THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS VOLUME 4 CHRIST: Chalcedon and Beyond

The Cambridge Edition of Early Christian Writings provides the definitive anthology of early Christian texts, from ca. 100 CE to ca. 650 CE. Its volumes reflect the cultural, intellectual, and linguistic diversity of early Christianity, and are organized thematically on the topics of God, Practice, Christ, Community, Reading, and Creation. The series expands the pool of source material to include not only Greek and Latin writings, but also Syriac and Coptic texts. Additionally, the series rejects a theologically normative view by juxtaposing texts that were important in antiquity but later deemed "heretical" with orthodox texts. The translations are accompanied by introductions, notes, suggestions for further reading, and scriptural indices. The fourth volume focuses on early Christian reflection on Christ as God incarnate from ca. 450 CE to the eighth century. It will be an invaluable resource for students and academic researchers in early Christian studies, history of Christianity, theology and religious studies, and late antique Roman history.

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THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

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The Cambridge Edition of Early Christian Writings offers new translations of a wide range of materials from ca. 100 CE to ca. 650 CE, including many writings that have not previously been accessible in English. The volumes will focus on selected themes and will include translations of works originally written in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Coptic, together with introductions, notes, bibliographies, and scriptural indices to aid the reader. Taken together they should greatly expand the range of texts available to scholars, students, and all who are interested in this period of Christian thought.

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

VOLUME 4

CHRIST: Chalcedon and Beyond

EDITED BY

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Planning for what became volumes 3 and 4 in the Cambridge Edition of Early Christian Writings (CEECW) series began in 2012 when Andrew Radde-Gallwitz asked Ellen Muehlberger, Bradley K. Storin, and me to join him in editing a new series of thematic anthologies of early Christian texts. A scholar cannot have hoped for more knowledgeable, hard-working, and generous collaborators. Each of us brings a truly complementary set of skills, expertise, and perspectives to this project, making each volume of the series far greater than the sum of its parts. So first of all I thank my three collaborators, Andy, Ellen, and Brad, for their tireless efforts in the countless hours spent bringing this volume to completion, with painstaking attention to detail, with patience when progress was slow, with support for me when times were tough, and always, always, with plenty of good humor: thank you, my dear friends.

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Note on the Texts and Translations

Our translations have been produced in consultation with published editions and, in some cases, with manuscripts. Bibliographical information for the editions used can be found in the introduction to each translated text. The numeration of each work follows that of the editions from which we have translated. Numbers in the text with no surrounding brackets indicate chapter or paragraph divisions. In the case of texts with subdivisions or multiple numbering systems, the major chapter division is indicated in bold, followed by the subdivision in regular type with a full stop. Where bracketed numbers in bold appear, these indicate page numbers in a printed edition or folio numbers in a manuscript codex.

When a text quotes earlier material, references are provided in the notes with the following format: first, the series and number within the series or the abbreviation used for the critical edition, followed by a colon; then, the page number of the edition and, after a comma, the line numbers (if any); and finally the editor's name. For example, if Basil of Caesarea's *Against Eunomius* 1.12 were to be quoted, the reference would be: Basil of Caesarea, *Against Eunomius* 1.12, 32–35 (SChr 299: 214 Sesboüé). In some cases, as in this example, the line numbering in the critical edition is tied to the subdivisions of the work itself, not to the pages of the edition.

Psalms are cited according to the Septuagint numbering and versification, with the numbering of the Masoretic text in parenthesis. Note that in many English translations of the Psalms, the versification differs from the Septuagint and Masoretic text because the psalm heading is not included in the verse numbering.

All dates in the volume are CE unless otherwise noted.

The following conventions are used in the translations:

[]	Editorial supplement within a text by the translator to improve
	the sense
<>	Lacuna within a text
<aaa></aaa>	Conjectural emendation by the text's editor to fill a lacuna

*

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Notes on the Texts and Translations

- ** Transition from one document or major section to another
- * * * Intentional omission of material from the translation

Abbreviations

ABAW.PH	Abhandlungen Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
	Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
ABAW.PPH	Abhandlungen Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
	Philosophisch-philologisch und historische Klasse
ACC	Acts of the Council of Chalcedon
ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
ACO ²	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series secunda
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
CACSS	Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CEECW	Cambridge Edition of Early Christian Writings
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GCS n.F.	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, Neue Folge
GNO	Gregorii Nysseni Opera
PG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
SChr	Sources chrétiennes
Apollinaris	Hans Lietzmann (ed. and trans.), Apollinaris von Laodi-
	cea und seine Schule: Texte und Untersuchungen (Tübingen:
	Mohr Siebeck, 1904).
Nestoriana	Friedrich Loofs (ed.), Nestoriana: Die Fragmente des Nesto-
	<i>rius</i> (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1905).
LXX	Septuagint
Ep.	Epistula, Epistle

Series Introduction

The literary legacy of the early Christians is vast and spans multiple linguistic traditions. Early Christians used the written word in many ways: they sent letters, staged dialogues, reported revelations, gave advice, defended themselves, accused others, preached homilies, wrote histories, sang hymns, hammered out creeds, interpreted texts, and legislated penances - just to list the most common examples. They did these things in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Coptic; while countless Christians would have used other languages, such as Armenian, these four are the medium of the vast majority of our surviving texts. For each text that has survived, there is a unique story. Some became part of educational curricula for Christians in medieval Byzantium, Basra, and Bologna; some were recited or sung liturgically; some were read in private devotions; some lay at the core of later theological debates such as the European Reformations in the sixteenth century or the Ressourcement movement in twentieth-century Catholicism; some suffered a literary death, being buried in the sands of Egypt only to be discovered again, quite by accident, in the past century. The question of how these works have been received over the centuries is undoubtedly important, but their later interpreters and interpretations ought not to overshadow their original significance and context.

The Cambridge Edition of Early Christian Writings offers a representative sample of this diverse literature in seven thematic volumes: God, Practice, Christ: Through the Nestorian Controversy, Christ: Chalcedon and Beyond, Creation, Community, and Reading. While no series of this kind can be comprehensive, these themes allow the reader to understand early Christianity in its full intellectual, practical, ritual, and communal diversity. The theme and the selection of texts are thoroughly discussed in each volume's respective introduction, but certain principles have guided the construction of all seven volumes. Our goal has been neither to narrate the establishment of orthodox or normative Christianity as this has been traditionally understood nor to champion its replacement by another form of Christianity. Instead, we have opted to let each text speak with its own historical

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voice and authority, while aiming to expand the number and range of early Christian texts available to English speakers. Because of this, many of these texts are translated into English here for the first time, while all others have been translated anew. We have combined magisterial works with neglected ones in order to show the diversity and interconnectedness of Christianity in its formative period. We are neither reproducing a canon of classics nor creating a new one. We make no claims that the included works are aesthetically or intellectually superior to other texts we have excluded. Some well-known classics have been omitted for simply that reason: they are readily accessible and widely read. Others are too lengthy and do not bear excerpting well. In some cases, we have judged that attention to a single work by an author has led to an unfortunate neglect of other works of equal or greater value by the same author. In such cases, we are taking the opportunity to cast our spotlight on the latter. In sum, by no means have we felt constrained by previous lists of "must-reads" in our own selections.

We have sought to produce translations that are literal – faithful to the original language's meaning and, when possible, syntax. If a meaningful term appears in the original language, we have aimed to capture it in the translation. At the same time, we have aimed to produce intelligible and attractive English prose. At times the two goals have conflicted and prudential judgments have been made; as part of a team of translators, we are fortunate that we have not had to make such decisions alone. Every translation that appears in our volumes has gone through a rigorous multi-stage editorial process to ensure accuracy as well as readability. We hope that this painstaking collaborative process ensures the reliability and consistency of our translations. As a team, we have come to see the value – and indeed the necessity – of such collaborative work for the academic study of early Christianity's rich library of texts.

Andrew Radde-Gallwitz Mark DelCogliano Ellen Muehlberger Bradley K. Storin

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Introduction

An anthology on the vast topic of "Christ" is a fool's errand. No single volume, no matter how large it is, can cover everything or satisfy everyone. Yet one can be ambitious. Indeed, the anthology compiled for this project turned out to be so large that it became impractical to publish it in a single volume. So this volume has a companion: *The Cambridge Edition of Early Christian Writings*, volume 3: *Christ: Through the Nestorian Controversy*. Though physically separate, the two volumes belong together and are intended to be used together. In fact, together they encapsulate the editor's vision for the study of Christology in the formative centuries of Christianity.

It is not the aim of these volumes to give a comprehensive or definitive account of early Christian reflection on "the full sweep of the Son's existence," as Peter W. Martens has admirably expressed it,

beginning with his pre-existent state, eternally begotten from God the Father, to his role in the creation of an invisible and visible cosmos, his modes of ministry in the human race, especially in Hebrew saints like Moses and the prophets, his embodiment in Mary and the many details of his ministry as relayed in the gospels, through his death, resurrection and ascension, his ongoing ministry in the world, and his eschatological activities which would culminate when he handed over the kingdom to the Father.¹

While all these topics – and more – appear in the texts in these volumes, some delimitation has necessarily been made. The focus of these volumes, then, is on Christ as God incarnate. For it was this remarkable claim above all that sparked so much early Christian reflection on – and debate over – Christ.

¹ Peter W. Martens, "The Development of Origen's Christology in the Context of Second and Third Century Christologies," in Ronald E. Heine and Karen Jo Torjesen (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook on Origen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 355–372.

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These volumes include only non-biblical texts, though of course the Bible itself is profusely cited in the early Christian texts selected for them. This selection is intended to be as wide and diverse as possible in terms of theological perspective, ideological commitment, language of composition, geographical origin, literary genre, and so forth, but at the same time also focused enough to give a sense of the various traditions of thought that developed about Christ in early Christianity, whether or not these traditions were deemed orthodox or heretical by contemporaries or later generations. A primary goal of these volumes is, then, to give readers a sense of the full scope of the Christological options that developed in early Christianity. At the same time the texts chosen provide coverage of the primary debates over Christ and illustrate how the development of Christological doctrine often proceeded polemically by the clarifying of positions in response to the criticisms of opponents. Thus many of the texts chosen for these volumes are "in conversation" with one another, whether by way of endorsement, development, or contestation. Texts have often been chosen for inclusion in these volumes because of their intertextual features, which highlight the "conversational" nature of Christological development.

These volumes include texts that range from the late first century to the early eighth century. They thereby not only span a much wider chronological range than can be found in other sourcebooks on Christology, but also have the intended consequence of de-centering the Definition of Faith promulgated at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which stated that in Christ the divine and human natures were united unconfusedly, unchangeably, undividedly, and inseparably. The early story of the development of Christological doctrine should not be read through the lens of this Definition, with a retroactive Chalcedonian standard being imposed on pre-Chalcedonian authors and texts. Nor should it be assumed that the concerns and issues that animated Christological debate at Chalcedon were shared by earlier generations. The first volume (CEECW 3) therefore gives voice to the Christological concerns of these earlier generations on their own terms. Indeed, it was from these various streams of reflection on Christ going back to the first century that different traditions of Christological thinking developed in the third and fourth centuries, and from them too the pro-Nicene Christological developments of the fourth and early fifth centuries emerged. It is true that some theologians and documents from this period were later appropriated as advocates of Chalcedonianism avant la lettre. But presenting them in the context of preceding

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and contemporary reflection on Christ allows their peculiar perspectives to sound out more distinctly, making it obvious that the Chalcedonian reception of these figures is really a selective appropriation of a Christological landscape that was far richer and more diverse in actuality.

The extended chronological range has also been deemed necessary in order to demonstrate that Christological reflection did not end in 451 with the Chalcedonian Definition, the immediate prelude to which opens this volume. Notwithstanding its achievements, the Council of Chalcedon was extremely controversial, fomenting strains of Christological thinking opposed to its settlement, whose criticisms later led even diehard Chalcedonians to admit its weaknesses. Thus, it became the impetus for centuries of further reflection on Christ and theological development. The story of the reception of Chalcedon is as important as the story of any other period before 451 not only because it was decisive in shaping the ways in which Chalcedon was understood and passed on to subsequent generations, but also because of the constructive and innovative Christological contributions made in this period, which are of intrinsic value despite the general neglect they have received by students and scholars alike. For these too have had a profound influence on Christological doctrine until the present day.

So far this introduction has deliberately used vague expressions like "reflection on Christ" to describe that key feature of the texts that merits their inclusion in these volumes. But now it is time for some specification. At the heart of early Christian reflection on Christ lies the question of identity: Who is Jesus? Indeed, in one gospel Jesus himself puts this very question to his closest disciples: "But who do you say that I am?" (Matt 16:15). But there was no easy answer to this question; or rather, there were many possible, plausible, or viable answers in the early centuries of Christianity. The question of Christ's identity was furthermore bound up with the unfolding of that identity in history, namely, what Christ did and experienced during his earthly existence, what Christ does now in the church (especially how Christ is present and active in the sacraments), and what Christ will do when the eschatological age dawns. Just as the ancient Israelites and Jews came to know their God by his repeated interventions in their history that is, by what he did for them - so too it was for the early Christians: what Christ did and does and will do teaches who Christ is.

This sort of reflection on Christ is already evident in the earliest writings about Christ available to us, writings later canonized as the New Testament. The letters of Paul, and those attributed to him by the earliest Christians,

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contain numerous accounts of who Christ was, such as the so-called Philippians Hymn (Phil 2:6–11). Furthermore, Paul's view that Christ's death and resurrection were absolutely indispensable for understanding Jesus had massive influence on later generations of Christians. The centrality of Paul for early Christian reflection on Christ was one reason that later generations of Christians called him simply *the* Apostle.

The gospels also engage in reflection on Christ, but in a narrative mode. Recall Simon Peter's reply to the aforementioned question posed by Jesus: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt 16:16) – a strong Christological affirmation indeed! The gospels became the primary resources through which early Christians processed the unveiling of Christ's identity in history, since the gospels recount his life from birth to death and resurrection and beyond. Several events in the life of Christ narrated in the gospels became privileged sites for pondering the precise details of his identity: his birth from Mary, his baptism by John, his miracles, his ignorance, his hunger, his thirst, his suffering, his crucifixion and death, his resurrection from the dead, and his ascension into heaven. When reflection on Christ later entered into more technical debates, such as over the status of his knowledge or the mechanics of his willing, other events and episodes from his life were equally scrutinized.

The question of identity was always linked with what we might call the question of constitution: What is it that makes Christ the incarnate Son of God, the incarnate Word of God? In other words, once a theologian entertained a particular view about who Christ was, the issue became explaining what sort of constitution Christ had to have in order to ensure that identity. In time, when the age of the ecumenical councils dawned, discussions about Christ became more technical and refined, accounts of Christ more precise and nuanced, and debates over Christ more heated and divisive than they had been in earlier centuries. These councils sought to define the contours of Christ's identity and constitution with greater clarity, though not without violent controversy, vociferous resistance, and lamentable schisms within Christianity that have lasted until the present day. The seeming resolution of one issue only opened the door to others, each of which in turn required correction. And then the process inevitably began anew.

The fundamental conceptual problem of the incarnation was the concurrence in Christ of divinity and humanity, whose properties are, at least apparently, contradictory. For example, how can Jesus be both eternal and

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temporal, both immortal and to have died on the cross? To claim so without further qualification risked nonsense for most early and late antique Christians. These volumes of course do not intend to solve this conceptual problem as such by highlighting a single answer to it, but rather to provide the reader with the range of answers given in the early centuries of the church in a broadly chronological order. Though this introduction is not the place for a full account of the history of attempts to provide a resolution to this fundamental problem, in keeping with the "fool's errand" nature of these volumes, a thumbnail sketch of that history is provided in the next paragraph.

Some of the earliest approaches to solving the conceptual problem included denying the reality of either the divinity or the humanity, making Christ actually the one but in some sense not really the other. These accounts took various forms, as seen in texts of CEECW 3 Parts I and II, and even III. Another strand of the earliest Christian thinking on the issue, however, affirmed the reality of both the divinity and humanity in Jesus, that is, as constituent parts of his individual identity. By the time we get to the texts in CEECW 3 Part IV and CEECW 4 Parts I and II, the understanding of Christ that theologians of the era believed to have been articulated in the Nicene Creed provided a common benchmark for all subsequent Christological development and debate: Christ was constituted of a fully divine nature and a fully human nature (save for sin). This pro-Nicene solution, however, created a new problem: how to conceptualize Christ, the incarnate God, as the single agent of salvation while constituted of two distinct and perfectly intact natures with seemingly contradictory properties. Accordingly, approaches to Christ in this period can be described as tending toward "unitive" or "dualistic" accounts, namely, those that emphasized the oneness or unity of Christ (however defined) or those that stressed his twoness or duality (however that was defined). For example, "miaphysites" held that a single nature (mia physis) resulted from the union of the two natures from which Christ was constituted. In contrast, "dyophysites" held that Christ's two natures (dyo physeis) perdured intact even after the union. But neither "miaphysite" nor "dyophysite" were monolithic categories, and there was a host of variations under these two broad headings. Furthermore, one could advocate for a unitive or dualistic approach to Christ in other terms than "nature," such as "person," "hypostasis," "activity," and "will." Of the major Christological schools that developed, the "Nestorian," the Miaphysite, and the Chalcedonian,

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each was as firmly committed to the pro-Nicene tradition as the others, and all had both unitive and dualistic elements in their peculiar Christologies, combined of course in different ways. Each of their positions had its strengths and weaknesses, its true insights and blind spots. Each of these schools was also volatile in its own way, since their individual trajectories of development veered (or perhaps self-corrected) in response to a variety of influences and underwent a process of bringing more precision to their Christologies. This thumbnail sketch is of course a gross oversimplification, but it is hoped that it exposes some of the key dynamics at work in Christological development in the period covered in this volume.

The following survey of the terrain covered in the present volume places each text in its historical and theological context and highlights its salient features. The purpose of this survey is (1) to help the reader see where each of the texts translated in this volume fits into the larger story of reflection on Christ, (2) to assist the reader in determining which texts are best suited to her or his interests, and, above all, (3) to clarify for the reader the interrelationships among the texts and the conversations happening between them. While the survey here is necessarily panoptic, the reader should know that the translation of each text is preceded by its own individual introduction that in short compass provides a biographical sketch of the author, a fuller account of the historical and theological context of the text, and a brief survey of the text's contents or key points. In the following survey, the titles of texts translated in this volume are in boldface the first time they appear. The order in which the texts are discussed is not necessarily the order in which they appear in the volume (which is broadly chronological).

PART I: THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON AND ITS RECEPTION

In the wake of the controversy over Nestorius, a new controversy arose over Eutyches, when this venerable priest and archimandrite of Constantinople was accused of and deposed for heresy in 448. A series of synods met after this, culminating in the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which proved to be divisive in the extreme. The texts translated in Part I have been chosen to illustrate not only the lead-up to Chalcedon but also its aftermath and troubled reception. The Christological landscape became irrevocably fractured in this period, as Chalcedonian dyophysites and anti-Chalcedonian

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miaphysites attempted to claim the mantle of Cyril and other "approved" fathers, and as both groups continued to struggle with dyophysite "Nestorians" who looked to Theodore of Mopsuestia as their inspiration. This part of the volume covers the initial period of the reception of Chalcedon up to the second Council of Constantinople in 553.

But first a feature in the texts surveyed in this part and the next must be noted. The Nestorian controversy marked the beginning of a new method of theological argumentation in the Christological debates (though there were precedents before this time). It is the so-called argument from authority. Participants in the Christological debates, no matter what side they were on, were concerned with fidelity to the authoritative figures of earlier generations. To be considered as departing from these authorities and engaging in the development of doctrine, which was routinely called "novelty" or "innovation," was tantamount to being charged with heresy. Accordingly, theologians in this period strove above all to be traditional, to affirm what the "fathers" had previously taught.

Such arguments took two interrelated forms. The first was recourse to certain statements of faith, and especially creeds, as irreformable touchstones of orthodoxy. By the early fifth century everyone agreed that the Nicene Creed (whether the original creed of 325 or the version issued in 381) was the authoritative document par excellence (apart from scripture). Christological developments were therefore often presented as nothing more than clarifications of the Nicene Creed. Over time certain documents were identified as particularly helpful explanations of the pro-Nicene faith encapsulated in the Nicene Creed: Athanasius's *Letter to Epictetus*, Gregory of Nazianzus's *Letter 101 to Cledonius*, Cyril of Alexandria's *Second Letter to Nestorius* and *Letter of Reunion to John of Antioch*, the Tome of Leo, the Chalcedonian Definition, and other synodal definitions and documents.

The argument from authority took another form: direct quotations from the works of the authoritative men of the past ("church fathers"), often collected into florilegia. Many theologians and councils from the fifth century onward included such florilegia in their texts to prove that whatever they were teaching had the approbation of tradition, that what they were teaching was nothing more than what approved church fathers had taught. Sometimes the patristic quotations are presented as self-evident justifications for the position endorsed by the theologian; on other occasions some exposition is provided to demonstrate how the excerpt confirms the position of the theologian. Florilegia of counter-testimonia were also

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produced: a theologian might compile excerpts from notorious heretics to prove that his opponent's views were nothing more than the recrudescence of some already-condemned heresy. Regrettably, most of these florilegia have been excluded from the translations in the interests of space, but several have been included to demonstrate this method of argumentation.

Part I opens with texts that illustrate the origins of the controversy over Eutyches. At the Home Synod at Constantinople in November 448, presided over by Archbishop Flavian, Eusebius of Dorylaeum - the same Eusebius who had harangued Nestorius twenty years earlier - indicted Eutyches on charges of heresy. The selections from Acts of the Home Synod at Constantinople chart the course of the seven sessions of this synod, at the last of which Eutyches was put on trial, condemned, and deposed. The views of Eutyches are difficult to reconstruct, but the proceedings from the Home Synod translated here provide some of the best evidence for understanding his position. What led to his deposition was his rejection of the double consubstantiality endorsed in the Formula of Reunion of 433 (though he indicates his willingness to affirm this if required to do so) and his blunt refusal to acknowledge two natures in Christ after the incarnation. Immediately after his deposition, Eutyches wrote his Letter to Leo of Rome to appeal the verdict. This letter, as well as the Profession of Faith and *Protest* that he appended to it, provides further insight into Eutyches's Christology. At the same time Flavian of Constantinople reported the Eutychian affair to Leo, and in response in May and June 449, Leo wrote his Tome to Flavian, a refutation of Eutyches in which he expounded that in the incarnation the inviolable divine nature and the passible human nature are united in a single person without diminishment of either nature or limitation of their respective capacities. The Chalcedonian Definition would later praise Leo's Tome as "a universal pillar for the confirmation of right doctrines against those with wicked opinions," but this endorsement was a major factor in Chalcedon's chilly reception.

Certain irregularities in the trial of Eutyches led to an inquiry in April 449, and he was allowed to appeal the verdict against him at the second Council of Ephesus (Ephesus II) in August 449. Presided over by Dioscorus of Alexandria, Ephesus II exonerated Eutyches, convicted Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum of impropriety at the Home Synod, and deposed them along with a number of other dyophysite bishops including Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. But when Marcian became emperor in 450, he convened the Council of Chalcedon in October

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451, in the hope of settling the various Christological disputes once and for all. How unfounded that hope turned out to be!

The selections from Acts of the Council of Chalcedon translated in this volume highlight the main work of the council over its first six sessions. Dioscorus was condemned (Eutyches had been condemned again shortly before the council), Flavian was exonerated posthumously, Leo's Tome to Flavian was accepted (Dioscorus had refused to let it be read at Ephesus II), and a new Definition of Faith was issued. At the First Session the acts of Ephesus II were read out, which in turn included the reading of the acts of the Home Synod in November 448, and those of the two inquiries in April 449. The selections translated in this volume include the plaint Eutyches made at Ephesus II, which is another key resource for reconstructing his Christology. At the Second Session, translated in its entirety, the synod was ordered by the imperial officials to produce a new Definition of Faith, which was resisted by the bishops. When Leo's Tome was read out as a standard of orthodoxy, two blocs of bishops, from Illyria and from Palestine, voiced concerns with three passages from the Tome, which other bishops tried to allay by quotations from the writings of Cyril. At the third session, which is not translated here, Dioscorus was tried, condemned, and deposed. The next document translated from the acts is the so-called Address to Marcian, which argues that the Tome of Leo contains no innovations with respect to the Creed of Nicaea but rather commendably responds, following a hallowed tradition, to new theological controversies unforeseen by the Nicene fathers. The selections translated from the Fourth Session, at which the Tome of Leo was affirmed, include the corporate statements by the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops who had previously objected to the Tome. At the Fifth Session, which is translated in its entirety, the new Definition of Faith was presented and acclaimed. The remaining sessions, which are not translated here, dealt with jurisdictional, episcopal, and canonical disputes, and restored some of the bishops deposed at Ephesus II to their sees, including Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa.

The Chalcedonian Definition that the council produced with vociferous reluctance and under compulsion from the emperor immediately became a bone of contention, with some claiming that it was unfaithful to Cyril's Christological legacy and ceded too much to the Nestorian position. This perspective was supported by Chalcedon's endorsement of the strongly dyophysite Tome of Leo and the rehabilitation of Theodoret and Ibas. Stung

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