine through union with the Godhead. In his Letter to Dionysus he pointed out that if one spoke of two φύσεις this was the first step towards destroying the unity in Christ. He also noted: 'Holy scripture makes no difference between the Logos and his flesh, but the same (αὐτός) is one φύσις, one ὑπόστασις, one ἐνέργεια one πρόσωπον , fully God and fully man'.[39]

'If however Apollinarius was early condemned, the status of the humanity remained a perennial problem for the Monist tradition.... The test question is.... "If the Logos were taken away from the Incarnate Lord, what would be left?" The Monist tradition would probably reply,-"A truncated humanity, a human conditioning", the Dualist would certainly maintain, "A complete human individual".'[40]

d. <u>Later developments before Cyril</u>. Didymus of Alexandria (313?-398) in his Psalm commentary tries to make clear the two realities in Christ. To do this he used a significant concept, (in use since the Apologists) which was later to become a stumbling block: Jesus had two πρόσωπα , one human and one divine. He was using πρόσωπον in its old meaning of 'manner of appearance'. It is important to note that the acceptance of two πρόσωπα can still be employed in Alexandrian theology. This is not the case with Cyril.

The Cappadocians failed to define the relationship between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις (πρόσωπον)in Christology. This was to make it more difficult for Nestorius. Gregory of Nazianzus said that in Christ there was no ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος

but ἄλλc καὶ ἄλλο , reversing the position in the Trinitarian terminology by an interchange of masculine for neuter forms and by making a distinction between 'person' and 'nature'. Gregory of Nyssa posits some independence for the human nature, and occasionally does give it a separate ὑπόστασις or πρόσωπον. .

The source of their terminology whether mediated through Stoicism or not is the Aristotelian distinction between the universal and the particular (both covered by the same term οὐσία . The Stoics used σχῆμα and χαρακτήρ for the particulars. In Ps. Basil Ep.38 the hypostasis is the particular and the φύσις is the universal. The particularising characteristics (ἰδιώματα) make the universal an hypostasis. He transferred this to the Trinity, saying the total of the idiomata makes up the hypostasis of each member of the Trinity. The hypostasis was visible and recognisable as a countenance, a prosopon. The old meaning is therefore maintained.

The Cappadocians showed that the one essence of the Godhead has to be clearly differentiated from his threefold personality. They remained firmly in the realm of individuality, and this made the transference of these terms to Christology by Gregory of Nyssa a matter of some difficulty. He rebutted the charge of 'two Sons' by allowing a human φύσις while denying it the human particularising characteristics which make it an hypostasis. It had reality but no longer its earthly idiomata, and there were only divine idiomata in the humanity of Christ.

e. **Cyril of Alexandria.** In the first decades of the fifth century it appears that the battle was between an archiac Logos-sarx Christology and a developed Logos-anthropos type. Before the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy there were few references to the human soul and it has no theological importance. Indeed Cyril does not use the concept in his exegesis, where questions of the human ignorance of Christ (Mark 13.32) and the development (prokope) of Christ is discussed without reference to it. The suffering was attributed to the sarx. He divided the statements of the Gospel between the Logos before the Incarnation and the Logos after. This was a dynamic and historical approach which was later replaced by a static and ontological one. He used expressions like 'flesh', 'what is of man', 'man', and 'human nature'. This appears to be a verbal Logos-sarx framework in which the soul of Christ is only a physical reality. Theologically speaking Christ was only Logos and sarx. At first his main attack was necessarily against Arianism and there are only a few passages which show the soul of Christ. After the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy he had to defend himself against the charge of Apollinarianism, and so he allowed a rational

soul - Voερά ψυχή . There is no question that he accepted a soul
but he did not use it correctly and it was not a theological factor.
Liebaert has shown[41] before the outbreak of the Nestorian contro-
versy where Arianism was primarily in mind he did not mention a
human soul in Christ (at least not definitely), but moved within
the Athanasian limits both in exegesis and theology.   Later he
spoke with increasing confidence about a ψυχή λογική or (later)voερά
to provide a better head-on clash with Apollinarius' liquidation
of the human voῦς in Christ.   Probably the stock objection of
every Dualist that he was an Apollinarian in disguise had taken
its toll.   If he did not use it correctly at least he used it
which he had not done earlier.   But he does not markedly correct
his earlier exegesis in view of the explicit assumption which he
was now making.

As we have seen some Apollinarian formulas found their
way into his writings.   But whereas for Apollinarius the concept
of φύσις was dynamic, once Cyril had accepted a soul in Christ, he
had to modify it.   In his Second Letter to Succensus he agreed
that the human nature is an αὐτοκίνητον, a self-moving principle
or φύσις .   He realised that either one has to accept the "two
natures" or else the humanity of Christ and thus the means of
redemption is lost.   Yet, 'if there is only one φύσις in Christ
then the suffering must be predicated of the divine φύσις ', [42]
He agreed that the soul is the natural home for the suffering.   He
admitted language of two natures, but still retained his use of
μιά φύσις.   But, as Grillmeier points out,[43] Logos-sarx Christology
had now been superseded on the Alexandrian scene - for these
fathers too, the soul of Christ had become a theological factor.
But Cyril believed that his own formula was part of the tradition
of the Church and so was reluctant to abandon it.   Unlike
Apollinarius he did agree that the natural life of the body comes
from the soul and not from the Logos qua Logos.

After 429 he repudiated his former 'indwelling' formulas,
whereas Nestorius was still attached to some form of the idea.
Cyril's key formula is: 'God the Logos did not come into a man,
but he "truly" became man, while remaining God.'[44]

Thus it is apparent that Cyril could and did use φύσις of the human nature, but he was not fond of it. He preferred the Johannine term sarx and he feared the framework into which it was placed by the Dualists, and the use to which they put it. He allowed that 'Christ suffered φύσει τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος'. Does the concept automatically mean division or only in the hands of Nestorius? In a letter to Acacius, Cyril said that the danger lay in the definition of the relationship of the two natures, not in the two natures themselves.

His difficulty lay with μιὰ φύσις which made him limit the content of φύσις to the sense of an individual existent substance. Φύσις means the 'essence' of a thing, also the notion of 'actuating' and giving life. In the end it can only actuate if it is an hypostasis, so he could use the expression hypostasis for the complete nature. Thus the two terms are not so much synonyms as associated with each other. Hypostasis is existent real substance, and this led eventually to the idea of the unity of a person, even if he did not bring this element sufficiently into the foreground. The Church in the end preferred Cyril's ideas to his formulae.

f. Conclusions Logos-sarx Christology and not merely the Arian or anti-Arian group was primarily responsible for the restriction and undervaluation of the true and complete manhood of Christ. On the contrary they gave decisive place to the Logos in Christ as the final subject and the essential unity of the Person of Christ. It may be asked whether the Monist tradition could expand its unity to make the human attributes more than instrumental or take in some of the points the Dualists were trying to make. Already in their anti-Apollinarian movements the Cappadocian Fathers were beginning to head towards this. This needed a long and treacherous struggle.

'Even Sellers who tends to reduce the Christological conflict of the fifth century to misunderstanding or even to a shadow boxing had to admit that Monist Christologians do not apply what they recognise in principle. In reality they required the stimulus of the Dualist tradition to give a satisfactory account of the matter at all..... In his more conciliatory moments Cyril could be brought to recognise a union of two natures instead of merely out of two natures which was his first love. And a more careful distinction

between $\phi \acute{u}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\overset{\smile}{u}\pi\acute{o}\sigma\tau\kappa\sigma\iota\varsigma$ than perhaps he even drew himself might permit even
the formula 'in two natures' to be grafted into the Monist framework.... a
basically Monist Christology could support such modifications without losing its
distinctive character.'[45]

It is this other tradition of the Antiochene, that we now turn to
examine in general terms.

The Antiochene School of Christology

Sellers in 'Two Ancient Christologies' points out that in Antioch
there were not one but two parallel traditions. The one is Greek in outlook
and has a tendency towards the ideas of Alexandria, and among its chief protag-
onists are Malchion and Lucian. The other is the Syriac grouping and this is
the one generally associated with Antiochene thought proper. It begins with
Paul of Samosata and passes down to Theodore of Mopsuestia, and from 'the Inter-
preter' fans out into many disciples and not least to Nestorius. Sellers concludes
that from Paul and Eustathius right through to 451 the Hellenists gained in every
conflict over the Syrians, and the outcome was schism.

'While for the most part the Monist tradition developed with the
full approval of the Church, few of the leading Dualists escaped condemnation
either during their lifetime or after their death.'[46] The chief fathers within
the tradition may be listed as follows:

> Paul of Samosata
> Eustathius of Antioch
> Diodore of Tarsus
> John Chrysostom
> Theodore of Mopsuestia
> Nestorius
> Theodoret of Cyrus
> Andrew of Samosata.

These together with less important 'link-men' will be examined in greater detail
later in the chapter. For the moment we will examine some of the basic concepts
and word uses of the Antiochene School as a whole.

Biblical exegesis. Antiochene critical use of the Bible is in a way similar
to modern exegesis. They were utterly opposed to the form of allegorical
interpretation which Origen had really initiated and which the Alexandrians
favoured. Of course they were not entirely opposed to any form of allegorical
interpretation provided it was natural and not forced. 'The task of the

Antiochene School lay ... in tracing the work of revelation on the historical scene. With such a purpose the modern theologian feels an immediate and instinctive sympathy.'[47] They were much more at home with an historical view of the Bible, and this can be seen most fully in the commentaries of the 'Interpreter', Theodore of Mopsuestia, the greatest exegete of this school, and in the sermons of the 'Golden-mouthed' John. As a result they tended to be more Hebriac, and less influenced by philosophical thought forms than their opponents, and it is often following an attempt to pour their ideas into such a mould that leads them into trouble. Their background leads to certain basic presuppositions.

God the Creator. The Antiochene School constantly stressed that God and man appear to be essentially divorced from each other. The gulf cannot be bridged. Nestorius claimed:[48] 'the Maker is in every way other than that which was made.' Because God is immutable, impassible, uncreated, eternal, and man is mutable, passible, created and temporal, it would seem that there is no possibility of 'real' Incarnation. This appears in most of the Antiochene Fathers. Theodore: 'What possible relation can exist between One who is eternal and another who at one time was non existent and came into existence later on? The gulf between them is unbridgeable.' And Theodoret: 'He is God and we are men and the difference between God and man is incalculable.'[49] The Antiochenes feared that Monists were not safeguarding the impassibility of the Godhead in their theory of the type of union variously called 'substantial', 'natural', or 'hypostatic'. We will examine this later in this section.

The Person of Christ and redemption. Both schools stress the importance of the redemptive purpose of the coming of Christ into the world, but they saw this in very different terms. The Alexandrians tended to see it as man's deification, but Nestorius for one strongly attacks this. For him the unity of the Incarnate Lord issues in a close conjunction ($\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\alpha$) not as a deificiation ($\Theta\epsilon\sigma\pi\sigma\iota\gamma\sigma\iota\varsigma$). Corresponding to their tight Logos-centred Monism in Christology the Alexandrians tended to favour metabolism in their doctrine of the Eucharist. While Chrysostom (and more surprisingly Theodore) used metabolist language with regard to the Eucharist, other Dualists like Nestorius and Theodoret match their christological dualism with eucharistic statements more consistent with their theological stance. Thus Nestorius is convinced that the Body and Blood are of the humanity, and Theodoret prefers the idea of the co-presence of the Body and Blood and the bread and wine. All this becomes apparent because this school had an 'ethical' rather than a 'spiritual' or 'mystical' approach to the

Christian life.   They do in fact have a high anthropology and it could be said
that their doctrine of grace has more affinities with a semi-Pelagian or even a
Pelagian than an Augustinian position.   They saw man as a moral and rational
being, and therefore redemption was a restoration of the original harmony of
Creator and creation.   Theodore in particular has a better developed eschatology
than most fathers, and this is reflected in his teaching on grace.   His doctrine
of the Two Ages[50] is linked with the Sonship of the redeemed which will not reach
its completion until the Resurrection[51] and applied to Baptism as the proleptic
enjoyment of the New Age.[52]   This eschatological emphasis adds to his mistrust
of 'deification'.   The accent falls on the redirection of the human will and for
this the human experiences of Christ were absolutely vital.

Their view of the Fall is important in this context.   They believed
that in Adam both body and soul were in obedience to the will of God until the
Fall and the disharmony of all creation.   Before this man was in the likeness
of God because he willed what God willed.   Here Theodore is specially important.
Julius Gross[53] establishes the fact that, while in his Catechetical Lectures
Theodore remains well within the limits of the Eastern theories of the Fall and
its effects, at a later stage (possibly against Jerome) he begins to write more
radically on the subject.   It is not clear whether Nestorius ever said that Adam
had the prosopon of God because he willed what God willed.   While admitting that
Adam had the image and likeness of God, he did not possess the prosopon of God,
which was reserved for the Second Adam.   Certainly the image includes or is
demonstrated by obedience, the prosopon of God identified with willing what God
wills is not his.   So at least explicitly did Ps. Nestorius.

The Fall means cosmic disharmony, death and mutability.   Sin's origin
is in the will, and it is the soul which must therefore be changed.   The Antioch-
enes see the need for this Second Adam who is totally obedient, and yet it must
be through the direction and operation of God.   Man cannot save himself.[54]   Their
key Biblical passage is Phil. 2.5ff.   Jesus the Logos emptied himself and
assumed the form of a servant in order to effect man's renewal, and in return the
renewal of the whole of creation.   The important difference in their exegesis
of Phil. 2.5ff is that while the Monists uniformly take the passage to mean that
the discarnate Logos (while remaining what he was) becomes Incarnate, the Dualists
tend, though not quite uniformly, to treat the two $\mu o \rho \phi \alpha \iota$ as simultaneous
characters of the incarnate Lord and not as successive phases of the one God, the
Logos.

Paul of Samosata clearly bases his thought on the Divine Economy in these terms. It was the Antiochene School which began with the concept of the Unity of God (in the Hebraic tradition) and then fanned out towards three hypostases. It is much too easy to condemn Paul for adoptionism or unitarianism, but he must have used the 'triadic' formularies of the Church. Loofs in 'Paulus von Samosata'[55] believes his thinking was probably similar to that of Marcellus of Ancyra: 'the Logos was in God "potentially" ($\delta u \nu \acute{\alpha} \mu \epsilon \iota$), and that with the beginnings of the self-communication of the Monad, who is one prosopon, this Logos came forth as an activity, an $\acute{\epsilon} \nu \acute{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \epsilon \iota \alpha \delta \rho \alpha \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \acute{\eta}$, of the Divine to be the author of creation, and - later, and for the purpose of redeeming mankind - to dwell in a complete manhood, and thus, as "the Son", to become in some sense personal.'[56] He thus began with the Monad - 'the Logos is the $\lambda o \gamma o s$ $\acute{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma \acute{\eta} s$ '[57] - 'immanent' in God as reason is in man[53] and 'put forth' with the beginnings of the divine activity.[59]

It has been suggested that Paul of Samosata thought of the Logos as the spoken Word of God rather than as personal and eternal. God together with his Logos form one Person ($\acute{o} \mu o o \acute{u} \sigma \iota o s$). Since he seems to be using $o \acute{u} \sigma \iota \alpha$ as 'person', his teaching about the Godhead appears to be 'unipersonal'. He shows that 'Wisdom' was clearly joined to the Son. There were not however two since they are related in a permanent 'coexistence'. He distinguished 'the Logos' and 'Jesus Christ', but insisted on the uniqueness of the divine indwelling in 'Him from Mary'. This shows a special purpose of God, and pointed towards a soteriological emphasis.

Loofs also says that Eustathius like Marcellus thought of the expansion of a Monad into a $\delta u \acute{\alpha} s$ and then a $\tau \rho \iota \acute{\alpha} s$. The fragments do not refer to the 'hypostasis' of the Son or eternal generation for while dwelling in the Man, he 'continues in the Father's bosom'. But unlike Paul he thought of the 'Son' as really being begotten by the Father. The teaching on the personal existence of the Son is less obvious because he had to emphasise the divinity of the Son against the Lucianists who tended towards subordinationism. It may appear that for him the Incarnation was just a divine indwelling of the Logos ('dwelt in', 'was clothed with', 'bore' the manhood), but the manhood was to the Logos 'the own temple', the 'own house', and 'the own body' which is his own special contribution. In 'De Anima', while commenting on John 20.17 he spoke of the Man 'who had not yet after his death gone back to the Father', and this must be contrasted with 'the Logos and God who cometh down and continueth in the Father's bosom'. Loofs thinks the present tense indicates the Logos is all the while

in God, but surely in order to safeguard divine immutability he was saying that
the Divine remained all that he was.   It seems clear that Eustathius thought
that the Logos became man for our salvation.   Of the Presentation of Christ in
the Temple he said: 'It was not because He Himself ($\alpha\overset{?}{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) stood in need of
such observances that he submitted to treatment, but that He might redeem from
the bondage of the Law those who had been sold to the doom of the curse'.[60]   This
is not conclusive but Sellers thinks it appears that 'soteriological ideas are
bound up with other aspects of his Christology'.[61]

Eustathius believed that the Logos was in this Man from the beginning.
Sellers again says: 'For Eustathius the obedience of the Man of Christ has a
real soteriological significance'[62];   and he cites: 'The Man whom God bore
determined of his own free will ('sponte') to undergo the Passion of death for the
sake of man's good.'[63]

In his belief in the superiority of the indwelling of the Logos
in Christ, Eustathius was following Paul: 'Wisdom should not so dwell in (any)
other' (Frag. 6) .... 'But she (Mary) brought forth a man like one of us ($\overset{c}{\eta}\mu\grave{\iota}\nu$
$\overset{?}{\iota}\sigma o\nu$), though superior to us in every respect, since grace was upon him from
the Holy Spirit, and from the promises, and from the things that are written'
(Frag. 2).   Thus according to Loofs there is a threefold argument here - Christ
was a direct creation from the Spirit from his very conception, he was foreknown
before the creation, and he was foretold by the prophets (e.g. Isa. 61.1).[64]

Theodore of Mopsuestia pointed to the fact that the Nicene Fathers had
taken into account this reason for the Divine Economy: 'He came down to save
and to deliver from evil by an ineffable grace those who were lost and given up
to iniquities'.[65]   Also: 'In Him towards whom He showed his good pleasure He
dwelt as in a Son ($\overset{c}{\omega}\varsigma\ \overset{?}{\epsilon}\nu\ \upsilon\overset{c}{\iota}\overset{\frown}{\omega}$) - that is to say, He united the Man assumed
entirely to Himself, and fitted Him to share with Him all the honour which He,
the Indweller, who is Son by nature, possesses'.[66]   It was also essential for
him that the man had a rational soul for as he says it was not his body which
cursed Adam but his will.   Without self-determination there was no real struggle
and no real obedience of the Man, and hence no redemption.   'As soon as he could
decide between good and evil, he conceived a great hatred for evil, and joined
himself with an irresistible affection to goodness;   and, by receiving the co-
operation of the Logos correspondingly with his own determination, he was secured
continuously without change or deviation towards evil'.[67]   'Because, when we
were subjected to sin, we had no deliverance, the grace of God kept that Man

whom God put on for us free from sin'.[68]   'If (the Man assumed) did not receive a soul, and if it was the Godhead that conquered sin, then what was effected can be of no possible advantage to us.   The Lord's struggle would have been no more than the gratification of the love of display'.[69]

Nestorius developed the idea of the unique man - the Logos did not dwell in Christ as he dwelt in the prophets.   'He is not like Moses, although Moses is called a god.'[70]   Adam had the prosopon of God, and willed what God willed.   He had the appearance and individuality of God (Bazaar, p.167).   This was lost by Adam and so that Jesus could return it, he had this from the start, so the fore-ordained, though tried throughout his life, was obedient to the will of the Logos.[71]

Theodoret agreed: 'To put the matter briefly, both (i.e. the two texts John 1.14 and Phil.2.5,8) teach that being God and Son of God, and clad with the Father's glory, and having the same nature and power with Him that begat Him, He that was in the beginning, and was with God, and was God, and was the Creator of the world, took upon him the form of a servant, and it seemed that this was all that was seen;   but it was God clad in human nature, and working out the salvation of men.'[72]   Sellers summarises: 'through His perfect obedience to the will of the Logos who "took" Him, the Man played his part in this work of effecting the world's redemption.'[73]   The Antiochene view of the redemptive importance of the humanity of Christ may thus be summarised in three ways.   First, Christ was the High Priest in his humanity;[74]   second, Christ was the Second Adam who renewed the image lost by the first Adam;   third, he was Christus Victor, for Christ wins the victory over the devil.   As the defeat of Adam caused the defeat of all men, so the victory of the Second Adam caused victory for all men.   Thus the themes become joined.   The reality of our Lord's experiences demanded for the Antiochenes a full humanity, and so their answer to the question, 'If the Logos were, taken away from the total Incarnate Person, what would be left?' would almost certainly have been, 'A complete human being.'

No confusion of the two natures in Christ

Unlike the Alexandrians it was necessary for the Antiochenes to safeguard the full scope of the human experiences of Christ from a theological point of view.   Eustathius interpreted the Lukan accounts as implying a physical and moral development.   Theodore saw a threefold progress, in life through the passage of time, in wisdom by the acquisition of understanding, and in virtue through grace received from the Holy Spirit, especially after the Baptism.   Nestorius

agreed but placed greater emphasis on the obedience of Christ so that he received the Name that is above every name not by virtue of either moral progress or of knowledge and faith, but rather as a result of this obedience.

They also saw a real moral conflict within our Lord.   There is a slight difference between Theodore and Nestorius for the former said God helped him, and the latter declared 'in nothing was He helped', which was based on Hebrews 2 'by the grace of God he tasted death for every man' ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota\ \Theta\epsilon\hat{\omega}$) or 'without God .,... ($\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\iota_{S}\ \Theta\epsilon o\hat{\upsilon}$).   This was read by Origen and Theodore without comment. Nestorius took it up and pointed out the integrity of the passion.   But it is really because here N$_e$storius is stressing the obedience of the manhood in determining freely to undergo the passion for all men.

The Passion always presented some difficulty for the Fathers, for either the Logos was central and the reality of the suffering had to be explained away, or else, if they were Dualists they said it was the differentiated Manhood who suffered.   This was true of Paul and Eustathius.   Theodore, argued against Apollinarianism:[75]

'If the Godhead took the place of the nous (sensus) of the One Who was assumed, how did He show fear in the Passion, why His earnest prayers and sweat of blood and why his need of angelic visions and help?....   The Jews did not kill God .... Pilate did not slay the Godhead ....   The Godhead did not die but raised the dead ....   It was the temple that was raised ....'

They were clearly opposed to the idea of 'mixture' and 'confusion', e.g. Theodoret's letter to the monks of Constantinople, in which he said the natures were two and two they remained.[76]   When commenting on John 1.14, he said that we should not falsely interpret $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau o$ (became) as if it meant 'was turned into' since this would mean the Logos had changed his nature.   Theodore had previously said:[77]

'The Word "became" can be interpreted only as meaning "according to appearance" .... in appearance the Logos became flesh, and by "appearance" we mean, not that the Logos did not take real flesh, but that He did not "become" flesh.   For when . the Scripture says He "took", it means that He took not in appearance but in truth.   But when it says He "became" then it is speaking "according to appearance"; for He was not transformed into flesh.'

He did not deny the Incarnation, but in the Incarnation the divine nature of the Logos remained unimpaired.

The Monists preferred 'OUT of two natures', but the Dualists insisted on 'IN two natures'.   This implied a double proclamation.   Paul of Samosata referred to the Logos from above ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\Theta\epsilon\nu$) and the man Jesus Christ from below ($\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\Theta\epsilon\nu$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\Theta\epsilon\nu$) and hence there were two distinct persons, masculine not neuter

(ἄλλος ....ἄλλος) though he continually denied that he taught two sons.[78]   And
Diodore:[79] 'Both the Son of God and the Son of David are perfect (or complete)...
You will ask, Do I then preach two sons?   I do not say two Sons of God or two
Sons of David.'   And Theodore:[80] 'When we distinguish the natures we say that
the nature and the prosopon of God the Logos is complete and likewise with them
the manhood for it is impossible for a hypostasis to exist without a prosopon...
The natures will remain two because they are two.'[80]

        Οὐσία and φύσις signified for them as we have seen 'that which exists',
therefore there must have been two of either in Jesus Christ so that His was real
Godhead and real manhood.   This is reinforced by ὑπόστασις (reality).   They
agreed that in 'Theology' it almost equalled πρόσωπον or person, but usually
in Christological discussion they used it in its root meaning (= substantia).
Occasionally Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret said they were not two ὑποστάσεις
in Jesus Christ, but here they were adopting their opponents' terms.

        It may appear that the Antiochenes taught two Sons by 'conjunction'
because there were two natures each with a πρόσωπον.   This is not really true
for they would have said that in Jesus Christ the Logos, the Second Person of the
Trinity took a human nature so that there was only one Person whose were the two
natures.

        'Christ is indivisible in his being Christ, but He is twofold in His
being God and His being man.   He is single in his sonship; He is twofold in Him
who has assumed and Him who is assumed.   In the Person of the Son He is a single
(Person), but, as with two eyes, He is different in the natures of manhood and
Godhead.   For we know not two Christs or two Sons or Only-begottens, or Lords....
but One and the Same, who was seen in the created and the uncreated nature.'[81]

        Sellers argues that this is the same doctrine as the Alexandrians even
if the Antiochenes object to the word 'composition' (σύνθεσις).   The Son is
revealed in flesh which means that He who was ἄσαρκος is now ἔνσαρκος.   Is this
not, he says, the same as the Alexandrians' μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ Λογοῦ σεσαρκωμένη?[82]

        Is it true then that the Antiochenes began with 'two natures' and ended
with 'two persons'?   They began with the Person of the Logos who united to Him-
self real manhood; they denied that they taught two sons - the union was indivis-
ible.   The two Chalcedonian adverbs 'without division, without confusion' were
already to be found together in their writings.[83]   Theodoret said: 'I am equally
anxious to avoid both the impious "confusion" and the impious "division"; for to
me it is equally abominable to divide the One Son into two, and to deny the duality

of the natures.'[84]   .The Antiochenes insisted on the principle of dividing the
natures to remove 'confusion', but they would share the view of Nestorius: 'I
separate the natures, but unite the worship.'[85]

'Recognising' the two natures

Sometimes to resist 'confusion' they used 'discerning', 'seeing', 'con-
ceiving', and 'recognising' rather than 'dividing' or 'separating' the two natures.
This 'discerning' is what Theodore had in mind when he wrote: 'We confess, and
rightly, one Son, since the dividing of the natures ought of necessity to be
upheld,   and the inseparability of the oneness of the prosopon to be preserved.'[86]
Here are the two basic principles of Antiochene Christological doctrine.

Sellers makes much of the principle, and in 'The Council of Chalcedon'
he states: '.... But it should be understood that, while the Antiochenes employ
such strong terms as "separate" and "divide" ...., they also speak of "recognising"
or "apprehending", the natures in their difference - terms, that is, which show
that their "dividing" is after all a purely mental process.'[87]   This did not make
them exactly level with the Monists however, for we must balance with this the
dualist phrases which Cyril only allowed hesitatingly, e.g. 'temple', 'shrine',
'tabernacle', 'robe'.   Also the Monists only differentiated the sayings and
actions of the Discarnate or Incarnate Logos according to the 'times', whereas
the Antiochenes divided these as appropriate to one or the other nature.

Nestorius said[88] that each nature had real existence in the mind and
must be 'conceived' if confusion is to be avoided.   If we had the Greek original
it would probably have shown that Nestorius meant 'a separation which is conceived'
or 'a separation which is in the mind'.   This is not made clear in the Syriac.[89]

This gave the Antiochenes the advantage that they could clearly define
and preserve the differences of the two natures.   They fiercely upheld the im-
passibility of the Divine nature, e.g. Eustathius: 'the temple suffers but the
(divine) οὐσία   abides without spot and preserves its dignity without defilement.'[90]
And Theodoret says that since the Son is ὁμοούσιος with the Father who is impass-
ible, His is a nature which cannot undergo passion.[91]   Here they were upholding
their first soteriological principle that God Himself must 'condescend'.

This was real Incarnation, and Nestorius was clear that the Logos emptied
himself to achieve this: 'he possessed nothing human of his own, in human things,
but the will of God became His own human will, when He was made firm in the actions

and sufferings of the nature. Thus also in things divine, nothing is His apart from the human humiliation; but while remaining God in all things, (He is) that which the Man was by His nature in sufferings, even in impassibility.'[92] Therefore in the Incarnation - though only in the Incarnation - the Logos whose prosopon was now a human one, allowed himself to be conditioned by this manhood. Elsewhere Nestorius elaborated this theory of condescension.[93]

The Logos in his divine nature has remained impassible and immutable though he has taken the form of a servant. Later Antiochenes were especially insistent on this. Theodoret after quoting Phil. 2.5ff said: 'Now it is plain from these words that the form of God was not changed into the form of a servant, but remaining what it was ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu o\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ $\overset{c}{o}$ $\overset{?}{\eta}\nu$), took the form of the servant.'[94] Despite his continued emphasis on $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in Christology Cyril is certainly no Kenoticist in the modern sense of the word.

There was a large measure of agreement between the Antiochenes and the Alexandrians over the case of Kenosis. Of the three Cyrilline forms, the Antiochenes would not have accepted $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$; $\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\psi\iota\varsigma$ was not foreign to them, but they would have turned naturally to $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$. In fact of the two proof texts, John 1.14 and Phil. 2.5-11, the Antiochenes preferred the second. There were some differences: a. in the Philippians passage the Antiochenes thought of 'Christ Jesus' as the subject and this is what it actually says, but the Alexandrians thought of the Logos as the single factor; b. the Antiochenes thought of this as a description of the two simultaneous natures, whereas the Alexandrians said that the break at v.7 was from the Discarnate to the Incarnate Logos; c. whereas the Fathers, as we have seen, thought of Kenosis as addition rather than subtraction, Nestorius specifically thought of the two $\mu o\rho\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}$ of Paul as two $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\pi\alpha$ related by a process of giving and receiving; d. whereas the Alexandrians tended to gloss over the Philippians passage with the Johannine and stress 'made flesh', the Antiochenes interpreted the Johannine passage in terms of the other so that 'becoming' meant 'receiving' or 'assuming'. The difference between the two schools is therefore about the extent and still more the significance of what was added. All depended on how the traditions answered the questions: what is assumed? and how is it related to the assuming Logos?

From Paul of Samosata onwards the Antiochenes upheld the completeness of the human nature. Eustathius asserted a 'totus homo' - not only a body but also a soul which is $\overset{c}{o}\mu o\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\iota o\varsigma$ with men's souls and rational ($\lambda o\gamma\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$). Theodore attacked the Apollinarian doctrine that the Logos took the place of the rational soul for if it was not real the redemption of the most important part of human nature was incomplete. Therefore it is not surprising that the Antiochenes

said that the manhood had its πρόσωπον , its 'individuality', so that it could be regarded as a 'person'. In the fifth century this was set alongside the πρόσωπον of the Godhead. Theodore said:[95]

'When we discern (διακρίνωμεν) the natures, we say the nature of the divine Logos is complete, and that the πρόσωπον is complete - for it cannot be said that a ὑπόστασις is without its prosopon (ἀπρόσωπον); and we say that the nature of the Man is complete, and likewise the πρόσωπον .... We say that the πρόσωπον of the divine Logos is proper, too, that of the Man; for the natures are discerned-though the πρόσωπον constituted by the union is one. So then, when we take in hand to discern the natures, we say that the πρόσωπον of the Man is complete, and complete, too, that of the Godhead.'

What is the root cause of the insistence on the πρόσωπον of the manhood? First, because every ὑπόστασις had to have a πρόσωπον. Second, because the Antiochenes thought their opponents were unsound, they determined to uphold it. They were really only upholding the δύο πράγματα of the Alexandrians, according to Sellers, but put more stress on it. They had different ends in view, for the Antiochenes were determined to reject Apollinarianism and Eutychianism and hence their emphasis on duality, whereas the Alexandrians knew that extreme dualism had to be dealt with an so they stressed the unity. There was also a difference in their attitude to the manhood and its place in the redemptive process. The Alexandrians tended to think of 'Representative Man', but the Antiochenes laid a firm hold on 'The Man' and 'a man', the one perfect and obedient individual.

We can summarise the Antiochene position by saying that from a soteriological point of view and therefore a Christological one, both the Logos and the man had an important and an essential part to play in Jesus Christ. The 'Homo assumptus' was a junior partner of the 'Verbum assumens', and not just the environment in which the battle took place. Grillmeier points out that the Antiochene school developed out of the Logos-sarx background but the problem became acute when the Logos-anthropos combination threatened the unity of the Person of Christ. Nevertheless the Antiochenes were right to stress the Double Homoousios and this was allowed at Chalcedon.

Reciprocity of the Two Natures and the Bond of Union

Jesus Christ is one πρόσωπον with two οὐσίαι. But also each οὐσία had its own πρόσωπον . The Logos 'takes' the πρόσωπον of the manhood and 'gives' the divine ousia to the manhood. Loofs says[96] 'giving' and 'taking' does not imply a substantial union, but the relationship is set up on the rational level on both sides by freewill. The reciprocity is of two personal actions. But the Logos 'gives and takes' ('giving us his and taking ours'[97]) for the union was centred

in the Person of the Logos.   It was not a union on the spiritual plane but a theory of the philosophical union.   Nestorius used it to explain the 'communicatio idiomatum'.   Sellers says: 'To regard him as one who would set up a non-metaphysical Christology is to remove him from his own age'.[98]

Nestorius following Theodore certainly allowed the transference of attributes - in Jesus Christ 'the flesh is called God'[99] and 'God the Logos is called man'.[100] Indeed his theory of 'giving' and 'taking' leaves no doubt.   Jesus Christ was the 'common prosopon of the divinity and the humanity'.[101]   Then, 'all the things which are called after the union in respect to both of these things which are united come to be with reference to the one prosopon'.[102]   In the union the prosopa of the natures made use of each other so the names of each could be changed.[103]   It was not merely that one prosopon could make use of the other prosopon for one nature could make use of its opposite prosopon, hence the properties of humanity or divinity could be exchanged.   But the natures 'remain the one and the other'.[104]

The Alexandrians used the method of communicatio idiomatum to give full scope to this process of transference.   The Antiochenes too were compelled to admit its legitimacy since it was occassionally found in Scripture.   They allowed three ways in which to accept it and gave Scriptural references (e.g. Acts 3.15, 20.28, I Corinthians 2.8).   It could be a metaphorical use only, so that Diodore said: 'If anyone should wish to use the title Son of God for the Son of David metaphorically ($\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$), he is at liberty to do so because He from David is the Temple of the Logos'.[105]   Theodore also finds good Scriptural warrant:[106]
'The sacred books also teach us this union, not only when they impart to us the knowledge of each nature but also when they affirm that what is due to one is also due to the other so that we should understand the wonderful sublimity of the union which took place between them' ....
'Any time the Bible wishes to speak of the things done in the human nature, it rightly refers them to the divine nature because they are high above our nature; in this it shows the union of the divine nature with the man in order to make credible the things done to him ... (but) let us learn the distinction between the natures and their union from Holy Scripture and let us hold stedfast to this doctrine and understand the difference between these natures.'

Finally Nestorius thought he had lifted the problem into a new sphere by his theory of theory of the prosopic union.   So the Antiochenes allowed this technique even if they felt bound to qualify it simply because Scripture occasionally used it.   Yet they were always happier when they could divide the attributes into God-befitting and man-befitting, and interpreted as much as possible in the New Testament in accordance with this principle, even when a modern exegete would be against them.

The great test case of the principle was the Theotokos controversy which
led ultimately to Nestorius' downfall.   Between the two extremes of Θεοτόκος
and ἀνθρωποτόκος he suggested the compromise term Χριστοτόκος . He was prepared
to allow the simple believer to go on using the term Theotokos but realised its
inherent danger.   Both Diodore and Theodore before him had rejected the 'double
birth' theory and Nestorius was even more emphatic. · The Fathers describe the
Economy not as the Birth (γέννησις) but as the Incarnation (ἐνανθρώπησις) ··
for the Godhead is incapable of birth or suffering and therefore the Logos is not
susceptible to a double birth.   The nature which was eternally with the Father
was not born new.   Two births could imply two Sons.   'Prove unto me that God
the Word was born in flesh of a woman and then explain to me how thou understandest
that he was born.'[107]

The real difficulty for Dualists over the Double Generation theory (favoured
by Cyril) lies in describing it as the double birth of the Logos.   Sellers says
that the Antiochenes accepted the principle of 'two births' but in a qualified
fashion.   It may seem that Diodore rejected it, e.g. in contra Synousiastas:
'The divine Logos did not undergo two births, one before the ages, the other in
these last days'.   But it does have a context: 'In any discussion concerning
the births according to nature, it must not be thought that the divine Logos is
son of Mary'.   He does not deny saying the Logos is born of a Virgin but it is
'through a figure of speech'.[108]

Why did these teachers ascribe divine and human attributes to the name
'Christ'? By 'Christ' they meant the One in whom the two natures have been
joined together - the Logos Incarnate.   Nestorius called 'Christ', 'the name of
the economy'.[109]   Theodoret was more explicit: 'The name "Christ" in the case
of our Lord and Saviour signifies the Incarnate Logos (τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα Λόγον),
The Emmanuel, the "God with us", so said, signifies the single nature (τὴν ἁπλῆν
φύσιν), before the world, superior to time, and incorporal (ἀσώματον).'[110]

Nestorius particularly could not allow the Cyrilline view of 'natural' or
'hypostatic' union, because such a union was not voluntary and his idea of a
voluntary union was certainly not ontological.   It meant that the Logos was not
preserved in impassibility or else the whole thing was a sham.   Cyril speaks
frequently of voluntary κένωσις but spoils this for Dualists by maintaining after
the Kenotic act an ontological theory of the union.   Nestorius' protests against
the theory of natural union on the grounds of its non-voluntary character are
explained by Scipioni as follows. Every natural union of which the model is the

relation of soul and body in man is a union of incomplete natures, each of which
is affected by the union to form a new nature. This is a natural and not a
volitional compulsion arising from the necessity of nature and not the determination
of will. While this may be part of the truth it does not exhaust for Nestorius
the significance of his objection. He seems to pass from metaphysical to volit-
ional considerations without strain. Probably it is a two-pointed objection
rather than a single metaphysical attack.

According to Nestorius the Logos had 'taken a prosopon of humility'[111] and
'given' Man a divine appearance and a prosopon of 'exaltation' or 'adoption'.[112]
So 'the manhood is the prosopon of the Godhead, and the Godhead is the prosopon of
the manhood'.[113] He thought the union of Godhead and manhood in the Person of
Jesus Christ had to be both voluntary and personal. It was voluntary because it
depended on the will of the Logos; and he was following Theodore who had called it
'union according to good pleasure'. It was personal because the manhood was united
to the Logos himself. All the Antiochenes denied that the manhood assumed by the
Logos was 'that of another beside himself' ($\dot{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho o\upsilon$ $\tau\iota\nu o\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\rho'\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}\nu$) - it was the
'own' of the Logos. Andrew of Samosata expressly said this in his reply to
anathema II of Cyril, but using the analogy of the union of the soul with its own
and not another flesh.

It has been shown that the Antiochene position was not just a Christolog-
ical preference but an integrated point of view. 'Monism stood for the rich
realities of religious faith even when these landed in paradoxes or mysteries.
Dualism, the strength of which lay in critical analysis offered a corrective "Yes,
but" in the interests of clarity. Thus the conflict over the term Theotokos
bears all the marks of a struggle between popular piety and scientific theology.'[114]

It remains to examine some of the forerunners and contemporaries of
Nestorius within the Antiochene school, and assess not so much how they fulfil
in detail what we have noted in general terms, but rather how much they link with
each other and with the heresiarch himself.

PAUL OF SAMOSATA

Paul may be called the forerunner of Nestorius but he was writing at a stage
when the Trinitarian disputes had not really settled and his Christological
influence may therefore be said to be indirect. In one aspect of his thought
we find the same Aristotelian dialectic which emerges later in Thomas Aquinas'
philosophical attitudes to 'substance' and 'accidents'. For instance one fragment

distinguishes 'substantial' and 'qualitative' union.[115]   He had a double
characterisation of the Incarnate Lord, which he compared with God indwelling
in the Temple or one person dwelling in another person.   Was the difference
of kind or degree?   There is evidence of a bond of union in activity ($\stackrel{,}{\epsilon}\nu\stackrel{,}{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$
cf. $\stackrel{,}{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\chi\epsilon\tau\iota\chi\eta$).   Loofs says[116] this represents the mature crystalis-
ation of Paul's thought, but Bardy is more doubtful and thinks we can go no
further than the theory of personal indwelling, evidence for which is relatively
plentiful.[117]

There is the problem of the definite distinction between on the one hand
the saints and sages, and on the other hand the Incarnate Lord.   He certainly
appeared to interpret the Incarnation in terms of 'inspiration' and the thought
forms usually belonging to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.   Christ was 'a
man like us but greater in every respect'.[118]   It is important that he claimed
Christ had a different constitution from us, and in three particular ways:
a. the birth of the 'homo Christi' was of the Holy Spirit, and possibly by this
he meant the evidence of the Virgin Birth;   Bardy discounts this as confused;
b. He was the predestinate man, the man of promise (from prophecy) and yet
there was a difference from the indwelling of the patriarchs and prophets:
c. it was according to the Scriptures, i.e. the Christological use of the Old
Testament.

There is an indication of the problem all the way through - the tendency
to approximate the Divine nature in the human nature, as Christ in the Christian.
Cyril pointed this out ($o\stackrel{,}{u}\kappa$ $o\stackrel{,}{u}\sigma\iota\omega\delta\stackrel{~}{\omega}\varsigma$ $\stackrel{,}{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\stackrel{`}{\alpha}$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\stackrel{`}{\alpha}$ $\pi\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\alpha$), the Logos from above,
below - manhood from below above, or from below here ($\stackrel{,}{\alpha}\nu\omega$ $\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega$ $\theta\epsilon\nu$ or
$\stackrel{,}{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$).   This particular objection to a substantial indwelling is not made
anywhere else and amounts to a denial that a logical synthesis is possible
between two elements with different 'direction marks' ('from above' - 'from
below').   As a result, while seeking to discover a difference of kind he has
to fall back on a difference in degree.   But he did also stress that manhood
matters and that moral progress was important, and thus he certainly points
forward to Nestorius.

EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH (died before 337)

M. Spanneut in an article in the Journal of Theological Studies said:[119]
'On a longtemps négligé les idées théologiques d'Eustathe d'Antioche... Fr.
Loofs avait pressenti l'importance de l'oeuvre eustathienne pour l'histoire de
la théologie.   Dès 1914 il lança une thèse nouvelle sur la place de l'évêque
d'Antioche et la reprit jusqu'à sa mort, non sans évoluer quelque peu.'

After mentioning works by Zoepfl, Burn, Sellers and Gericke, he continues: 'En somme deux réponses sont en présence: l'interprétation traditionelle, reprise par Zoepfl, qui voit en Eustathe un théologien pur de tout Sabellianisme et orthodoxe en christologie (une personne, deux natures, mons la terminologie); une position plus récente, garantie par Fr. Loofs, qui fait d'Eustathe un représentant de l'école antiochenne, avec une conception économique de la Trinité et une christologie exagérément dualists. Dans le dernier cas, notre auteur à cote de Marcel d'Ancyre, assurerait le relai entre, d'une part, Paul de Samosate, Théophile d'Antioche et, par delà, l'Occident, d'autre part, Diodore de Tarse, Theodore de Mopsueste, et, par là, le Nestorianisme. Cette thèse nouvelle - on pourrait dire cette synthèse - est à première vue vraisemblable et en tout cas séduisante. Les idées trinitaires et christologiques d'Eustathe s'y prêtent-elles on s'y refusent-elles?'.

More recently Grillmeier claims a rather different position for Eustathius. He says that before the controversy with Apollinarius, Eustathius tried to balance Word-flesh terminology with another framework, and he has been unfairly set between Paul of Samosata and Nestorius. He used un-Antiochene language and only because of the reputation was doubt felt about his belief in the Communicatio Idiomatum. In fact he says quite clearly: 'Manifeste deprehensi sunt, qui Verbum Deum occidissent et cruci affixissent'.[120] He also used the title 'Theotokos'.[121] His ideas of the divinisation of the soul and body of Christ and communicatio in the Logos also pointed to what Grillmeier terms a 'unitive theology'. This may be compared with Origen, though Eustathius also said that Origen's theory of the soul made Christ an ordinary man and he did not take the divine nature into consideration (ἀλλ᾽ οὐκέτι καὶ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ ἐτοχαζόμενος φύσεως). The soul also had the power of the Logos to lead souls out of hell.

Thus Grillmeier concludes that his theology is 'unitive' though well balanced. It was in his fight with Arian Logos-sarx Christology that we find the 'other' Eustathius with a 'divisive' theology. Prestige also thinks there was no extreme emphasis on duality which endangered the unity of the person of Christ in the writings of Eustathius, Chrysostom or Theodoret. But it is necessary to question how Grillmeier can deduce so much from the scanty fragments. In the absence of secure dating his theory of a radical change in his Christology after the outbreak of the Arian controversy is particularly vulnerable.[122]

Dualist elements however undoubtedly exist in the fragments, and his ideas have been categorised by Spanneut as: a. 'le méchanisme de l'Incarnation': b. 'la nature humaine dans l'être que en résulte'.

The impassible Word took a human temple, he assumed ($\overset{\text{>}}{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\overset{\backslash}{\omega}\nu$) a human instrument, he 'too up and wore', he 'inhabited', 'occupied himself' the man, so that the experience was real but it was the experience of God.   'L'Incarnation aux yeux d'Eustathe est bien l'assomption d'un homme par le Verbe'.[123] He thus chose the Word-man framework.   He called the human nature 'l'homme du Christ' and 'il lue attribue explicitement une âme'.   The Fathers were silent about the existence of a human soul of Christ at this period yet Eustathius said: 'pourquoi jugent-ils si important de monter que le Christ assuma un corps sans âme?'[124]   Spanneut says of this: 'Par cette clairvoyance unique it attaquait l'hérésie en son point faible et sauvait l'intégrité des natures dans le Christ'.[125]

If the human nature was complete was it necessary to call this man a person?   'La tendance exagérément dualiste est evident chez Eustathe.   Cependant ne donnons pas au term $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\omega\pi o\nu$ qu'il applique parfois à la nature humaine du Christ une valeur qu'il n'avait pas.   Souvent en effet l'évêque d'Antioche affirme ailleurs l'unité du Sauveur.   C'est le même Christ que a deux naissances.....'[126]

Grillmeier points out that he began to qualify his communicatio statements, e.g. 'For it is not right to say that the Word, or God, died'.[127]   We begin to see him separating the actions within Christ as recorded in the Scriptures.[128]   The body was variously described as 'temple', 'tabernacle', 'house', 'garment' of the Logos, and to make it unique he used the term 'fullness'.   Ignatius of Antioch had used the phrase $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa o\phi\acute{o}\rho os$; his successor used $\overset{\text{>}}{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi os\ \theta\epsilon o\phi\acute{o}\rho os$, homo deifer.[129]

Spanneut sums up by saying:
'Puisque l'insistance dualiste n'apparaît que dans les fragments, généralement anti-ariens, tout laisse croire qu'Eustathe y fut amené par la polémique. Contre ceux qui diminuaient tour à tour dans le Christ l'humain et le divin, il eut à monter la perfection réciproque de l'homme et du Verbe.   Eustathe, en ce sens, ne serait pas né Antiochien.   Les Ariens l'auraient rendu tel.... Eustathe d'Antioche nous paraît donc peu fondé à servir de témoin pour attester le continuité d'une tradition antiochenne ....   Sa christologie, très affirmative sur l'unité du Sauveur, ne doit peut-être dualisme exageré qu'aux circon- stances.'[130]

DIODORE OF TARSUS (died before 394)

This Father is usually associated with Eustathius as being an intermediary between Paul of Samosata and the later Antiochenes.[131]   The existence of a

direct link cannot be substantiated and a continuous succession is at least non proven. Certainly the charge of 'being Paul's men' was hotly denied by Theodore and Nestorius, despite a general similarity of pattern.

Jerome mentioned that Diodore was a disciple of Eusebius, but we have to remember that Eusebius was within the Logos-sarx framework, and previous interpretations have always made Diodore a representative of the Word-man school. What place does he appear to give to the 'soul' in the extant fragments? His writings in opposition to the Emperor Julian seem to make him defend the true divinity of Christ. He introduced a loosening in the concept of the unity of Christ in reply to the attacks of Julian in order to safeguard the Godhead, and possibly the idea of a twofold worship is to rebut the accusation of worshipping a man. He allowed Theotokos but wanted it to be balanced by Anthropotokos. The distinction between the divinity and the humanity of Christ was not necessarily carried to the lengths of separation. According to Grillmeier his theology of distinction was set within a Logos-sarx and not, as with Theodore, a Logos-anthropos framework. Thus for him Christ had a human soul but as with Athanasius, it was not a theological factor. There was a striking neglect of the soul even in the Apollinarian controversy, and yet Apollinarius said of Diodore and Flavian of Antioch, that they were 'sycophants, dividing the Lord into two prosopa'.[152] Grillmeier however points out that whereas this is found among the Paulinists, 'Diodore, as a Meletian, would not have been much inclined to resort to the theological ideas of the other side.'[153]

His exegesis of Luke 2.52 is important. He said the Logos himself could not have increased in age and in wisdom, and so it must have been the flesh for it was the flesh which had to be created and born and the Logos imparted wisdom gradually.[154] We should note that in this the Logos was not opposed to the 'man' but to the flesh and the Logos was the direct source of $\delta \acute{u} \nu \alpha \mu \iota \varsigma$, which shows his link with Eusebius of Emesa. There was a real link with the Logos-sarx school, even though the bulk of his writings show the other framework. The mixture may point to a transitional period.[155] Thus although it was generally thought that representatives of 'divisive' Christology were God-man types, Eusebius (completely) and Diodore (in part) are representatives of divisive christology of the Logos-sarx type, which was soon to be overcome by the other.

His temporary use of a Logos-sarx framework for this divisive theology surprised Cyril, who said: 'Diodore should also listen to this: If you now call (that) flesh which you once described as the man from Nazereth taken (by the Logos), then show yourself to us without any disguise and mask, say clearly

what in your opinion a man should think, and do not seek to deceive (simple) listeners by <u>speaking simply of a soulless flesh.</u>'[156]

This thesis of Grillmeier is contested by Rowan Greer in the Journal of Theological Studies.[157] He admits that on terminology alone Diodore does not match up to the usual Antiochene Logos-anthropos framework, but there is no ground for thinking he is a Logos-sarx theologian by his mere use of 'flesh'. He asserts that as a Scriptural theologian he believed that there were two subjects of predication in Jesus Christ. He notes of Diodore's exegesis of Matthew 22.41f: 'Diodore's explanation is that Christ in the Gospel is demonstrating that he is both David's son qua man and David's Lord qua the Word and in so far as the man received the title by his union with the Word.... The title Lord properly belongs to God, but by grace is bestowed upon David's son. The human subject is David's son by nature; his Lord, by grace.'[158]

Greer disputes that for Diodore humanity was really only flesh on three grounds. He defined man as a creature rather than as a relation between body and soul. The soul more appropriately took a part of the grace of God rather than the body. It is untrue that the soul was not a centre of discussion with the Apollinarians, and it is their basic assumption of the analogy of the soul and body which he rejects. Also Greer contends that the difficult Fragment 2 is not what Diodore himself believed but rather an attempt on his part to give a fair statement of Apollinarian teaching, in order to show the absurdity of their position. Again the term 'flesh' when used by Diodore is simply the uncritical way of expressing the man born of Mary, and this clear in Fragment 12. '.... The reason he uses the term is that it is firmly embedded in the universal tradition of the Church. His terminology is, in any case, rather loose and fluid; and there is no compelling reason to doubt that he could simply adopt uncritically the usual way of speaking of the Incarnation, a way which ultimately derives from John 1.14 .... In short, Diodore uses "flesh" in a traditional and non-technical way. Theodore alone of the Antiochenes eschews the word and replaces it with his more fixed terminology .... The traditional term "flesh" is interpreted biblically rather than philosophically. And, I should argue, Diodore's use of flesh must be read against a biblical rather than a philosophical background.'[139]

With regard to the Communicatio Idiomatum, the communion was thought to be one of honour, worship and grace. David's son might be called L$_o$rd 'not because he is from Mary', but 'in repect of honour'.[140] This interpretation would not satisfy the Alexandrians who wished to assert a full metaphysical communication of the attributes of God and man.

Greer summarises his contention against Grillmeier's thesis that Diodore built upon a Logos-sarx framework under four headings.   a. He was misled by Briere's translation of the anti-Apollinarian fragment into thinking this was Diodore's own view.   b. He puts too much weight on Diodore's terminology, e.g. 'flesh'.   c. He thinks Diodore's communicatio idiomatum is some kind of natural union and so misinterprets his descriptions of Christ's remarkable powers. d. His attempts to reorientate his Christology in terms of a defence of Christ's divinity against the Emperor Julian 'seem quite gratuitous'.   And so Diodore should be reclassified as a 'true Antiochene'.

In conclusion it seems that Diodore's Christology was completely after 379 and 381.   At the Council of Constantinople, Meletius (who died while the Council was in session) and Diodore played a special role and probably influenced the canons of the Council.   Diodore was certainly regarded as the standard of orthodoxy in his own region.   According to some Nestorian writings in 612 this council brought the Logos-anthropos framework into the open as an effective counter-balance to the Logos-sarx framework.   It is precisely because he did not accept a soul that he opposed 'one hypostasis' formulas, for this did not sufficiently loosen the unity between Word and flesh.   He is concerned not so much because the humanity of the Lord was being lost by the Apollinarian controversy, but, says Grillmeier, that the Godhead of the Logos was endangered.   He was unable to construct an effective theology in the Logos-anthropos framework and prepared the way for another Antiochene, Theodore.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (died 428)

Theodore's Christology was largely unquestioned during his lifetime, and is therefore likely to be less self-conscious and more subtle in its Antiochene thought than 'The Bazaar'.   The language appears to be formally orthodox but we still must wonder whether what he intends to convey is what the orthodox Church accepted as the correct teaching about the Person of Christ.   He is always classified as a 'biblical theologian' and hence his description as 'the Interpreter'.   R.A.Norris[141] thinks there is a considerable link between his Christology and his doctrine of man.   There is a certain tension between his work as 'the Interpreter' and his attempts to move into speculative theology.   The latter is subsidiary but makes itself most felt in his anthropology.   He certainly did know his way into the field of theology, and was no mean systematic theologian.

His main debate was with Apollinarius who denied the human soul of Christ and so we have to see what Theodore thought about the human soul in general, and in Christ in particular.   Man consisted of body and soul - he is a dichotomist in anthropology.   Therefore the soul had an independent hypostasis, was rational and practical, passible and mutable, and the seat of the intellect. It was brought into conjunction with the body as a partner but still an independent substance.   It was a creaturely being, yet man was made in the image of God in whom the structure of creation was seen in microcosm.   The Fall deprived mankind of this role through disobedience, and redemption was to be seen as ethical renewal in which the human nature played a vital role with the Logos.   In spite of the Fall man had the freedom and moral responsibility necessary to assist in this.   Some scholars have called this Theodore's Pelagianism.   He emphasised the homo victor theme.   The initiative is certainly divine, but the Man won for himself and others that redemption described by reason of his union with God the Word.   It was the product both of divine self-giving and of human obedience.

This meant that the two natures had to be dualistically presented. Applied to Scripture, certain sayings of Christ befitted either his deity of his humanity.   Theodore went beyond difference of properties to think of these as two different substances.   Like all the Antiochenes he found it difficult to think of 'manhood' apart from 'a man'.   He asked: 'How is it not plain that the divine Scripture clearly teaches us that God the Word is one thing, and the man another, and that it shows us the great difference between them?'[142] Diepen notes: '(the tendency is to) distinguish in Christ not only a double "quid" but (also) a double "quis".'[143]

But he often wrote of the cooperation ($\sigma u v \acute{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \epsilon \iota \alpha$) of the Man and God the Son and this was the basis of the theory of the unity of Jesus Christ. He said: 'We assert the One Son and Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things were made: understanding thereby principally God the Word who is Son of God and Lord in real being, but understanding thereby conjointly and secondarily that which was assumed, Jesus of Nazereth ... as sharing in sonship and lordship by virtue of his union with God the Word.'[144] The Sonship enjoyed by the man was 'by grace' and not 'by nature'.   Similarly he denied that human properties can be attributed to the Word by nature, but only derivatively by reason of His relationship to the Man.

His basic doctrine is one of 'inhabitation'.   He used the term $\acute{\epsilon} v o \acute{\iota} \kappa \eta \sigma \iota s$ as the best alternative to $\kappa \rho \tilde{\alpha} \sigma \iota s$.   He began from the fact that God is always

working in the world and so is immanent in substance (οὐσία) and activity (ἐνέργεια). The inhabitation in man was exceptional and special. He seized on the expression 'indwelling according to good pleasure (κατ᾽ εὐδοκίαν), and to differentiate this further from the indwelling in the prophets, he added the phrase with a Scriptural basis 'as in a Son' (ὡς ἐν υἱῷ). 'But what is meant by "as a son"? It means that in coming to indwell, he united the assumed (Man) as a whole to himself, and made him to share with him in all the dignity in which he who indwells, being Son by nature, participates: so as to be counted one prosopon according to the union with him, and to share with him all his dominion ....'[145]

For him the union was real and preceded the 'co-operation' and the 'prosopic union' which are effected. He used three analogies to elaborate this. First, it was like God dwelling in the Tabernacle (this was from the Divine point of view). Second, it was like the union between man and wife (this was from the human point of view). Third, it was like the union of body and soul (the actual description of the union).

He developed the idea of the prosopon and prosopic union which was latent in Eustathius in an original way. It came to mean practically (though not technically) what Cyril meant by hypostasis - an individual figure as presented to the perception, which philosophically could be defined as an independent objective reality.

Unity of prosopon was not in itself a kind of union: rather it was the outward expression of an underlying unity which might be one of several different kinds. The unity of prosopon was a product of the union, i.e. of the indwelling of the Word in the man through a disposition of the will, and based on the subordination of the Man to the Word. The doctrine of the one prosopon was not the equivalent of the later doctrine of hypostatic union, nor was it 'a merely moral union'. It was the dominance of the Word, who alone was the agent of the union itself which made it possible to speak of the one prosopon of Christ. It was when Nestorius tried to use it in a technical sense as a philosophical construction to oppose Cyril's theory of hypostatic union that the trouble began.

The term 'common prosopon' is still pre-Chalcedonian. Theodore still appeared to lack the good Alexandrian emphasis on one subject, and instead appeared to make the 'common prosopon' a third subject over and above the two natures from which it derived its existence. This was summarised in the

following remark: 'For when we distinguish the natures, we say that the nature of God the Word is complete, and that (his) prosopon is complete (for it is not correct to speak of an hypostasis without its prosopon); and (we say) also that the nature of the man is complete, and likewise (his) prosopon.'[146]

Grillmeier claims that there is no third 'mixed' prosopon in addition, for Theodore only spoke of one prosopon in two natures, which was produced by the Logos giving his own prosopon to the assumed man. The Logos-prosopon became the means of showing forth Christ's human nature. We may examine an important recently discovered fragment from Contra Eunomium:[147]

'Prosopon is used in a twofold way: for either it signifies the hypostasis and that which each one of us is, or it is conferred upon honour, greatness and worship; for example "Paul" and "Peter" signify the hypostasis and the prosopon of each one of them, but the prosopon of Lord Christ means honour, greatness and worship. For because God the Word was revealed in manhood, he was causing the glory of his hypostasis to cleave to the visible one; and for this reason, "prosopon of Christ" declares it (sc. the prosopon) to be (a prosopon) of honour, not of the ousia of the two natures. [For the honour is neither nature nor hypostasis, but an elevation to great dignity which is awarded as a due for the cause of revelation .....] (Here he compares a king and his robes) .... For anyone who affirms God the Word to have flesh by nature (predicates that) he has something foreign to the divine ousia by undergoing an alteration by the addition of a nature. But if he has not flesh by nature, how does Apollinarius say that the some one is partially homoousios with the Father in his Godhead, and (partially) homoousios with us in the flesh, so that he should make him composite? For he who is thus divided becomes and is found (to be) something composite by nature.'

Unfortunately this fragment raises as many problems as it solves. Theodore distinguishes two senses of the word prosopon. The first is identical with hypostasis, the second is a prosopon of honour, greatness and worship. Theodore fails to tell us whether he is applying both senses or only the second to Christ. If he is using the first in a christological way does it apply only to the total incarnate person, or to both natures considered as hypostases? The fragment is contained in a Nestorian collection and therefore might have been modified in a Nestorian direction. It is a welcome addition to the evidence at our disposal, but settles no question in a decisive manner.

This is sufficient on the thought and vocabulary of Theodore for the present, but it will be necessary to examine this in even greater detail when reviewing the works of his greatest disciple, Nestorius. Of Nestorius, Prestige says: '(he) put a razor-like dialectical edge on Theodore's tools and applied them to the cutting up of Apollinarianism'.[148] Unfortunately he was using the Christological dualism of Theodore as a rival ontology and this

was not the natural mould into which to pour what he had to say.

No further comments will be made about the heresiarch at this juncture and so it remains to say something briefly about his two contemporaries, Theodoret of Cyrus and Andrew of Samosata.

THEODORET OF CYRUS

Theodoret could easily have transferred from Trinitarian language the idea of linking of 'prosopon' with 'hypostasis' and distinguishing them from 'physis' but this he did not appear to do until after 450. He was important for the future in that he established the connection between the Chalcedonian doctrine of the Incarnation and Trinitarian theological terminology and based this on Scriptural evidence. The Formulary of Reunion (433) owed much to him[149] and it was here that he linked 'ousia' and 'physis' as meaning essence or nature. He deeply acknowledged the unity but wanted to stress the freedom of the Incarnation and to do this he only had prosopon left. In De Incarnatione he acknowledged the 'distinction of the natures and the unity of the prosopon'[150] (and he did not mean by this a mixed prosopon, though it does have much of its original meaning of 'countenance'). The Godhead and manhood unite themselves in one combined appearance of Christ: 'in the countenance of Jesus Christ' ($\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\omega\pi\omega$ $\dot{I}\eta\sigma\sigma\hat{u}$ $X\rho\iota\sigma\tau\sigma\hat{u}$) has this meaning: as the divine nature is invisible, it becomes visible in its inwardness through the manhood that is taken, for this is illuminated with divine light and sends out lightnings.'[151]

We should note that his conception of prosopon did not rest the unity in the 'hypostasis' of the Logos as with Cyril but is constitutes by the union of Word and manhood - the subject of the common sayings in Christ, i.e. the conjunction of the two natures. Up to 448-9 he still found difficulty with 'Theotokos'. But he seems finally to have developed beyond this incomplete picture of Christ and in two letters (449) the unity of subject and of person in Christ is made explicitly: 'So the body of the Lord is indeed a body, but incapable of suffering, incorruptible and immortal.... For it is not separated from the Godhead and belongs to none other than the Only-begotten Son of God Himself. And it shows us no other person (prosopon) than the Only-begotten himself, who is clothed with our nature.'[152] Also: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ is no other person of the Trinity than the Son.'[153]

ANDREW OF SAMOSATA

He wanted to show that Cyril in fact asserted two hypostases: 'but we must not assign the sayings to two persons or hypostases or to two Sons, dividing the union, that is the one Son; for the complete unity and the one Son cannot be divided and are inseparable in every respect and way and view.'[154] He allowed the one hypostasis expression and elsewhere accepted two natures and this prepared for the Chalcedonian distinction of one hypostasis (the one prosopon) and two natures. He returned to Cyril's Trinitarian terminology and compared it with his Christological concepts: physis = hypostasis, but hypostasis had come to = prosopon. For the Trinity this meant three natures and three persons, and in Christ two natures and two prosopa. He suggested that Cyril should redefine hypostasis to mean 'the forms in which substantial things exist' and then talk of two hypostases without meaning two prosopa, or else as in the 'De Sancta Trinitate' which he had already quoted, link prosopon with hypostasis and distinguish both from physis, or else contrast prosopon with both the other concepts of physis and hypostasis. He seemed to prefer prosopon = hypostasis, and not physis = prosopon.

'Andrew for his part really seems to cling to the equation of hypostasis and person made in trinitarian terminology. We have heard above of the prosopon of the Logos ... in the Letter to Rabbula we read of the "nature of the hypostasis (of the Logos)" - such statements are not made about the manhood. The Logos, as hypostasis, is thus, in fact, the centre on which the person of Christ is formed. The natures occupy a somewhat different position; they are both present in the one person of Christ and are carefully to be distinguished from one another.'[155]

CONCLUSION

Thus the two schools are rapidly brought closer to each other and prepare for the Chalcedonian Definition. The Antiochenes represent proleptically strong Chalcedonianism, i.e. a synthesis between Antiochene Christology and the formulas of Cyril, though this depends on where one locates the centre of gravity of Chalcedon. From the viewpoint of the Latrocinium it was dualistic, but it did not restore Nestorius. In some places there were monist elements, so that both Cyril and Nestorius would have had to think carefully before signing it. Cyril would have had to agree that 'physis and 'hypostasis' were aligned, and Nestorius would have had to abandon the mutuality of the 'prosopa'. The brunt of the battle was borne by Leo rather than the Easterns.[156] It could not have happened without the great clash between Cyril and Nestorius. We now turn to the latters's apology.

Chapter Three Notes

1. H.E.W.Turner, The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption, pp.70-95.
2. R.V.Sellers, Two Ancient Christologies, p.65.
3. A useful summary of the history of these terms up to the end of the fourth century is found in an appendix to a monograph by J.F.Bethune-Baker, 'The Meaning of Homoousios in the "Constantinopolitan Creed".' See also: M.Richard, L'introduction du mot 'hypostase' dans la theologie de l'incarnation, MSR Vol. II, pp.5-32,243-70; R.Braun, Deus Christ-ianorum; T.Sagi-Bunić, Deus Perfectus et Homo Perfectus; H. de Riedmatten, La christologie d'Apollinaire de Laodicée (Studia Patristica II, T·U. Vol. LXIV, pp.208-34); A.Gesche, L'âme humaine de Jésus dans la christologie du IVe siecle (RHE Vol. LIV pp.385-425); J.Liébaert, La doctrine Christologique de Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie avant la querelle Nestorienne.
4. Bethune-Baker, ibid., pp.65-70.
5. Ibid., pp.69-70.
6. G.M. de Durand, Cyrille d'Alexandrie, Deux Dialogues Christologiques (SC), cf. G.L.Prestige, God in Patristic Thought, p.162.
7. Bethune-Baker, ibid., pp.74-81
8. Two Ancient Christologies, p.48
9. Athanasius used ὁμοφυής after the Dated Creed (359) to explain ὁμοούσιος cf. Athanasius de syn. 48 (P.G. xxvi 777), 52 (P.G. xxvi 778). There is one earlier ref. in his writings, Orat. c. Arian. I,55 (P.G.xxvi 135).
10. de Riedmatten, op.cit.
11. Bethune-Baker, ibid., pp.70-4
12. Prestige, God in Patristic Thought, p.157.
13. R.V.Sellers, Two Ancient Christologies, p.47.
14. For the lexicography of the term πρόσωπον and its use in the Christology of Nestorius see Appendices II and IV in DrH. pp.402-20.
15. A.Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, especially pp. 234-42, where the distinction is explained.
16. R.V.Sellers, op.cit., pp.39,40.
17. H.E.W. Turner in a private communication.
18. R.V.Sellers, op.cit., p.6, quoting Athansius, de syn. 35.
19. Apollinarius, Ep. as Dionysium I,2 (lietzmann p.257)
20. This formula of Cyril is discussed by de Durand, pp.133-4 and G.L. Prestige, Fathers and Heretics, pp.344-9, with a selection of Cyrilline refs. which are too numerous for detailed listing.
21. H.E.W.Turner in a private communication, recalling an obiter dictum of Duch-esne.
22. Gregory of Nazianzus, Ep. CI, P.G. xxxvii, 181C-184A.
23. R.V.Sellers, op.cit., p.86
24. H.E.W.Turner in a private communication.
25. Theodoret, Dial. III (P.G. lxxxiii 268).
26. cf. Athanasius, De Incarn. xx.
27. Sellers, op.cit., p.40.
28. Gregory of Nyssa, adv Eunom. V, 5 (P.G.xlv 105).
29. Despite Cyril, Hom.div.15, P.G. lxxvii 1095B which explicitly rejects this phrase.
30. Eustathius, De Anima c.Arian. Fr.15; Spanneut p.100; P.G. xviii,689B.
31. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, p.185.
32. Athanasius, Orat. c. Arian. III, 27 (P.G. xxvi, 381A).
33. Lucian, Bishop of Antioch, quoted by Grillmeier, op.cit., p.189 from Doctrins Patrum (ed. Diekamp, p.65)
34. Theodore, Cat. Hom. V,17, Mingana V, p.59.
35. Supra, p. 59.
36. Gregory of Nazianzus, Ep. CI ad Cledonium, P.G. xxxvii, 181C-184A.
37. Athanasius, Orat. c. Arian. III, 30 P.G. xxvi, 388A.
38. J.N.D.Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, pp.284-9.
39. Apollinarius de Fid. et inc. 6 (Lietzmann, pp.198-9).

40.   H.E.W.Turner in a private communication.

41.   J.Liébaert, op.cit.

42.   Cyril, Ep. XLVI ad Succens. 2, A.C.O. I,i,6 p.158.

43.   Grillmeier, op.cit., esp. pp.194-217 and pp.330-3.

44.   Cyril Orat. ad Domin. 31, A.C.O. I,i,5, p.73.

45.   H.E.W.Turner in a private communication.

46.   Ibid.

47.   Ibid.

48.   DrH., p.27; cf. Theodore Cat. Hom. IV,6 Mingana V, p.45; Chrysostom, Hom. de Stat. iii, 7 P.G. xxxiv 57; Hom. in Jn. III, 2 P.G. lix, 39.

49.   Theodoret, Dial. III P.G. lxxxiii, 260 cf. ibid. Dial. I P.G. lxxxiii,40.

50.   R.A.Greer, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Exegete and Theologian, pp.72-5.

51.   op.cit., pp.78-80.

52.   Ibid.

53.   J.Gross, Entstegungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas Vol. I, pp.190-205.

54.   DrH., pp.212f.

55.   Loofs, Paulus von Samosata, pp.217-30

56.   Sellers, op.cit., p.119

57.   Loofs, op.cit., p.338.

58.   Loofs, op.cit., p.162.

59.   Ibid., p.207f.

60.   Eustathius, Serm. in Prov. VIII 22 Fr.23 (Spanneut, p.102).

61.   R.Sellers, Eusthius of Antioch, p.125.

62.   Sellers, op.cit., p.135.

63.   Eustathius, de Fid. c. Arian. Fr.43 (Spanneut, p.109).

64.   Loofs, op.cit., pp.254-5.

65.   Theodore, Cat. Hom. V,3 (Mingana V, p.52).

66.   Theodore, de Inc. Bk. VII Fr. (Swete II, p.296).

67.   Ibid.

68.   Theodore, Cat. Hom. V,18 (Mingana V, p.60).

69.   Theodore de Inc. Bk XV Fr. (Swete II, p.311).

70.   DrH., p.206.

71.   cf. DrH., pp.59,62,213.

72.   Theodoret, Dial. I (P.G. lxxxiii 72-3).

73.   R.V.Sellers, Two Ancient Christologies, p.130.

74.   e.g. Nestoriana, Sermon on Heb. iii.1.

75.   Theodore, Cat. Hom. V,9 (Mingana V, p.55).

76.   Theodoret, Ep. CXLVI ad monach. Const. P.G. lxxxiii.

77.   Theodore, de Inc. Bk IX Fr. (Swete II, p.300).

78.   Paul of Samosata, Fr.13 (Loofs, p.77); cf. Ps. Athanasius, Orat.c. Arian. IV 15 (P.G. xxvi 488) where a similar Christology is described. Loofs also refers to the διπλοῦν κήρυγμα of Ps. Athanasius c. Apollin. I,10 (P.G.xxvi 1112).

79.   Diodore, Frag.1 in Leontius of Byzantium (P.G. xxxvi 1385-8).

80.   Theodore, de Inc. Bk. VIII Fr. (Swete II, p.299).

81.   Nestorius, Sermo XII, Nestoriana, p.280.

82.   Sellers, op.cit.

83.   Theodore, Ep. ad Domn. (Swete II pp.338ff.); Theodoret, Dial. II (P.G. lxxxiii 148); ibid., Ep. XXI ad Euseb. (P.G. lxxxiii 1388-9).

84.   Theodoret, Dial. II (P.G. lxxxiii 148).

85.   Sermo IX (Nestoriana, p.262).

86.   Theodore de Inc. Bk. XII (Swete II, p.305)

87.   R.V.Sellers, The Council of Chalcedon, p.178.

88.   esp. DrH., p.310.

89.   ibid., p.312, n.2.

90.   Eustathius Serm. in Prov. VIII 22 Fr.31 (Spanneut p.104).

91.   Theodoret, Dem. per Syll. (P.G. lxxxiii 329).

92.   DrH., p.70.

93.　　ibid., p.21.
94.　　Theodoret in Cyril Apol. XII Capp. (A.C.O. I,i,6 p.109).
95.　　Theodore de Inc. Bk VIII Fr. (Swete II, pp.299-300)
96.　　Loofs, op.cit., pp.91ff.
97.　　DrH., p.225.
98.　　Sellers, op.cit., p.147 n.1.　　L.Hodgson had already made this point in Appendix IV to DrH., pp.411-2.
99.　　DrH., p.238.
100.　ibid., p.252.
101.　ibid. p.149;　cf. pp.171,238,319.
102.　ibid., p.240.
103.　ibid., p.219.
104.　ibid., pp.57,235, etc.
105.　Diodore Fr. 1 (P.G. xxxiii 1560).
106.　Theodore Cat. Hom. VIII 10 (Mingana V p.87).
107.　DrH., p.148, cf. pp.141-185.
108.　Sellers, Two Ancient Christologies, p.174;　cf. P.G. lxxxvi 1588C.
109.　Nestorius, On the Chapters, frag. a., Nestoriana, p.218.
110.　Theodoret, Dial. III, (P.G. lxxxiii 264).
111.　DrH., pp.70,240.
112.　Ibid. pp.54,70,183.
113.　Ibid., p.190.
114.　H.E.W.Turner in a private communication.
115.　Loofs, Paulus von Samosata Fr. 7 (p.332).
116.　Ibid., p.338.
117.　G.Bardy.
118.　Loofs, ibid. Fr.5.
119.　M.Spanneut, La position théologique d'Eustathe d'Antioche (JTS 5, pp.220-4); cf. Loofs, Nestorius, pp.108-10.
120.　Eustathius Orat. in Jn.1,14 Fr.70 (Spanneut p.118)
121.　Ibid., De Tentat. Fr.68 (Spanneut p.115)
122.　Among the full works the Tract on the Witch of Endor is authentic but the Homily on Mary, Martha and Lazerus is not.　The same thing may apply to the fragments.
123.　M.Spanneut, art.cit. p.222.
124.　Ibid. de anim. c. Arian. Fr. 15 (p.100).　Both sides agreed that σαρξ was a Biblical usage but it was also a figure of speech.　It could mean part of the whole (συνεκδοχή) e.g. 'all flesh is grass' means only that all human beings eventually die.　This is not a completely reliable guide - the idea of a physical soul had a wide currency.
125.　M.Spanneut art. cit. p.223.
126.　Ibid.
127.　Eustathius c. Arian. Fr. 48 (Spanneut p.109).
128.　Ibid., Serm. in Prov.VIII 22 Fr.24 (Spanneut pp.102-3).
129.　Ibid., c. Arian. Frs.42-5 (Spanneut, pp.108-9).
130.　Spanneut, art. cit., pp.223-4.
131.　H.E.W.Turner in a private communication.
132.　Apollinarius ad Dionys. 1,7 (Lietzmann, p.259).
133.　Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, p.264.
134.　Diodore, Fr.36, cited in Grillmeier, op.cit., p.265.
135.　See articles by R.Abramowski in ZNTW Vols. XXX and XLII.　The Latin and Greek fragments are different from the Syriac where he is more dualistic.
136.　Cited in Grillmeier,op.cit., p.267.
137.　R.A.Greer, The Antiochene Christology of Diodore of Tarsus (JTS 17, pp.327-41.　Also Grillmeier's interpretation of Diodore is challenged by F..A.Sullivan, The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, pp.181-96.
138.　art.cit., p.331.
139.　art.cit., p.336.
140.　Diodore, Fr.3 (Brière) cf. also Fr.30.

141.   R.A.Norris, Manhood and Christ.
142.   Theodore, Com, in Psa.VIII 5 (Devreese, p.46).
143.   H.M.Diepen, L'assumptus homo à Chalcédoine, Rev.Thom. Vol.LI, p.579.
144.   Theodore, Hom. Cat.V. (I regret being unable to give the reference).
145.   Theodore de Inc. Bk VIII Fr. (Swete II p.294).
146.   Ibid. (Swete II p.299).
147.   L.Abramowski regards the words in square brackets as a later gloss.
148.   G.L.Prestige, Fathers and Heretics, p.292.
149.   Theodoret may well have had a large hand in this but SagiBunic thinks not
       alone. The Christology of Theodoret has not been fully studied. See
       however, J.Montalverne, Theodoreti Cyrensis antiquior de Verbo inhumnato,
       and above all, M.Richard, Notes sur l'évolution doctrinale de Théodoret
       (Revue des sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques Vol.XXV, pp.59-81).
150.   Theodoret de Inc. 21,31,32 (P.G. lxxxv 1456,1472,1473).
151.   Ibid., Com. in II Cor.4.6 (P.G. lxxxii 401).
152.   Ibid., Ep. CXLV (P.G. lxxxiii,1389A).
153.   Ibid., Ep. CXLVI (P.G. lxxxiii, 1389B).
154.   Andrew of Samosata in Cyril Apol. c. Orient. (A.C.O. I,i,7 p.41).
155.   L.Abramowski Or. Chr. Vol.XLI p.60.
156.   P.Galtier in Chalkedon Vol.I pp.345-87 stresses the importance of Leo
       as a whole and not just through his Tome.

Chapter Four

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF HERACLEIDES AND OTHER WORKS OF NESTORIUS

The Discovery

The study of the Nestorian heresy has gathered great momentum only within the last seventy years; this has been stimulated by the rediscovery of an important document reputedly composed by the heresiarch himself. The great silence was broken by the two German scholars Groussen[1] and Braun[2] who noted the existence of the Book of Heracleides. The Liber Heraclidis is an apologetical work using theological and historical arguments against the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus (431). This finding led to a rapid increase in the total of the Patriarch's writings made easily available, together with a number of articles assessing the evidence.[3]

Loofs noted the Liber Heraclidis in his collection of the Nestorian fragments,[4] from lists of Nestorius' works published in ancient times. He realised that it was in some way connected with the 'Tragoedia', and was probably the 'Liber historica' mentioned by Irenaeus of Tyrus in the so-called 'Synodicon'.[5] However, Loofs did not know of the recovery of the Liber Heraclidis when he published the Nestoriana. The primary text in Syriac was edited and published in 1910,[6] and in the same year there appeared a French translation.[7] Fifteen years later an English translation of the Syriac was published,[8] though Bethune-Baker had made a study of the Book in 1908,[9] and a friend of his had translated large sections of it into English. Loofs gave four lectures on the subject to students of the University of London, and these were translated and published.[10]

The Syriac Text[11]

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                        Kotchanes
                            |
         ┌──────────────────┴──────────┐
      Ourmiah                          |
    ┌─────┴──────────┐                 |
Strasbourg      Bethune-Baker         Van
   (S)              (C)               (V)
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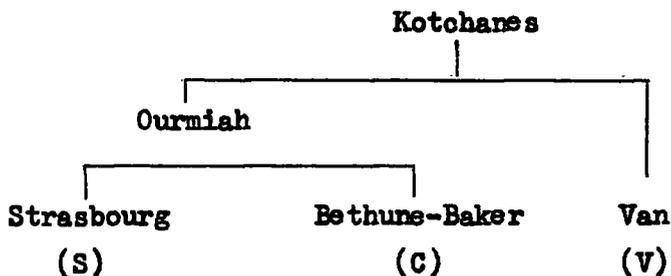
The only extant text is in the hands of the Nestorian patriarch at Kotchanes in Persian Turkestan (Kotchanes). It dates from about 1100 and was discovered by American missionaries near Ourmiah. The copy for their library (Ourmiah) was

made secretly and in haste by a Syrian priest Auscha'na in 1889. From this
several copies were made including one for Strasbourg University (S), and one
which came into the hands of Bethune-Baker at Cambridge (C). In addition Bedjan
had his own copy made from the original partly at Kotchanes and partly at Van (V).
He also made use of S and C in compiling his standard edition.

Of course Nestorius wrote his treatise in Greek but this has been lost
and the manuscript mentioned above is a Syriac translation. The Syriac translator
in his preface notes the layout of the book:[12]

Book I Part 1:   'wherein he speaks of all the heresies against the Church
and all the sects that exist concerning the faith of the
three hundred and eighteen (Fathers at the Council of Nicaea)';

Book I Part 2:   'he assails Cyril, putting before (everything else) the
inquiry touching the judges (who condemned him) and the
accusation of Cyril';

Book I Part 3:   'his own defence and the comparison of their letters';

Book II Part 1:   'the defence and the refutation of the blame for the things
on account of which he was anathematised';

Book II Part 2:   '(he recounts that which took place) from (the time) when
he was anathematised until the end of his life'.

The Syriac text at Kotchanes has been mutilated especially at the
hands of Kurds of Bedr Khan Bey in 1843. Bedjan notes in his introduction:[13]
'D'après les feuilles blanches laissées dans les manuscrits que j'ai eus entre
les mains, et d'après quelques petites notes des copistes, j'ai calculé qu'à la
page 146 de mon édition, il y a à peu près 55 pages qui ont disparu; à la page
161, 42 pages manquent; à la page 209, 36 pages sont perdues. On ne peut
faire ce calcul que d'une manière approximative. En outre, il y a des passages
ou quelques lignes ont été laissées en blanc, d'autres endroits de peu d'étendue
sont effacés par suite de vétusté.'

It would seem that altogether about 15% - 20% of the book is missing
and most of these omissions occur in the first Book and usually at the beginning
or end of the parts. The copyist fortunately has made a reasonably accurate
copy of the manuscript which was infront of him and thus we are able to see
exactly where the lacunae appear in the Kotchanes original. He has reproduced
it line by line, leaving blank spaces where these occur. Driver and Hodgson
following the hypothesis of Nau, suggest that pages 137-146 in the Syriac
edition are misplaced.[14] The order of the book then appears as follows (with
the Syriac page references):

* The Syriac copyist notes: 'From here twelve pages have been torn out and lost from the original by the troops of Bedr Khan Bey, when they captured the district of Das in the year 2154 of the Greeks (= A.D. 1843).'[15]

In spite of the considerable loss there is still sufficient to determine the basic thoughts contained in the Book because Nestorius seems to repeat the same points with boring frequency, unless we accept Professor Abramowski's thesis of mutiple authorship.[16] Even so the Syriac text occupies 521 pages as we have just seen, and the French translation with 551 pages, and that of Driver and Hodgson with 580 pages, points to no mean work. Much more distressing from the point of view of scholarship is the fact that the work has only be retained in Syriac, for the Greek might well have shown more subtleties of thought which have been lost in the Syriac translation. Nevertheless we can only be extremely grateful for the fact that after so many years it was rediscovered and has been thought by some Patristic theologians to merit a re-appraisal of the whole question of Nestorius' orthodoxy. We will now examine thehistory of the work from the time of its translation into Syriac, taking into account the mentions it receives together with the other works of the Patriarch among church historians before the nineteenth century.

The Date of the Syriac Translation of the Treatise

We now have to be as accurate as possible about the date of the Syriac tmslation to ascertain how soon after the original it was made. There is no reason to believe that the translator had to rely on oral tradition: a Greek text was preserved, and there is evidence for this.

Professor Abramowski says:[17] 'das Vorwort des Übersetzers ... ist zu Beginn verstummelt ..., es fangt mit den Pesten einer Dedkation au, die auf Mar Aba zugeschnitten scheint ...' And Bedjan would appear to agree when he says:[18] 'La version syriaque de ce livre a été faite vers 535 sous le patriarche Paul.' The notes of Nau on the subject are worth quoting in detail:[19]

'La vie de Mar Aba, patriarche nestorien, nous apprend qu'il a rapporté de Constantinople "la liturgie et tous les écrits de Nestorius" ... Ce voyage se place entre 525 et 533... Le livre d'Héraclide fut traduit sous le patriarche Paul et celui-ci ... fut patriarche de 539 à 540 ... L'avertissement du traducteur syrien débutait par une dédicace, il semble, d'après le peu qui en reste ... qu'elle était adressée à Mar Aba.

'Peu après 540, le moine nestorien Bar 'Edtâ (le fils de l'Église) l'étudiait par coeur et le récitait; il desait en effet, d'après son biographe: "... Je récitai aussi par coeur ... enfin le livre de Mar Nestorius qui est appelé de Héraclidos, qui a été traduit récemment de mon temps du grec en syriaque..."

'Peu après cette époque, dans la seconde moitié du VI° siecle, l'historien Évagrius a vu le texte grec des deux derniers ouvrages de Nestorius: la Tragédie et le Livre d'Héraclide ...'

Nau adds a comment on the phrase in the Syriac translator's preface, 'C'est avec une ferme confiance dans la puissance de votre prière que Mon Humilité s'apprêtre à traduire ce livre du grec en syriaque':[20]

'D'après Ébed-jesu, évêque de Nisibe de 1290 à 1318, le present ouvrage aurait été traduit "au temps de Paul", patriarche nestorien de 539 à 540. Dans ce cas, les premières lignes - si elles ne s'appliquent pas à Nestorius - pourraient s'appliquer au patriarche nestorien Mar Aba, successeur de Paul 540 à 552, qui avait séjourné à Constantinople, entre 525 et 533. D'ailleurs Mar Aba est l'un des traducteurs de la liturgie de Nestorius, il aurait traduit Théodore de Mopsueste et rapporté de Constantinople "la liturgie et tous les écrits de Nestorius", ... et l'on comprend qu'il ait fait traduire ensuite le livre d'Héraclide et qu'il en ait accepté la dédicace.'

This seems to be fairly conclusive and gives an approximate period for the translation, rather less than a century after the death of Nestorius. There is one discrepancy which Nau notes in a comment on the text 'evêque d'Alep':[21]

'"Alep" (i.e. Aleppo) est du au traducteur. Le grec porte le nom Bérée (i.e. Beroea). C'est en 638 que Bérée aurait repris le nom d'Alep ... Mais le nom Alep était sons doute resté en usage chez les syriens orientaux.'

Nestorius' Works: The Tunnel Period.

The centuries between the translation of the Treatise into Syriac, and its discovery in the nineteenth century were not completely silent. August Neander[22] refers to the evidence of Evagrius, nicknamed Scholasticus, who lived at the end of the sixth century,[23] and to an important fourteenth century citation.

Evagrius gave an account of two works by Nestorius dating from the time of his exile, one of which was presumed to be the 'Tragedy' while the other remained for a long time unidentified. Evagrius says:[24] Γράφει δὲ καὶ διαλεκτικῶς ἕτερον λόγον πρός τινας ῆθεν Αἰγύπτιον συγκείμενον περὶ τῆς αὐτῶ ἐς Ὄασιν ἐξορίας, ἔνθα τὰ περὶ τούτων πλατύτερον λέγει.

It may be noted that 'the Egyptian' was a familiar method of describing Cyril of Alexandria in the writings of Nestorius. Also the expression probably means 'in the form of a dialogue' (librum in modum dialogi compositum).[25] The fragments preserved of the Theopaschites showed that this latter point was true, and the Syriac translator's preface confirms that it was an apologetic work and so makes the identification sure. Also the title implies a man who thought God had suffered, and this might refer to the Cyrilline claim that God 'suffered impassibly' in Christ.[26] There appears to be a list in the Syriac translator's introduction of the works of Nestorius. Bethune-Baker seems to have mistranslated this so as to include a book called the 'Historica' which he claims was one of the two known to Evagrius. What the Syriac translator actually said, although several lines are missing, is:[27]

'...as that of the dispensation and of the truth of the inquiry concerning the faith, and the fourth (kind of literature is that) of history; but this book is placed in the third class, that is of chapters concerning the faith, to be read after these two books which were made by the saint - and I mean Theopaschites and Tragoedia, which were composed by him as a defence against those who blamed him for having wanted a council to be held'.

It is true however that Evagrius did make the point $\epsilon\dot{\iota}$ $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $N\epsilon\sigma\tau o\rho i o u$ $\beta i\beta\lambda\omega$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\tau u\chi ov$, $\tau\dot{\eta}v$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\dot{\iota}$ $\tauo\dot{u}\tau\omega v$ $\dot{\iota}\sigma\tauo\rho i\alpha v$ $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\chi o\mu\acute{\epsilon}v\eta$.[28] Could the Tragedy be the historical part of the Book and the Theopaschites the introductory dialogue at the beginning? This would depend upon locating fragments attributed to these works in the Liber Heraclidis. They may be sources for the Book rather than descriptions of it. Incidentally if Evagrius is referring to the first part of the Book when he refers to 'a certain Egyptian' and the dialogue-form, his statement might be corroborative evidence for the Sophronius was intended to be Cyril himself.[29] We may also note that the two letters to the governor of Thebais written during Nestorius' exile were also referred to by Evagrius.[30]

The citation from the middle ages referred to above must now be noted, and it gives us a list of all the known works of Nestorius in the Nestorian Church of that time. The Metropolitan of Nisibis in Armenia, Ebed-Jesu (1290-1318), makes the following statement:[31]

Nestorius Patriarcha/Plures exactos libros composuit
Quos e medio blasphemi sustelere,/
Qui autem ex illis remanserunt, hi sunt,/
Liber Tragoediae (ܪ.ܪܐܠ ܝܐ.ܪ ܗܟ ܐܐ),/
Et liber Heraclidis (ܘܘ. ܬܠܓ ܬ ܘ.ܬ ܗܟ ܐܐ),/
Et epistola ad Cosmam, /
Quae Tempore Pauli translatae sunt./
Prolixa eiusdem Liturgia,/
Quam Thomas et Mar-Abas transtulere /
Et liber unus epistolarum,/
Et alter homiliarum et orationum,

Until the discovery of the Treatise, all the fragments of the above which were known had been collected by Loofs, but since the publication of the Nestoriana, a few other possibly authentic fragments have been discovered. The Sermon on the High priesthood of Christ ascribed to St. John Chrysostom is without doubt the one of Nestorius' known from other sources in small fragments.[32] But of fragments not in the Nestoriana, that which is of major importance is the 'Letter to the inhabitants of Constantinople', the beginning and end of which were known in a fragment of the Monophysite Philoxenus of Mabug.[33] In it Nestorius tries to show that his doctrine is in accordance with that of Leo of Rome. Loofs, in his later work, accepted this to be a genuine fragment[34] and especially since the Liber Heraclidis proves that Nestorius tried to show that his ideas were the same as Flavian and Leo. The beginning of the letter refers to the synod of Constantinople by Flavian in order to deal with the threat of Eutyches, and he refers also to Leo's Tome. 'It is my doctrine which Leo and Flavian are upholding', he says.[35] Most of the letter is a polemic against Cyril, and is concluded with exhortations, and the conclusion which is preserved in Philoxenus reads:[36]

'Believe as our holy comrades in the faith, Leo and Flavian! Pray that a general council be gathered in order that my doctrine, i.e. the doctrine of all orthodox Christians, be confirmed. My hope is, that when the first has taken place, the second, too, will come to pass'.

It is not surprising that so few of Nestorius' works remain: the edict of the Emperor Theodosius II (30 July 435) ordered them all to be burnt, and even the Nestorian (Persian) church suffered under this edict and only some of the Patriarch's works could be translated into Syriac under its auspices. Nevertheless we may summarise the list of the works known to us:

A Book of Sermons and Homilies
A Book of Letters
The Letter to Cosmas
The Tragedy
The Theopaschites
The Nestorian Liturgy
The Letter to the Inhabitants of Constantinople
The Treatise of Heraclides

Of these the Liturgy is obviously only a traditional ascription in the same way as that used by the Orthodox Church is attributed to S. John Chrysostom. We have no fragment whatsoever of the Letter to Cosmas. The rest are found in Syriac, Greek and Latin fragments derived from the writings of friends and enemies of Nestorius. The Tragedy recounts his tragic life up to the time of his exile at Oasis and obviously underlies the work of Bishop Irenaeus of Tyrus.[37] The other works have been mentioned, and as we have noted most of the fragments were found in the writings of Nestorius' friends and enemies. The first collection was made by Garnier, a French scholar, in an edition of the works of Marius Mercator who lived in Constantinople at the time of Ephesus.[38] The same volume contains a catena which he had extracted from the work of Cyril, as well as three letters of Nestorius and nine incomplete sermons. There are also some quotations from Cyril himself, and also the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus. These together with the writings of Evagrius conclude the evidence for the opposition. Important among non-hostile literature is a latin work now called the Synodicon which has been known since 1682,[39] and in a complete form since 1875.[40] It is an adaptation of the Tragedy of Irenaeus based on that of Nestorius already mentioned.

The most complete collection we have of Nestorius' works are to be found in the four volumes, the Nestoriana, and the three translations of the Treatise together with their appendices.

The authenticity of the Syriac translation may be checked against certain Greek fragments preserved in the Fathers. For a fuller assessment of this see the Introduction to the English translation[41] where a few minor mistakes are noted, but where also certain preferences for the Syriac over the Greek are taken into account. The one error which immediately springs to mind is the title of the whole work. The Syriac has 'te gurta' based on the Greek πραγματεια which means both 'business' and 'treatise', and the English translators following Bethune-Baker, have taken the wrong meaning and rendered it 'Bazaar', rather than 'Treatise' or possibly simply 'Book'.

There is another problem. It is still a little difficult to know why the Treatise has a pseudonymic title. Whether or not such a person as Heracleides existed does not really concern us, and possibly his name was used to safeguard the work from the Emperor's fires. Evagrius probably discovered his copy at Constantinople and it seems that it was under Nestorius'

own name.   However, the Greek edition from which the Syriac translation was made already had the pseudonym.   Bethune-Baker suggests[42] that Evagrius came across a rare first edition, but that by the time of Mar Aba it was usually to be found in Greek circles with the pseudonym.   There is again no possibility of using statistical tests to determine the relationship of the Treatise to the other fragments, but there seems to be little doubt that the thought in it is similar to that in the other works known to be authentic.   Thus if we assign the Theopaschites and the Tragedy to the period immediately after Ephesus, the documents at the end of his exile are just the letter to the Inhabitants of Constantinople and the Treatise itself.

As regards the importance of the comparatively recently discovery of this major work, I will quote Loofs:[45]

'In reading the book one has to regret, it is true, again and again, that it has not been preserved intact and in its original language.   It would be of inestimable importance for the history of Christian doctrine if we possessed the original Greek of these explanations, so important from a dogmatic point of view'.

'Nevertheless even as we have it now in the Syriac translation the Treatise of Heracleides of Nestorius remains one of the most interesting discoveries for students of ancient church history.   In two respects it is able to awaken fresh interest in Nestorius: by what we hear about his life and by what we learn about his doctrine.'

The Authorship and Date of the Liber Heraclidis

The survey of the history of the Treatise has now been completed but we have tended to treat the work as a whole, and it is now necessary to turn our attention to a more detailed examination of the structure and composition of the Book and an attempt to understand the shape of the work before it reached the hands of the Syriac translator.   Nau stated quite simply: 'Le Livre d'Heraclide a été composé en grec par Nestorius et terminé en 451.'[44] However as we shall see the problem is much more complicated, and we have already noticed that Nestorius must have completed the Book before the Council of Chalcedon, and probably before the death of Theodosius II.   Therefore, if Nestorius died in the summer of 450 as suggested, and the last reference to an historical event in the work which can be reckoned as authentic, we can safely assign Book II Part 2 to that period.   However we cannot be absolutely certain that the whole book was written at the same time.   The mainly historical sections of the Treatise, as opposed to the more theological, are as follows:[45]

Driver and Hodgson pp. 96-142   (Book I Part III and part of Book II Part I)
                            describing the Council of Ephesus.
             pp. 285-93   (Book II Part I - a. section towards the end)
                            describing the settlement by 435/6.
             pp. 329-80   (the end of Book II Part I, and Part II)
                            describing the period ofFlavian (446-9).

These sections have been covered in this chapter or the previous one. Bethune-Baker thinks,[46] 'the earlier parts were probably written at a much earlier time:- they breathe more of the spirit of battle and give no indication of the denouncement; it seems to be only to a distant future that the writer looks for the vindication of his doctrine. The attack on another bishop of Constantinople - done to death at another synod at Ephesus by another bishop of Alexandria, as he says he might himself have been had he gone to Cyril's meetings - seems to have led him to take up the pen again, rejoining to hail this time a bishop of Rome as champion of the Truth.'

This statement is somewhat tendentious. The question is not, however, of great significance since, provided that the work was written by Nestorius, it is of marginal significance whether it was written over a period or not. Whatever may be true of the historical sections, there seems to be no development in the theological thought of the book. What is more important however, is the possibility that additions were made by at least one other person before the whole work was translated into Syriac as we have it. We will turn to what one German scholar has said recently on this.

L.Abramowski's Thesis

Luise Abramowski has done the first really major literary-critical analysis of the Liber Heraclidis,[47] and it is necessary to examine what she has to say on the basic text before we examine its subsequent history. According to her the work is virtually a composite document. The divisions she makes of the book are set out as follows:[48]

1. **The main part of the Book, by Nestorius.**
   (Bedjan 126-521; Nau 81.23-531.26; DrH. 87-380.2)

2. **A preliminary Dialogue, by a later hand (called Pseudo-Nestorius or Ps. Nestorius.**[49]
   (Bedjan 10.4-125; Nau 5-81.20; DrH. 7-86)

3. **Interpolations at the end of the Book.**[50]
   (B. 495.18-506.19; N. 316.28-323.3; DrH. 362.14-369.21)

(B. 507.6-507.19; N. 323.12-523.26; DrH. 370.3-370.19)
(B. 510.14-512.3; N. 325.7-326.10; DrH. 372.12-373.15)
(B. 519.16-519.18; N. 330.30-330.33; DrH. 378.31-578.34)
(B. 520.2-520.16; N. 331.2-331.16; DrH. 379.2-379.19)

The possibility of a double authorship of the Book of Heraclides had already been suggested by two scholars in an article on Nestorius. I.Rucker made this proposal without giving adequate reasons,[51] while R.Abramowski called attention in a footnote to the similarity between the opinions of Sophronius in the opening Dialogue and those of a later Monophysite writer.[52] It is the merit of his daughter, Professor L. Abramowski of the University of Bonn, to explore this hypothesis in greater detail. The chronological limits for the composition of the Dialogue fall between the death of N$_e$storius and the trans- lation of the whole Treatise into Syriac, since the passage from Evagrius quoted aboveseems to know of the Dialogue as part of the Greek original. Its author (Ps. Nestorius) seems to have been a monk, probably of Constantinople itself, writing not long after the death of Nestorius, with opinions not greatly different from those of his master. Here an initial difficulty arises since the condemn- ation of Nestorius himself, the persecution of his followers, and the destruction of his writings might seem to exclude this possibility. She finds however a possible place or origin in the monastery of the Ἀκοίρητοι ('the Sleepless ones') where the Tragoedia of Irenaeus and other works favourable to Nestorius may have been preserved.[53] She cites the considerable authority of Moeller for a revival of Neo-Chalcedonianism and an interest in its Antiochene roots in Constantinople between 451 and 525 of which Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople (455-71), was a notable figure. Two veritable Nestorians, John of Aegea and Basil of Cilicia belong to this period and the latter had de-finite links with the monastery.[54]

Much depends upon the identity of Sophronius, the interlocutor opposed to N$_e$storius, in the Dialogue.[55] He may be an entirely fictitious character but more probably he represents a pseudonym for an historical character. Those who maintain the unity of the Treatise identify him with Cyril of Alexandria, the theological and political opponent of Nestorius. His views are not precisely what Cyril himself taught, but both protagonists tended to travesty each other's views. Given the misunderstandings and cross-purposes between the two men this remains a tenable view. In a later article however Dr Abramowski claims that the opinions ascribed to Sophronius in this section fit Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug (Hierapolis) like a glove.[56] Since his dates are c.440-525, this would be too late for Nestorius, and to that extent the theory of Ps. Nestorius may be

confirmed. By itself, however, the possible identity of Sophronius cannot be
regarded as proven either way.

For an evaluation of this theory, three tests are admissible:-

i. Stylistic tests.

The preliminary section is divided into ninety-three chapters whose
sub-titles, though not their divisions, are secondary. Abramowski makes the
following comments:[57]

'Die Aufgliederung des Textes Bedjan 10-125 in 93 capitula ist samt den 93
Kapitelüberschriften sekundar. (Diese 93 Überschriften sind zu einer capitulatio
zusammengefasst und dem Texte des Buches nach dem syrischen Vorwort corangestellt
worden, Bedjan 6,7-10,2. In die modernen Übersetzungen worde sie nicht
aufgenommen). Bereits Nau had einige litarkritische Indizien fur die spätere
Hinzufugung der Überschriften festgestellt: einmal wird von Nestorius in 3.
Person gesprochen (Nr. 9), bei anderen Gelegenheiten (Nr. 11.12.14) underbrechen
die Überschriften den Beweisgang des Dialogreders. Die Inkongruenz der
Dialogform und der Einteilung in z.T ganz kurze Kapitel springt ohnehin ins
Auge, nur eins der beiden Formelemente kann ursprunglich sein ... Es gibt
einen kleinen sprachlichen Hinweis darauf, dass die capitulaform erst im
syrischen Sprachgebiet uber den Dialog gelegt worden ist.'

The interpolations found in the latter part of the main section are
obvious non-sequiturs in a discussion of the case of Flavian, the Patriarch of
Constantinople murdered in 449. The first and major interpolation concerns the
punishments which fall on the Empire as a result of heresy, together with a
passage on the Trisagion. The discussion on Flavian then continues. The
second interpolation takes up the confession of the Trisagion; and again the
case of Flavian is continued. The third interpolation continues on the barbarian
invasions of the Empire. The rest of the Book continues with a comparison of
Nestorius' own case with that of Flavian. The fourth interpolation is only
half a sentence in the English. The final interpolation points out the losses
of the Empire to the barbarians. But Abramowski notes:[58]

'Die interpolations sind schon griechisch Text vorgenommen worden, wie man nach
ihrem Inhalt annehmen muss, denn sie lassen sich in Konstantopel lokalisieren.'

It would have been most desireable to have tested Abramowski's thesis
scientifically. For thirty years now it has been known that one could apply
statistical techniques to problems of authorship. Yule[59] applied such methods
to the problem of the authorship of the De Imitatione Christi, adducing statistic-
al evidence to support the view that it was written by Thomas à Kempis. Yule's

work was concerned with the constants of the sentence-length distribution for the 'Imitatione', and was developed, insofar as Greek texts are concerned by Wake.[60]

Unfortunately since the Greek original of the Liber Heraclidis no longer exists, it would only be possible to use translations. It is impossible to use these statistical methods on Syriac, which as a Semitic language tends to use simple co-ordinate sentences, and therefore it is impossible to test the Greek which lay behind the Syriac translation. Obviously therefore any attempt to test the tertiary level translations of the French and English would be invalid. We are therefore thrown back on the work of literary criticism. As a final comment on Abramowski's thesis, it must be said that Nestorius works with a limited set of concepts which he repeats at wearisome length, unless Abramowski is right, and the Book is a composite document.

ii. Historical probability.

Here Professor Abramowski has provided at least a possible historical platform for the composition of Ps. Nestorius at Constantinople during the Neo-Chalcedonian reaction. The suggestion that Sophronius may represent Philoxenus of Mabug was lightly sketched, but not fully established in great detail in her subsequent article. In any case it might appear that the target was a Mono-physite theologian ratherthan Cyril himself.

iii. Discrepancies between the thought of Nestorius and the opinions of Ps. Nestorius.

In the nature of things these cannot be expected to be large. A follower of Nestorius whose work was destined at an early date to be bound up with the genuine parts of the Treatise is unlikely to have differed drastically from his theological master. Professor Abramowski discusses his Christology in detail.[61]

In terminology the term ὑπόστασις plays a restricted part. One passage which is difficult to interpret may speak of one hypostasis[62] as against the normal Nestorian assumption of two hypostases. There is also a characteristic use of the term 'own prosopon' of which the Greek original is certainly ἴδιον πρόσωπον . As against Cyril who uses the adjective of the σάρξ to express the fact that the flesh belongs exclusively to the Logos, Ps. Nestorius claims that both the manhood and the Godhead have their own specific prosopa which interact

to form the single prosopon of the union.   More accurately Nestorius speaks
of the προσωπον φυσικον which is however not entirely unknown in the Dialogue.[63]
Corresponding to his strong insistence on two wills in Christ, irreducibly two
but in perfect alignment is the famous definition 'to have the prosopon of
God is to will what God wills',[64] and the strong emphasis upon the obedience of
Christ which put into reverse the disobedience of Adam.   In the last forty
pages of the Dialogue the connection between προσωπον and ειον is quite
strong.[65]

          The doctrine of the Atonement is more strongly stressed in Ps. Nestorius
as a corollary of Christology than in the genuine parts of the Treatise.   While
the difference in character of the two parts of the Treatise must be borne in
mind, for Ps. Nestorius the chief enemy is the Devil; for the genuine parts of
the work it is Cyril.   The emphasis upon participation (in direct contrast
to the deification of the other tradition) recalls Theodore.   This excludes and
is intended to replace any notion of participation in the divine ουσια , which
could only lead to the destruction of our humanity.   If the importance of
Baptism (so characteristic of Theodore) is absent, there is a strong eschatolog-
ical motif which resembles the thought of Theodore.   If there are parallels
here in the Nestoriana fragments, it is almost completely absent in the genuine
parts of the Treatise.   There are some indications in this section of the
Dialogue, particularly the mention of the saints among whom the author includes
himself, of the monastic status of the author.

          It is too early to say whether the theory of dual authorship will sustain
itself in critical debate.   Some scholars find it acceptable, others possible
but non-proven.   Recently however L.I.Scipioni offered critical comments in
his work 'Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso'.[66]   In his previous work written
before the publication of Professor Abramowski's book he accepted the authenticity
of the whole work, but omitted any reference to the Nestorianafragments.   His
main purpose was to institute a careful comparison of the Treatise with the
writings of Babai the Great.   His new study is a comprehensive treatment of the
life and opinions of Nestorius in his own setting.   The unity of the Treatise
is 'the sitting tenant' both in the Greek and the Syriac tradition.   The burden
of proof lies squarely on those who maintain a duality of authorship.   This in
his view Professor Abramowski fails to provide.

          His conclusion is that the Treatise includes in one work, two previously
existent works, the Theopaschites and the Tragoedia, which it replaces.   So far

from the Dialogue being a systematisation of the opinions of Nestorius by a later
hand it represents an intermediate stage in his thought during the earlier part
of his exile in reply to the two Cyrilline works, the De Incarnatione and the
Quod Unus est Christus, in which Cyril writes more objectively and less polemically
than usual.   Scipioni does not deny either the existence of interpolations in
the Treatise nor the clumsiness of the suture which joins the two parts together.
His point is that if Sophronius might be taken as an imaginary interlocutor, it
is not easy to double the pseudonymity by replacing 'Nestorius' by 'Ps.Nestorius'
falls some distance short of full conviction.

The fundamental loyalty of the later writer might be an equally
possible explanation.   The role assigned to the monastery of the Ἀκοιμήτου by
Abramowski cannot be sustained.   According to the same authority to whom
Abramowski appeals they were in no sense Nestorian in tendency unless to be Neo-
chalcedonian was to be Nestorian.   The specifically doctrinal points which are
said to be specific to Ps. Nestorius all have their place within the thought
of the work as a whole.

The choice lies between regarding the Dialogue as a genuine work of
Nestorius dating from about 457 and 458 in reply to Cyril's more considered views,
and a later treatise by a follower of Nestorius shortly after his death.
Scipioni tries to strengthen his case by pointing out parallels between the work
of Irenaeus 'Against all the Heresies' as a guide to the ground plan of the
Dialogue.   This might explain some of the emphases in the Dialogue, but he admits
that strict literary dependence cannot be established.   The relationship to
Theodore, pointed out by Abramowski seems altogether more probable.   What Scipioni
has not explained is the close relation between the opinions criticised in the
Dialogue and the views of Philoxenus of Mabug, though admittedly the article in
which these are indicated by Abramowski is very brief.   Further exploration of
these on the one hand, and a careful comparison of the Dialogue with the two
treatises of Cyril would advance the state of the question.[67]

If, then, the identity of Sophronius remains hypothetical and statistical
tests are inadmissable, we are left with the criterion afforded by the theological
language and thought of the two parts of the Book.   If substantial differences
in thought and language emerge, this will have bearing on the theory of dual
authorship.   In the meantime in our further discussion of the views of Nestorius
we shall continue to call attention to the evidence of the Dialogue as well as
the remainder of the work.

Chapter Four Notes

1.   H.Groussen, Martyrius Sahdona's Leben und Werke, Leipzig, 1897.
2.   R.Braun, Das Buch der Synhodos, Stuttgart, 1900.
3.   R.H.Connolly in JTS xii, 486; A.J.Mason in JTS xv, 88; H.M.Relton in CQR, Jan., 1912; A.C.Headlam in CQR, July, 1915.
4.   F.Loofs, Nestoriana..., Halle, 1905, pp.85-9, cf. pp.4f., 68ff., 100,203.
5.   See infra, p.100f.
6.   Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas, édité par Paul Bedjan, Leipzig and Paris, 1910.
7.   Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas, traduit en francais par F.Nau, Paris, 1910.
8.   Nestorius, The Bazaar of Heracleides, ed. G.R.Driver and L.Hodgson, Oxford, 1925.
9.   J.F.Bethune-Baker, Nestorius and his Teaching, Cambridge, 1908.
10.   F.Loofs, Nestorius and his place in the history of Christian doctrine, Cambridge, 1914.
11.   Nau, op.cit., diagram on p.xxiv; cf. pp.xxii-xxiv; Bedjan, pp.VII-XI.
12.   DrH., pp.5ff.
13.   Op.cit., pp.VIII-IX.
14.   DrH. p.95, cf. Nau, p.xxv f.
15.   DrH., p.192.
16.   See infra, pp.104ff. where the examination of the work as a whole will take the theory of dual authorship into account.
17.   L.Abramowski, Untersuchungen, p.119.
18.   Bedjan, op.cit., p.VIII.
19.   Nau, op.cit., p.xix f.
20.   Ibid., p.1-2.
21.   Ibid., p.290, n.2.
22.   A.Neander, Church History (Eng. Tr., T. & T. Clark, 1855) vol. iv.
23.   Evagrius, H.E. I, vii (P.G. lxxxvi, 2, 2415-2886).
24.   Ibid., I, vii (P.G. lxxxvi, 2, 2437A).
25.   Nestoriana, p.58.
26.   e.g. Cyril, Ep. IV ad Nestor. II, ACO I,1,i, p.26; Ep. VI ad Nestor. III, ACO I,1,i, p.37.
27.   DrH., p.5.
28.   PG lxxxvi 2, 2436A.
29.   For Abramowski's thesis, see infra, pp.104ff.
30.   PG lxxxvi 2, 2436B-2437B.
31.   Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, T.iii, p.i, f.36; L.Abramowski, p.53.
32.   Nau, pp.373-5; Bethune-Baker, p.105f.; Nestoriana, p.230-242.
33.   Nau, pp.84, 376; Nestoriana, p.70.
34.   Loofs, Nestorius, p.24f.
35.   Nau, p.374; I,3.
36.   Nau, p.375; III,19.
37.   Supra, p.96.
38.   Marius Mercator (edited by J.Garnier, Paris, 1673) reprinted in PL xlviii.
39.   Ch. Lupus, Ad Ephesinium concilium variorum patrum epistolae = Mansi v, 731-1022.
40.   Bibliotheca Casinensis, I,49-84.
41.   DrH. pp. xii-xvi.
42.   Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.50.
43.   Loofs, Nestorius, p.16.
44.   Nau, op.cit., p.xix.
45.   DrH., p.xxix.
46.   Bethune-Baker, Nestorius and his teaching, p.35.
47.   L.Abramowski, Untersuchungen Liber Heraclidis des Nestorius.
48.   It should be noted that the Syriac translator's preface and conclusion

have been excluded together with the 93 sub-titles and chapter headings in the preliminary dialogue, for these are obviously secondary. Ibid., pp.108-110.

49. Ibid., pp.108-117.
50. Ibid., pp.118-134, especially p.119.
51. I.Rucker, art. Nestorius, in PWK, Vol. 33, 1, 26-37.
52. R.Abramowski, Dionysius von Tellmahre, Leipzig, 1940.
53. L.Abramowski, op.cit., p.13 and pp. 199-200.
54. Ch. Moeller in Chalkeâon I, pp.637-720.
55. L.Abramowski, op.cit., pp.110-114; cf. Bethune-Baker, p.31; Nau, p.8, n.3; DrH., p.10, n.2.
56. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, vol. lxxvii, pp.122-126.
57. Untersuchungen, p.109.
58. Ibid., p.119.
59. G.U.Yule, Biometrika, 1939, pp.30, 365-384.
60. W.C.Wake, J.Roy.Stat.Soc., 1957, pp.331-46.
61. L.Abramowski, op.cit., pp.183-98.
62. DrH., p.55.
63. DrH., pp.58,63.   The phrase should probably be deleted on p.85.
64. DrH., p.59.
65. DrH., p.60.
66. L.I.Scipioni, Nestorio, pp.299-361.
67. This summary of the views of Scipioni has been communicated to be by the kindness of my supervisor Professor Emeritus H.E.W.Turner.

Chapter Five

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF NESTORIUS ESPECIALLY IN 'THE BOOK OF HERACLEIDES'

The controversies over the Person of Christ, the Son, within the Holy Trinity had been thoroughly dealt with by the time of Nestorius. By this stage the most important issue was the manner of the union of divinity and humanity in Christ, to which, though with different emphases, theologians were devoting special attention. Even Cyril with his heavy accentuation of the preponderance of the Logos in the incarnate Person, recognised that some satisfactory account must be given of the humanity of Christ and the mode of union between God the Logos and his human conditioning. Nestorius of course would agree,[1] though it is also true that only his own mode of union was for him a satisfactory guarantee of those two entities. The phrase 'I separate the natures, but I conjoin my reverence'[2] is symptomatic of the stand he felt it necessary to make.

Socrates thought Nestorius erred only because he had incomplete knowledge of the subject,[3] but Loofs is right to reject for Nestorius this 'privilegum ignorantiae'.[4] Our earlier examination of the life of Nestorius shows him to have been a worthy scholar, if a little limited in his scope and pedantic in his criticism. (I am thinking of his ignorance of the earlier use of Theotokos and the limitation of his knowledge of the Fathers displayed in the Treatise.[5]) Yet in a sense it was Nestorius who was the modern scholar trying to realise a satisfactory mode of expression, and he failed because of the apparently superior clarity and simplicity of the more static forms of his rival Cyril. Each side therefore judged its opponents by its own presuppositions. It is possible that Nestorius should never have tried to use essentially Biblical concepts (though not always vocabulary) within a foreign linguistic and philosophical argument, but are we to condemn him for being Biblical?

It is not surprising that Nestorius is so firmly attached to these thought patterns, for it is quite clear that he was first and foremost a representative of the Antiochene school whose tenets were examined in chapter three. It is interesting that Loofs denies that he was the pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia[6] although this was a general presupposition, even at the Fifth Oecumenical Council. He does, however, reaffirm Nestorius' dependence on the latter's way of thought and expression. It is therefore not surprising that in confounding the heretical extreme of the opposing school, Apollinarianism, he should lay heavy stress on the full humanity of Christ, denying that by

union the humanity lost any of its integrity.[7]   He could not tolerate the
implication of the arguments of his opponents that the divine Logos must have
therefore suffered and died.   That the two natures were perfect and unaltered
by union was afterwards accepted by the Council of Chalcedon.   This he might
have been .. able to accept, for it is clear that he welcomed the support of
Flavian and Leo, who showed a certain sympathy with his general approach although
neither belonged to the full Antiochene christological tradition.[8]

Nestorius clearly rejects the idea that there were two Sons in Christ,[9]
though it remains to be seen whether his bond of union sufficiently excludes this
conclusion.   While excluding emphatically the ideas of Paul of Samosata[10], he
was firmly convinced that there were two substances in the one Person of Christ.[11]
This would appear to suggest that for Nestorius the term 'substance' is exactly
equal to the term 'nature', and the references in the footnote seem to support
this inference.   It is quite clear that in many cases Nestorius passes from one
term to the other indifferently, or where he says of 'substance' what he will
also say of 'nature'.   Grillmeier following Scipioni[12] seems to suggest there is
only a formal difference between the two terms.   However there are passages
where Nestorius clearly distinguishes the two.[13]   He writes: 'If he is
concerned to lay the foundations of the distinction in Christ, he refers to the
essence (ousia), the nature (physis), the hypostasis and finally to the prosopon'.[14]

It is true that Nestorius was blustering and rude within the controversy,
but his opponents do not have the best records for good manners.   Nevertheless
a blunt manner of expression did not have as its basis an unrefined theological
thinking.   It is to an examination of this that we must now turn.   During the
chapter we will be bearing in mind the thesis of Dr Abramowski, and in the foot-
notes, where the references are not thought to be genuine, '(Ps.N)' will appear
after them.   On the face of it there would appear to be little to choose between
the two 'authors' though Ps. Nestorius heightens the accent on unity of will,
which might suggest less orthodoxy.   In any case the fathers did not find it easy
to find a place for the will in the terminology of substance, nature and prosopon.
There is also one passage of difficult interpretation in which Ps. Nestorius
speaks of one hypostasis in Christ against Nestorius' uniform usage of two.[15]
This suggests a post-Chalcedonian date.   On the other hand Nestorius seems a
great deal firmer in his use of prosopon in its various senses than Ps. Nestorius.
So the difference is quite finely drawn.

THE DIAGNOSIS OF THE TWO NATURES - DISTINCTION OR SEPARATION

1. The Diagnosis of the two Natures - in exegesis and theology

We have already noted that one of the main principles of the Antiochene school was that God and man were essentially divorced.[16]   To associate the Creator with a creature too closely was to denigrate the Divine nature.   Nestorius is no different from his teachers: 'For how can anyone conceive that the Maker, seeing that he is in every way other than that which is made, should change into his being the other which has been made.'[17]   He too was afraid of the opposite tendency to 'mix' the constituent parts of Christ, and so to impair the essential reality of both natures.   This he was careful to avoid when interpreting the Scriptures, and indeed we recall that it was from some of his sermons that Cyril and his other opponents began to suspect his orthodoxy.

The evidence for divisive theology or exegesis can be illustrated by half a dozen instances: a) 'I would not call a babe God'; b) Theotokos; c) 'Behold the Lamb of God'; d) The Second Adam; e) The High Priesthood of Jesus Christ; and f) the passage in Philippians 2.5-11.   We will examine each of these in turn.

Socrates reports[18] that Nestorius had said 'I could not give the name of God to one who was two or three months old.'   Here he is clearly following the normal pattern of exegetical predication of some actions and attributes to the divine nature in Jesus Christ while on earth, and some to the human nature.   Of course this is clearly connected with the Theotokos controversy which has already been mentioned in our historical discussion.[19]   Nestorius gives his own account of this remark in the Book of Heracleides.[20]   It appears that he did not say he would not call a baby God but rather that he would not call God a baby.   The reversal of the subject and predicate considerably alters the sense.   He is more concerned to safeguard the majesty of the ousia of God than to reduce the status of the Babe of Bethlehem.   Thus he appears to have safeguarded a correct use of the communicatio idiomatum.   But Bethune-Baker said of this:[21]   'I am quite unable to harbour the suspicion that Nestorius - writing at a later time after further reflection - has himself given a cunning twist to the phrase he actually used.'   Possibly the Syriac translator got it wrong.   According to Theodotus the phrase was: 'God ought not to be called two or three months old'.[22]

We begin to see what Nestorius meant by his various titles of our Lord, some of which he sees as describing one or other of the component parts and others

as describing the sum of those parts. He points to the Creed of Nicaea and notes that it was not 'the Son of God' who is born of the Virgin Mary but 'One Lord Jesus Christ'.[23] That is why he preferred 'Mother of Christ' as the title best attributed to Mary. Again he says:[24] 'The Scriptures speak of the "Incarnation" of the Word, but never of his "birth".'

The Theotokos Controversy[25] was according to Bethune-Baker solely a question of Christology and not a Marian dispute.[26] As such it is important for us. The historical occasion of the controversy has already been described[27] and according to Nestorius he was drawn into a debate which was already in existence.[28] He had to arbitrate between those who maintained what had become, in spite of Nestorius' apparent ignorance of the fact, a traditional epithet of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Θεοτόκος, and some extreme Antiochenes who opposed this with the term ἀνθρωποτόκος. Instead of either he produced his compromise of Χριστοτόκος and in doing so was affirming his use of titles, with 'Christ' as the sum of the two parts.

Theodore of Mopsuestia thought of Christ as developing in the sense that he received in an increasing measure the gifts of the Word.[29] But Nestorius did not conceive of the Incarnation in these terms. Nevertheless he had made an attack on the communicatio idiomatum, which included Θεοτόκος and Deus Passus, and had long been accepted by the Church, at least in many areas, though possibly not in Constantinople.[30] In Nestorius' favour we can say that Cyril was using it in the wrong context, and in any case it had not been finally ratified by the Church, and was therefore to some extent still under discussion.

Nestorius avoids talking of the Logos as being twofold but concentrates on the one Lord Jesus Christ who is twofold in his natures. Otherwise it might appear that the Godhead was being lowered or contaminated by too close a contact with creatureliness. Therefore he constantly declares that 'Christ' should be the subject of the expressions of the Son, and not the Logos. He was right to oppose Cyril when the latter said that Christ felt or suffered not by his humanity but by his Godhead to which the humanity had been eternally joined.[31]

It was customary Antiochene exegesis to ascribe some actions of Christ to his divine nature and some to his human nature. On the phrase of acclamation 'Behold the Lamb of God', he says: 'For he who is visible is the Lamb, but he who is hidden is God. These natures are separate...'[32] This title in itself reflects both natures in one, for the Lamb is clearly the human nature which is

defined apart from the divine. He examines the Johannine passage in some depth in the Book of Heracleides[33], but this idea of the visible and the invisible he takes up more fully in his discussion on the prosopa of the two natures.

Two titles which apply to the humanity of Christ are of special importance to Nestorius for redemptive reasons. The title 'Second Adam' is reflected in an extended discussion Nestorius has on the work of the Logos in creation and redemption. He states that the Logos gave Adam his own image[34] in all honour and glory, but then Adam lost this God-like quality[35] and so the Logos became man in order to restore to his nature the original image:[36]

'For this reason there was need both of the divinity to renew and to create and to give unto it(self) the likeness, so that (it might be changed) from its own type to the likeness of a servant; and there was also need of the humanity, so that the likeness of a servant which was taken should become the likeness of God and God the likeness of a servant and that the one should become the other and the other the one in prosopon, the one and the other remaining in their natures; and he preserves an obedience without sin because of his supreme obedience, and because of this he was given unto death for the salvation of all the world.'

It is worth remembering here that Nestorius like many of the theologians of his day derived their Christology practically from the necessity to show how Christ in his life and death could have effected the salvation of mankind. It is this point which eventually determined the orthodox belief that Christ must have both natures fully, and that these had to be wholly related to one another, so that the work could be completed.

A considerable proportion of Nestorius' theology on the atonement is to be found in his Sermon on the High Priesthood of Christ[37], which was originally printed as part of a collection of Chrysostom's sermons[38] and subsequently printed in Loofs' collection.[39] It is an exegetical sermon based on passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews. High Priesthood is, according to Nestorius, attached to Christ as man, while according to Cyril, it is God. While not neglecting the Logos image in Christ, it is particularly associated with his humanity.

It was not to the Godhead that Nestorius ascribed the High Priesthood but to the seed of Abraham. As such it is he that suffered, not God - there was no 'Deus Passus'. He tried to confound the heretics, who, he said, represented the Word who cannot suffer as a high priest who does suffer. Here there was a parallel with Moses. To assert or imply that God was passible would reduce the ontological status of the divinity.[40] On the other hand the work of Christ was

to raise men to the level of the divine.[41]

He finds himself clearly in agreement with the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'In that he has suffered and been tempted he is able to succour them that are tempted.'[42] . Again he states explicitly:[43] 'God the Word was made man that he might therein make the humanity the likeness of God and that he might therein renew (the likeness of God) in the nature of the humanity; and thereupon he renewed his material elements and showed him (to be) without sin in the observance of the commandments, as though he alone aufficed for renewing him who had originally fallen by the transgression of the observance of the commandments .... For this same reason the second man also observed (them) not, but God lived in his stead and observed the commandments, because he was in that nature which sins not. And if this is so, what was the need for the life of the humanity to show that he who was God the Word was able to observe those human things which he who was man was unable to observe.... Destroy not therefore the pattern of the Incarnation, but concede the properties of the divinity and concede the properties of the humanity and concede one prosopon of the union, and all of them (will be) true and all of them orthodox.'

So the high priesthood of Christ involved mediation. He took phrases like 'being tempted', 'learning obedience', and 'made perfect through suffering' to be descriptive of the manhood. There is the 'one who exhibits in himself the person of human nature free from sin'. He is fit to be sent as a mediator on behalf of himself and all men with the sacrifice of his body - 'he took the image to abolish the guilt of the first man',[44] Or to put it a little more explicitly he said: 'Remark indeed that I have confessed, that all the chief priests have need of sacrifices, while Christ, as one who had no need thereof, offered himself as a sacrifice on his own behalf and on behalf of his race.[45] This is a reference from the genuine parts of the Book of Heracleides, but there is a similar summary of Ps. Nestorius' belief on this subject.[46]

Nestorius interpreted 'for every high priest being taken from among men' (Hebrews 5.1) as a qualification - so that it is because Christ was himself a man that he can be a high priest. He also lays heavy stress on another verse: 'who hath no need daily, as the high priests, to offer up sacrifices first for their own sins, then for the sins of the people, for this he did once for all in that he offered up himself.' (Hebrews 7.27) In his humanity the perfect Representative was an offering on behalf of himself and the whole of mankind which he represented. Therefore the qualification and the actual offering was

the human nature. This presupposes the unity of the person because it was not only an act of the manhood - 'man cannot save himself'.[47] We may compare ✗ this with Cyril who laid this experience in the role of the Word though he probably meant the Incarnate Word.

Thus Bethune-Baker says:[48]

'To Nestorius it seems that the moral purpose of the Incarnate Word of God underwent a genuine human experience, and he argues against every doctrine of his Person which seems to debar him from being a real Example and Pattern of a genuinely human life'.

And quoting the Book of Heracleides he remarks:[49]

'If he did not become man in (or into) man, then He saved himself but not us. But if he saved us, then in us He became man, and he was in the form of men, and in fashion He was found as a man, and He did not himself become a man.'

Finally in this section he examines briefly his treatment of the passage Philippians 2.5-11. He devotes special attention to the two phrases from verse 5, 'the form of a servant' and 'the form of God'. He regards them as co-existent and appears to use $\mu o\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$ as meaning the prosopon.[50] While there are frequent allusions to the passage thoughout the Book of Heracleides[51] one extract offers an extended discussion which merits fuller examination.[52]

'But God took upon himself the likeness of a servant, and that of none other, for his own prosopon and for his sonship, as indeed are those who are united in nature. He took the likeness of a servant: and the likeness of the servant was not the ousia of a man, but he who took it made it (his) likeness and his prosopon..... For the nature he took not for himself but the likeness, and schêma of man, in all things which indicate the prosopon..... But he suffered not those things in his nature but made use therein of him who suffers naturally in his schêma and in his prosopon in order that he might give him by grace in his prosopon a name which is more excellent..... But he was the likeness of a servant not in schêma but in ousia, and it was taken for the likeness and for the schêma and for the humiliation unto death upon the cross. But to understand 'the likeness of a servant as the ousia' he appointed Christ for the understanding; for Christ is both of them by nature. For this reason the properties of the two natures befit also one prosopon, not (that) of the ousia of God the Word..... God the Christ is not indeed as it were another part from God the Word, but he is indicative of the union of the two ousias of God the Word and of Man..... The diversities of the natures are not destroyed because of the union, but they have rather perfected for us One Lord and Christ and Son, by an ineffable concurrence of the divinity and of the humanity in the union.'

Some of these latter sentences seem to provide us with the kernel of Nestorius teaching. We should note that for him the $\mu o\rho\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}$ are simultaneous not successive as with Cyril. For Cyril the Incarnation happens

at the 'but' of v.7. Everything before this applies to the Discarnate
Logos, everything after to the Incarnate Logos. But Nestorius takes the
first words 'Let this mind be in you which was in Christ Jesus' seriously
as indicating the Incarnate Lord and the switch in v.7 is from his divine
to his human nature.

Most of his theological tenets are contained in his exegesis, but if
we go beyond these we find the same basic principles expressed. The duality
within our Lord is expressed by him constantly at the level of the natures.[53]
He is God by nature and man by nature.[54] These are two full natures and not
just two qualities of existence.[55] He stresses the full humanity of Christ,
and says he must have had a soul and body, and yet he is not just a man.[56]
Thus he is truly God and truly man.[57] On the other hand there are not two
Sons for there is a union of the two natures.[58] There are not two Sons or two
Christs but two natures and one prosopon,[59] and this union can be expressed as
'two natures in one Son', 'two natures in one Christ', and 'two natures and
one Redeemer'.[60] This is the basis for his differentiation between the title
'the Logos' (for him the divine nature only) and 'the Christ' (the divine and
human natures united). This explains his misunderstanding over the term
$\theta\epsilon o\tau\acute{o}\kappa o\varsigma$ and the phrase 'Deus Passus'.[61]

Grillmeier says of Nestorius' determination to make 'Christ' the
subject of the actions of both natures:[62]

'But Nestorius does not fully see the metaphysical structure of this work
"Christ". He does not show by it that the Logos is subject as the bearer of
both the divinity and the humanity. Instead, he regards "Christ"
superficially only as the sum of the two natures and sees these in turn merely
as a collection of qualitative expressions. In so far, then, as "Christ" is
the sum of the properties of Godhead and manhood, Nestorius ventures to make
both eternal and temporal expressions about him. He thus reduces the subject
"Christ" to the sum of the two natures and only rarely leaves room to consider
the bearer of these natures.'

What is more important in Grillmeier is his use of the phrase 'additive
subject'[63]. This neatly pinpoints the real problem. Does Nestorius make
this concept a viable possibility? As the above paragraph suggests, Grillmeier
seems to think that the attempt is a failure.

However Nestorius was right to stress that the Fathers at Nicea had
avoided the communicatio idiomatum and used 'Christ' as the 'common name of the
two natures'.[64] This is confirmed by the usage of the New Testament:[65]

'And even if you make your way through the whole of the New (Testament) you
will nowhere find death attributed to God (τῷ Θεῷ) the Godhead, but either
to Christ or the Son or the Lord. For (the designation) "Christ" and "Son"
and "Lord" applied by Scripture to the only-begotten as an expression of the
two natures (τῶν φύσεων ἐστι τῶν δύο σημαντικόν) and reveals now the Godhead,
now the manhood, now both.'

That is why Nestorius rejected the Θεοτόκος formula, though in the end
he realised that it was permissable as a complimentary title because if Mary
is the Mother of Christ (and he was not just prepared to say she was the
Mother of a man) then she is the bearer of the two natures conjoined.[66] Thus
he is very careful to repudiate the charge that he was teaching two Sons
simply because for him the term 'Son' is the expression of oneness of our
Lord.[67]

In the same Sermon[68] he shows the Son as the pre-existent Logos who
takes flesh, and so the distinction clearly lay in the field of the natures.
But immediately afterwards[69] he reverts to the name 'Christ' as the 'sum' of
the two natures. If he does not clarify his terminology at least he rejects
quite adamantly the term ἀνθρωποτόκος.[70] His explanation in his apology of
the misunderstanding over the Theotokos Controversy shows that his orthodox
intention continued to the end of his life.[71]

'So in the Liber Heraclidis, too, Nestorius still bases Christological
expressions on 'Christ' as the sum of the two natures and not on a final
(divine) subject as the bearer of the divine and the human natures in Christ:
"Therefore the two natures belong unto Christ and not unto God the Word".'

Thus remarks Grillmeier in conclusion[72], and so Nestorius was still
following the old Antiochene determination to safeguard the full human nature
of Christ against Apollinarianism and Arianism (as a Christological error).
He remarks in agreement with Cyril:[73]

'For when two natures, unlike one another, are named by the same name, they
are called two by homonymy. But thou sayest one in the union; this also
Nestorius says: that two natures (result in) one Christ, which are self-
sustaining in their natures, and need not, for the support of one another,
that they should be supported by the union; but they have established the
dispensation on our behalf.'

In this excerpt 'self-sustaining' is more than a mere synonym for
'complete', but just falls short of a full personality in our sense of the
word. Nestorius did good service for the Antiochene cause and for the sake
of orthodoxy as this eventually triumphed at Chalcedon, by asserting the

positive value of the Assumer and the assumed. He thus safeguarded a vital
truth, and in showing that the divine was the active constituent and the
human the passive, he went much of the way towards the point reached by
Cyril in his hypostatic union by making the Logos the ultimate subject of
both natures unified. Nestorius' main weakness was that by distinguishing
so sharply between the two components of Christ he stood in danger of being
unable to link them. We must now consider the terminology which he employed
and in the light of this discussion, evaluate his attempts to provide an
adequate bond of union between the Godhead and manhood of Christ.

2. The diagnosis of the two natures - in vocabulary

' "Half the controversies of the world would never have happened if
the disputants had at the outset defined their terms" is a saying the truth
of which is always more obvious to the onlookers of a later age than it was to
the disputants at the time. But in this case it is we of a later age who
need to be on our guard that we may not import into the terms which Nestorius
employed the sense that they bore in later ecclesiastical usage. No one
who reads his writings as a whole could make the mistake, but single passages
might prove pitfalls even for the wary. For one of the chief terms used had
already acquired in the time of Nestorius, in other connexions at least, a
sense which is different from that in which he employs it. The term in
question is hypostasis, and Nestorius always maintained that there were in the
Person of our Lord two Hypostases'.

So said Bethune-Baker[74] though others have not been so confident as
he was of the apparent conformity of the Nestorian works as a whole. Rather
it is Cyril who in the continuing fluidity of vocabulary of his time, provided
not only a key framework for the future, but also much of the terminology
which has stood the test of time.

Nestorius also employed many of the traditional Christological formulas
and ideas, particularly in the Liber Heraclidis, but his application of them
to explain the unity of God and man in Christ is more questionable. Then we
find he has really used up all his words in explaining the two natures in
Christ.

'Nestorius' particular difficulty arises from the fact that in inter-
preting Christ he is not dealing with two abstract natures, but with an indiv-
idual, concrete human nature and the Godhead which subsists in the Logos.
Godhead and manhood in Christ are concrete realities. To describe them he
uses the expressions ousia (essence), physis (nature) and hypostasis (actual
concrete reality)'.75

Thus he has left only the word prosopon for the unity of the natures, and as we shall see, even this is employed sometimes in a dual framework.

Nestorius starts from the duality of Christ at the level of the 'nature' :-

'If then I said "Christ" and "God the Word another, apart from Christ", or "Christ apart from God the Word", you have said well..... Now I have said that the name "Christ" is indicative of two natures, of God indeed one nature (and of man one nature).'76

Then he distinguishes between 'Christ' as the sum of the two natures and 'Logos' as the one divine nature. For him two natures of the Logos would mean two substances (concrete natures) in the Logos. How does this idea of 'natura completa' arise? His thought is based on the Antiochene determination to preserve the humanity of Christ against Apollinarianism. He therefore is bound to assert the completeness of both natures:

'Two natures (result in) one Christ, which are self-sustaining (nti rin) in their natures and do not need for the support of one another that they should be supported by the union: but they have established the dispensation on our behalf.'77

Although we should not interpret this in terms of two separate personalities, still the problem is inherent in Nestorius' use of words.

'If he is concerned to lay the foundations of the distinction in Christ, he refers to the essence (ousia), the nature (physis), the hypostasis and finally to the prosopon. If it is necessary to demonstrate the unity in Christ he only refers back to the prosopon.'78

So when he is describing the diversity in Christ Nestorius employs all four words, and when he is describing the unity he merely refers back to one of the expressions already used, namely the prosopon. 'To Nestorius Godhead and manhood, God and man, were much too real to be able to lose themselves in one another; the unity must be found in something other than the "substances" themselves.'79

For Nestorius, 'the nature' was something which was real rather than illusory. But he allowed that it could be complete, or incomplete as body and soul are incomplete natures, and he likens what happens in Christ to the linking of a body and soul in a man. He has of course to avoid Cyril's

application of the model to which he objects on the ground that soul and
body are incomplete natures forming a single complete man. He had no
objection to its use as an analogy of two disparate entities forming a
whole, so that he says:[80]

'For this union, being variable and changeable, in that it takes place for the
nature and for the completion of the nature, is not of two complete but of
two incomplete natures. For every complete nature has not need of another
nature that it may be and live, in that it has in it and has received (its
whole) definition that it may be. For in a natural composition it seems
that neither of those natures whereof it is (formed) is complete but they need
one another that they may be and subsist. Even as the body hath need of the
soul.... How then dost thou predicate one nature of two whole natures, when
the humanity is complete, needing not the union of the divinity to become
man?'.

This is the key question as fa. as Nestorius is concerned - man is a
complete nature. Natural union can only apply to incomplete natures and
this Nestorius will not tolerate. The two natures in Christ are complete
and this is where he starts his analysis. The notion of an incomplete
nature is confined to controversial contexts against Cyril and plays no
further part in Nestorius' own analysis. While in a sense the natures were
incomplete in that neither alone could complete 'our Lord Jesus Christ',
Nestorius was determined to preserve their full integrity.

He made 'the Essence' almost equivalent to 'the Nature' and so
narrowed it down to mean the 'specific being' of the Nature. Thus each
Nature has an ousia... On top of this, or outside of it, each had its
hypostasis which determined its final individuality. This again was cond-
itioned by its properties located in the prosopon. Thus he has used all
four terms in the context of the diversity within Christ. For him prosopon
retains its two basic meanings:- it may mean 'a role', e.g. 'And thou hast
accepted the prosopon of those men....'[81]; or it may mean a 'human individual',
e.g. 'it is certain that he in person took the place of a tribunal for them'.[82]
Thus for him there are in Christ two 'natural prosopa' without which the natures
are incomplete. The natural prosopon is the outward collection of the prop-
erties which fully define the nature. If these are not preserved the two
natures are mingled, and therefore prosopon in this sense is almost equivalent
to hypostasis.

Nature in its 'natural prosopon' is the hypostasis, but technically
hypostasis describes the completeness of natura completa, rather than either
being or adding anything to the natura completa.

It is little odd that Nestorius used hypostasis at all in view of
Cyril's hypostatic union which he clearly did not understand and tried to
rephrase in terms of prosopic union. It is seldom used by him and only
after the outbreak of the controversy with Cyril.[83] The word has been used
in Trinitarian doctrine but was relatively new in Christology.[84] Nestorius,
in his use of Trinitarian formulas, usually but not always preferred prosopon,
though he deliberately excluded a Sabellian interpretation of prosopon as
lacking an ousia.

'But further, as in the Trinity, (there is) there one ousia of three
prosopa, but three prosopa of one ousia; here (there is) one prosopon of two
ousias and two ousias of one prosopon.'[85]

Nestorius is aware of the possibility of identifying prosopon and
hypostasis in Christology particularly when he attempted to deal with Cyril's
ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν . Cyril had used the phrase and Nestorius retorted
that he did not understand it.[86] For him therefore ὑπόστασις = οὐσία but
Nestorius believed each nature had its own hypostasis, and therefore, he
misunderstood what Cyril meant.[87] If for Cyril it meant something which was
'substantial', it is clear that Cyril is less clear or definite on the relation-
ship between 'natural' and 'hypostatic'. In the Book of Heracleides, Nestorius
sought to discover what Cyril really meant and whether or not he agreed with
him.[88] The language was still sufficiently fluid to make this a genuine query.

In his comments on these pages, Bethune-Baker points out that Nestorius
considered three possible explanations of Cyril's definitions and use of words.[89]
First, the term 'Hypostatic Union' may mean the identification of two hypostases
to form a new hypostasis, which is something other than the original two.
This would have been 'confusion' or 'mixture' and so validly opposed by
Nestorius.[90] Nor could he accept it as meaning 'personal union' in the same
sense as his 'union of persons'. By prosopic union he understood the union
of two complete natures to make one Person. What he meant precisely by the
union of the prosopa will concern us later.[91]

Secondly, Bethune-Baker suggests Nestorius could not have taken the phrase
'hypostatic union' as an adjectival description of the resultant union rather
than an explanation of its occurence. But this would still have been unsatis-
factory to Nestorius as 'mixture' was still implied.

Finally, Cyril could have meant the same as Nestorius meant by prosopic union, but the intention of the two protagonists behind their respective theories was entirely different. The prosopic union of Nestorius is not a union in Cyril's sense, but a description of the two natures of Christ considered from the point of view of their unity within the one Christ. Cyril's hypostatic union is probably little more than a verbal variant of this theory of natural union. It could be a mistake to read into it all the implications of its use at Chalcedon.

Abramowski cites a passage[92] in the Liber Heraclidis to prove that Ps. Nestorius spoke of one hypostasis, whereas Nestorius always spoke of two. Scipioni finds hypostasis difficult to fit into Nestorius' conceptual framework. It is simply 'natura reduplicative terminata et determinata', i.e. it says the same thing as 'complete nature considered as complete'. It is rather an odd man out theologically speaking.

This may be summarised:[93]
'Nestorius argues that he can only understand Cyril's phrase ἕνωσις καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν if Cyril uses ὑπόστασις to express what Nestorius calls πρόσωπον ... it would seem that Nestorius regularly uses ὑπόστασις as practically equivalent to οὐσία and in Trinitarian doctrine would himself speak of three πρόσωπα in one ὑπόστασις (or οὐσία). But Cyril has the later usage in which the two are distinguished and so speaks of three ὑποστάσεις in one οὐσία . Nestorius evidently appreciates this difference of terminology in Trinitarian doctrine, and tries to find in it a clue to the understanding of Cyril's christology, askingwhether after all Cyril always means by ὑπόστασις what he calls πρόσωπον .'

So Nestorius allows the hypostatic union if hypostasis means the same as prosopon, as contrasted with the ousia or the physis as in his use of Trinitarian formulas. If he had clearly identified hypostasis and prosopon as alternatives he would have gone even further than Cyril towards the eventual Chalcedonian definition.

Nestorius used the phrase 'natural prosopon' to describe the prosopon which belongs to each nature independently, but he also talks of the 'prosopon of union', e.g. 'I seek not to make as it were two sons nor again the dissolution of the union, but I make use of one prosopon of union as (formed) of the two ousias, as also Divine Scripture signifies.'[94] These affirmations he always backs up with a rigid insistence on the titles of our Lord. He refused to use the term 'God the Word' or 'Man' alone, but preferred to employ 'Christ', 'Son', 'Only-begotten', or 'Jesus Christ'.[95]

Thus Nestorius is clearly convinced about his use of vocabulary and he goes some of the way towards clarification.   It is interesting to note that he had already used the phrase 'in two natures' and also the phrase 'one prosopon in two ousia'.[96]   The first is classic Chalcedonianism, and the second would have been accepted by the Chalcedonian Fathers provided that he equated ousia and nature.   We may compare this with Cyril's ἐκ δύο φύσεων (οὐσιῶν) which was rejected, though his basic idea of the hypostatic union, with its one principle in Christ was acceptable.

As Grillmeier says:[97]

'We are faced with the question whether the already almost Chalcedonian formulas mentioned above are the fruit of an understanding itself characteristic of the Fathers of Chalcedon, in other words, whether Nestorius was on the right way to a speculative solution of the christological difficulties then pending.   Does Nestorius seek the solution of the christological problem in a sphere in which the later theology of the Church is active?'.

THE BOND OF UNION

1.   The bond of union - conjunction preferred to union

Nestorius asserted the Godhead and manhood of Christ as both perfect and yet he is accused by his opponents for not having brought these together in a satisfactory union.   But what kind of union did Nestorius posit, and was it a real union?   He spoke on the one hand of 'the God' and on the other hand of 'the Man'.   These he said were 'joined together' and 'worshipped together'.   The union was one of 'good pleasure' and the relationship to God the Father 'as a Son'.   These phrases must now be examined and the other side of his Christology placed alongside its strongly marked dualist aspect.

He constantly stressed the oneness of Christ: e.g. 'diverse are the natures which have come into a true union, yet from both of them (is formed) one Christ.'[98]   Yet he avoided terms which expressed real unity and hence arose the charge that he taught 'two Sons' and had added a fourth person to the Trinity.   The use of concrete terms to express the substance fell within the recognised limits of christological language.   There are parallels in Fathers of a very different Doctrinal tradition, possibly even in Athanasius if Grillmeier's assessment of the evidence is on the right lines.[99]

Accordingly Nestorius says that he separated the natures, but conjoins the reverence[100] but we have to ask whether this is just an external relationship, what Cyril describes as ἕνωσις σχετική. The term 'conjunction' (συνάφεια) which Nestorius and Theodore prefer to 'union' (ἕνωσις) is sometimes used by theologians outside their tradition.[101] Nor did Nestorius entirely avoid the alternative term. It occurs in one passage in the Nestoriana fragments, and, if Loofs is correct,[102] it lies behind the Syriac of a long passage in the Treatise of Heracleides which contains the full discussion of the arguments on natural and prosopic union.[103] Bethune-Baker has pointed out[104] some interesting facts on this word. First it really means 'contact' or 'cohesion'. Second, it is not to be contrasted with union (ἕνωσις) but with 'mixture', 'commingling', or 'confusion' (κρᾶσις, μίξις, σύγχυσις) - 'one end only in view that no one should call the Word of God a creature, or the manhood which was assumed incomplete.[105]

It is clear Nestorius has to maintain the separation of the two natures, but he also presupposes the unity of the one Christ, one Son, one Lord - and almost goes as far as a communicatio idiomatum:
'But I say this for you to learn how close a conjunction existed between the Godhead and the flesh of the Lord visible in the Child.'[106]
He further affirms:
'for the oneness of the Son is not damaged by the distinction of the nature', and that he believes in 'God the Logos one Prosopon of the Son'.[107]
Thus far he is using traditional formulae and explanations.

In trying to produce a positive explanation of unity, Nestorius sharpens the Antiochene emphasis. As a result he has to bind together not two abstract but two concrete natures. He is quite certain there are two ousias (essence), two physis (natures) and two hypostases (actual concrete realities. Accordingly in his sermon of 25 March 431 he appeared to speak of 'two hypostases of the two natures', but we should compare the Latin version of Marius Mercator: 'Coniunctionis igitur confiteamur dignitatem unam, naturarum autem substantias duplices',[108] where of course 'substantia' stands only for the concrete particularity of the two natures, and does not describe two 'persons' as we should think of them.

Thus the two natures are joined in συνάφεια (or coniunctio) in the unity of the πρόσωπον. Nestorius congratulated Cyril on agreeing with him

over this question.[109]

The notion of synapheia in Nestorius' time had not been so clearly defined philosophically that we can conclude from the word alone whether Nestorius was describing a purely accidental unity in Christ as Cyril thought he meant,[110] or a deeper substantial bond. Nestorius therefore defined synapheia by various additions which were meant to show the quality of the union. These idiomata are components of the prosopon not additions to synapheia to show the quality of union.

2. The bond of union - unity of glory, honour and worship: unity of will

The first qualification was the assertion of a unity of glory, honour and worship. Again basing much of his argument on the passage from Philippians (2.5-11), Nestorius showed that the Man was raised to the level of God to receive the same honour, glory and worship ($\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$, $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$) as God the Son. Nestorius was here agreeing with traditional theology but claimed that the unity is provided for by prosopic union.

When God 'humbled himself' he took on the prosopon of manhood. Because of this action the reverse process could take place and the man Jesus would receive the honour of the Son. This idea comes out clearly in the Liber Heraclidis and also in the earlier works.[111]

Besides a unity of glory, honour and worship Nestorius also asserted a unity of will. We have already noted how he used the pattern of the Second Adam[112] and if the image of Adam was to be restored there must be some moral response in the humanity of Jesus Christ, and so the Antiochenes tended to think of a moral and religious development in Jesus - 'the will of God became his own will'[113]. Also: 'He raised up his very soul unto God, confirming that which was according to his will to the will of God in order that he might be the image only of the Architype, and not of his being.... it was preferable to him that the will of God should be done and not that of his flesh: and in actions he made himself a likeness to will that which he wills, that there might be one and the same will in both of them, one prosopon without division....'[114]

Theodore had used the expression 'indwelling by good pleasure' (εὐδοκια). It might appear that this was just a moral relationship conditioned by the holiness of the man together with his obedience. God the Word is the subject of 'the good pleasure' to become incarnate. It was a free expression of God's love for man, who while remaining what he is in essence takes to himself in the Logos the essence of man - so Nestorius stated.[115] This 'according to good pleasure' became 'voluntary union' (union of the will) in the Book of Heracleides, and this is particularly developed by Ps. Nestorius. Nestorius also takes over Theodore's later addition 'as in a Son' to describe the special nature of the indwelling. He describes the various kinds of indwelling in prophets, apostles, etc and how these are all of different degrees, and yet the indwelling in 'Christ' is unique because God in Christ is head of all prophets, apostles, etc.[116]

This idea was sound in that it was based on soteriological demands, but its real weakness lay in the fact that Nestorius tries to base an ontological unity on what was essentially merely a moral principle, though he is convinced that the unity in Christ is not just a moral bond.[117] To some extent he realised the weakness and hence his attempts like Theodore before him to undergird it by something which would make it essentially unique. That it failed to do so was sufficiently evident for him to try to meet Cyril on his own ground of philosophical presuppositions. Whether he really succeeded in making the bridge between what were Biblical expressions often in loose of 'dramatic' or 'mythical' language and thought, and an ontic basis may be contested. It may be his weakness that he tried to use his own weapons in an enemy territory. The real question is whether union of will is the ground or the consequence of prosopic union. Nestorius meant it to be the latter but if his theory fails to convince the other answer will have to be given. We will now examine how far he succeeded.

3. The bond of union - unity in prosopon

As we have already seen the word προσωπον was currently used in many senses[118]: an actor's mask - the part played by an actor - a role or function in life - the character of someone - a particular person. All these meanings can be contained together in the use of the word. In the definitions of the Chalcedonians Fathers, the term 'hypostasis' was placed alongside 'prosopon' and thereby contrasted with 'ousia' and 'physis'.

But Nestorius clearly does not equate his 'prosopic union' with the 'hypo-static union' of Cyril,[119] for Nestorius' use of the word 'hypostasis' is practically synonymous with 'ousia'.

We will examine four modern representative treatments of Nestorius' use of prosopon, in the work of Bethune-Baker, Loofs, Hodgson (in the essay at the end of the Liber Heraclidis) and Grillmeier (who incorporates Scipioni).

Bethune-Baker comments:[120]

'In view of the many expressions and arguments of which these are only typical,[121] it is impossible to doubt that Nestorius was clear in his own mind that his doctrine of the Incarnation safeguarded absolutely the unity of the subject. He did not think of two distinct persons joined together, but of a single Person who combined in Himself the two distinct things (sub-stances) Godhead and manhood with their characteristics (natures) complete and intact though united to him.'

The Greek theologians were quite happy in using the term prosopon to define the one incarnate Christ, and in Bethune-Baker's opinion it is not so much they suspected Nestorius was using it in an heretical sense but that they did not believe he meant what he said.[122] He also says that in the Chalcedonian Definition prosopon was put alongside hypostasis to define the use of the latter rather than the other way round. In any case the word was probably inserted rather to incorporate Leo's use of persona in the Tome and thus to assert the harmony of Cyril and Leo. So he points out that we should not allow the later distrust of the word to colour the earlier Nestorian controversy.

In summary Bethune-Baker defines Nestorius' use of the term as follows: a) he 'used the term person to express that in which both the Godhead and the manhood of our Lord were one';[123] b) and he does not share the later phraseology of the orthodox about an impersonal humanity personal in Christ. The human nature, though not a person, is fully personal.[124]

On the other hand Loofs expounds a more elaborate idea of what Nestorius meant by prosopon:[125] a) The term prosopon does not equal 'person' as we understand it, but describes the oneness of the subject.[126] b) Nestorius can use it both of the Godhead and the manhood considered separately and of an interchange between the two - a 'making use of' one by the other.[127] A nature to be complete must always have a prosopon as well as its hypostasis.[128]

c) But he uses the idea of the one (unifying) prosopon much more than the prosopa of each of the two component parts.[129] By this he means the undivided appearance of the historic Jesus who was not seen by his disciples as a sort of schizophrenic.[130] The different natures are not united substantially but in the prosopon of the union.[131] d) In Christ the manhood is the prosopon of the Godhead, and the Godhead is the prosopon of the manhood.[132] This results in the union of the prosopa so 'the prosopon of the one ousia makes use of the prosopon of the other ousia...'[133]

Unfortunately Loofs' judgement seems to have been coloured by Ritschlian theology which suspected metaphysical formulations and sought instead to base theology on moral and spiritual realities. He says that if Nestorius rejected the idea of a substantial union he came near to it in a union 'on a spiritual plan',[134] or 'through an intelligent and rational soul'.[135] He then takes up Nestorius' concept of the relationship of the Logos and the man as a voluntary relationship of love and mutual giving, 'a relationship that becomes so close that the one presents himself as the other.'[136] But this is to deny that for Nestorius the prosopon has any metaphysical content whatever, a curious position for any Fifth Century Christologian to maintain. He finds an anticipation in Nestorius of the views of a colleague of his own, Dr. Martin Kähler, a colleague, who thought it 'a vain attempt to combine two independent beings or two persons in an individual life'. The union would only become intelligible 'if understood as a reciprocity of two personal actions, viz. a creative action on the part of the eternal Godhead and a receiving action on the part of the developing manhood.'[137]

Loofs completes the equation of Antiochene theology with his contemporaries at the end of his thesis, by suggesting that only when 'popular mythological views' are removed, will it be possible to arrive at an understanding of the Johannine ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο 'which is in harmony with the N.T. and avoids theological and rational impossibilities.'[139]

When we turn to the essay by Hodgson at the end of 'The Bazaar of Heracleides', we find a rather different view.[140] He takes the idea of moral identity of will in Jesus Christ, and says it would only be satisfactory if 'will' was linked with οὐσία and Nestorius never did that. Hodgson believes that Nestorius did put forth a metaphysical theory like the other Fathers.

Nestorius has no term precisely the same as our 'person', but the nearest equivalent following the Cappadocian Fathers was 'hypostasis', and this is what Cyril meant by his hypostatic union. Nestorius usually used hypostasis in the old sense as equivalent to ousia, though in a few passages we see he knew and even accepted the new usage.[141] However he preferred the idea of prosopic union, and Hodgson says his argument rests on two principles: the divine and human οὐσίαι are totally divorced, and one cannot become the other;[142] and the union must be voluntary.[143]

Hodgson shows that Nestorius considered three kinds of unity. It cannot be like the union of the persons of the Trinity for their οὐσίαι are two and not one.[144] It cannot be a unity like that of body and soul for that is not voluntary, and are incomplete things incapable of separation.[145] So he opts for prosopon,[146] and seems to use the three terms, ousia, physis and prosopon as if they were all on the same level. If Nestorius' metaphysis can be analysed into these three, what was left for prosopon?

Hodgson quotes Loofs who felt that for Nestorius prosopon meant just 'external undivided appearance', but feels that for Nestorius the term had a wider application more akin to our term 'person'. In his view this makes an intelligible and coherent Christology as is borne out by the Treatise of Heracleides.[147] So he sees in Nestorius a three-tier metaphysic, almost like three concentric circles - the smallest is the ousia, the middle one physis, the outer one prosopon. As applied to Christ, Godhead and Manhood have two totally antithetical οὐσίαι , therefore there must be two φύσεις each with its own set of idiomata, and so the union cannot take place at these levels. But neither would be complete without its own prosopon, and so far he has ended up with a doctrine of Two Sons. But two things different in ousia and physis can be identical in appearance - two identical appearances overlap, and so there is union without either ceasing to be itself.[148] This might appear unsatisfactory but Hodgson claims that prosopon is more than appearance and therefore prosopic union is real union.

Therefore it appears to Hodgson that Nestorius taught more than moral union and he links it with his view of Nestorius' metaphysic: 'to have the prosopon of God is to will what God wills.'[149] Hodgson also refers to other passages which might suggest this interpretation.[150] There are also passages of great significance in which the object of the sharing of the prosopa is said to be the manifestation.[151] He feels that we must not object to Nestorius'

system because of its simplicity, and he feels Loofs has made it appear unduly
complicated, though he admits the acute subtlety of thought.

But Hodgson admits the basic objection still remains: two things which
look alike are not really one. He elaborates his analysis without really
improving it. The Christology of Nestorius is only possible when his metaphysic
has become thoroughly artificial. His system really fails because of his
natural conception of the complete and eternal antithesis between Godhead and
manhood. Hodgson suggests[152] that the difference between Cyril and Nestorius
is that while Nestorius was consistent throughout and his theory a brilliant
(if unsuccessful) attempt to solve the problem on the basis of a principle
which makes it insoluble, Cyril's greatness lies in his inconsistency. He
preferred the truth to the system and by his self-contradiction he left room
for further development in the future.

We may wonder whether Hodgson's view of Nestorius' three-tier metaphysic
is correct. Scipioni thinks rather of a series of logical thrusts at a single
entity, the same thing looked at from three different view-points. We may
also wonder whether 'hypostasis' fits in. Nestorius usually avoids it because
Cyril used it, but other Antiochenes like Theodoret and Flavian employed it.
He recognised that it need not be identified with ousia, but reduces unity
in prosopon to a mutuality of prosopa. This is insufficient.

We now examine Grillmeier who uses the work of Scipioni[153] with some
reservations. The problem is that prosopon occurs under the heading of terms
expressing both duality and unity. Grillmeier contends that prosopon has a
far less restricted meaning than either Loofs or Hodgson presuppose. Terms like
'image' and 'likeness', the 'prosopon of revelation', the contrast between
'visible' and 'invisible', indicate that Loofs and Hodgson are not wrong to
include 'external undivided appearance', but unlike Loofs, Hodgson interprets
this ontologically.

There is however a much wider range or rather content to the term. It
is obviously closely related to 'will', whether as ground or as consequence,
but there seems to be, at least on occasions, a greater 'property content' as
well. Grillmeier accepts the clue which Scipioni provides from Stoic logic.[154]
Scipioni accepts that this knowledge is mediated through Nestorius' familiarity
of the Cappadocian Fathers rather than the Stoic sources directly.[155] This
concept represents a progress from the completely indeterminate to the precise
or fully determinate. The last two stages in Stoic thought represent the

distinction between the Universal and the Particular, between 'man' as a species, and this, particular, named man. Obviously there must be considerable overlap of content between the Universal and the Particular, but the latter provides the final goal of logical determination.

Nestorius has a distinct leaning towards the concrete and the particular. The natural prosopon is the universal. Godhead and manhood would be incomplete without their respective prosopa.[156] The prosopon of union or the common prosopon represents the final determination of the concrete, historical person of Jesus Christ, the 'additive subject' as Grillmeier describes him,[157] that is a viable subject formed by the union of two existing subjects.

There is of course no fatal logical leap between universal 'horsiness' and 'Snow Night' as the Derby Winner, 1974. But Nestorius has to make a daring logical leap here, for granted that Godhead and manhood have their respective prosopa, what guarantee is there that Nestorius could land safely when it is a question of these two disparate and diverse, natural prosopa uniting to form an additive subject? Thus Grillmeier speaks of Nestorius as jumping over his own shadow atthe critical point.[158]

The idea of 'unity in prosopon' was defined quite clearly as a formula in the Book of Heracleides:[159]
'so also concerning Christ: when we speak of the prosopon, we say that the Son of God is adored, concerning also the flesh as united with him; but in discussing the natures and speaking of two natures, we say that the humanity is adored with the divinity which is united with it.'
It is this which he calls the 'common prosopon of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[160]
He is quite clear at what level this unity is reached:[161]
'When he (Christ) speaks as from his own prosopon (he does so) by one prosopon which appertains to the union of the natures and not to one hypostasis or (one) nature.'

But by reversing the Trinitarian formula Nestorius shows that he is seeking to make definitions within an orthodox framework:[162] 'as in the Trinity, (there is) one ousia of three prosopa, but three prosopa of one ousia; here (there is) one prosopon of two ousias and two ousias of one prosopon. There the prosopa exist now without ousia, nor here again does the

ousia exist without a prosopon, nor also the nature without prosopon, nor
yet the prosopon without nature. For of the prosopon of the one ousia and
not of another the other ousia makes use in the same manner on account of
the union. As Nestorius himself sees this is a development of a theme
touched upon by the Cappadocian Fathers.

On one occasion he does identify hypostasis with prosopon but this
was unusual.[165] More usual is his demand of Cyril to explain what he means
by his terms.[164] Probably Nestorius did not reach what Cyril meant by
hypostatic union (unity of the one subject). This is uncertain for we
cannot be sure whether or how Cyril distinguished hypostatic from natural
union. When Nestorius rephrased hypostatic union by prosopic union he re-
placed what for him was unintelligible by what for him again was clear and
orthodox. Certainly Cyril meant to provide a unity of subject by his means.
So did Nestorius by means of the prosopic union, but he was content with what
Grillmeier called the 'additive subject'. We must question whether or not
this is a real subject. Had he gone further to make the prosopon and the
hypostasis really equivalent he would have gone a long way indeed. But the
irony is that he was probably nearer to this position in the writings con-
tained in the Nestoriana than later.

We can be more precise on 'the common prosopon of our Lord Jesus
Christ'.[165] Each nature has its own hypostasis (reality) and prosopon
(appearance), but each makes use of the prosopon of the other nature, and
therefore there is one prosopon of union.[166] '(There is) one prosopon which
belongs to the natures and to the prosopa'.[167] This is achieved in two ways:
a) by the compensation of prosopa; b) by the 'perichoresis' of the prosopa.

Nestorius defined the Incarnation as 'the mutual use of giving and
taking'[168]. We must therefore consider his use of the interchange of the
prosopa, which was largely based on the well used passage Philippians 2.5-11.[169]
In his exegesis the Logos showed himself in the 'form' of a servant, and the
man in the 'form' of God.

The thought is expressed in this lucid passage:[170]
'But in the prosopa of the union, the one in the other, neither by diminution
nor by suppresion nor by confusion is this "one" conceived, but by taking and
by giving, and by the use of the union of the one with the other, the prosopa
take and give one another but not the ousias.'

We may compare this with Cyril's explanation in terms of the ousias, but Nestorius accuses him: 'thou takest away the compensation from the union of the two ousias.'[171]

Nestorius takes the Biblical passage Philippians 2.5-11 and extracts the expressions 'form of God' and 'form of a servant',[172] where it seems that 'form of a servant' is equivalent to 'visible in the flesh' or 'taken upon himself the prosopon of the poor'. We must examine some of the references:

'And he is both God and man, and the likeness of God in condescension and in kenosis and in schema, (and) the likeness of the flesh as man; and the man is by exaltation what God is, through the name which is above all names. Consequently in the kenosis he humbled himself unto death, even death upon the cross, in that he made use of the prosopon of him who died and was crucified as his own prosopon, and in his own prosopon he made use of the things which appertained unto him who died and was crucified and was exalted.
'For (to have) the prosopon of God is to will what God wills, whose prosopon he has.
'For it is not (the fact) that the image is his being, but what on the other hand the very image and prosopon (are) the humanity of the divinity and the divinity of the humanity. The prosopon of him who is conceived, who was in the likeness and in the similtude of God took the likeness of a servant, and in schema was found as a man in him who appeared. And he who appeared (is considered) as representing him who is conceived as touching the prosopon and the name which is above all names and honour and glory and adoration.'[173]

'He took the likeness of a servant; and the likeness of the servant was not the ousia of a man, but he who took it made it (his) likeness and his prosopon.... For the nature he took not for himself but the likeness, the likeness and the schema of man, in all things which indicate the prosopon...
'But he suffered not these things in his nature but made use therein of him who suffers naturally in his schema and in his prosopon in order that he might give him by grace in his prosopon a name which is more excellent than all names....
'For this reason the properties of the two natures benefit also one prosopon, not (that) of the ousia of God the Word. And the prosopon is not in the ousia, for it is not in the ousia of God the Word, nor is it the prosopon of the union of the natures which have been united....
'For this reason the Apostle lays down the prosopon of the union and next the things where from the union results. He says first the likeness of God, which is the similtude of God and next it took the likeness of a servant, not the ousia nor the nature but the schema and the prosopon in order that he might participate in the likeness of a servant, and that the likeness of the servant might participate in the likeness of God, so that of necessity there might be one prosopon, so that it is the one by ousia and the other by union in respect to the humiliation and to the exaltation.'

So Nestorius asserted that God was in the prosopon of man but not in the nature of man.[174] In other words the 'countenance' is a unifying concept, because the whole, though in two natures, is seen as one Christ, the divine in human form. He used the analogy of the two eyes on a face,[175] so that although the eyes are part of the whole and complete in themselves, yet they do

not make up the whole face or countenance.

Everything in a concrete being over and above the physis is found in the prosopon, including will, characteristic properties ($\overset{?}{\iota}\delta\iota\omega\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$), physical appearance and moral attitude.[176] The prosopon is the basis on which the unity of Christ is revealed:-[177]

'The Divine Logos was not one and another ($\overset{\prime}{\alpha}\lambda\lambda o\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\overset{`}{\iota}$ $\overset{\prime}{\alpha}\lambda\lambda o\varsigma$) the man in whom he came to be ($\overset{\prime}{\epsilon}\nu$ $\overset{~}{\omega}$ $\gamma\overset{\prime}{\epsilon}\gamma o\nu\epsilon\nu$). Rather, one was the prosopon of both in dignity and honour, worshipped by all creation, and in no way and no time divided by otherness of purpose and will.

'The two natures have one Lordship ($\alpha\overset{?}{\upsilon}\theta\overset{\prime}{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota\alpha$) and one power ($\delta\overset{\prime}{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$) or might ($\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\overset{\prime}{\iota}\alpha$) and one prosopon in the one dignity ($\alpha\overset{\prime}{\xi}\iota\alpha$) and in the same honour ($\tau\iota\mu\overset{\prime}{\eta}$).'

So the prosopon of the Logos used the prosopon of Christ's manhood. This contrast between the visible and the invisible is a frequent idea in Nestorius.[178] But it is not the 'prosopon of revelation' as seen in Ps. Nestorius and the later Nestorian writings. There is more stress on the $\kappa\overset{\prime}{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ than on the $\overset{\prime}{\epsilon}\pi\iota\phi\overset{\prime}{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$. Yet the active constituent of the Incarnation was God and the passive the man. It is not therefore just a moral union for Nestorius attempted to link it to the ontological sphere. The prosopon has many qualities besides the moral attributes, but this base does not include the physis as such. Each does however have its full prosopon (ontological reality) and that is why he used two prosopa at times and one prosopon at other times.[179] This remains his fundamental weakness, yet he had the clear insight that he must leave the physis of the man intact.

In fact he makes this quite clear:[180]
'it was not therefore because I confessed not that Christ himself - who is also God, and none other than God the Word, consubstantial - is God, but because I confess that he is also man.'
The man made use of the prosopon of God but Nestorius affirms that he is not deified by nature.[181] There is a unity implied in the interchange of prosopa with their property content[182] and he is emphatic that the manhood had become the Son of God because of the Son united with it.

We are forced to ask whether unity has thereby been achieved. This is doubtful in view of the fact that he refers to two prosopa as well as the prosopon of union. It is significant that whereas in the material collected in Nestoriana, Nestorius speaks only of one prosopon, in the Treatise of Heraclidis he introduces and emphasises the mutuality. This is unique to him

among the Antiochenes and casts some doubt on whether Grillmeier is right in calling him a moderate Antiochene.[185] If he had kept to one prosopon he might well have been nearer a solution thanwith the more complex and subtle theory which he sets out in the Treatise. It was because of this that the Council of Chalcedon excluded all talk of two prosopa, with its insistence on one hypostasis and one prosopon.

It certainly seems that Nestorius had produced not a substantial union but rather a rational or spiritual union achieved by the use of the human soul of Christ.[184] This view presupposes and is a special treatment of the human soul of Christ considered as a theological factor (in Grillmeier's phrase). It appears to have been a voluntary union of love,[185] but only because each revealed himself in the form of the other. We must concede that his understanding of prosopon was different from ours, and according to Loofs it was totally non-metaphysical.[186] Yet he realised that the Jesus Christ of history was (and was seen to be) one person in our sense of the word. Loofs says:[187]

'This Jesus Christ of history is the beginning of a new humanity and at the same time the personal revelation of God, and he is the one because he is the other.'

But what of this charge of 'two persons'? Nestorius' object was to make sure that one of the two natures did not become eliminated by the union. But he was certain it was not a 'conjunction' of two persons - 'the manhood is the person of the Godhead, and the Godhead is the person of the manhood.'[188] It was rather a merging of personality which for him was not exposed to the charge of fusion or confusion. This was the centre of union, and with both natures subject to the experiences of each other, there was still one subject. It was a new Person (Christ) who was formed, not a new divine-human nature. At least Nestorius was able to distinguish between 'nature' and 'person', and paved the way for a unity richer and less mechanical than Cyril's 'natural union.'

There are two difficulties. First it appears not to be a substantial union, but one which was only superficial; and secondly, only a moral attitude is involved ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\chi\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$). But the union is not just an external role as when an ambassador represents his sender,[189] for it is intended to result in something ontological. However the unity is achieved in the act of compensation itself. So he says:[190]

'So by the use of their prosopa as though they were making use of their own authoritatively, the one is the other and the other the one and the other abiding just as they are in their natures.
'And because also the prosopon of the one is the other's and that of the other

the one's, and the one(comes) from the other and the other from the one, the will belongs to each one of them.'

It was because of this community of will and honour that Nestorius was sometimes known as a Monothelite. The description itself is inexact since he plainly believed in two wills, those of God the Logos and the assumed man, however identical their scope and intention. We cannot avoid the conclusion that the union achieved by Nestorius is only a moral and accidental union, except for the fact that the initiative taken in the Incarnation was a Divine act and not a matter of the human will.[191] The 'grasping' of the manhood as mentioned in the Philippians passage is part of the creative act by God of his 'temple' (the manhood).[192] The corresponding side is passive not active: .'that which took' is contrasted with 'that which was taken'.[193] The voluntary act is from above, and Christ is therefore ἕνωσις κατ᾽ οἰκονομίαν , or κατ᾽ εὐδοκίαν , or κατὰ χάριν . Yet the human freedom of Christ is important to Nestorius, hence his stress on the (human) obedience of Christ and the Second Adam parallelism.[194] This is also true of his whole theory of redemption where the human obedience of Christ - and Ps. Nestorius would add 'his vicarious obedience' - was vital. There is a sense in which the humanity is regarded as 'the junior partner' in the work of Redemption.

If this appeared to be an accidental union on the basis of the same honour and worship, it seemed to Cyril that Nestorius was putting 'a man' alongside the Logos with only the bond of mutual love to hold them, and therefore something else was needed. Nestorius felt he had provided this something with the idea of mutual compenetration:[195]
'We understand neither that which took nor that which was taken in distinction but that which was taken <u>in</u> that which took.'

This Grillmeier calls 'perichoresis',[196] the interpenetration or 'mutual inward hold' of the two natures. The term itself is used by the Cappadocian Fathers of the inner relations of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity and the idea maybe part of the legacy of Nestorius from the Cappadocians. It starts from Nestorius' parallelism and contrast between Trinitarian and Christological terminology.[197] If this was already noted by the Cappadocians, they never extended the idea of perichoresis to Christology. They were after all Trinitarian theologians par excellence and their Christology is not their strongest point. According to Grillmeier Nestorius transferred this Trinitarian concept to the relationship between the two natures. It is his

own suggestion and should be noted as such. Some connection between the Trinitarian perichoresis and mutuality and reciprocity of prosopa is possible but not proven. How far such a link serves Nestorius' need is more questionable.

Nestorius rejects the undue separation of the two component parts in his discussion of the analogy of the burning bush which Cyril introduced.[198] The lengths to which he was prepared to go in order to show that he did not preach two Sons is shown by the fact that at least on one occasion he used the term 'mixture' (κρᾶσις).[199] It is a quotation from Gregory of Nazianzus, and is of course contrary to all his usual tendencies and he never explains precisely what he meant by it. Perhaps it is best understood as heavily in inverted commas, a word borrowed from his source rather than selected deliberately by himself.

So Nestorius made his attempt to effect a union with a term which he had already employed to stress the duality of Christ's natures. In conclusion to the section, we may note remarks made by Professor Turner on the subject:[200] 'Thus an element of diversity has been imported even into the bond of union itself and the final formula might be described as one prosopon in two prosopa or two prosopa combining in one prosopon. That there is a mutuality or reciprocity of the two prosopa of divinity and humanity is the inference that can be drawn from many passages. There is a giving and receiving of prosopon between the natures, by kenosis or humiliation on the one hand, and exaltation on the other. The prosopon of the humanity is the divinity and vice versa. The prosopon of the one became the prosopon of the other so that the one is the other and the other the one although they remain just as they are in their natures. Each makes use of the prosopon of the other nature as if it were their own. There is one prosopon in two prosopa. It is obvious that for Cyril's communicatio idiomatum Nestorius has substituted a reciprocity or mutuality of prosopon.'

And so our judgement is that although Nestorius made a dynamic attempt to create a sound Christology,as Prestige says:[201] 'like his master Theodore, he could not bring within the framework of a single, clearly conceived personality the two natures of Christ which he distinguished with so admirable a realism.'

CONCLUSION

We find a summary of Nestorius' position in the section 'Concerning the Faith' in the Book of Heracleides.[202] Here he reviews the various opposition theories and then gives his own exposition. In another section he summarises his position in relation to Cyril's.[203]

If we are to assess the orthodoxy of this we must judge it by Chalcedon and not by Ephesus. This was a compromise and we have already noted that he is supposed to have agreed with the Chalcedonian Definition; certainly he accepted. the Formulary of Union (433).[204] While rejecting the 'out of two natures' formula of Cyril, he could accept the 'of two natures' of the Formulary, though greatly preferring the superior precision of his own 'in two natures' formula. Leo would have agreed. Loofs says:[205] It was a tragic feature in the future of Nestorius, that he had already been condemned, when the Council, whose creed he could have accepted, was held.' This statement is of course modified by the historical factors up to the Fifth Oecumenical Council (553).

It appears that he was personally sacrificed to provide a means of reconciliation between Antioch and Alexandria in 433, a reconciliation which came to include the West in 451. Yet he was resisting the incipient Mono-physitism of his time by defending the Manhood of Christ. He gave an ethical emphasis which safeguarded the moral principles of the Christology of the Church.

F.Nau declared that Nestorius was orthodox because his writings were so similar to those of Chalcedon.[206] In complete contrast it has been said: 'the surprising result (of the discovery of the Book of Heracleides) is to make him appear less orthodox than before.'[207]

It has been said:[208]
'If Nestorius and Cyril could have been compelled to discuss their differences calmly and to define their terms with precision, under the supervision of a strict and impartial arbiter who could have kept them under control until they had explained themselves clearly, there is little doubt that they would have found themselves in substantial agreement theologically, though separated toto caelo as far as the prestige of their respective archiepiscopal sees was concerned.'

But this is wildly over-optimistic, and one would pity the arbiter. This
seems to be a rather naive account of what Nestorius and Cyril really believed.
In spite of what was said, the rift between their actual thought was as deep
as the language appeared to make it, and there was no patching over the cracks
when a common terminology could be found. Chalcedon served warning notices
both on Cyril and Nestorius. To Cyril it gave the warning that he must
distinguish physis and hypostasis (or his followers must). To Nestorius
(or his followers) it pointed a way forward by identifying hypostasis (thus
safeguarded) with prosopon, and by excluding any talk about two prosopa.
Grillmeier is right that the first equation of terms would have helped
Nestorius greatly; he does not notice the other point.

Bethune-Baker has said:[209]

'We have seen that the ideas, for which Nestorius in common with the whole
school of Antioch contended, really won the day, as regards the doctrinal
definitions of the Church; though Nestorius himself was sacrificed to "save
the face" of the Alexandrines. The manhood of Christ was safeguarded, as
distinct from the Godhead: the union was left an ineffable mystery.
'The views against which Nestorius protested would have robbed us altogether
of the historical Christ of the Gospels. Though inspired by the inevitable
philosophical craving for unity, and the supreme desire of genuine piety to
see in the manhood of Christ the real deification of human nature as an entity,
they would have made of the Saviour of men a Person not really human, and of
Redemption a magical, instantaneous, rather than an ethical, gradual process.
The possibility of an ethical valuation of His human life and experiences was
in large measure saved by the stand the Nestorians made....'

Again when we compare Cyril and Nestorius, Grillmeier has said:[210]

'Chalcedon is here, infact, the via media. Nestorius is the more modern
theologian, but he does not have the same religious force as his counterpart,
who thinks in more archiac terms. Chalcedon takes over from Cyril and from the
whole tradition of the one Christ, but dares to stress the distinction in him
more strongly, as did the Antiochenes.'

Grillmeier says that Nestorius was a moderate Antiochene at the end of
the controversy as well as at the beginning.[211] This seems a strange
judgement in the light of the point made by Grillmeier himself concerning
Nestorius' use of the mutuality and reciprocity of the prosopa. Though
Nestorius' opponents divorced his words from their theological context and
total Christological background, he cannot escape considerable criticism.
Grillmeier attributes this to his failure to understand and make use of the
communicatio idiomatum. Certainly he objected to the misuses of it which
seemed to lead to Arianism or Apollinarianism, but it is difficult to say this
was the cause as well as the occasion of the controversy. If his notion of
prosopon was as rich in 'property content' as Grillmeier, following Scipioni,

believes, he seems to provide not less but more than the examples in question needed. This is the main point of disagreement with Grillmeier's judgement. Prestiges' view that the principal defect of Nestorius was a negative impotence of method seems nearer the mark.

So Nestorius' concept of prosopic union failed to fulfil its objective. His union was still only the sum total of the component parts of Christ and remained so. There was no attempt to make the Logos the real personal subject of the combined natures. Therefore reluctantly we have to record that Nestorius failed, and there is little to suggest in the Book of Heracleides that later attempts to correct his earlier statements, whether by himself or another, did anything to strengthen his position.

<u>Chapter Five</u>   <u>Footnotes</u>

1.   DrH., p.314

2.   DrH., p.311; Sermo XI, Nestoriana p.262; Frag.X, ibid. p.276

3.   Socrates. H.E. VII. 32, 8(P.G. lxvii, 809): ἀγνοοῦντα ἐφευρίσκω τὸν ἄνδρα

4.   Loofs, Nestorius, p.61

5.   Supra. p.2.

6.   Loofs, Nestorius, p.65

7.   DrH. pp.34 (Ps.N),172, 178   —

8.   e.g. DrH. pp.340, 344, 362; Nestorius' letter to the Inhabitants of
       Constantinople cited in Loofs, Nestorius pp.24-6

9.   DrH. pp. 45f (Ps.N), 50 (Ps.N), 154,159,215,222f,225,295-7,300,339.

10.   Supra, p.7-8

11.   DrH. pp.15 (Ps.N), 26f (Ps.N), 146f, 159, 296-7; cf. Sermo XII,
       Nestoriana, p.280; Ibid. pp.281,284; Letter XI, ibid. p.196;
       Sermo XV, ibid. p.292; Sermo XVIII, ibid. pp.303,308,309; Sermo XX
       ibid., pp.327,328; Sermo XXIII, ibid., p.332; Sermo X. ibid., p.270;
       Sermo XVIII,p.299

12.   Grillmeier, ibid. p.436; cf. L.I.Scipioni O.P., Ricerche sulla
       cristologia del 'Libro di Eraclide' di Nestorio (Fribourg 1956), pp.45-67

13.   e.g. DrH. 218

14.   Grillmeier, op.cit., p.435

15.   DrH., p.47

16.   Supra. p.68

17.   DrH. p.27 (Ps.N) but this is the presupposition of the whole work,
       hence his objection to Cyril's Natural union as implying confusion and
       mixture if they were incomplete and therefore fusable natures.

18.   Socrates, H.E. VII, 34 (P.G. lxvii 815)

19.   Supra. p.3.

20.   DrH. p.137-9

21.   Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.77

22.   ACO I,i,2 p.38

23.   DrH. p.170ff

24.   Sermo XIV, Nestoriana, p.287; cf. Sermo VIII, ibid. pp.245,6;
       Sermo X, ibid. 274,5; Sermo XI, ibid. p.278

25.   Sermo IX, Nestoriana, pp.249-264

26.   Bethune-Baker, op.cit. pp.55-7. Nestorius can even accept the term
       'Theodochos' (she who received God); Sermo IX, p.263; Sermo X, p.276-7

27.   Supra p.3

28.   Nestorius, Ep. VII ad Ioann.Ant., Nestoriana, p.185,2-10 cf. Trageodia
       ibid. p.203-4; DrH. p.99

29.   Theodore Mop., De Incarn., Bk XV (Swete II p.310)

30.   DrH. p.148

31.   DrH. pp.171-5, 211, 246-7

32.   Sermo XXIV, Nestoriana, p.354

33.   DrH. p.51 (Ps.N)

34.   DrH. 60-2 (Ps.N)

35.   DrH. pp.62,73f (Ps.N)

36.   DrH. p.183; cf. pp.62 (Ps.N) 213

37.   cf. Bethune-Baker, op.cit. pp.105-20; cf. Sermo IX, Nestoriana, pp.250-64;
       Sermo XVIII, ibid. p.307; DrH. pp.62ff (Ps.N)

38.   P.G. lxiv, 453-92

39.   Sermo V. Nestoriana, pp.230-42

40.   DrH. pp.92f., 150,177,185,211,229,262

41.   DrH. p.24 (Ps.N), though this was clearly not deification, ibid.p.25

42.   DrH. p.229

43.   DrH. pp.212-4

44.   DrH. p.62 (Ps.N)

45.   DrH. p.250

46. DrH. p.75 (Ps.N)
47. DrH. p.212f
48. Bethune-Baker, op.cit. pp.122-3
49. Ibid. p.123, quoting DrH. p.205. Perhaps the main difference of emphasis between Nestorius and Ps. Nestorius is 'vicarious obedience' (Nestorius) as compared with 'vicarious victory' (Ps.Nestorius). In either case the complete humanity and the human will in Christ are of paramount importance.
50. DrH. p.167
51. Ps. N - DrH. pp.22-3, 30,40,55,57f., 60f., 69,79
    N. - ibid. pp.89-91, 147,164-7, 171, 207, 214-5, 217
52. DrH. pp.164-7
53. e.g. DrH. pp.209,211,315
54. DrH. p.53 (Ps.N)
55. DrH. p.321
56. DrH. pp.504, 513f, cf. pp. 35,43,85 (Ps.N)
57. DrH. p.195
58. DrH. pp.22,44ff., 47 (Ps.N) cf. p.54ff (Ps.N)
59. DrH. pp.235
60. DrH. pp.145,159,191,252-3
61. DrH. pp.138,259,296
62. Grillmeier, op.cit. p.377
63. Ibid., p.376
64. Nestorius Ep.V ad Cyrillum II (ACO I,i,1,pp.29-30) cf. Nestoriana pp.174-5
65. Sermo X, Nestoriana, pp.269. 14-20; 273,13-17
66. Sermo XVIII, Nestoriana, pp.312-3
67. Sermo X, Nestoriana, p.275,1-9; Sermo XIV, ibid., p.283; Sermo XVIII ibid. 299,19-21; ibid. p.508,8-11; Sermo XXV, ibid. p.335,25-7; ibid. p.336 1-4, 17-24.
68. Sermo X, ibid., p.275, 1-5
69. Sermo X, ibid., p.275, 9-11
70. Nestorius Ep VI ad Caelest. III (ACO I,v,p.82); Sermo IX, Nestoriana,p.259 16-17; Sermo XVIII, ibid. p.299
71. DrH. p.296 cf. pp.138,259
72. Grillmeier, op.cit. p.434
73. DrH. p.300f
74. Bethune-Baker, op.cit. p.47
75. Grillmeier, op.cit., p.381
76. DrH. pp.109,257ff; cf. L.Scipioni, Ricerche sulla cristologia del 'Libro d'Eraclide' di Nestorio, p.104
77. DrH. 300f
78. Grillmeier, op.cit., p.435. Further reference should be made to pp.375-388, 433-452.
79. Bethune-Baker, op.cit. p.53
80. DrH. pp.303-4
81. DrH. p.203, cf. pp.76 (Ps.N), 199
82. DrH. p.132 cf. pp.133,264
83. cf. Abramowski, Untersuchungen zum L.H., pp.213-17
84. Its history in Christology is carefully studied in M.Richard, 'L'introduction du mot "hypostase" dans la theologie de l'incarnation', MSR 2 (1945) 5-32, 243-70
85. DrH. p.247, cf. pp.189f., 261f., 308f.
86. DrH. pp.154-9, cf. supra pp.51-52
87. DrH. pp.208,216f., 218f
88. DrH. pp.153-165
89. Bethune-Baker, op.cit. pp.172-3
90. DrH. pp. 26,34,81 (Ps.N), 296,503,305 (N)
91. Infra. p. 129-140
92. Abramowski, op.cit. pp.161-2 against Nau and DrH. quoting DrH. p.55 (Ps.N)
93. DrH. p.156, n.2
94. DrH. p.153

95. Theopaschites, frag., Nestoriana, p.211, cf. Fragment VI, ibid. p.218;
Sermo IX, ibid, p.254

96. DrH. pp.170,233,236

97. Grillmeier, op.cit. p.441

98. DrH. p.156, cf. DrH. 14,22f,26 (Ps.N) 190,226-7. It is also helpful to
note what Loofs has to say (Nest. 126ff)

99. Athanasius, Or. c.Arian. I,41 (P.G. xxvi 46-7); I,45 (ibid. 104-5)
II,45 (ibid.241) This point has to be handled with reserve. Grillmeier
concludes that Athanasius really accepted a human soul in Christ (op.cit.
pp.194-219) Kelly (Early Christian Doctrines pp.284-9) is more convincing
here.

100. DrH. p.311, Sermo IX (Nestoriana pp.260-2)

101. Lampe, Patristic Lexicon, p.309 quotes examples from Basil, Gregory of
Nyssa, Isidore of Pelusium and even Apollinarius, de Unione .5 (Lietzmann
p.187), 12 (p.190) and Fr. 138 (p.240), and Cyril Dial.Trin.6 (P.G.lxxv 605)
which antedates his controversy with Nestorius.

102. Loofs, op.cit., p.262

103. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., pp.90-1

104. Sermo XVIII, Nestoriana p.313

105. DrH. pp.153-164

106. Sermo p.292, 1-4, cf. Sermo XX, p.328, 3-9

107. Sermo XXI, pp.330-1

108. Sermo XXVII, Nestoriana, p.340, 17f

109. Nestorius Ep. VI ad Cyril II (ACO I,i,1, p.30)
T.Camelot has a brief selection in Chalkedon I, 225, n.1

110. Cyril, Contra Nestor. 1,8 ACO I,1,6,30

111. e.g. Nestorius, Theopaschites, fragm. apud. Sever. Ant. contra Gramm.
iii 36, CSCO 101, p.222. DrH. pp.59,61f (Ps.N) 89,134,197,224-5, 252-3,
314.

112. Supra. pp 116 ff.

113. DrH. p.70 (Ps.N)

114. DrH. p.66 (Ps.N)

115. DrH. p.91

116. DrH. p.56 (Ps.N) cf. pp.208,233

117. DrH. pp.38,47,62 (Ps.N) 90f, 165

118. Supra. p. 57.

119. DrH. pp.153-165

120. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.87

121. He has just quoted DrH., pp.296ff

122. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.52

123. Ibid., p.97

124. Ibid., p.98

125. Loofs, Nestorius p.76ff

126. But cf. DrH., pp.132, 232

127. DrH., pp.55,64,72 (Ps.N), 219,247; cf. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.97f

128. DrH., pp.219, 227-8

129. See 'prosopon' - index in Nestoriana and DrH

130. Sermo XIV, Nestoriana, p.283,13; Sermo XXVII, ibid., p.341,2;
DrH., pp.91, 144-5, 152-3, 169-70, 212,221

131. DrH., p.158

132. DrH., pp.54-5, 56, 61f (Ps.N), 190,207,219,220,240,246

133. DrH., p.219, cf. pp.145, 196, 200, 238

134. Loofs, op.cit., p.91f

135. DrH., p.89

136. Loofs, op.cit., p.92

137. M.Kähler, Die Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre, Leipzig, 1905, p.339

139. Loofs, op.cit., p.130

140. L.Hodgson, The Metaphysic of Nestorius. Appendix IV DrH. pp.411-420

141. Nestoriana p.341. DrH., pp.47-50,146,160,189-91; 196, 209-10, 215,225
227,237-8, 295, 302, 314, 517

142. DrH., passim., esp.320
143. DrH., p.38,179,304 cf. p.412
144. DrH., p.189, cf. DrH. p.413
145. DrH., pp.38,179,304 cf. p.413
146. Esp. DrH., pp.170,228
147. DrH., p.41ff, cf. Loofs, Nestorius p.76
148. DrH., p.416
149. DrH., p.59 cf. pp.60,65-6, 70, 165
150. DrH., p.417 cf. pp.20-1, 53, 146-7, 158, 165, 189-90, 218-9, 238, 246-7,
     310-11 and 318
151. DrH., p.158 cf. pp.55,172,194
152. DrH., p.419-20
153. L.Scipioni; Ricerche sulla cristologia del 'Libro d'Eraclide' d' Nestorio.
154. Grillmeier, op.cit., pp.436ff
155. Ibid., p.436, n.1.
156. DrH., 157f, 164
157. DrH., p.442, cf. DrH. pp.165,219
158. DrH., p.450
159. DrH., p.228, cf. p.158
160. DrH., p.171
161. DrH., p.163
162. DrH.,p.247, cf. pp.189-90, 308-9
163. DrH., p.254
164. DrH., p.156, esp. n.2
165. DrH., p.171, cf. p.165
166. DrH., p.219
167. DrH., p.246
168. DrH., p.262
169. DrH., pp.147,183
170. DrH., p.252, cf. Loofs op.cit. pp.92-4
171. DrH., p.252
172. e.g. Frag. IX, Nestoriana, p.358, 1-4
173. e.g. DrH. pp.58-62, cf. 68-69,79 (Ps.N), 164-7, cf. 89-91, 147, 207-8,
     214-5 (N) See also Nestoriana, index, 394
174. DrH., p.158. The phrase is taken directly from Greg.Naz., and otherwise
     Nestorius might have avoided the $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\tau o\varsigma$ as implying indirectly the
     divinisation of man.
175. Sermo XII, Nestoriana, p.280, 5-16
176. This is what is meant by the 'property content' of $o\dot{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\alpha$ on p.121f supra.
177. Sermo IX, Nestoriana, p.224,12-15; Ep. ad Alex. Hierap., ibid., p.196,15-17
178. L.Abramowski, op.cit., pp.222-3
179. Loofs, op.cit., p.77f; Abramowski, op.cit., pp.217-224
180. DrH., pp.148-9
181. DrH., pp.194, 200, 202, 204, 206, 239-40, 252, 260; cf. Greg.Naz. Ep.101,
     P.G. xxxvii.18
182. DrH. pp.55 (Ps.N), 191; Sermo X, Nestoriana, p.275, 1-5; ibid. p.274,17
183. Grillmeier, op.cit., p.452
184. DrH., pp.54,69 (Ps.N) 89, 252
185. DrH., pp.55 (Ps.N) 181
186. Loofs, op.cit. p.93 This is going too far.
187. Ibid., p.94
188. Sermo IX, Nestoriana, p.254
189. DrH., p.57 (Ps.N)
190. DrH., pp.233,163
191. DrH., pp.69 (Ps.N), 189
192. DrH.,p.165
193. DrH.,p.208
194. DrH., p.233
195. DrH., p.208
196. Grillmeier, op.cit., pp.448ff

197. DrH., p.207
198. Cyril Al., Hom., pasch., XVII, PG lxxvii, 81C cf. DrH., p.160 where he points to the Letter of Cyril, Ep.IV ad Nestor. II, ACO I,i,1,28,8-10
199. DrH., p.260 cf. p.224, based on Greg.Naz. Ep.CI ad Cledon., PG xxxvii, 180A.
200. H.E.W.Turner, unpublished lectures
201. G.L.Prestige, Fathers and Heretics, p.292
202. DrH., pp.87-95
203. DrH., pp.186-192 - Bathune-Baker follows the order of the Syriac text, but Nau and DrH place it within Book II Part I.
204. Supra p. 18 cf. DrH. p.186-93.
205. Loofs, op.cit., p.101
206. Nau, op.cit. p.370
207. H.E.W.Turner, unpublished lectures
208. Milton V.Anastos, 'Nestorius was orthodox', DCP 16 (1962) 120
209. Bethune-Baker, op.cit., p.207
210. Grillmeier, op.cit., p.365
211. Ibid., p.452

APPENDIX: CHRISTOLOGY AND THE EUCHARIST

When turning to Nestorius' doctrine of the Eucharist, it soon becomes evident that, just as in Christology, there are two basic schools of thought. These two streams correspond quite closely to the two rival Christologies. The Monist or Logos-centred Christology corresponded to the metabolist tradition which believed in a change in the elements of bread and wine into the life-giving flesh and blood of the Logos. A later but more sophisticated form of this type was the Medieval doctrine of 'transubstantiation'.

Against this view the rival Antiochene school in line with its Christological dualism could argue on two lines, First, they could say that, granted there is body and soul present, this must not be ascribed to God the Logos, but to the homo assumptus. This would avoid the same situation which they foresaw and disliked in the use of the terms 'Theotokos' and 'Deus Passus'. A second viewpoint within the main Dualist framework might have suggested that just as in the Incarnate Lord there was a full co-presence of Godhead and manhood, so in the Eucharist there is a full co-presence of Body and bread, and Blood and wine.

Both points of view in the Dualist tradition were available to Nestorius and we must see what he said. There are sections concerned with this point both in the early writings[1] and there is also material by Ps.Nestorius and Nestorius in the Book of Heracleides.[2] It is to these that we turn, bearing in mind Professor Chadwick's authoritative article on the subject.[3]

The material used is based on an exegesis of the three main sacramental passages in the Book of Heracleides.

The first is an explanation of Pauline passages, especially I Corinthians 10-12. 'Sophronius' begins by saying that when the bread becomes body it is one not two, and is not to be 'conceived' as it was before, but as what it has become, not what it appears to be. Therefore in Hebrews 10 there is a warning against violating the sacred. It follows the Son must have raised the human ousia to a level to be adored alongside himself. Nestorius refutes this by showing that what the writer meant when referring to men trampling underfoot the Son of God is not immediately clear. He shows that the ousia of the flesh and blood of our Lord is common - not that of the Word. He then shows from Hebrews 11.1 ('For he who sanctifies and those who are sanctified are all of them one') that it was because Christ was really man that he was able to redeem mankind. We are one with Christ as one bread, one body.[4]

In the second passage[5] he makes a nice point: 'I distinguish not the union of the natures but the natures which are united in reference to the ousias, even as being without confusion of the one with the other.'

But the most precise statement is made in the third passage:[6]

'But that which is in the nature is compulsorily that which the prosopon is. For example, (in) what he says of the bread: "It is my body", he says not that the bread is not bread and that his body is not a body, but he has said demonstrably bread and body, which is in the ousia. But we are persuaded that the bread is bread in nature and in ousia. Yet in believing that the bread is his body by faith and not by nature, he seeks to persuade us to believe in that which exists not in ousia in such wise that it becomes this by faith and not in ousia. If it is (a question of the) ousia, what is the faith worth? For he has not said: "Believe that the bread is bread," because everyone who sees the bread itself knows that it is bread, nor further does he make it to be believed that the body is body; for it is seen and known of everyone. But in that which it is not he requires us to believe that this is (so), in such wise that it becomes this by faith to them that believe. Therefore it is not possible that the (properties residing) in the ousia should be one thing and another, though it exists not in its own ousia, that they may become two and be alien to one another in the ousia. But he who therein suppresses the ousia therewith suppresses that too which is conceived by faith.'

So his doctrine of the Eucharist is closely connected with his Christology. A doctrine which did away with the ousia of bread and wine alongside the Lord's Body and Blood was invalid.   But Nestorius was not providing a sort of 'consubstantiation' alongside Cyril's 'transubstantiation', for there seems to be no ontological change involved.   If a child of the Reformation he might have said the presence of Christ was dependent on the faith of the believer. However, he was making an attempt to ensure that just as in his doctrine of the Person of Christ he determined not to remove the reality of the Incarnation, so too the 'material' elements of the sacrament were not to be eclipsed by the divine.

1.   Sermo III & IV, Nestoriana, pp.227-30; Frag. VIII, ibid., pp.355-7.
2.   DrH., pp.28-35 (Ps.N), 254-6, 327-8.
3.   H.Chadwick, 'Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy', J.T.S. 2, pp.145-64.
4.   DrH., pp.28-35 (Ps.N).
5.   DrH., pp.254-6.
6.   DrH., pp.327-8.

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