

A PANORAMIC VIEW OF PATRISTICS IN THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES

With An Overview Of
Selected Coptic Orthodox
Fathers And Authors
Of The Middle Ages



Fr. Tadros Y. Malaty

A PANORAMIC VIEW OF PATRISTICS

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Preparatory Edition
2005

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by

Fr. Tadros Yacoub Malaty

Published by
St George's Coptic Orthodox Church, Sporting, Alexandria

ISBN

Printed in Alexandria
Preparatory Edition February 2005

By
St Mina's Monastery Press

His Holiness Pope Shenouda III

Pope of Alexandria and
117th Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark

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PREFACE

The first six centuries of Christianity were colorful ones indeed. The early Church, as an extension of the Apostolic age, represents the living Bible which is practiced daily; it reveals biblical and heavenly thought. She also manifests her dogma, order, economy, and behavior as the bride of Christ and His ambassador in the world. The Church lived bearing the features of her crucified Christ, gladly and joyfully accepting persecution. These first six centuries were also characterized by councils, controversy, and heresy in the sincere quest for an understanding of the true faith. The efforts and struggles of the Church Fathers in both the East and the West, resulted in the development of theological terminology and shaped Christian doctrine; and thus, their writings are an invaluable source of knowledge.

But who were the greatest Christian thinkers and authors? When did they live? What events affected their lives? What beliefs did they hold? What did they write about? What heresies did they combat? Who was condemned? What councils were convened and why? This book originated with questions like these in mind.

Much has been written in the field of Patristic literature, but in order to learn about Patrology and to gain a complete picture of any given topic or event, one is required to search though numerous books and wade through endless volumes and chapters. For this reason, *A Panoramic View of Patristics* was designed. With the aim of informing both the learner and expert on the subject of Patrology, this book draws on information from a select collection of well-known patristic sources, and combines the details into one concise, yet comprehensive resource.

This is an exciting trip through six centuries of Church history at your fingertips.

Over 200 prominent Church Fathers is featured along with a short biography and details of his writings. And to give the reader a taste of the works of the Fathers, over 180 inspiring excerpts are quoted from Patristic writings.

Among other reasons, many of the early centuries sought to articulate their beliefs on the person of Christ, and from this arose numerous heresies. The reader is provided with a thorough outline of these heresies and their condemnations; as well as "A Concise Chronological Table of Heresies Appearing in the First Six Centuries" if a briefer overview is desired.

Other features that make *A Panoramic View of Patristics* an indispensable resource, is a special chapter on "Selected Coptic Orthodox Fathers and Authors of the Middle Ages," and a chapter titled "Monophysite Vs Miaphysite" which sets out to eliminate the long held misconceptions surrounding the term 'monophysite.' Quite simply, through this work, the reader will acquire a panoramic view of Patristics at a quick glance.

My special thanks goes out to Bahaa Abou-El-Niel Guirguis for his invaluable contribution to Chapter Three.

Fr Tadros Y. Malaty
29 January 2005 – 21 Tubah 1721 A.M.,
The Dormition of Our Lady the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos.

PATROLOGY IN LINES

Contemporary Christians are eager to discover the dogmatic faith and beliefs of the early catholic (universal) Orthodox Church and acknowledge her spirit. In fact, the story of 'the Fathers is the story of the early Church in all her aspects of belief, worship, pastorship, social concepts, preaching, spirituality, and so forth. It is the story of the living Church of the time, who embraced her children with divine love. It taught them to face non-believers and heretics with love, to deliver them as her beloved children, guide them to overcome their evils, and to acknowledge their errors and heresies. The mother Church strove for their spiritual growth, and ultimately for their salvation.

1. DEFINITION

- The word "*Patrology*" is derived from the Latin word "***Pater***" and Greek word "***Patir***" Πατήρ which means "Father."
- Patrology is the science of studying: ❶ **The lives of the Fathers** ❷ **Their acts** ❸ **Their thoughts through their sayings, writings, and events in their times.**

2. THE TITLE "FATHER"

1	**Old Testament**	Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are called the "**Patriarchs**," or the ***Fathers of Israel*** (Gen. 1:24 *LXX*; Exod. 3:13, 15; Deut. 1:8; Acts 3:13; 7:2, 12; Rom. 4:12, 16; 2 Pet. 3:4).
2	**Jewish Tradition**	The word "father" (אָב) in Judaism and primitive Christianity, designated the teacher who initiated the disciple. It was the official title given to Rabbis. [1] See Acts 7:2; 22:1.
3	**Early Church**	When St Athanasius referred to St Dionysius of Alexandria, St Dionysius of Rome and others, he used the term "**Fathers**." St Clement of Alexandria said, "*Words are the progeny of the soul, hence we call those that instructed us our fathers.*" [2]

3. QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE "FATHER" IN PATROLOGY

1	**Orthodoxy of Doctrine**	The "Father" examines the Church's life without deviation from Orthodox doctrines. Patrology is concerned with the study of heretical and apocryphal writings in order to understand the whole environment of the Church, and her surroundings at the time. Thus a counter reply is usually available.
2	**Holiness of Life**	As a source of teaching, the father must have attained the spirit of the early Apostolic Church so that through him, who offered his life side by side with his sayings, believers can follow his example and trust in his teachings.
3	**Participation in Christian Literature**	Such as discourses, dialogues, letters, sermons, apologies (specific writings defending the Christian faith) and/or commentaries on Scripture.
4	**Antiquity**	There is no specific era for the Fathers.
5	**Canonization**	The Orthodox Church does not canonize the Fathers and the saints.

4. THE AUTHORITY OF THE FATHERS

❶ We must not rely on the writings of **a single Father**.
❷ We must not rely on **one separate quotation** from the acts of any Father.
❸ We must study **the meaning of the terms** which a Father had used.
❹ We must **compare the terms** which a Father had used **with the same terms** used by his contemporary Fathers.

5. THE LANGUAGE OF THE EGYPTIAN FATHERS

Some Egyptian fathers preferred to write in **Greek** alongside their native language (**Coptic**). The use of Greek was prevalent up until the 3rd century. For this reason it must be regarded as the official language of patristic literature. It was the official language of Egypt, of those who were well-educated in the great cities, and also of the universal Church. Greek (*Koine*) was used in the books of the New Testament, and at the ecumenical councils; it became the language of the entire Hellenic world from the 3rd century to the beginning of the 6th century.

6. THE HISTORY OF PATROLOGY

John Gerhard was the first scholar who used the word "*Patrologia*" as a title of his work, which he published in 1653. [3]

EPOCH	REMARKS
1 **PART OF THE CHURCH TRADITION**	❖ Patristic literature was spread not for scientific research, but as **a precious gift (deposit)** that declared the life of the Church and her faith, to be practiced throughout the ages. ❖ Some believers were eager to **record the sermons of their spiritual fathers**. ❖ Many **diaries, memoirs and books were written by pilgrims**, such as **St John Cassian** (360-435), **Palladius**, the historian of monastics (ca. 365-425), and the historian **Rufinus** (ca. 345-410). ❖ The **School of Alexandria** attracted many Church leaders who transferred its literature to their Churches. ❖ The **translation of Patristic literature**, especially from Greek to Latin, Syrian, and Ethiopian. ❖ Many **Coptic monks and deans of the School of Alexandria visited other countries** with the aim of preaching and establishing monasteries. They spread some of the Coptic literature in new areas.
2 **CHURCH HISTORIANS**	❖ **Eusebius of Caesarea** (ca. 260 - ca. 340), although Semi-Arian, is considered by some as "The Father of Patrology," as he established the idea of publishing the sayings and writings of the Fathers. ❖ Other Church historians were **Socrates, Sozomen**, and **Theodoret of Cyrus** (Nestorian).

3 **ST JEROME:** ***"DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS"***	❖ St Jerome depended on Eusebius in the first 78 chapters. ❖ He wrote very briefly about well-known writers. It included some heretics, i.e. Tatian, Priscillian, Bardaisan, and Eunomius; and pagan philosophers, such as Seneca. ❖ This work was well-connected with the work of Gennadius, a priest in Marseilles (who died in 496). ❖ Many writers in the East and the West composed works in the same style**.**
4 **A NEW SCIENTIFIC EPOCH**	❖ A new epoch started in the 16th and 17th centuries, with the publication of the first series of ancient Church writings in an exquisite style. For example: Ante-Nicene Fathers; Ancient Christian Writers, etc. ❖ In the 19th century many patristic texts were discovered. Many academic institutions and universities established special branches for Patrology. The 20th century has been predominantly concerned with the history of ideas, concepts, and terms in Christian literature, and the doctrine of many Church authors.
5 **OUR CONCERN**	❖ J. Quasten says, "Moreover, the newly discovered papyri of Egypt enabled scholars to regain many patristic works which had been lost." [4]

7. CLASSIFICATION OF PATRISTIC WRITINGS

1 **TIME**	❖ The Ante-Nicene (before the Council of Nicaea) Fathers: Their literature is very simple. ❖ The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
2 **LANGUAGES**	❖ The Greek (eastern) Fathers: the majority of the eastern fathers wrote in Greek alongside their national languages, such as the Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian. ❖ The Latin (western) Fathers.
3 **PLACE**	❖ The Egyptian (Alexandrian) Fathers ❖ The Antiochians, and the Syrians ❖ The Cappadocian Fathers ❖ The Latin (western) Fathers
4 **THE MATERIAL**	a. Apologetic writings b. Biblico-exegetical writings c. Homilies d. Letters e. Liturgical works f. Dialogues g. Christian poetry and songs h. Ascetic writings i. Church canons j. Church history k. Theological (dogmatic) ***Many scholars had set a classification which is a mixture of some of the above-mentioned ones***.

8. OUTLINE OF PATRISTIC LITERATURE

GROUPS	MAIN WRITINGS	AIMS
1 **BEGINNING OF CHRISTIAN PATRISTIC LITERATURE**	**1.** The beginning of **Canonical Legislation**, and **Liturgical formulas**. **2.** The writings of the **Apostolic Fathers**. **3.** The beginning of **Apologetical Literature**. **4. Other writings** such as: ❖ The **Apocryphal Literature** of the New Testament. ❖ The beginning of **Christian Poetry** and early hymns. ❖ The first **Acts of the Martyrs**. ❖ The beginning of **Heretical** and **Anti-Heretical Literature**.	❖ This group of writings discovers the following Church realities: **1.** A real picture of the Church in the era of the apostles and their disciples. **2.** Church worship and church order are essential to believers. **3.** The Church, like her Groom, was attacked with false charges from her beginning, and this will continue until His second advent. **4.** The Church sanctified human culture in areas such as music and poetry. **5.** Veneration of the saints and martyrs in the Lord Jesus Christ.
2 **ANTE-NICENE LITERATURE AFTER ST IRENAEUS**	❖ The early fathers of the **School of Alexandria**. ❖ The fathers of **Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine**. ❖ The beginning of **Western Christian literature** by Minucius Felix, Hippolytus of Rome, Novatian, etc. ❖ The **African Christian fathers**, such as Tertullian, St Cyprian, Arnobius of Sicca, and Lactantius. ❖ Other writings of **the West**, such as Victorinus of Pettau, Reticius of Autun, etc.	❖ Christianity embraced and sanctified local cultures. ❖ In spite of the varieties of local cultures, the Churches had one faith and one spirit, and there was no struggle for universal authority in the catholic (universal) Church.
3 **THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE EASTERN FATHERS**	❖ The **Egyptian fathers** ❖ The founders of **the monastic movement** in Egypt ❖ The writings **of Asia Minor** ❖ The **Cappadocian Fathers** ❖ The writers of **Antioch and Syria** ❖ Christianity and **Manichaeism** ❖ Church historians of Constantinople	❖ While the gates of the emperors' palaces were opened widely to Church leaders, many great fathers and Church leaders escaped to the desert to enjoy the open gates of heaven. ❖ The eastern fathers found their pleasure in the knowledge of theology, which guides believers to the unity with the Father in the Lord Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit.

4 **THE WESTERN FATHERS IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES**	❖ St Hilary of Poitiers, St Augustine, St Ambrose of Milan , St Jerome, Rufinus ❖ Anti-Arian Writers ❖ Christian Poetry: Commodian, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, etc. ❖ **The writers of Gaul**: Eucherius of Lyons, Eutropius, Evagrius, Hilary of Arles, Honoratus of Arles, John Cassian, Sulpicius Severus, Etheria, etc. ❖ **Italian writers**: Fortunatius of Aquileia, Maximus of Turin, Peter Chrysologus, Siricus, Anastasius, Innocent I, Zosimus, Boniface I, Celestine I, Sixtus III.	❖ As Rome was the capital of the Roman Empire before the empire was divided, many western fathers were concerned about the relationship between the Church and the state, in Church canons and order.
5 **WRITINGS AFTER THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON**	❖ The Great Miaphysite Fathers: Sts Severus of Antioch, Timothy of Alexandria and Philoxenus of Mabbug. ❖ The Egyptian fathers in the Middle Ages.	❖ In spite of the tremendous efforts undertaken to destroy the non-Chalcedonian Churches and their theology, their great theologians flourished. ❖ While the western Churches were almost involved in setting literal Church canons for realization of the Church's authority over emperors and kings, Coptic theologians entered into dialogues with Muslim rulers, especially during the 11th to 13th centuries, which are useful to the contemporary world.

[1] A Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 320.
[2] J Quasten, *Patrology*: vol. 1, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 9.
[3] ibid., p. 1.
[4] ibid., p. 5.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS AND THE APOSTLES' CREED

❖ The Apostolic Fathers were the Christian writers of the 1st and 2nd centuries, who may be considered the first teachers after the apostles. The term '***apostolic fathers***' was entirely unknown in the early Church. It was introduced by scholars of the 17th century.

1. Most of these writings were **similar to letters**. However, in actual fact, they did not have the same type or mode of literature.
- ❖ ***The first letter by Clement*** was meant as an approach to the issue of conflict (and schism) which prevailed in the Church of Corinth.
- ❖ ***The letter of Barnabas*** was more of basic theological articles dealing with linking the Old Testament to Christianity.
- ❖ ***The letter to Diognetus*** is a discourse on the superiority of Christianity.
- ❖ ***The Shepherd of Hermas*** was a collection of visions, mandates or precepts dealing with the issue of repentance after Baptism, and similitudes or parables as moral lessons taught by allegory. Although non-canonical it was prescribed reading by St Athanasius for catechumen. [1]
- ❖ The "***Didache***" was similar to an ecclesiastic manual. In 1873, the "Didache" or "*The Lord's teachings to the Gentiles as conveyed by the 12 Apostles*" was discovered. This was added to the writings of the apostolic fathers.
- ❖ The ***excerpts of Papias***, in essence, were commentaries on some of the Lord Christ's sayings, in a fine presentation of the oral tradition.
- ❖ The work of ***Quadratus*** was an apology addressed to Emperor Hadrian.

2. These writings featured **simplicity with inflamed zeal**, without reliance on Greek philosophy or Hellenic eloquence.

3. They came as **a result of practical pastoral needs**, and not for the purpose of scholarly research.

4. These writings were characterized by the **eschatological character**.

5. They were characterized by the **ecclesiastical feature** and they bore the spirit of communion - the Church communion throughout the whole universe in faith, tradition, and worship regardless of the long distance between the Churches and the difference in cultures and customs between each other.

WRITINGS OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

AUTHOR	CONTENTS	REMARKS
1 ST CLEMENT OF ROME	❖ The **Epistle to the Church of Corinth** known as the first letter by Clement is his only genuine work; it was written ca. 95. ❖ Introduction: The beauty of the Church before her division (chapters 1-2); the features of the Church after the division (3). ❖ The cause of division (envy) (4-6). ❖ The remedy of envy.	❖ The other letter (ca. 150) was attributed to him, however the author is unknown. ❖ It is not a letter but a homily or appeal based on Isaiah 54:1, and as such it is the oldest complete Christian sermon known. ❖ **St Clement of Rome** was bishop of the

Two letters ca. 95; ca. 150	❖ Supplication to God (59-61). ❖ Conclusion (62-65).	Church in Rome (ca. 88-97).
2 **ST** **IGNATIUS** *Seven letters* ca. 110-117	❖ He composed **seven epistles**. Of these, five were addressed to Christian communities of cities that had sent representatives to greet him as he passed through on his way from Syria to Rome to suffer his martyrdom: *Letter to the Ephesians, Letter to the Magnesians, Letter to the Philadelphians, Letter to the Church in Smyrna, Letter to the Church in Tralles.* ❖ Another letter was directed to *bishop Polycarp of Smyrna*. The most important of all was written to the *Christian community of Rome*. ❖ These letters were an outpouring of a pastoral heart, inflamed with a consuming love for Christ and His Church. He warned the recipients against a *Judaizing heresy with Docetic elements*, which considered the humanity and sufferings of Christ as apparent rather than real.	❖ **The Church offers the Eucharist as her sacrifice, the source of her joy**. She is the bride of the sacrificed Heavenly Groom. ❖ Clergymen with the three ranks (episcopate, presbyterate and deaconate) together with the people must work **according to the will of the Father, and the mind of Christ, by the Holy Spirit**. ❖ He devoted all his life for realizing the unity of the Church. ❖ *About his Theology*, see p. 75.
3 **ST** **POLYCARP** *A letter* ca. 117? d. 155/156	❖ He was the Apostle John's disciple. ❖ *The Epistle of Polycarp (Letter to the Philippians*). ❖ St Ignatius of Antioch was on his way to martyrdom, and it was in Smyrna that St Ignatius made that memorial stop on his final journey. St Polycarp was the only person recorded to whom the great martyr ever addressed a personal letter. In the years that followed, St Polycarp gathered St Ignatius' letters and passed them on to others. ❖ Through a letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Christian community of Philomelium in Greater Phrygia, we possess a detailed account of Polycarp's heroic martyrdom. From it we gain an excellent impression of the noble personality of the bishop of Smyrna. The letter seems to have been written shortly after his martyrdom (155 or 156).	❖ He devoted much of his energy to preserve the Orthodox faith, combating such heretics as the Marcionites and Valentinians. It is said that he had converted some of them to the true faith. ❖ Before his martyrdom, the Proconsul Statius Quadratus ordered Polycarp: "Swear and I shall release thee; revile Christ!" he replied: "*For six and eighty years I have been serving Him, and he has done no wrong to me; how, then, dare I blaspheme my King who has saved me!*" [2]
4 **BARNABAS** *An epistle* ca. 138	❖ As previously mentioned, it was more of basic theological articles dealing with linking the Old Testament to Christianity. ❖ The first section (chapters 1-17) is of a **dogmatic character.** ❖ The second section (18-21) takes up **morals** and manifests no special bias. It describes, exactly like the Didache, the contrast between the way of life and that of death, but it calls one, that of light and the other that of darkness.	❖ The author is a follower of Chiliasm: The six days of creation mean a period of six thousand years because a thousand years are like one day in the eyes of God**.**

5 **HERMAS** *The Shepherd* ca. 160	❖ This is the name used by the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, a writing used by some early Christians alongside the books of the New Testament. ❖ It was one of the most popular books, if not the most popular book, of the Christian Church during the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th centuries. ❖ It is a collection of five *Visions*, twelve *Mandates* or *Precepts* dealing with the issue of repentance after Baptism, and ten *Similitudes* or parables as moral lessons taught by allegory. ❖ Hermas was not trained in dogma though he was of goodwill. We see that he was confused between the Son of God and the Holy Spirit (Compare similitude 9:1 with similitude 6:5).	❖ The early Church fathers admired him, not for his theological thought, but for his moral behavioral teaching and understanding of the Christian life. ❖ One ancient document identifies Hermas as the brother of Pius, a bishop of Rome who died ca. 154. ❖ At least some parts of the *Shepherd* appear to have been written six decades earlier.
6 *The Epistle to* **DIOGNETUS** Author Unknown Late 2nd or Early 3rd century	❖ A discourse on the superiority of Christianity. ❖ The *Epistle to Diognetus* is an apology of Christianity composed in the form of a letter. ❖ It is very accurate, simple and clear, written as open answers by the author for the questions of his friend, a high-ranking pagan named Diognetus. ❖ Nothing else is known of the author or the addressee. ❖ The *Epistle to Diognetus* expresses the sweetness of its writer in his defense of the faith, and his faithful witness to the Christian life. ❖ In his defense, the writer explains the following two points: 1. How can a man worship an idol made by human hands, made of corruptible material, which can be stolen?! 2. The soul is discomforted by the sacrifices of animal blood.	❖ Christians reveal their faith through their daily life. ❖ Christian faith is a divine gift. ❖ Christians are not a separate nation. ❖ The nature of the Church is heavenly. ❖ The Church insists on loving the world faithfully. ❖ Christians are subject to the state's law. ❖ The Church practices communal life in everything except in the conjugal life. ❖ The author depicts in glowing terms the superiority of Christianity over the foolish idolatry of the pagans, and over the external formalism of the worship of the Jews. [3]
7 **PAPIAS** **OF** **HIERAPOLIS** ca. 60-130	❖ A treatise on the *Explanation of the Sayings of the Lord* in five books, written ca. 130, but now no longer extant. ❖ The excerpts of Papias, in essence, were commentaries on some of the Lord Christ's sayings, in a fine presentation of the oral tradition. ❖ His work is of great value since it contains the oral teaching of the disciples of the Apostles. ❖ In the few remaining fragments of the work of Papias which Eusebius has preserved for us, evidence can be found to attest the canonicity of the Gospel of St Mark.	❖ Eusebius ridiculed him because he defended the belief in the millennium. ❖ Eusebius said that, "He is responsible for the fact that so many ecclesiastical writers after him held the same opinion relying on his antiquity, as, for instance, Irenaeus and whoever else seems to have held the same ideas." [4]

8 **QUADRATUS** 2nd century	❖ An apology addressed to the Emperor Hadrian. ❖ Eusebius says of Quadratus in his *Ecclesisatical History* (4,3, 1-2): "*When Trajan had reigned for nineteen and a half years Aelius Hadrian succeeded to the sovereignty. To him Quadratus addresses a treatise, composing an apology for our religion because some wicked men were trying to trouble the Christians…From it can be seen the clear proof of his intellect and his apostolic orthodoxy*." ❖ The words quoted by Eusebius as coming from the mouth of Quadratus are in the one and only fragment extant of his apology.	❖ Quadratus was the oldest apologist for Christianity. ❖ He most likely presented his apology to the Emperor during his stay in Asia Minor in 123-124 or 129. ❖ This Quadratus is not the bishop of Athens as incorrectly identified by St Jerome. [5]
9 **THE DIDACHE** Author Unknown 2nd century or Later	❖ The "Didache" or "*The Lord's teachings to the Gentiles as conveyed by the 12 Apostles*" is similar to an ecclesiastic manual (from the years 70 to 180.) ❖ First section: Christian behavior (1-6). ❖ Second section: Liturgical and sacramental life (7-10, 14). ❖ Third section: Disciplinary regulations (11-15). ❖ Fourth section: The *Parousia* (Second Coming) of the Lord (16).	❖ It is the oldest source of ecclesiastical law, or Church manual which we possess. ❖ Some scholars state that Alexandria is the place of its origin.
10 **THE APOSTLES' CREED** **(*Symbolum Apostolicum*)** The majority of scholars **do not accept it as one of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers**	❖ The Christian faith is a life which the believer experiences personally together with his brethren, through the unity with the Father in the Son by the work of the Holy Spirit. This life cannot be defined by a certain creed, nor limited by a canon because it cannot be expressed by human language. Nevertheless, there was a necessity for those who accept faith to proclaim this faith in a brief and simple form before attaining the membership into the Body of Christ, i.e., before receiving baptism, this form is called a *baptismal creed*. ❖ It has a special importance for the Western Church, considering it as the basic of her creeds. Schaff states that it is the Creed of creeds, as the Lord's Prayer is the prayer of prayers. [6] ❖ It is a brief summary of the principal doctrines of Christianity; hence it may be called a compendium of the theology of the Church. ❖ Its present form, consisting of twelve articles, does not antedate the sixth century. A study of the earliest history of the Creed reveals two distinct forms: the Christological and the Trinitarian formulas.	❖ **St Hilary of Poitiers** states that we have to utter with what is unspeakable, and instead of the mere faith, we have to deposit our religious doctrines in human expressions. ❖ **St Augustine** advised his flock, "*when you compose yourself to sleep, repeat your creed, render it to the Lord, be not irked to say it* over." ❖ From the beginning of the 6th century it was used with certain variation, as a profession of faith in Gaul, Spain, and a little later in Ireland and Germany in the courses of instruction intended for catechumen.

THE EARLY APOLOGISTS

❖ Christianity and Christians were attacked by the Jews, Judaeo-Christians, pagans and philosophers, and sometimes by emperors and rulers.

1. **The Jews** noticed the spread of Christianity all over the world, depending on the prophecies of their Holy writings (Torah).
2. **Judaeo-Christianity** wanted to combine faith and Christianity with the Mosaic Law. A number of uncompromising converts from the Pharisees *(Acts* 15 etc.) maintained the absolute necessity of the observance of Judaism.
3. **Pagan philosophers** started an intellectual movement known as *Gnosticism* which was one of the Church's greatest enemies. This was encouraged and supported by *Judaeo-Christians* and *Montanists.*
4. **The Roman State** knew of the existence of Christianity as distinct from Judaism, and this resulted in the Roman persecutions.

❖ **Writings against the Church** were mainly lost, as they were all ordered to be burned ca. 445 by Emperor Theodosius. Only some of the writings of the 2nd century are extant:

1. The speech of the famous rhetor *Fronto of Cirta*, (d. 166?), the friend and preceptor of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161), and the teacher of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180).
2. In a satire *De morte Peregrini* (of 170) *Lucian of Samosata* who had been a member of the Christian community for some time, mocks the Christians for their love of the brethren and their contempt of death.
3. The attack of the Platonist *Celsus* known as *The True Discourse* (ca. 178), preserved for the greater part in Origen's work against him. *Celsus*, a philosopher of distinction and culture who studied the Old and New Testament thoroughly in order to attack them effectively.
4. The tradition of hostility against the Christians on the part of the philosophers was continued in the later centuries, especially among the neo-Platonists, e.g. Porphyry, Hierocles, and Emperor Julian.

❖ **The Apologists set before themselves these objectives**:

1. They answered the charge that **the Church was a peril to the State**.
2. They exposed the **immoralities of paganism** and the myths of its divinities, at the same time demonstrating that the Christian alone has a correct understanding of God and the universe. Some apologies are against the heathen; some against the Jews. The writings against the Jews are fewer in number and less intent on refuting Jewish accusations than on the confirmation of Christians in their conviction that the Mosaic Law had only a temporary purpose and authority.
3. They went on to the positive side, to show that this very philosophy, because it had only human reason to rely upon, had either never attained truth, or that the truth it had attained was but fragmentary and mingled with numerous errors. Christianity offers the absolute truth, since the Logos, the Divine Reason Himself in state of birth, came down to earth; and Christianity is the divine philosophy. Their method was **to exhibit Christianity to emperors and to the public as politically harmless and morally and culturally superior to paganism**.
4. As the writers often refer to the germs of truth in paganism, they offer the first attempt at **harmonizing the teachings of reason and revelation**. It is worthy to note that ***their object was to Christianize Hellenism, not to Hellenize Christianity.***

NAME	ABOUT HIS WRITINGS	REMARKS
1 QUADRATUS	See ***The Apostolic Fathers***, p.14.	
2 AUTHOR OF THE LETTER TO DIOGNETUS	See ***The Apostolic Fathers***, p. 13.	
3 AUTHOR OF THE PREACHING OF PETER 2nd century	❖ It is chiefly significant as the first of the Christian apologies. ❖ A treatise, but which of few fragments survive. ❖ St Clement of Alexandria uses quotations of the Apostle. Origen, who had some substantial information about it, raises the question of whether it is genuine, not genuine, or a combination of both.	❖ It combines philosophical discussion of attributes with a biblical emphasis on God as the Creator. ❖ It explains that God cannot be worshipped in the manner of the Greeks, or in that of the Jews. ❖ Its criticism of Judaism is close to what Aristides provides. The Jewish prophets wrote about the coming of Christ and His crucifixion.
4 ARISTIDES OF ATHENS 2nd century	❖ Aristides, a philosopher, sought to defend the existence and eternity of God. ❖ He showed that Christians had a fuller understanding of His nature than the Chaldeans, the Greeks, the Egyptians or the Jews; and that they alone lived according to His precepts, ready to lay down their own lives for the sake of Christ. Eusebius tells us that his writings have been preserved by many (*E.H* 4,3,2).	❖ Aristides is strongly influenced by the "*Preaching of Peter*." ❖ He sees in the Christians a new race. He states that the Christians alone have the only true idea of God and they, above all the nations, have found the truth. For they acknowledge God the Creator in the Only-Begotten Son and in the Holy Spirit; and besides Him they worship no other.
5 ARISTO OF PELLA ca. 140	❖ He seems to be the first Christian apologist who defends Christianity in written tract against Judaism. ❖ The dialogue is represented as taking place between a Judaeo-Christian named Jason and an Alexandrian Jew named Papiscus, and became the model for a whole series of such Jewish-Christian dialogues. ❖ The discussion ends with the Jew Papiscus acknowledging Christ as the Son of God and asking for baptism.	❖ This apology was attacked by the pagan philosopher Celsus in his work *The True Discourse*, but Origen defended it. ❖ According to Origen, this apology describes, "*how a Christian supported by Jewish writings (the Old Testament) carries on an argument with a Jew and goes on to prove that the prophecies pertaining to Christ find fulfillment in Jesus, while the opponent in a plucky and not unskilled fashion takes the part of the Jew in the controversy*." (*Contra Cels*. 4, 52).
6 ST JUSTIN	❖ The most important of the apologists of the 2nd century and one of the noblest personalities of early Christian literature.	❖ He was born in Flavia Neapolis of Syrian Palestine (now Nabblus) of heathen parents. ❖ St Justin was a student of philosophy who tried first the

THE MARTYR
b. ca. 100 -
d. ca. 165

- St Justin was a prolific writer. He wrote his *Apology* ca. 155, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his colleagues; and his *Dialogue with Trypho*, shortly after, which defends Christianity against the attacks of Judaism by means of a discussion between Justin and a Jew named Trypho.
- Eusebius lists eight works of St Justin: two *Apologies*, *Against the Greeks*, the *Refutation*, *On the Sovereignty of God*, *Psaltes* (perhaps a hymnbook), *On the Soul*, and a *Dialogue against the Jews*.
- He is the first Christian thinker to seek to reconcile the claims of faith and reason.
- St Justin is the first Christian author who adds a counterpart to the Pauline parallel, Christ-Adam, by contrasting St Mary with Eve. [7]
- In a *Fragment of Lost Work of Justin on the Resurrection* he wrote:

  If the flesh does not rise again, then why is it guarded and why do we not allow it to indulge its desires? Why don't we imitate physicians, who, it is said, when they get a patient that is beyond hope and incurable, allow him to indulge his desires? For the physician allows the patient this kind of life because the patient is dying and will shortly become a corpse. But if our physician, God in Christ, having rescued us from our desires, regulates our flesh with His own wise and temperate rule, it is evident that He guards it from sins because it has a hope of salvation, just as physicians, do not allow people whom they hope to save to indulge in whatever pleasures they please. [8]

school of a Stoic, then that of a Peripatetic, and finally that of a Pythagorean. He was a disciple of Socrates and Plato.

- Platonism appealed to him for a time, until as he walked along the sea-shore an old man convinced him that the Platonic philosophy could not satisfy the heart of man and called his attention to the 'prophets who alone announced the truth.'
- St Justin relates:

  When he had spoken, these and many other things …he went away, bidding me to attend to them; and I have not seen him since. But straightaway a flame was kindled in my soul; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me. And whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable…and I could wish that all men were of the same mind as myself, not to turn from the doctrines of the Savior. (*Dial*. 8). [9]
- And so he converted to Christianity as the oldest, truest, and most divine of all philosophies.
- After his conversion, which occurred most likely in Ephesus, he devoted his entire life to the defense of the Christian faith. Clothed in the *pallium*, a cloak worn by Greek philosophers, he traveled about, an itinerant teacher. He arrived in Rome during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161) and founded a school there.
- One of his pupils was Tatian, also an apologist.
- St Justin is called **Martyr** from his testimony unto death with six companions in Rome in ca. 165, early in Marcus Aurelius' reign. He was convinced "*that everyone who can speak the truth and does not speak it shall be judged by God*." (*Dial*. 82). [10]

7 **TATIAN** **THE** **SYRIAN** b. ca. 110 – d. ca. 172	❖ Only two of his works are extant: The *Address to the Greeks* and the *Diatessaron*. ***Address of Tatian to the Greeks***: **1. Christian cosmology** (chapters 4,3-7,6): ❖ Christian concept of God (4, 3-5). ❖ The relation of the Logos to the Father and the creation of the world (5). ❖ Of the creation of man, of the resurrection, and of the last judgment (6-7, 1). ❖ The creation of the angels, the freedom of the will, the fall of the angels, the sin of Adam and Eve, bad angels and demons (7, 2-8). **2. Christian demonology** (8-20). ❖ Astrology is an invention of the demons (8-10). ❖ To overcome the power of the demons, we must endeavor to reunite our soul with the *Pneuma*, the Heavenly Spirit (12-15, 1). ❖ The demons are not able to do penance, but men are images of God and are thus able to attain immortality by self-mortification (15, 2-16, 6). ❖ Man must not fear (16, 7-20). **3. Greek civilization** (21-30). ❖ The foolishness of all Greek theology forms a sharp contrast to the sublimity of the mystery of the incarnation (2l). ❖ The Greek theaters are schools of vice (22-24). ❖ Greek philosophy and law are contradictory and deceitful (25-28). ❖ The Christian religion shines forth brightly (29-30). **4**. **The age and moral value of Christianity** (31-41). ❖ The Christian religion is older than all others because Moses lived before Homer, long before all the lawgivers of Greece (31, 1-6, 36-41). ❖ Christian philosophy and Christian conduct of life differ from the wisdom of the Greek writers (31,7-35).	❖ He was born in East Syria, and was of pagan parents. ❖ He was educated in Greek rhetoric and philosophy. ❖ He journeyed to Athens and Rome between 150 and 165 in the pursuit of his studies. ❖ In Rome he met St Justin the Martyr and became a Christian. ❖ Later he returned to Syria, and it was probably there, about 172, that he became the leader, if not the founder, of the *Encratites* (i.e., the Abstinent) sect. ❖ This sect, which belongs to Christian Gnostics, discouraged marriage as adultery, condemned the drinking of wine, and went so far as to substitute water for wine in the Eucharistic service. ❖ There are many theological errors found in the works of Tatian. But the following excerpt from chapter 4 of his *Address to the Greeks* is one of the few pieces that is free from error. ❖ It demonstrates how Christians worship God alone: *Man is to be honored as a fellow-man. God alone is to be feared, - He who is not visible to human eyes, nor comes within the compass of human art. Only when I am commanded to deny Him, will not obey, but will rather die than show myself false and ungrateful. Our God did not begin to be in time: He alone is without beginning, and He Himself is the beginning of all things. God is a Spirit, not pervading matter, but the Maker of material spirits, and of the forms that are in matter; He is invisible, impalpable, being Himself the Father of both sensible and invisible things. Him we know from His creation, and apprehend His invisible power by His works. I refuse to adore that workmanship which He has made for our sakes. The sun and moon were made for us: how, then, can I adore my own servants? How can I speak of stocks and*

	❖ The ***Diatessaron*** (Harmony of the Four Gospels) is his chief claim to fame; it interweaves the four Gospels into one continuous narrative. It is a history of the life of Christ compiled from the four Gospels which was used in the Syrian Church until the 5th century.	*stones as gods?…Nor even ought the ineffable God to be presented with gifts; for He who is in want of nothing is not to be misrepresented by us as though He were indigent.* [11]
8 APOLLINARIS OF HIERAPOLIS ca. 161-180	❖ He wrote a treatise to Marcus Aurelius, five books *Against the Pagans*, two books On the Truth (*peri alethias*), two books *Against the Jews*, and the treatises which he wrote against the heretic opinion of the Phrygians (Montanists). None is extant.	❖ Claudius Apollinaris was bishop of Hierapolis, the city of Papias, during the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). ❖ His involvement in the principal ecclesiastical problems of his day makes regrettable the loss of his writings.
9 MILTIADES 2nd century	❖ An *Apology for Christian Philosophy* which he addressed to '*temporal rulers.*' ❖ *Against the Greeks*, in two books. ❖ *Against the Jews*, also in two books. ❖ *Against the Montanists* deals with the question *That a Prophet Should not Speak in Ecstasy*, and explains that the Montanistic prophets were pseudo-prophets. ❖ *Against the Valentinian Gnostics* is another anti-heretical treatise of Miltiades.	❖ He was a Greek Christian apologist from Asia Minor. ❖ A contemporary of Tatian, he was, most probably, also a pupil of St Justin. ❖ His works are lost but are described by later writers such as Eusebius, St Jerome, and Tertullian. ❖ Tertullian (*adv. Valentin*. 5) names him with St Justin the Martyr and Irenaeus as a writer against heresy, giving him the appellation, evidently in an honorable sense, "*Sophista Ecclesiarum.*" [12]
10 THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH d. 183-185	❖ *The History*: the Origins of Mankind. ❖ Controversial and pastoral writings: *Against Marcion*, *Against the Heresy of Hermogenes*. ❖ Commentaries on the Gospels and the Proverbs of Solomon. ❖ Catechetical Treatises. ❖ Of his writings, only his *Apology* (*Ad Autolycus*), in **three books** (ca. 180) addressed to his pagan friend Autolycus, has survived. ❖ Its purpose is to set before the pagan world the Christian idea of God and the superiority of the doctrine of creation over the immoral myths of the Olympian religion. ❖ The 3 books *To Autolycus* defend belief in God as Creator and in the resurrection, attack pagan religion,	❖ Theophilus was born near the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and converted to Christianity as an adult. ❖ He was the sixth bishop of Antioch in Syria. ❖ Some scholars believe that Theophilus of Antioch was the most widely-known representative of the early Antiochian school. ❖ He emphasized the historical meaning of the biblical text. He placed great stress on the Old Testament as a historical book containing the authentic history of God's dealing with his people. ❖ In *To Autolycus* 1.5, Theophilus writes: *The soul of a person is not seen, being invisible to humans, but is observed through the motion of the body. Likewise, God cannot be seen by human eyes, but is known through his providence and works. In*

	comment on the creation account in Genesis, and present a biblical chronology of the world from creation to his own day that is meant to demonstrate the priority of Moses to Homer and other Greek philosophers. ❖ In the third book he demonstrates the superiority of Christianity from the moral point of view.	*the same way, any person who sees a ship on the sea rigged, in sail, and headed for the harbor will conclude that there is a pilot in her who is steering her. So we must perceive that God is the Pilot of the whole universe, even though He is incomprehensible and not visible to the eyes of the flesh.* [13]
11 **MELITO** **BISHOP** **OF** **SARDIS** d. ca. 190	❖ Ca. 170 he addressed an apology for the Christians to the emperor Marcus Aurelius. He states that the Empire and the Christian religion are foster sisters. ❖ *Homily on the Passion.* ❖ Two books *On the Pascha*. ❖ A treatise *On Christian Life and the Prophets*, of probably anti-Montanistic character. ❖ *On the Church, On the Lord's Day, On the Faith, On Creation, On the Obedience of Faith, on the Senses, On the Soul and Body, On Hospitality, On Baptism, On Truth, On Faith and Christ's Birth, On Prophecy, The Key, On the Devil, On the Apocalypse of John, On God the Incarnate, On the Incarnation of Christ*, and 6 books of *Extracts from the Law and the Prophets concerning our Savior and our entire Faith.* ❖ In his *Discourse in the Presence of Antoninus Caesar* he said: *God has made you perfect as seemed good to him. He has given you a free mind. He has set many objects before you so that you can distinguish their nature and choose the good things for yourself…He has set the whole wide world before you, which remains at rest and continues to thrive without changing. For fear that you might assume the earth continues because of its own nature, He makes it quake when He pleases. He has set the clouds before you, which, by His command, rain water from above and satisfy the earth.*	❖ Melito, bishop of Sardis in Lydia, is one of the great lights of Asia in the 2nd century. He is a prolific writer on a wide variety of subjects. ❖ There is a Syriac manuscript in the British Museum containing an apology under Melito's name, which however was not composed by him ❖ Another Latin manuscript of the 5th century was wrongly attributed to him. Its title is *De Transitu Beatae Mariae Virginis.* ❖ He is the first writer we know of to refer to the Hebrew Bible as the Old Testament; his theology features Christ as the fulfillment of Old Testament precursors. ❖ The conception of the divinity and pre-existence of Christ dominates Melito's entire theology. ❖ The pre-existence of Christ is described in the form of hymnological praises, as in the following passage: *This is the Firstborn of God who was begotten before the morning star, who made the light to rise, who made the day bright, who parted the darkness, who fixed the first mark of creation, who hung the earth in its place, who dried up the abyss, who spread out the firmament, who brought order to the world.* [15] ❖ Melito believed that the function of Christ was to rescue man from sin, death, and the devil. ❖ The doctrine of original sin was clearly expressed by him: "*Upon every soul sin sets its mark and all alike she devoted to death. These must die. So all flesh fell*

	Consequently, you should know that the One who puts these things into motion is superior to them all. [14]	*into the power of sin, everybody into the power of death.*" [16]
12 **MINUCIUS FELIX** Late 2nd or Early 3rd century	❖ An author of the *Octavius,* an elegant defense of Christianity in the form of a conversation between Octavius, a Christian, and Caecilius, a pagan who was converted by the argument. ❖ In the *Octavius* he wrote: *Many of us are considered poor. However, this is not our disgrace but our glory. For as our mind relaxes through luxury, it is strengthened by frugality. Who can be poor who does not lack, who does not crave others' possessions, who is rich toward God? Instead, the poor are those who, although they have much, desire more…We would rather despise riches than possess them. Instead, we desire innocence and ask for patience.* [17]	❖ The writings of Jerome suggest that Minucius Felix was an advocate in Rome before he was converted to Christianity. ❖ Beautiful glimpses of the life and character and surroundings of Minucius Felix are gained from his own pages, and nearly all that we know about him is to be found therein; he was his own biographer. ❖ He probably continued a layman, and may have lived, as some suppose, until the middle of the 3rd century. ❖ He refutes the common charges against Christians, argues the case for monotheism and divine providence, and attacks pagan mythology, but says little of specifically Christian doctrines. ❖ Only one manuscript of the *Octavius* has come down to us, which now in the Imperial Library in Paris. [18]
13 **TERTULLIAN** b. ca. 160 – d. ca. 223	❖ His writings are apologetic; dogmatico-polemic; and practico-ascetical. **1. Apologetical Writings** ❖ *Apologeticum (*or *Apologeticus liber)* is one of his finest works (ca. 197). Addressed to Roman provincial governors, it falls into two parts: (a) treatment of charges of secret crimes amongst Christians; (b) public crimes. ❖ *Ad Nationes,* 2 books (ca. 197) ridicules heathen worship and shows that the accusations made against Christianity are true of paganism. ❖ *Ad Scapulam,* (ca. 212), a brief letter to the proconsul in Africa, a persecutor. Tertullian reminds him of the fate that befell other persecutors. ❖ *Adversus Judaeos* - a discussion to prove that the Israelites rejected God's grace.	❖ Tertullian was born in Carthage in North Africa in 160; the son of a centurion in the service of the proconsul of Africa. ❖ He received a very thorough education, studied law and became an advocate at Rome. ❖ About 193 he became a Christian, and was ordained priest and began a long literary career in defense of Christianity. ❖ Between the years 195-220, he carried on his literary activity. ❖ With St Augustine he is the greatest western theologian. Western theology is in his debt for many technical terms. Indeed, in a sense, he created the clear language of western theology. ❖ About 205 or 207 **he became a Montanist** (see the section on Montanism in *Main Heretics and Heresies in*

2. Dogmatico-Polemic Works

❖ His chief work was *Against Marcion* in five books written over a period of about twelve years, 200-212.; ❖ *Against Gnosticism*; ❖ *Against Hermogenes*; ❖ *Against Praxeas*; ❖ Treatise On the Soul; ❖ On the Resurrection of the Flesh; ❖ On the Flesh of Christ.

3. Practico-Ascetical

❖ Two treatises On Penitence; ❖ On Modesty; ❖ *De cultu feminarum* (on women's dress and ornaments); ❖ On Baptism; ❖ *Ad uxorem* (spiritual testament in which he recommends his wife not to remarry) in two books; ❖ *De corona* (chaplet) on the incompatibility between Christianity and military service.

❖ In his *Apologeticus 17*, Tertullian wrote:

> *The object of our worship is the one God who created the whole massive structure with all its apparatus of elements, bodies, and spirits: who fashioned it out of nothing through His word, by which He gave the command; through His design, by which He arranged the whole; by His power, by which He could effect His plan, to make it the adornment of His own majesty. Hence the Greeks call the universe the Cosmos (which means 'ornament'). God is invisible, though He is seen; incomprehensible, though manifested by grace; inconceivable, though conceived by human senses. In this lies His reality, and His greatness. But as a general rule, what can be seen, grasped, conceived, is inferior to the eyes which see, the hands which handle, the senses which discover it: while that which is infinite is known only by itself. It is God's infinity which gives us the conception of the inconceivable God; for His overwhelming majesty presents Him to man as at once known and unknown.* [19]

the Early Church, p. 189) **and attacked Christianity violently**.

❖ When he died, he had left the Montanists and founded a sect of his own; its members were known as the **Tertullianists**.

❖ He is the most productive of all the Latin writers; most original and personal.

❖ His numerous writings constitute the first major body of Christian literature in Latin.

❖ In them he defends Christianity against paganism, expounds Christian doctrine over against Gnosticism and other heresies, especially Marcionism, and discusses issues in Christian ethics.

❖ He often writes without moderation, sweeps away opposition rather than convinces.

❖ His expression is bold, concise, rugged, involved; he does not bother with beauty of form.

❖ Truth was the great object of his defense of Christianity, and of his attack on paganism and heresy. In his *Apologeticum*, he stated that ignorance of the truth is the reason why Christians were hated and persecuted. [20]

❖ In his *Prescription Against Heretics 11* Tertullian wrote:

> *No man seeks except the person who never possessed or has lost what he sought…Foolish are those who always seek because they never find, for they seek where nothing can be found. Foolish are those who always knock because the door never opens, for they knock where there isn't a door to open. Foolish are those who always ask because they won't be heard. They ask of one who does not hear.* [21]

14 **THE SAYINGS OF SEXTUS** End of 2nd century	❖ A collection of pagan moral sentences and rules of life, which were attributed to the Pythagorean philosopher Sextus. ❖ Platonic ideas regarding purification, illumination and deification, and the Platonic concept of God inspire the majority of these sayings. ❖ Rufinus translated 451 of the sayings from Greek into Latin.	❖ Origen is the first to mention them in his *Contra Celsum* (8, 30). He recalls a beautiful saying in the writings of Sextus: "*The eating of animals*," says he, "*is a matter of indifference; but to abstain from them is more agreeable to reason*." [22] ❖ At the end of the 2nd century, a Christian author revised the sayings.
15 **ATHENAGORAS** 2nd century	❖ He was a philosopher who converted to Christianity in 176. He read the Holy Scriptures to criticize Christianity, but was so powerfully seized by the Holy Spirit that he became a defender of the faith. ❖ His treatise on the *Resurrection of the Dead* is the first attempt made to prove this dogma using philosophical arguments. In it, he wrote: "*that His power is sufficient for raising dead bodies, is shown by the creation of these same bodies. For if, when they did not exist, He made at their first formation the bodies of men and their original elements, He will, when they are dissolved, in whatever manner that may take place, raise them again with equal ease: for this, too, is equally possible to Him.*" [23] ❖ He praises virginity as one of the most beautiful fruits of Christian ethics: "*You will find among us both men and women growing old unmarried in the hope of living in closer communion with God*." (Apol. 33). [24] ❖ He so convinced that death cannot dissolve the marital bond that he calls a second marriage a "decent adultery."	❖ He is supposed to have written a considerable number of works, but only two are extant. ❖ He wrote a *Plea for the Christians* (called "*Presvia*" or intercession) on behalf of Christians in 177, defending them against the false accusation of atheism, cannibalism and Oedipedean incest. He drew the attention to their faith in God and to their peaceful and blameless life. ❖ In his treatise on the *Resurrection of the Dead* he states that the resurrection of the dead is proved by God's omnipotence and is based on the idea that man as a rational being is destined for eternal survival; necessity of retribution; and the notion that eternal bliss cannot be found on earth. ❖ His works display a richly cultured mind, and he is by far the most elegant of the early Christian apologists. [25] ❖ In *Apology 35* Athenagoras writes about abortion; he regards the very fetus in the womb a created being and states that women who use drugs to bring on abortion commit murder and will have to give an account to God for the abortion. [26]
16 **HERMIAS** 3rd century	❖ He wrote the "*Irrisio*" or "Mockery of the Heathen Philosophers," or "Satire on the Profane Philosophers," which satirizes the conflicting opinions of pagan writers on the human soul (chapters 1-2), and the fundamental principles of the universe (3-10). ❖ The 3rd century is its most probable date.	❖ The apology is clearly the work of a writer of very mediocre attainments. ❖ Nothing is known about the person of the author, but it would be a mistake to presume that he was a professional philosopher. ❖ The treatise is extant in 16 manuscripts.

[1] St Athanasius, Letter 39 in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*, vol. 4, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, p. 552.
[2] J Quasten, *Patrology*: vol. 1, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 77.
[3] ibid., pp. 248-250.
[4] ibid., pp. 82-84.
[5] ibid., pp. 190-191.
[6] P Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan, 1910, p. 533.
[7] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 211.
[8] CD Hudson, JA Sharrer, & L Vanker, eds, *Day by Day With the Early Church Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1999, p. 227.
[9] Quasten, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 196.
[10] ibid., p. 198.
[11] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, p. 66.
[12] DD Wace & WC Piercy, eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1994, p. 726.
[13] Hudson, op. cit., p. 147.
[14] ibid., p. 79.
[15] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 244-245.
[16] ibid., p. 245.
[17] Hudson, op. cit., p. 128.
[18] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 4, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, pp. 169-170.
[19] H Bettenson, ed. trans., *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St Clement of Rome to St Athanasius*, Oxford University Press, London, 1956, p. 141.
[20] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 256.
[21] Hudson, op. cit., p. 112.
[22] Quasten, op. cit., vol.1, p. 170.
[23] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 150.
[24] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 234.
[25] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 127.
[26] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 234.

THE BEGINNING OF OTHER CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

LITERATURE	REMARKS
1 **THE APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE OF THE SCRIPTURES**	❖ The word 'apocrypha' is a Greek word meaning 'hidden things,' or 'secret.' ❖ An apocryphal book was in the beginning one too sacred and too secret to be known by everybody. It must be hidden (*apocryphos* – ἀπόκρυφος) from the public at large and restricted to the initiates of the sect. In order to gain acceptance, such books usually made their appearance under the names of Apostles and pious disciples of Jesus. With the recognition of the falsity of these attributions, the meaning of the word Apocryphal changed; henceforth, apocryphal meant spurious, false, to be rejected. ❖ The Fathers used the term apocrypha for: • writings of unknown origin falsely attributed to one or another author; • writings containing useful facts along with doctrinal errors; • writings not allowed to be publicly read in church, since not canonical; and • writings that were heretical or used by heretics. **Deuterocanoncal Books of the Old Testament** ❖ Among the Jews and the Protestant churches the term 'Apocrypha' conventionally refers to those books that are included in the Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate (with trivial differences) but not in the Hebrew Bible or Protestant canon. ❖ By the Protestant reformers, the term 'apocrypha' was used to refer to the Old Testament Apocrypha; but this usage is confined to them, since in the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches and in the Roman branch of the Western Church, the so-called Old Testament Apocrypha is as much an integral part of the canon as Genesis or Kings or Psalms or Isaiah. In these churches, they are referred to as the **'deuterocanonical books' and not the 'Apocrypha**.' ❖ The Deuterocanonical Books are: • 1 Esdras, • Tobit, • Judith, • Additions to Esther, • Wisdom of Solomon, • Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira or Sirach); • Baruch, with the Letter of Jeremiah, • Additions to Daniel (the Prayers of Azariah and Song of the Three Young Men, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon), • Prayer of Manasseh, and • 1-3 Macabees • Psalm 151. ❖ Psalm 151 is found in some manuscripts of the Greek Bible. ❖ The Coptic Orthodox Church reads quotations from the Deuterocanonical Books annually on the evening of the Great Saturday Apocalypse, prior to the Feast of the Resurrection. ❖ The Fathers refer to some of the Old Testament Apocrypha, but their evaluations of them differ.

Apocryphal Judaistic Literature and Early Christian Interpolations in Old Testament Books

- ❖ The custom of imitating Biblical books can be traced back to pre-Christian times. The authors of these apocryphal writings ascribed their work to some notable figure and dated it back into a much earlier period.
- ❖ These writings are not included in the Septuagint or Latin Vulgate.

Among the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament

- *Third Book of Esdras*: Gives a reconstruction of the story of the decline and fall of the kingdom of Judah from the time of Josiah. It was written in the 2nd century, before Christ.
- *Fourth Book of Esdras*: A continuation of the Third Book of Esdras, written in the Christian era; composed about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem.
- *Book of Enoch*: General resurrection of Israel.
- *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*: The last words of the twelve sons of Jacob.
- *Apocalypse of Baruch.*
- *Ascension of Isaiah.*

Apocrypha of the New Testament

- ❖ The New Testament Apocrypha, in contrast to those of the Old Testament, is not a specific category.
- ❖ The New Testament offers little information concerning the youth of our Lord, the life and death of St Mary, and the missionary journeys of the disciples and apostles. Therefore, pious imaginations were moved to supply the details.
- ❖ Many Apocryphal gospels, acts and visions were written by various heretics to support their position.
- ❖ In later patristic Greek literature (Irenaeus, etc.) and in Latin works beginning with St Jerome, 'Apocrypha' meant noncanonical, implying inferiority in subject-matter to the books in the canon.

1. Apocryphal Gospels:
   • *Gospel According to the Hebrews;* • *of the Egyptians;* • *of Peter;* • *Matthias;* • *Thomas;* • *Andrew;* • *Barnabas;* • *Bartholomew;* • *Nicodemus (including the Acta Pilati-* Acts of Pilate*);* • *Judas Iscariot;* • *Cerinthus;* • *Valentinus;* • *Eve;* • *Apelles;* • *Basilides;* • *the Ebionite Gospel;* • *Protoevangelium of James;* • *John;* • *Thomas;* • *Philip;* • *Matthew;* • *of Thaddaeus;* • *The Arabic Gospel of the Childhood of Jesus;* • *The Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter.*

2. Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles;
   • *Acts of John*; • *of Thaddaeus*; • *of Andrew*; • *of Thomas*; • *of Peter*; • *of Paul* (*Paul and Thecla)*; • *of Peter and Paul*; • *Preaching of Peter and Paul*; • *of Philip*; • *of Andrew and Matthias*.

	3. Apocryphal Epistles of the Apostles: • *The Epistola Apostolorum* (a post-resurrection 'dialogue between Christ and His disciples); • The Epistles of St Paul (*Epistle to the Laodiceans, to the Alexandrians* - Paul and Marcion, *Third Epistle to the Corinthians*; *Correspondence between St Paul and Seneca* - eight short letters of Seneca and six shorter replies of St Paul, poor in diction and style, mentioned by St Jerome. The legend of Seneca's conversion, on which these letters are based, owes its origin to the ethico-theistic character of Seneca's writings); • *The Epistle of the Disciples of St Paul*: (a) *The Epistle of Barnaba* (b) *Epistola Titi Discipuli Pauli, de Dispositione Sanctimonii*. 4. Apocryphal Apocalypses: • *Apocalypse of Stephen*; • *of Thomas*; • *of St John*; • *of the Virgin*; • *of Peter*; • *of Paul*; • *Ascension of Isaiah*.
2 **THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIAN POETRY AND EARLY HYMNS**	**1. The First Christian Hymns** ❖ *Hymnos* (Greek) and *Carmen* (Latin) commonly had a religious connotation. ❖ Hymns were one of the essential elements of Christian worship from the beginning. St Paul says, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (Col 3:16-17). The Christians created Church hymns, and St Paul quoted some of them in his epistles, or he himself composed them. St Clement of Alexandria composed a hymn in honor of Christ. ❖ The earliest official notice of Christian meetings by a Roman governor reported that the Christians met "*on a certain fixed day before it was light, when they sang in alternate verses a hymn to Christ as to a god*." (Pliny the Younger, *Ep*. 10. 96). ❖ The Christ-centered content is a principal feature of Christian hymns. (cf. Eusebius, *H.E*. 5. 28. 6). ❖ There are many patristic references to hymns and songs in the liturgy (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed*. 3. 11. 80. 4; Tertullian, *Or*. 28; Hippolytus, *Dan* [PG 10. 693 D]). [1] ❖ The hymns played an important role not only in developing Christian liturgy, but also in suffusing the surrounding culture with Christian ideas. [2] **2. The Odes of Solomon** ❖ The earliest collection of Christian hymns survive in Syriac. They are the most important discovery in the field of early Christian literature since the finding of the *Didache*. ❖ They are forty-two hymns, probably hymns of the baptized. ❖ There are strong indications that they were most probably written in the first half of the 2nd century.

	❖ It seems more likely that they actually express the beliefs and hopes of Eastern Christianity. ❖ Their original language was in all probability Greek, but the original text has been lost. The author employs a language evocative of the Old Testament. He intended to imitate the psalms and their language. ❖ Content of the Odes: • Ode 7 describes the Incarnation; • Ode 19 is a song exalting the conception by the Virgin. As in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (XI, 14) the painlessness of the birth is stressed, evidently in contrast to Eve's child-bearing; • Ode 12 sings of the Logos; • Ode 28 gives a poetical description of the Passion; • Ode 42 has as a theme the Resurrection of Christ. The cry of the souls in the world below to the Savior for their deliverance from death and darkness, at the end of the hymn is especially remarkable. **3. The Christian Sibylline Oracles** ❖ Under the mythical name of the Sibyl there were 14 books of didactic poems in hexameters, most of which were composed in the 2nd century. The prophecies of the Sibyl of Erithrea seem to have been used from the 2nd century. During the Middle Ages they were highly regarded and had their effect on Thomas Aquinas, the poet Dante, as well as on some artists of this era. ❖ The work in its present form is a compilation and mixture of pagan, Jewish, and Christian material of historical, political, and religious character. ❖ Some of these Sibilline Oracles contain hymns in honor of Christ; others are eschatological; and some are prophecies, misfortunes, and calamities against pagan nations and cities, and give a picture of the golden end of all time. **4. The Sayings of Sextus** ❖ See the *Apologist*s, p. 23. **5. Christian Poetry on Tombstones** ❖ At an early time Christian poetry was used in epitaphs, such as *The Inscription of Abercius*, and as *The Inscription of Pectorius.*
3 **THE FIRST ACTS OF THE MARTYRS**	❖ *Acta Martyrum*: From very early times the anniversary of a martyr's death was celebrated with a liturgical service, and a narrative of events was read. Eusebius made a collection of *Acta Martyrum.* There are three groups from the historical point of view. **1. *Acta* or *gesta martyrum*** ❖ It comprises the official court proceedings. ❖ These contain nothing but the questions addressed to the martyrs by the authorities, the answer of the

	martyrs, and the sentences imposed. • *The Proconsular Acts of St Cyprian* (258); • *Acts of St Justin and his companions* (163-167); • *Acts of the Martyrs of Scilli in Africa* (180) which constitutes the oldest document in African Church history. **2. *Passiones* or *martyria*** ❖ Lacking in official authenticity but valuable. It comprises the reports of eyewitnesses and contemporaries. • The *Martyrium Polycarpi* from the year 156; • *The Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia*, describing the sufferings of the martyrs who died in the severe persecution of the Church of Lyons in 177 or 178; • *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* who suffered martyrdom in 202 at Carthage; • *The Acts of Carpus, Papylus and Agathonice*, in the time of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169) in Pergamon; • *The Acts of Apollonius* in Rome during the reign of the Emperor Commodus (180-185). **3. The Acts of the Roman Martyrs** ❖ Consists of the history of the martyrs which was composed for edification long after the martyrdom took place. • St Agnes; • St Cecilia; • St Felicitas and her seven sons; • St Hippolytus; • St Lawrence; • St Sixtus; • St Sebastian; • Sts John and Paul; • Sts Cosmas and Damian; • The *Martyrium Sancti Clementis* and the *Martyrium Sancti Ignatii*. ❖ Collections: • Eusebius collected some Acts of the Martys in his work *On the Ancient Martyrs*, but they have been lost. Eusebius summarises most of these Acts in his *Ecclesiastical History*. He wrote a treatise on the martyrs of Palestine which is a report of the victims of the persecution from 303 to 311. • An anonymous author collected Acts of Persian martyrs who died under Sapor II (339-379), extant in Syriac.
4 THE BEGINNING OF HERETICAL LITERATURE	❖ There were heresies from the very beginning of Christianity. ❖ Christianity had to defend itself from four enemies: two from without - Judaism and paganism; and two from within - Gnosticism and Montanism. ❖ The apologies were occasioned by the conflict between paganism and Christianity. ❖ Heresy proved an even more dangerous enemy, constituting a threat, not against the existence, but the purity and integrity of Christianity. ❖ Gnosticism threatened the spiritual foundation and religious character of the Church, while Montanism endangered its world-wide mission and universal character.

5 **THE BEGINNING OF ANTI-HERETICAL LITERATURE**	**Anti-Gnostics** ❖ The Church, to refute heretics, had to prove herself the sole custodian of the truth, to oppose especially the teachings of the Gnostics on the unity of God, redemption, and to discuss the sources and criteria of the teachings of the Church. ❖ This literature greatly surpassed the apologetic writings as a foundation for theology. In other words the bishops and Church councils excommunicated the heresiarchs and their followers, and issued decisions and pastoral letters in order to warn the believers. ❖ Some theological writers took upon themselves the task of exposing the errors of the heretics and of explaining the true Church doctrines. ❖ ***St Justin*** wrote against all heresies and Marcion in particular; ***St Theophilus of Antioch*** attacked Gnosticism; ***Miltiades*** refuted Montanists and Gnostics; also ***Apollinaris of Hierapolis; Melito of Sardis.*** **Adversaries of Montanism** • An anonymous author in Phrygia - his books gave the Montanist teaching, and Eusebius relied on it (192-200). • Apollonius of Ephesus wrote five books against the Montanists ca. 210. • Caius, a Roman priest under Bishop Zephyrinus (199-217).

GNOSTICISM AND THE MAIN GNOSTIC SECTS

In the apostolic age, before the appearance of the *Gnostic* movement as a school (or schools), or as separate sects, the apostles dealt with false teachings similar to the Gnostic systems, as in 1 John and the pastoral epistles.

Gnosticism was the most influential of the early heresies. The term is generic and embraces a great variety of teachings. The study of Gnosticism entered a new phase, however, with the discovery of a large collection of Coptic Gnostic documents found at Nag-Hammadi (*Chenoboskion*) in Upper-Egypt in 1945. Before this discovery all our information on the Gnostic sects and doctrines relied on anti-Gnostic writings, such as those of Sts Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Hippolytus of Rome, and Epiphanius. This discovery has made available a wealth of original documents that are being studied now for the first time.

Gnosticism designates a complex religious and philosophical movement that started probably before Christianity and flourished from about 100 to 700. There were many Christian, Jewish and pagan Gnostic sects that stressed salvation through a secret "**knowledge**" or "*Gnosis* - γνῶσις " The term "***Gnostics***" was first applied by 2nd and 3rd century patristic writers to a large number of teachers, such as Valentinus, Basilides, and many others.

W.H.C Frend believes that *gnosis* held a worthy, if limited place, in the Jewish and the earliest Christian scales of values. "Knowing" God to Jews meant acknowledging that Yahweh was God and recognizing the acts of God. Indeed, the Septuagint describes God as the "God of knowledge" (1 Sam. 2:3), and the word "*gnosis*" is used to denote this. The representative and teacher of *gnosis* is the pious sage and Servant of the Lord (Is. 53:11), and gnosis is denied to the worldly-minded and to sinners.

1. GNOSTIC TEACHINGS

- Most of the Gnostic schools were thoroughly **dualistic**, setting an infinite chasm between the spiritual world and the world of matter. Their systems were based on the inseparable division and antagonism between the Demiurge or "creator god" and the supreme unknowable Divine Being.
- In some systems the creation of the material universe is believed to result from **the fall of Sophia** (wisdom); this creation is viewed as evil.
- Usually Gnostics **divided men into two or three classes:** ❶ The "spiritual" (*pneumatics*) are those who have illuminated souls. ❷ The "carnal" (*hylics*) or "material," are slaves of matter, and are earthbound. ❸ The Gnostics add a *psychic,* intermediate class.
- They claimed to possess secret knowledge by a **sudden illumination** that enabled them to understand the ways of God, the universe, and themselves.

- They claimed that they **alone know the unutterable mysteries of the spirit**.
- For them Christ either temporarily inhabited a human being (Jesus) or **assumed a merely phantasmal human appearance.**
- The Gnostics and their Orthodox opponents hotly debated the **relationship between the Old and New Testaments**.
- The Gnostic's dualist view of creation led to **two opposing attitudes toward marriage and sexuality**: the extreme of a rigorous and negative asceticism on the one hand, and a licentious antinomianism on the other. Both repudiate nature; the one through abstention and the other through excess.

2. GNOSTICISM AND ALEXANDRIA

- The most important center of Gnosticism was Alexandria which had become the heir of Jewish traditions, classical thought, and the old mysticism of oriental religions. It was in Alexandria that the greatest doctors of Gnosticism - Basilides, Carpocrates and Valentinus - flourished. St Athanasius frequently refers to them, as well as to Marcion, warning of their danger to Christian doctrine. St Clement of Alexandria, "the most reliable of early Christian writers on Gnosticism," provides us with a systematic analysis of the various sects.

3. WHY DID GNOSTICISM SPREAD IN ALEXANDRIA?

- In contrast to other religions, Gnosticism first appeared in the city not as a religious sect or school, but as an attitude accepted by some pagans, Jews and even Christians. The Gnostics took advantage of the importance of Alexandria as a center of interchange of religious ideas and as the intellectual meeting point between Jew and Greek.
- The pseudo-Christian Gnostic sects could offer a religious system, with a guaranteed way of salvation, and much more similar to the pagan systems, from which the converts were changing.
- The Gnostics tried to answer the following problems:
  - If God is Goodness, why is there evil in the world, unless the matter from which it was created was irredeemably bad?
  - If God is good, who created the evil?
  - If the universe was not governed by fate, how did one explain calamity, sickness, and sudden death?
  - What was the use of attempting to practice moral excellence when one might be swept away overnight?
- Gnosticism provided the well-educated members with the sense of superiority, as they felt that they alone were trust-worthy of the divine mysteries.
- Many of the founders of the Christian Gnostics belonged to Pre-Christian Gnosticism, who instead of surrendering their former beliefs, only added some Christian doctrines to their Gnostic views. They also were very interested in literature, thus they wrote many Apocryphal gospels, epistles and apocalypses and attributed most of them to St Mary, the disciples, and the apostles, which had a tremendous effect because of their popular content.

4. OUR CONCEPT OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

- The Incarnate Word of God is the Source of knowledge.
- Knowledge is received through the Church, as the body of Christ, especially by participation in the Eucharist.
- Knowledge is revealed in our inner man, if it has been purified and sanctified by the Holy Spirit.
- The knowledge of God and His eternal glory can be realized partially in this world, through our unity with the Father in His Only-Begotten Son, by the work of the Holy Spirit, and completed in the kingdom of God.

List of Christian Gnostics According to J Quasten [3]

1. Basilides.	4. Ptolemy.	7. Bardaisan.	10. Marcus.	13. Marcion.	16. Julius Cassianus.
2. Isidore.	5. Heracleon.	8. Harmonius.	11. Carpocrates.	14. Apelles.	17. Other Gnostics.
3. Valentinus.	6. Florinus.	9. Theodotus.	12. Epiphanes.	15. The Encratites.	

Classification of Gnosticism According to H Bettenson [4]

1. *The Syrian Type*: eg. Saturninus (or Saturnilus) ca. 120.
2. *The Egyptian Type*: eg. Basilides, ca. 130.
3. *The Judaizing Type*: eg. Cerinthus and Ebionites, late 1st century.
4. *The Pontic Type*: eg. Marcion, ca. 160.

SELECTED CHRISTIAN GNOSTICS

AUTHOR	MAIN DOCTRINES	REMARKS
1 **BASILIDES** ca. 120 – 125	❖ Knowledge proceeds from the principalities which form the world. ❖ Only one in a thousand is able to possess the true knowledge. ❖ Mysteries should be kept secret. ❖ Martyrdom is futile. ❖ Redemption affects only the souls, and not the body. ❖ Every action, even sins of lust, is a matter of perfect indifference. ❖ The Christian should not confess Christ the crucified but Jesus, who was sent by the Father. ❖ Pagan sacrifices are despised, but can be used as they are nothing.[5]	❖ He lived at the time of the Emperor Hadrian and Antonius Pius (120-145) and was a teacher at Alexandria. ❖ Besides biblical material he used secret traditions supposedly derived from St Peter and St Matthias, some *Gnostic* doctrines, and elements of Platonic and Stoic philosophy. ❖ He wrote a gospel, of which we have only one fragment. ❖ He wrote a biblical commentary, the *Exegetica*, in twenty-four books; and some Odes.
2 **CARPOCRATES** First Half of 2nd Century	❖ His disciples, the "Carpocratians," who survived until the 4th century, preached a licentious ethic, the transmigration of souls, and the doctrine that Jesus was born by natural generation. ❖ The world was created by angels greatly inferior to the Unbegotten Father. Jesus was the son of Joseph; he differed from other men in that his soul was steadfast and pure. ❖ The Carpocratians practiced magical arts and incantations, philters and love potions, and had recourse to spirits, dreams sending demons and other abominations, declaring that they possessed power to rule over not only the princes of this world but also over the things in it.	❖ Carpocrates was a native of Alexandria. ❖ He was a contemporary of Valentinus. ❖ One of his women disciples, Marcellina, went to Rome during the reign of Pope Anicetus (154-165), and seduced many. ❖ Images of some of them were painted or made in the likeness of Christ, and portraying Jesus among them. They crowned these images and set them up along with the images of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and others. They also had other modes of honoring these images in the same manner as the gentiles.
3 **VALENTINUS** **The Poet** b. ca. 100	❖ Valentinus saw God as a single unknowable Being, originating from the Primal Cause or **Depth**. After countless ages Depth emanated his spouse, called Womb or **Silence** and eventually these two, representing Male and Female principles, brought forth the Christ, or Logos, upon whom all aeons (half ideas, half angels) depend, and through whom the All is coherent and	❖ The greatest *Gnostic* of all time. He was born in the Nile Delta ca. 100 and educated in Alexandria. ❖ He created an academy for free research. Even among his opponents Valentinus became renowned for his eloquence and genius. ❖ Valentinian Christianity flourished from the 2nd

	connected. ❖ He also states that the couple - Depth and Silence - emanates Understanding (*Nous* – νοῦς) and Truth (*Aletheia* – ἀλήθεια). From these follow Word and Life, and Man and Church, and eventually thirty Aeons are produced, pair by pair, male and female, representing Christian (or Jewish) concepts and virtues to complete the heavenly or spiritual world or *Pleroma*. The last aeon was Wisdom (*Sophia* – σοφία). The visible world owes its origin to the fall of Sophia, whose ultimate offspring was the Demiurge who was identified with the God of the Old Testament. A Savior, Jesus, is sent to Wisdom. He "forms Wisdom according to understanding" and separates her from her passions, and sets in train the events that lead to similar processes of salvation in the visible universe ❖ Christ, who united Himself with the man Jesus (at His conception or at His baptism) to bring man the redeeming knowledge (*gnosis* - γνῶσις) of His origin and destiny. This *gnosis*, is given only to spiritual men or the "*pneumatics*," i.e. the Valentinians who enter the *pleroma* through it, whereas other Christians (called "*psychics*" after 1 Cor. 2.14 etc.) attain by faith and good works the middle realm of the Demiurge; the rest of mankind (called "*hylics*," being engrossed in matter) are given over to eternal perdition.	to the 4th Centuries. ❖ The Jung Codex contains five Valentinian writings: **1.** *The Prayer of the Apostle Paul*. **2.** *The Apocryphon of James* is a letter that contains the revelations of the risen Jesus. It contains Valentinian speculations grafted onto the root and fatness of the olive tree planted beside the waters of the Nile by Hebrew missionaries from Jerusalem (ca. 160). **3.** *The Gospel of Truth*. **4.** *The Epistle to Rheginos* concerning the Resurrection. Man anticipates eternal life, and after death he will receive an ethereal body. ❖ *The Tripartite Treatise* is a systematic and consistent exposition of the history of the All. It describes how the Spirit evolves through the Hell of a materialistic ("*hylic*") phase and the purgatory of a moral ("*psychic*") phase to the coming of Christ, who inaugurates the *paradiso* of final consummation, in which spiritual man becomes conscious of himself and of his identity with the Unknown God.
4 **MANI** b. 216 – d. 277 **AND THE MANICHAEANS**	❖ According to Valentinus, every man has a guardian angel or self who gives *gnosis* to his counterpart, but also needs the man or woman to whom he belongs because he cannot enter the *pleroma*, the spiritual world, without his other half. ❖ Mani taught that every Manichaean has a twin, who inspires him and leads him to the light, but at the same time Mani held that the eternal Jesus suffers in matter and is to be redeemed by the *Gnostic*. Jacob Boehme says that God is an ocean of light and darkness, love and fire, who wants to become conscious in man. The God of *Gnosticism* is a "Being in movement." ❖ See also *Manicheans*, p. 195.	❖ Mani sent his missionaries Papos and Thomas to Egypt, where they settled in Lycopolis, on the Nile above the Thebaid in Middle Egypt. There they proselytized among the pupils of the Platonic philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis, who wrote a preserved treatise against them. They also seem to have translated, or to have had translated, the Manichaean writings found at Madinat Madi in 1930-1931 (kephalaia, psalms, homilies, etc.) from east- Aramaic into sub-Akhimic, the Coptic dialect of Lycopolis and the surroundings.

SOME EARLY ANTI-HERETICAL WRITERS

NAME	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH ca. 171	❖ Bishop of Corinth, probably the successor of Primus. ❖ An outstanding writer among the non-Roman bishops. ❖ Eusebius (*H. E*. 4:23) gives a description of his eight letters to different Christian communities. ❖ The heretics to whom he refers, must be the **disciples of Marcion and Montanus**. ❖ Eusebius praises him for having given a share in his "inspired industry" to those in foreign lands. ❖ All his letters, including that of Rome, were addressed to the Churches and not to the bishops. His letters were held in universal esteem.	❖ Seven Catholic Letters to *Lacedemon, Athens, Nicomedia, Gortyna* (and Crete), *Amastris,* (and Pontus), *Gnossus* and *Rome*. ❖ To *Chrysophora*, a most faithful Christian, probably his sister. ❖ Sending letters to bishoprics other than his own proves not only the reputation of the bishop, but also indicates the unity of the Christian community. ❖ In his letter to Rome he mentions to a custom of Rome to send supplies to other Churches to help those who were condemned to work in the mines.
2 PINYTUS OF GNOSSUS bp. ca. 161-180	❖ One of the letters of Dionysius of Corinth was addressed to a Church in Crete, in which he mentioned Pinytus of Gnossus in Crete. ❖ Eusebius is the only source to preserve the name Pinytus, bishop of Gnossus. ❖ On the basis of Eusebius' testimony, St Jerome mentions Pinytus in his *De viris illustribus*, 28. [6]	❖ Pinytus replied to Dionysius' letter saying that he admired and welcomed him, but exhorted him to provide at some time more solid food to nourish people under him with another more advanced letter. ❖ Eusebius wrote, "In this letter the Orthodoxy of Pinytus in the faith, his care for those under him, his learning and theological understanding, are shown as in a most accurate image" (*H. E*. 4:23:8). [7]
3 SERAPION OF ANTIOCH bp. 199 d. 211	❖ The eighth bishop of Antioch. ❖ His episcopate corresponded more or less with the reign of Septimus Severus (b. 146 - d. 211). ❖ It is interesting that a large fragment of the Apocryphal *Gospel of St Peter*, discovered at Akhmim, Egypt in 1886, corresponds exactly to Serapion's description. ❖ It is on the whole Orthodox, but contains strange ideas inspired by Docetism.	❖ His letter to Pontius and Caricus deals with the Montanistic heresy, and states that the so-called new prophecy of this false order is abominated in the whole of Christendom, throughout the world. ❖ In another letter addressed to the Church of Rhossus in Cilicia he deals with the Apocryphal *Gospel of St Peter*. ❖ Eusebius knew of a third letter of Serapion addressed to a certain Domnus.

4 **HEGESIPPUS** b. ca. 110 – d. ca. 180	❖ A Jew born in Syria or Palestine and converted to Christianity. He visited various churches and came to Rome in the time of bishop Anicetus (ca. 156-167) and survived bishop Eleutherus (174-189) possibly. ❖ He returned home (174-179) and compiled his *Memoirs (hypomnemata)* from notes taken on his travels. ❖ He died under Commodus (180-192).	❖ *Hypomnemata:* More probably the work was a polemical writing aiming at proving the official Church teaching against the Gnostics. He insists on the uninterrupted succession of bishops as a guarantee of apostolicity of their doctrine. He drew up a list of the Jewish and first Gnostic sects. He was mediocre, perspicacious as an observer, and a good, reliable witness to tradition.
5 **ST** **IRENAEUS** b. ca. 140 – d. 202	❖ By far the most important of the theologians of the 2nd century. ❖ St Irenaeus was born in Smyrna Asia Minor, where he knew Bishop Polycarp and from him learned of the Johannine tradition. ❖ The exact date of his birth is unknown, but he was probably born ca. 140. ❖ For reasons not known, St Irenaeus left Asia Minor and went to Gaul. He studied and taught at Rome before moving to Lyons. ❖ In 177, as a presbyter of the Church of Lugdunum in Lyons, he went on a mission to bishop Eleutherus of Rome to urge toleration with regard to adherents of Montanism in Asia Minor. ❖ On his return in 178, he succeeded Photinus (who had died in the persecution of 177/8) as bishop of a Greek-speaking Christian community. ❖ Later, Pope Victor I, excommunicated the Asiatics in the Paschal controversy; St Irenaeus wrote to a number of these bishops and to Victor himself exhorting them to make peace. [8] ❖ Irenaeus bishop of Lyons was a pastor concerned with protecting Christians against Gnosticism. ❖ In opposition to Gnostic dualism, Irenaeus teaches that there is but one God who is the Creator of the world and the Father of Jesus Christ, that there is one divine economy of salvation and one revelation. The visible	❖ Among Irenaeus' writings is the *Demonstration*, or *Epideixis*, a work on the apostolic preaching. It explains Christian doctrine and then proves it from Old Testament prophecies. ❖ *Against Heresies* or *Adversus haereses.* • Book 1 refutes Gnostic arguments by reason. • Book 2 sets forth the traits of false Gnosis and the history of Gnosticism. • Book 3 refutes Gnosticism from the teaching and tradition of the apostles. • Book 4 refutes it from the sayings of Jesus. • Book 5 treats the things to come containing remarks on Millenarianism with a Chiliastic tendency. ❖ He was interested in philosophy only insofar as it could help one to penetrate more deeply into what one believed. He taught that human thinking is powerless to know God and his dispensation for the salvation of all people. ❖ His major writing, *Against Heresies*, describes and refutes the teachings of Gnostics, who claimed to have secret teachings unknown to most Christians. But Revelation, according to Irenaeus, is public and common to all Christians. No secret tradition supersedes the Church's tradition. ❖ Irenaeus said: *It is better that one should have no knowledge whatever of any one reason why a single thing in creation has been made but should believe in God and continue in his love than that, puffed up through knowledge of this kind,*

	creation is good, not evil, and the body will rise again. ❖ According to him, although the Gnostics thought that they could arrive at saving knowledge through human effort, true salvation is attained only through faith in what God has revealed and in what He has done. ❖ Irenaeus was the first great theologian, who emphasized the role of the Church, the canon of Scripture, and the religious and theological tradition.	*he should fall away from that love which is the life of man; and that he should search after no knowledge except Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us, than that by subtle questions and hairsplitting expressions, he should fall into impiety.* [9]
6 **OTHERS**	❖ *Rhodo*, one of Tatian's disciples in Rome. ❖ *Philippus* of Gorstyna; *Modenus*; *Heraclitus*.	

[1] E Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1990, pp. 441-442.
[2] J Quasten, *Patrology*: vol. 1, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 160.
[3] ibid., p. xi.
[4] H Bettenson, ed., *Documents of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn, Oxford University Press, New York, 1963, pp. 35-37.
[5] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 258-259.
[6] A Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 688.
[7] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 283.
[8] ibid., pp. 287, 288.
[9] ibid., p. 294.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

EARLY SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT

- "**School**" does not mean a special building for teaching, nor a seminary in its modern meaning.
- The school should present the living traditional thought of the Church, which must continue throughout all ages, without preventing the contemporary believers from being authentic thinkers. The notion of "school" is not bound to a peculiar time.
- The school has to adopt a certain set of ideas, a way of interpreting the Holy Scripture, a form of spirituality, a style of *pedagogy* (education), a method of theological dialectics, or an institution.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

- The early Fathers of the Alexandrian school present to us how we deal with science and philosophy and to witness to our Gospel among well-educated people.
- The later Fathers of the same school present to us how we defend our faith, especially against the heretics in a soteriological attitude, or in pastoral goal.
- The moderate Fathers of the Antiochian school present to us a living image of the importance of the historico-grammatical interpretation of the Holy Scripture.

EASTERN CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	REMARKS
1 SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA	❖ According to St Jerome, **it was founded by St Mark himself** as a catechetical school, where candidates were admitted to learn Christian faith and biblical studies to be qualified for baptism. ❖ It has been called the "***first Christian academ.y***." It was established to face the Greek world, not as an enemy, but to attract the well-educated and philosophers to Christianity. It was seen as an institute of higher Christian studies. ❖ The School of Alexandria is the oldest centre of sacred science in the history of Christianity. [1] ❖ By **the 2nd century** it became quite influential on Church life. The apologetical and anti-heretical literature constituted the first stage in **the formation of the science of theology**. The law of the intellectual life and growth demanded that theology be developed as systematically and comprehensively as possible, and thus be raised to the rank of a science. ❖ In the **3rd century** this school **overthrew polytheism by scientific means**, at the same time it conserved anything that was of value in Greek science and culture.

	❖ Under the influence of Clement and Origen, the Alexandrian school interpreted the Holy Scripture according to **the allegorical method of exegesis**. ❖ Clement believed that this method should be used because God's bountifulness was such that it would be folly to believe that could only be one teaching in a particular text. The allegorical approach was adopted for apologetical and theological purposes. Origen discussed two problems which the early Church faced, concerning the Old Testament: 1. **The Jews** who adhere to the letter of the prophecies of the Old Testament, were expecting that the Messiah would fulfill these prophecies literally, such as He must be their King, who reigns over the whole world. 2. **The Gnostics** rejected the Old Testament, for they were scandalized by some passages which refer to God as being angry, or that He regretted or changed His mind. ❖ In the 4th and 5th centuries the school experienced a second revival. The deans of the school faced many theological problems, and **defended the Orthodox faith, especially against Arianism and Nestorianism**.
2 **SCHOOL** **OF** **CAESAREA** 232	❖ Origen founded a new school at Caesarea in Palestine (232). ❖ Here a remarkable Christian library was soon established; it owed its growth especially to the efforts of the later director of the school, the priest Pamphilus. ❖ It was a center of scholarship and learning. Here St Gregory Thaumaturgus and Eusebius of Caesarea received their theological training. ❖ Through Caesarea the Alexandrian tradition influenced the leading theologians of Cappadocia, especially St Basil the Great and the two Gregorys, who sought to reconcile the spirit of Alexandria with that of Antioch.
3 **ANTIOCHIAN** **SCHOOL**	❖ The allegorizing tendencies of the Alexandrian school were explicitly opposed by a group, which appeared towards the end of the 3rd century. This was the Antiochian school, also called the "**exegetical school**." It explained the Scripture mainly according to their historical and grammatical sense. ❖ Many scholars state that we are in need of the two schools. Dockery says, "**The Alexandrian *allegoria* led the soul into a realm of true knowledge where the vision of truth could be discovered. The Antiochian *theoria* led humans into a truly moral life that developed in goodness and maturity that would continue into eternity**." ❖ **Lucian of Samosata** (b. 240 - d. 312) is held to be the founder of this school. **Diodore of Tarsus** established the fame of this Exegetical School. **St John Chrysostom** and **Theodore of Mopsuestia** were his most renowned disciples. ❖ **Theodore of Mopsuestia**, the greatest exegete of the Antiochian School wrote commentaries on almost the entire Bible. The Nestorian Church appeals to his authority as "the exegete" par excellence. Like his master Diodore, he was considered Orthodox during his life. ❖ However, at the 5th Council of Constantinople 553, the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia were anathematized. Both Theodore and Diodore, were in actual fact, the teachers of Nestorius. ❖ **Nestorius** and **Theodoret of Cyrus** also belong to this theological school. ❖ A one-sided use of the historico-grammatical method led some of its representatives into errors that are partly to be explained by a rationalistic attitude (the desire to rid Christian doctrine as far as possible from all elements of mystery): into Arianism, Macedonianism, Apollinarianism, Pelagianism, and Nestorianism (for Heresies, see Chapter Nine).

4 **NATIONAL SYRIAN SCHOOL OF EDESSA** 4th Century	❖ Antioch influenced the School of Edessa which dated from **the first half of the 3rd century**. It was a seminary for the Persian clergy and the center of academic and literary activity in Syria. ❖ It flourished in the **4th century** in Mesopotamia; its greatest master was **St Ephraem the Syrian**. He is styled "Lyre of the Holy Spirit." His praises were sung by the whole East and are still used until the present day. ❖ It was devoted to the literal interpretation of Scripture. ❖ The East-Syrian school is Oriental as compared with the West-Syrian. It is more poetical, mystical, and contemplative, averse to change. ❖ The Church of Syria was deeply and irreparably injured by the Christological heresies, and Edessa was the last support of Nestorianism in the Empire. ❖ The Emperor Zeno closed it in 489 for this reason, but from its ruins arose the Nestorian School of Nisibis in Persia.
5 **NESTORIAN SCHOOL OF NISIBIS** 457	❖ It was founded by **Bishop Bar Sauma** (450-95), and produced its first famous teacher in Narses. ❖ **Narses** was one of the most important representatives of Nestorianism. He became head of the School of Edessa in 437; after his expulsion (457) he founded the School of Nisibis at the invitation of Bishop Bar Sauma. ❖ He died shortly after 503, aged 103; he is important as a poet. ❖ Metrical homilies and dialogue songs as well as liturgical hymns are among his works, besides his Old Testament Scripture commentaries.
6 **SCHOOL OF EVAGRIAN MYSTICISM**	❖ Evagrius of Pontus, a disciple of the two Macarii, surnamed Ponticus, is the first monk to have written numerous and comprehensive works that were of great influence in the history of Christian piety. ❖ He is in fact the founder of monastic mysticism and the most fertile and interesting spiritual author of the Egyptian desert. The monks of the East and the West alike studied his writings as classical documents and invaluable text books. ❖ His ideas live in Palladius, in the Byzantine writers, such as John Climacus, Maximus Confessor, Nicetas Stethetos down to the Hesychasts; in the Syrian authors Philoxenus of Mabbug, Isaac of Nineveh, John Bar Caldun up to Barhebraeus; and in the West in John Cassian. In fact, the great Oriental School of Evagrian mysticism reaches from the 4th to the 15th, nay to the 20th century. ❖ His spirituality is definitely based on the mysticism of Origen.
7 **SCHOOL OF REALISTIC-TRADITIONAL-ISTIC**	❖ **St Epiphanius of Salamis** (ca. 315-403), in Cyprus, is the earliest representative of this school. He was born in Palestine near Eleutheropolis. He mastered Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Coptic, and knew some Latin. ❖ Hilarion exercised considerable influence over him. St Epiphanius visited Egypt to learn about the ascetic life. He returned home and founded, ca. 335, a monastery whose head he remained for thirty years. ❖ In 367 he was ordained a metropolitan in Salamis. Mortification in his life, sanctity, activity in the spread of monasticism, fiery zeal for the defense of Orthodox doctrine - these were the distinguishing marks of St Epiphanius. ❖ St Epiphanius of Salamis was against all metaphysic theory. This explains his complete inability to accept Origen, which grew into a real hatred of Origenism. ❖ He regarded Origen's **allegorical interpretation as the root of all heresies, and condemned Origenism as the most dangerous of them**.

	❖ In 392, he went to Jerusalem, the home of Origen's admirers, and in the presence of John the bishop of the city, and a great multitude assembled in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he delivered a vehement sermon against Origen. John refused to condemn Origen and St Epiphanius broke off communion with him. ❖ Rufinius took John's side, while St Jerome was changed from an ardent admirer of Origen into an enemy of Origenism. He attempted to obtain a condemnation of Origen from John, but the bishop refused. St Epiphanius then ordained Paulinian, St Jerome's brother, in John's diocese against John's will. Pope Theophilus of Alexandria finally reconciled them. ❖ In Egypt a quarrel occurred between Pope Theophilus of Alexandria and the famous Egyptian Origenist monks, the "Tall Brothers." The former had admired Origen at first, but he declared himself anti-Origenist about 399 and expelled the Tall Brothers, from the Nitrian desert. ❖ St Epiphanius, at a synod held in 402 in Cyprus, condemned Origen and his writings. ❖ The Tall Brothers went to Constantinople for refuge and St John Chrysostom was on their side. St Epiphanius went to Constantinople in order to convince St John Chrysostom to expel the Tall Brothers and subscribe to a condemnation of the writings of Origen, but St John Chrysostom refused.

WESTERN CHRISTIAN SCHOOL

AFRICAN SCHOOL	❖ Christianity in North Africa is characterized by several prominent features: • First, literary activity was remarkably high; the work of African Christians is particularly distinguished (eg. Tertullian in the late 2nd century; Minucius Felix; St Cyprian and Arnobius in the 3rd; Lactantius in the 4th; and culminating in St Augustine's *City of God* in the early 5th. • Second, African Christianity had a deep respect for the martyrs, and this is evident in literature and narratives commemorating the martyrs. • Third, African Christianity from its earliest days appears schismatic. Before the great schisms of Novatian and Donatus, Montanism had won a place in Carthage, and such heretics as Hermogenes had found a home there. • Fourth, church councils played an important part in African Christianity. In 419, the African Church collected the canons of its previous councils. ❖ The people of North Africa were of Semitic origin and used a language similar to Hebrew, but were Latinized in customs, language, and laws under Roman Rule.

❖ Under the title "Tertullian and the African School," Schaff writes:

> *The Western Church in this period exhibits* ***no such scientific productiveness as the Eastern****…The Roman Church itself* ***was first predominantly Greek****, and her earliest writers - Clement, Hermas, Irenaeus, Hippolytus - wrote exclusively in Greek. Latin Christianity begins to appear in literature at the end of the second century, and then not in Italy, but in North Africa, not in Rome, but* ***in Carthage****, and very characteristically, not with converted speculative philosophers, but* ***with practical lawyers and rhetoricians****…North Africa also gave to the Western Church the fundamental book - the Bible in its first Latin version, the so-called Itala, and this was the basis of Jerome's Vulgata which to this day is the recognized standard Bible of Rome…Quintus Septimius Tertullianus is the father of the Latin theology and Church language.* [2]

❖ Patrick J. Hamell states:

> *The Western literature is in Latin, is Roman in spirit, sober, practical, with less idealism and less tendency to speculation than the Greek writings. Its purpose is generally* ***the necessary and the useful****. There is great variety and versatility in writings and authors. The apologetic element is predominant - Tertullian and Hippolytus. Hippolytus and Victorinus of Pettau represent exegesis. Commodian is the first of the Christian-Latin poets. The writers are few, and mainly from Africa. One great confronting them was terminology. This is one of their great triumphs, the invention, the fashioning of technical language, and the chief glory for it goes to* ***Tertullian*** *who exercised a tremendous influence on Western Theology.*

❖ For Tertullian, see *The Apologists*, p. 21.

DEANS AND FATHERS OF THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA

- St Mark the Apostle, inspired by the Holy Spirit, established catechism as the only way to give the new religion a firm foundation in this city of multiple cultures, multiple philosophies, and many powerful schools. Thus Christianity penetrated the School of Alexandria turning it into a catechetical school.
- It became the oldest center for sacred sciences in the history of Christianity. In it, the first systematic Christian theology was formed and the allegorical (symbolic) method of biblical exegesis was devised.
- "The most renowned intellectual institution in the early Christian world was undoubtedly the Catechistic School (Didascaleion) of Alexandria. Its primary concern was the study of the Bible, giving its name to an influential tradition of spiritual interpretation. The preoccupation of this school of exegesis was to discover everywhere the spiritual sense underlying the written word of the Scripture." *Dom. D. Rees*
- Its program was not limited to theology, but was encyclopedic.
- Numerous spiritual and well known Church leaders were either students or deans of the School throughout its years. Many of them were worthy of being enthroned Patriarch of the See of St. Mark.

DEAN OR FATHER OF SCHOOL	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS AND THEOLOGY
1 **Athenagoras** 176	See *The Early Apologists*, p. 23.	
2 **Pantaenus** Philosopher Dean: 181	❖ He embraced Christianity at the hands of Athenagoras and succeeded him as dean of the theological school. ❖ In 190, Pope Demetrius sent him on a mission to preach in India. He also preached in Ethiopia, Arabia and Yemen. ❖ According to Coptic tradition, he brought back the Hebrew original of St Matthew's Gospel.	❖ He introduced philosophy and sciences into the school to gain heretics and educated pagans. ❖ He interpreted the whole Bible, but nothing remained of his writings except for the few excerpts mentioned in St Clement's books. ❖ He presented the Coptic alphabet by using the Greek alphabet and adding seven letters from the ancient Demotic language. ❖ Under his guidance the Bible was translated into Coptic.

3 **Clement of Alexandria** ***Gnosis (Knowledge)*** Born: 150 Dean: 190 Died: 215	❖ He traveled extensively to seek instructions from the most famous Christian teachers. ❖ Attracted by the lectures of Pantaenus, he settled in Alexandria and was ordained a priest, then a dean of the school. ❖ He had to leave Egypt in 202 due to the persecution by Septimius Severus, and died in 215 (probably in Palestine or Syria) ❖ Christianity offers the perfect *Gnosis* and truth in Christ. ❖ He was the first Christian writer to confront the ideas of his time with Christian doctrine. ❖ He believed that there was no enmity between Christianity and philosophy. ❖ \The ancient philosophy, in his view, was unable to achieve more than glimpses of the truth, while Christianity offers the perfect knowledge and truth in Christ. ❖ Throughout the first two centuries, a heresy appeared under the title "*Gnostics*" in various forms. The word "*gnosis*" in Greek means "knowledge". A fundamental Gnostic claim was that the soul can reach the Supreme God through knowledge rather than faith. ❖ St Clement showed the supremacy of Christian gnosis: contemplation; carrying out the commandments; instructions by righteous men.	**1.** His main work was *the Trilogy*: **a.** *Protrepticus* or *The Exhortation to the Heathens* (attack on paganism and invitation to salvation). **b.** *Paedagogus* or *Instructor* (The Tutor or Instructor): Practical instructions for the Christian conduct. In it, he wrote: "*It is then, as appears, the greatest of all lessons to know one's self. For if one knows himself, he will know God*." [3] **c.** *The Miscellanies* or *Stromata* (Miscellaneous Studies): Christian faith vs. Greek philosophy ❖ This Trilogy outlines his theological system that the Word of God, the Logos, invites mankind to abandon paganism through faith, then He reforms their lives by the commandments, and finally, He elevates them to the perfect knowledge of divine things. In short, the Logos converts, disciplines, and instructs. ❖ This concept of the Divine plan for our salvation influenced the program in the School of Alexandria. It focused first on conversion to Christianity, then on practicing of the commandments, and finally on instructing Christians to attain perfect knowledge of doctrine. **2.** A treatise on *The Salvation of the Rich Person*. **3.** Commentaries on passages of the Old and New Testaments. **4.** Numerous lost works, **5.** Treatises which Clement refers to as written, or about to be written, by him but of which there is no trace.
4 **Origen** b. 185 – d. 254	❖ His friends and admirers described him as: - *The Prince of the Bible Interpreters.* - *The Prince of Christian Philosophy.* - *The Teacher of Bishops.* - *There is no human mind that can absorb all what he wrote.* ❖ He was born to a righteous Christian family. His father, Leonides, was a righteous scholar and saintly man who was martyred for his Christian faith during the	❖ St Epiphanius (ca. 315-403) stated that Origen had 6,000 manuscripts. He wrote in Greek. Some of his writings were translated to Latin during his life and some were translated after his death; e.g. Rufinus' translation which contained many flaws. For example, the eternal subordination of the Son, as a derivative, is emphasized in a Greek fragment preserved in Justinian's Epistle to Menas, which seems to be taken from *De Principiis*, I. ii. 13 where the translation of Rufinus has diverged widely from the original in the interests

persecution of Septimius Severus, 202. While his father was in jail, Origen wrote encouraging him to face martyrdom.

- He rented libraries overnight to read their books. St Jerome praised his love of reading and said that Origen read while eating, walking, resting, etc. Thus his knowledge extended beyond measures and his intellectual superiority was undisputed. He worked in teaching.
- When Pope Demetrius (12th Pope of Alexandria) heard of his fame, he appointed him dean of the School of Alexandria. He increased its fame and thought and became a teacher of many bishops and priests, as well as many men, women, young and old. First, he rented halls to hold the school, but when he was chased from one place to another, he held his lectures outdoors (in the open or beside the river).
- He was famous in **allegorical interpretation**. For example, his interpretation of the Song of Songs (differs from St Basil's school of literal interpretation).

Dispute with the Church

- Pope Demetrius held a council that excommunicated Origen due to his: (a) theological mistakes; and (b) because he accepted priestly ordination in Palestine, not having been entitled to the priesthood since he had intentionally mutilated his body by castration.
- He spent the rest of his life in Palestine where he established a famous and significant theological school.

Condemnations by Councils

- Pope Demetrius (188-232) called a synod which excommunicated Origen from the Church of Alexandria. A second synod in **231** deprived him of the priesthood. After Pope Demetrius' death in **232** he returned to Alexandria, but his successor Pope of orthodoxy. [10]
- Mainly intellectual: Textual criticism, exegetic, apologetic, dogmatic, practical.
- *Hexapla*: 28-year study of the Bible manuscripts and translations:
  1. The Hebrew text of the Bible.
  2. The Greek pronunciation of the Hebrew text.
  3. The Septuagint (ca. 250).
  4. Simachos' translation (end of 2nd century).
  5. Aquilla's translation (ca. 128).
  6. Theodore's translation (ca. 180).
- Interpretations of the five Books of Moses, the Song of Songs, Job, the Major and Minor Prophets, Joshua and Psalms.
- Against Celsus, the pagan philosopher: "*Contra Celsus.*"
- "*The Principles*" contained the majority of his flaws.
- *On Prayer*: part on the prayer in general; part on the Lord's Prayer (*Origen: Prayer, Exortation to Martyrdom;* JJ O'Meara, trans., *Ancient Christian Writers*, No. 19 (Newman Press, New York, 1954).
- ***On the Resurrection*** (Easter).
- ***Exhortation to Martyrdom***.

Theological Mistakes (Origenism)

Subordination

- He was affected by the Greek philosophy; e.g. Plato in some of his mistakes. He thought of the Godhead as subsisting at different levels; there is, so to speak, a broadening down of deity from the apex of the divine hierarchy where the Father is the source, and descending in an order of participation and of functional subordination through Logos and Spirit to the archetypal ideas which are contained in the Logos, and so by the process of derivation to all spiritual and rational beings, the *logikoi* who, in so far as they participate in the Logos, may properly be called "gods."

Heraclas, Origen's former assistant, repeated the excommunication.

- A council of **Alexandria** (**400**) had Origenism condemned, and Pope Theophilus expelled the Origenist monks "the Tall Brothers." Errors of Origen were anathematized including the pre-existence of souls, the Incarnation, the resurrection body, and Restorationism. [4] Condemnation of Origen at **Rome** (**400**) by Anastasius, Bishop of Rome: "*Holding fast, therefore, this precept we have intimated that everything written in former days by Origen that is contrary to our faith is also rejected and condemned by us.*" [5] St Epiphanius, at a synod held in **402** in Cyprus condemned Origen and his writings.
- In **540, Ephraem of Antioch** condemned Origenism in a provincial synod and in **543 Emperor Justinian** issued a theological tract in the form of an edict accompanied by excerpts from Origen's *On First Principles* and ten anathemas. This condemnation of Origenism was repeated in the anathemas of the **Second Council of Constantinople 553** where he listed Origen among ancient heretics. It has become increasingly clear that some of the condemned doctrines dealing with cosmology, anthropology and eschatology are really those of Origen drawn from his theological treatise – *On First Principles*.[6]

4th Century Anti-Origenistic Fathers

- **Methodius** of Olympus (d. 311) rejected most of Origen's speculating, especially his concept of human pre-existence and the temporary character of the body. **St Epiphanius of Salamis** (ca. 310 – ca. 403) who included Origenism among the heresies enumerated in his 'On Heresies.' **St Jerome** attacked Origen's doctrines of the resurrection of the body, the condition of souls, the devil's ultimate repentance, and the

- In *De Principiis, 1.3.5* Origen wrote:

  The Son, being less than the Father*, is superior to rational creatures alone (for He is second to the Father), the Holy Spirit is still less, and dwells within the saints alone. So that in this way the Power of the Father is greater than that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that of the Son is more than that of the Holy Spirit and in turn the power of the Holy Spirit exceeds that of every other holy being. (Butterworth, Origen on First Principles, pp. 33-4)* [11]
- *Against Celsus, v. 39*:

  *Therefore, though we may call Him **a second God**, it should be understood by this that we do not mean anything except the virtue which includes all virtues, and the Logos which includes every logos whatsoever of the beings which have been made according to nature. We say that this Logos dwelt in the soul of Jesus and was united with it in a closer union than that of any other soul, because He alone has been able perfectly to receive the highest participation in Him who is the very Logos and the very Wisdom, and the very righteousness Himself.*

  (Tr. Chadwick, Origen '*Contra Celsum*', p. 296 and 8.15) [12] (See also H Bettenson., ed., trans., *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection of Writings of the Fathers from St Clement of Rome to St Athanasius*, Oxford University Press, London, 1956, pp. 320-226).
- It appears from a fragment of the *De Principiis* (4.4.I, or according to the old enumeration 4.28), that **Origen positively called the Logos a created being** (κτίσμα). This Son, he says – and it is obvious why Rufinus softened the passage with a judicious paraphrase – came into being out of the will of the Father; He is the first-born of all creation, **a created being**. [13]
- Exaggerating the allegorical interpretation; e.g. Adam's sin.

	Trinity. [7] Also **St Jerome** wrote, *"He stands condemned by his Pope Demetrius, Rome consents to his condemnation."* [8] In St Jerome's description of the uproar in Jerusalem in 394, St Epiphanius entered the Church of Tomb of the Resurrection with John, Bishop of Jerusalem, who stood before the congregation and delivered a condemnation of the Anthropomorphites. After his speech St Epiphanius addressed the assembly saying, *"All that has been said by one who is my brother in the episcopate, but my son in point of years, against the heresy of the Anthropomorphites, has been well and faithfully spoken, and my voice, too, condemns that heresy. But it is fair that, as we condemn this heresy, so we should also condemn the perverse doctrines of Origen."* [9] **His Opponents** ❖ Pope Demetrius of Alexandria. ❖ Pope Theophilus - Over the issue of the Origenist 'Tall Brothers.' ❖ Pope Peter (Seal of Martyrs) wrote against Origenism. ❖ St Epiphanius of Salamis - End of 4th and beginning of 5th century: managed to convince St Jerome but could not convince John of Jerusalem. ❖ St Jerome - Dispute with John (book against John) and Rufinus. ❖ Methodius (Bishop of Olympa, Cilicia) - beginning of the 4th century, book against Origen. ❖ St Augustine in the 5th century.	**<u>The Possibility of Ultimate Salvation for All</u>** ❖ i.e. the salvation of Satan, and the salvation of evil doers after their death. ❖ "No opinion of Origen's was more vehemently opposed than this one which gave demons and lost man a chance of restoration." (Butterworth, op. cit., p. 56, n.4) [14] ❖ Origen teaches that, "after many ages and the one restoration of all things Gabriel will be in the same state as the devil, Paul as Caiaphas and virgins as prostitutes." (tr. Butterworth, op. cit., p. 57, n.I) 14. [15] **<u>Pre-Existence of Souls</u>** ❖ i.e. Spirits created before the bodies then sent down to unite with the bodies (Plato). ❖ Christ's soul united with His Divinity before uniting with the body in St Mary's womb. ❖ Redemption was made to satisfy the devil. ❖ Resurrection in new spiritual bodies, not the original earthly body. ❖ The righteous people will turn to stars. ❖ God created other worlds before and after our own. **<u>Reincarnation</u>** ❖ See *Origenists*, p. 188ff. **Defense by His Proponents** ❖ Mistakes were due to dictation / transcription. ❖ He had other writings contrary to the sited flaws.
5 **Heraclas** 13th Pope of Alexandria: ca. 232-ca. 247	❖ There is no mention of his writings. **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ When St Demetrius discovered his spiritual abilities and knowledge, he ordained him as a priest and used him for preaching. He attracted many unbelievers to the faith. ❖ He was a student of Origen and succeeded him as the	❖ Pope Heraclas did not adopt any of his teacher's peculiar views, but voted for his deprivation both from his office as teacher and from his orders, and for his excommunication at the two synods held by Pope Demetrius. [16] ❖ And when elected pope he maintained the measures against Origen until, according Photius, he forced him to leave Thmuis, where Origen had taken refuge. Julius Africanus in

	dean of the School of Alexandria when Origen retired from Alexandria to Caesarea. ❖ Heraclas retained the School for a short time because on the death of Pope Demetrius he was elected to the patriarchal throne.	his *Chronology* attests Pope Heraclas' great reputation as an intellectual. [17] ❖ He loved philosophy and studied the Greek books as much as he could. ❖ His people loved him so much and called him "Papa" in Coptic, or Pope, which means "Father."
6 **St Dionysius the Great of Alexandria** Dean: 232-246 14th Pope of Alexandria: 246-270	❖ St Athanasius called him "Teacher of the Universal Church". ❖ He was born in Alexandria in about 190 to pagan parents. He was not Christian until an old Christian woman sold him some manuscripts of St Paul's letters. After reading them, he came back for more and she led him to the Church where he learned about and converted to Christianity. ❖ He succeeded Heraclas as head of the School of Alexandria in 232; and ca. 246 he succeeded him again as pope of Alexandria, which was, beyond all comparison, the greatest and most powerful See of Christendom. ❖ He faced the challenge of preserving his Church in the midst of persecutions: Decian 250 and Valerian in 257. ❖ He showed leniency to heretics or apostates who repented. ❖ Issue of those who were baptized by heretics – St Cyprian of Carthage vs. Stephen of Rome: St Cyprian maintained that heretical baptism was invalid, since baptism was an act of the Church and heretics were, by definition, outside the society; while Stephen opposed the practice of rebaptism, and excommunicated those who adhered to it. Pope Dionysius sent a letter to Stephen in order to convince him to abandon his erroneous teaching, but in vain. [18] ❖ Nepos, bishop of Arsinoe (in Fayum) held views of an earthly kingdom (millennium); Pope Dionysius held a synod in 255 and condemned this heresy.	❖ The number of theological writings of St Dionysius, both formal treatises and more familiar epistles, was very considerable; all these however have been lost, with the exception of what Eusebius and other early authors have referred to. Only fragments of his work survive intact. ❖ St Athanasius, St Basil, and Eusebius have large fragments included in their works. ❖ *A Treatise On Promises*: Two books; attacked the books *On Promises* written by Nepos. ❖ *A Book On Nature*: Addressed to Timotheus; refutes the Epicurean materialism view of the universe. ❖ *A Work Against the Sabellians*: Addressed to Dionysius of Rome, in four books or letters, dealing with his own unguarded comments in the controversy with Sabellius. [19] ❖ *Refutation and Apology*: On the Trinitarian doctrine. ❖ *Commentaries on Ecclesiastes* and on *St Luke*. ❖ Letters, quoted frequently by Eusebius: *To Novatian; to Basilides; to Fabius*; to *Domitius and Didymus*; *to Stephen of Rome*; *to Germanus*; to *Paul of Samosata*; festal letters. ❖ In *On the Reception of the Lapsed to Repentance* (Exegetical Fragments 7), Pope Dionysius writes: *Christ, who is the good Shepherd, goes in quest of one who wanders and is lost in the mountains. He calls this one back when it runs from Him, and when He has found it, troubles Himself to carry it on His shoulders. But we, on the other hand, harshly reject such a Shepherd when He approaches us. Don't bring such misery on yourself and, by behaving this way, drive a sword into yourself.* [20]

7 **Theognostus** Dean: ca. 265-282	❖ A priest of Alexandria and a writer of about the middle of the 3rd century. ❖ He used language in book ii of the *Hypotyposes* of very Arian sound, speaking of the Son as a creature.	❖ Dogmatic work "*Hypotyposes*" (*The Outlines of the Blessed Theognostus of Alexandria , Interpreter of the Scriptures*) in seven books followed the doctrine of Origen and especially his subordinationism.
8 **Pierius** Dean: ca. 275	❖ Among the very eminent men who flourished near his own time, Eusebius mentions Pierius as, a presbyter of Alexandria and speaks of him as greatly renowned for his voluntary poverty, his skill in the exposition of Scripture and in discoursing to the public assemblies of the Church (*Hist. Eccl.*, vii. 32). ❖ He suffered during the persecution of Diocletian. ❖ Jerome called him "Origen Junior". According to Photius, he shared in some of the errors of Origen, on some subjects, especially the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and the pre-existence of souls. [21]	❖ He wrote several treatises extant in St Jerome's time. ❖ *On the Prophet Hosea:* A homily which he recited on Easter Eve, wherein he noticed that the people continued in church on Easter Eve till after midnight. [22] ❖ *Logio* (concerning the Logos). ❖ *On the Gospel of St Luke.* ❖ *On the Mother of God.* ❖ *The Life of St Pamphilus*, martyred 309. ❖ *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians.*
9 **St Peter the Seal of Martyr**s Dean 17th Pope of Alexandria: 293-311	❖ His father (Theodosius) was a priest in Alexandria, and his mother (Sofia) was a pious Christian. She had a vision of St Peter and St Paul, on their feast day, promising her a son. On the same day the following year, she gave birth to Peter. ❖ He grew very close to the Church and was ordained priest at the age of 16; then was selected to become the dean of the School of Alexandria. ❖ He succeeded Theonas as Pope of Alexandria. ❖ Eusebius speaks in terms of the highest praise of St Peter. He refers to him as a divine bishop, both for the sanctity of his life, and also for his diligent study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He also styles him as "that excellent doctor of the Christian religion," who, indeed, during the whole period of his episcopate, which he held for 12 years, obtained for himself the highest renown. [23] ❖ He faced persecution as well as heresies and divisions within the Church. ❖ He had a dispute with Meletius, Bishop of Asyut, who	**1. Letters** ❖ *The Paschal Epistle:* St Peter's chief work known as the "*Canonical Epistle*," contains fourteen penitential canons governing the future of the lapsed. It was written in 306. ❖ Another *Paschal Letter***.** ❖ *A Letter Concerning Melitius*: St Peter addressed it to his clergy, rebuking Melitius for invading his diocese and performing illegal ordinations. ❖ *A Letter Concerning Persecution and the Celebration of the Eucharist***.** ❖ *A Letter Written During Persecution.* ❖ *A Letter to Diocletian.* ❖ *A Letter to Bishop Apollonius of Lycopolis.* ❖ *A Letter During Persecution Concerning Heretics***.** ❖ *A Letter About a Visit to Oxyrhynchus***.** **2. Homilies** ❖ *The Teaching "Didaskalia".* ❖ *A Homily on Riches.* ❖ *On the Epiphany***.** **3. Theological Works**

	took a hard-line with repenting Christians who denied the faith, as well as ordaining priests outside his jurisdiction. ❖ He governed the Church about three years before persecution broke out under Maximin. ❖ In the ninth year of the persecution (311) he offered himself to martyrdom in secret to spare his people who gathered at the jail from saving him. When offering a prayer requesting the persecution to end, a voice came from heaven and was heard by a saintly virgin who was standing nearby; it said, "Amen. May it be according to your wishes." After completing his prayer he was beheaded. [24] ❖ In a fragment of his work on the Paschal Festival St Peter says it is usual to fast on Wednesday, because of the Jews "*taking counsel for the betrayal of the Lord*;" and on Friday "*because He then suffered for our sake*." "for", he adds, "*we keep the Lord's day as a day of gladness, because on it He rose again*." [25]	❖ *On The Godhead*: The Acts of the Council of Ephesus (431) contain three quotations from this work. It is a defense of the true divinity of Christ and is against Subordinationism. ❖ *On the Advent of Our Savior*: He wrote, "*All the signs which He showed, and His miracles, prove that He is God made man*." [26] ❖ *On the Soul*: Opposing Origen's views on the pre-existence of souls and reincarnation ❖ *On the Resurrection Body*: Against Origen's doctrines. **4. Miscellaneous Fragments** ❖ In *Fragment VII* from the *Writings of St Peter*, he wrote: *Wretch that I am! I have not remembered that God observes the mind, and hears the voice of the soul. I turned consciously to sin, saying to myself, God is merciful, and will bear with me; and when I was not instantly smitten, I ceased not, but rather despised His forbearance, and exhausted the long-suffering of God.* [27] ❖ The acts of *The Martyrdom of St Peter* is extant in Coptic, Greek, Latin and Syriac versions.
10 St Alexander of Alexandria 19th Pope of Alexandria: 312-328	❖ One of the key figures at the Council of Nicaea (325) who succeeded Pope Achillas of Alexandria in 312. ❖ He is styled "the staunchest upholder of evangelical doctrine," "the patron and protector of apostolic doctrine;" and "that bishop of divine faith, full of wisdom and of zeal enkindled by the Holy Spirit." [28] ❖ During his papacy the Arian controversy arose and the Meletian schism continued. ❖ He was the first to detect and condemn Arius, and taking his stand upon passages of Holy Scripture, he taught that the Son of God was of one and the same majesty with the Father, and had the same essence with the Father who begat Him. ❖ He first tried to win Arius and his adherents through kindness, but as they insisted to preach their heresy, a synod in Alexandria under the presidency of the pope	**1. Epistles** ❖ St Epiphanius states that a collection of 70 letters by Pope Alexander existed. All of them were lost except for two very important encyclicals concerned with the Arian controversy. ❖ In his *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* St Alexander wrote: *But that the Son of God was not made "from things which are not," and that there was no "time when He was not," the evangelist John sufficiently shows, when he thus writes concerning Him: "The Only-Begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father." (Jn 1:18). For since that divine teacher intended to show that the Father and the Son are two things inseparable the one from the other, he spoke of Him as being in the bosom of the Father…John says, "All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made." (Jn 1:1-3). For if all things were made by Him, how comes it*

	together with 100 bishops censured the false teaching, degraded Arius from the order of priesthood, and excommunicated him and his adherents. ❖ This proving ineffectual, the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea was convened, in which Arius and Meletius were condemned. ❖ He is said by tradition to have never read the Gospels in a sitting posture, and to have never eaten on fasting days while the sun was in the sky (Bolland. *Act. SS.*, Feb. 26). [29] ❖ In 328 the pope died after enduring many trials in combating Arianism.	*that He who gave to the things which are made their existence, at one time Himself was not. For the Word which makes is not to be defined as being of the same nature with the things which are made; since indeed He was in the beginning, and all things were made by Him and fashioned "from things which are not."* [30] **2. Sermons** ❖ Of his sermons one is preserved in a Syriac and a Coptic translation: *De anima et corpore deque passione Domini.* The introduction deals with the relation between soul and body; the main part with the necessity and the fruit of the Lord's Passion. It is strongly rhetorical in character.
11 **St Athanasius the Apostolic** Born: ca. 297 Pope: 328	❖ St Athanasius is the grandest figure of the early Church after the time of the apostles. He was raised up to complete their testimony to the eternal Logos, and to suffer like them; hence his title, "the Apostolic." ❖ He was born in Upper (Southern) Egypt in about 297. ❖ According to Rufinus, Pope Alexander was impressed by the child Athanasius when he was acting out baptismal rites with other children on the shore at Alexandria. ❖ Pope Alexander ordained him a deacon at the age of 15 in 312, then a priest at the age of 21 in 318 and appointed him as his personal secretary. ❖ He lived through the period of severe persecution under Diocletian (303 - 311) and knew many of the martyrs and confessors in Alexandria. He learned from them the true meaning of fighting for the faith. ❖ During his youth, St Athanasius spent time in the desert under the guidance of St Anthony the Great. St Athanasius regarded the monastic life as martyrdom and the monks the successors to the martyrs. He also looked upon monastic life as warfare against the enemy: *"Living this life, let us be carefully on our guard*	❖ It is astonishing that despite such privations and amidst all his activities he found time for a number of literary productions. An eighth century monk wrote: "If you find a book by Athanasius and have no paper on which to copy it, write it on your shirts." **1. Dogmatic** ❖ *On the Incarnation* (*De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*): Written in 318 when St Athanasius was just 21 years of age, it is one of the most accurate and comprehensive works ever written on the doctrine of the Incarnation to date. ❖ In *On the Incarnation*, he wrote: *In speaking of the appearance of the Savior amongst us, we must speak also of the origin of men, that you may know that the reason of His coming down was because of us, and that our transgression called forth the loving-kindness of the Word, that the Lord should both make haste to help us and appear among men. For of His becoming incarnate we were the object, and for our salvation He dealt so lovingly as to appear and be born even in a human body. Thus, then, God has made man, and willed that he should abide in incorruption; but men, having despised and rejected the contemplation of God, and devised and contrived evil for themselves, received*

and, as is written, 'with all watchfulness keep our heart' (Prov. 4, 23). For we have enemies powerful and crafty – the wicked demons; and it is against these that our wrestling is." [31]

- ❖ He accompanied Pope Alexander to the Council of Nicaea in 325. His courage, zeal, logic, and wisdom earned him the admiration of the 318 bishops in attendance and the envy of the Arian heretics.
- ❖ He was chosen to succeed Pope Alexander on 8 June 328 becoming the 20th Pope of the See of St Mark.
- ❖ St Athanasius spent most of his life combating the heresy of Arius. Although Arius and his adherents were condemned and excommunicated at the Council of Nicaea, they continued unrelentlessly to cause trouble for St Athanasius and the Church.
- ❖ The Arians saw St Athanasius as their principal foe and worked tirelessly against him. Through intrigue, lies, conspiracy, and threats they gained a following with hierarchs and civil authorities in the East. Eventually, they persuaded the Emperor Constantine to send him into exile in Gaul in 335. [32]
- ❖ With St Athansius in exile, Arius thought he could receive communion in Alexandria; when his attempt failed, he went to Constantinople to meet the Emperor Constantine. Arius convinced him that he upheld the true faith of the Church, and the Emperor accepted his statement. Eusebius and those with Arius then escorted him to the church.
- ❖ **Alexander, the bishop of Constantinople** informed Arius he could not take part in communion since he was a heretic, but Arius said he had been invited by the Emperor and insisted that he would receive communion the next day. Alexander prayed fervently that he would not see such an atrocity and asked God that his life or Arius' life be taken.

the condemnation of death…For this purpose then, the incorporeal and incorruptible and immaterial Word of God comes to our realm…He took pity on our race, and had mercy on our infirmity, and condescended to our corruption, and, unable to bear that death should have mastery He takes unto himself a body, and that of no different sort from ours…And thus taking from our bodies one of like nature, because all were under the penalty of corruption of death He gave it over to death in the stead of all, and offered it to the father - doing this, moreover of His loving-kindness. [34]

2. Apologetic

- ❖ *Against the Heathen* (*Contra Gentes*): an apology for the Christian faith and a refutation of paganism.
- ❖ *Statement of Faith* (*Expositio Fidei*)
- ❖ *Apology Against the Arians (Apologia contra Arianos)*: Considered the most authentic source of the history of the Church in the first half of the 4th century. St Athanasius is far superior to any other historians of the period for his personal testimony to the facts, and for his great accuracy and use of actual documents.
- ❖ *Apology to Constantius (Apologia ad Constantium)*
- ❖ *Defence of the Nicene Council and of His Flight (de Decretis)*
- ❖ *Defense of His Flight (Apologia de Fuga:* Written ca. 357 in response to the charge of cowardice circulated against him by the Arians.
- ❖ *History of the Arians (Historia Arianorum ad Monachos)*
- ❖ *Four Discourses Against the Arians.* In *Discourse I,* St Athanasius wrote of Arius and the Arian heresy:

The mockeries which he utters…repulsive and unreligious, are such as these: 'God was not always a Father;' but 'once God was alone, and not yet a Father, but afterwards He became a Father.' 'The Son was not always;' for whereas all things were made out of nothing, and all existing creatures and works were made,

❖ That evening when Arius and his supporters were parading through the city, celebrating their victory, Arius suffered a violent hemorrhage of the bowels and died instantly.

❖ St Athanasius' exile in Gaul was the first of many; during his life, he was exiled on five separate occasions for a total of 17 years:
- Under Constantine (335 - 337) to Treves in Gaul.
- Under Constantius (339 - 346) visited Rome.
- Under Constantius (356 - 362) in the Egyptian desert.
- Under Julian (362 - 363) in the Egyptian desert; and
- Under Valens (365 - 366) in the Egyptian desert.

❖ It seemed that St Athanasius was the only leader who stood against the Arians, hence the Latin phrase "Athanasius contra mundum" - "Athanasius against the world"; it was his great encomium and the epitome of his glorious life and warfare.
❖ St Athanasius' courageous battle against the Arian heresy saved the Church from disaster.
❖ For his life-long defense of the truth, St Athanasius is called the "Father of Orthodoxy."
❖ He ordained Frumentius (Abbot Salama) as the first bishop of Ethiopia in 330.
❖ St Athanasius spent the last seven years of his life in Alexandria; he died on 15 May, 373.
❖ He presided over the Church for 46 years.

❖ St Gregory of Nazianzus, who was a contemporary of St Athansius said of him:

In praising Athanasius, I shall be praising virtue. To speak of him and to praise virtue are identical, because he had, or, to speak more truly, has so the Word of God Himself was 'made out of nothing,' and 'once He was not,' and 'He was not before His origination,' but He as others 'had an origin of creation.' 'For God,' he says, was alone, and the Word as yet was not, nor the Wisdom…Moreover he has dared to say, that 'the Word is not the very God; 'though He is called God, yet He is not very God,' but 'by participation of grace, He, as others, is God only in name…With such words has the unreligious spoken; maintaining that the Son is distinct by Himself, and in no respect partaker of the Father…Shall not all humankind at Arius' blasphemies be struck speechless, and stop their ears, and shut their eyes, to escape hearing them or seeing their author?…For behold, we take divine Scripture and set it up as a light upon its candlestick, saying: - Very Son of the Father, natural and genuine, proper to His essence, Wisdom Only-begotten, and Very and Only Word of God is He; not a creature or work, but an offspring proper to the Father's essence. Wherefore, He is very God, existing one in essence with the very Father …For He is the expression of the Father's Person, and Light from Light, and Power, and very Image of the Father's essence…And He ever was and is, and never was not. For the Father being everlasting, His Word and Wisdom must be everlasting. [35]

3. Ascetic

❖ *The Life of Anthony (vita Antoni).*
❖ *A number of Treatises on Virginity etc.*
The pseudo-Athanasius Life of Syncletica.
❖ Fragments of other treatises on virginity in Coptic, Syrian and Armenian translations.
❖ Sermons.

4. Exegetical

❖ *On the interpretation of the Psalms.*
❖ *Commentary on Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs,*

	embraced virtue in its entirety…He was sublime in action, lowly in mind; inaccessible in virtue, most accessible in intercourse; gentle, free from anger, sympathetic, sweet in words, sweeter in disposition; angelic in appearance, more angelic in mind; calm in rebuke, persuasive in praise, without spoiling the good effect of either by excess, but rebuking with the tenderness of a father, praising with the dignity of a ruler, his tenderness was not dissipated, nor his severity sour…In some cases eager to prevent a fall, in others devising means of recovery after a fall; simple in disposition…clever in argument, more clever still in mind…His disposition sufficed for the training of his spiritual children, with very little need of words. The honors at his departure surpassed even those of his return from exile; the object of many tears, his glory stored up in the minds of all, outshines all its visible tokens. [33] ❖ This oration *On the Great Athanasius* was probably delivered in 380.	*Genesis, and St Luke.* **5. Letters** ❖ *Festal or Easter (Christian Paschal) letters.* In Letter V for Easter of 333, St Athanasius wrote: *"Again the time has arrived which brings to us a new beginning, even the announcement of the blessed Passover, in which the Lord was sacrificed. We eat, as it were, the food of life, and constantly thirsting we delight our souls at all times, as from a fountain, in His precious blood…He stands ready for those who thirst; and for those who thirst there is the word of our Savior, 'If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink.' "* (Jn 7:37). [36] ❖ Four letters *to Serapion*. ❖ Doctrinal letters on the "Teaching of Dionysius," on the decrees of Nicaea, and several others dealing with the Incarnation. ❖ Official Episcopal letters. ❖ Personal letters. ❖ In his *Letter to Adelphius*, St Athanasius wrote: "*We do not worship a creature…But we worship the Lord of creation, Incarnate, the Word of God. For if the flesh also is in itself a part of the created world, yet it has become God's body*." [37]
12 Serapion of Thmuis bp. ca. 339	❖ He was an abbot of a colony of monks, afterwards he was ordained bishop of Thmuis, a town in Lower Egypt. ❖ He was distinguished by the wonderful sanctity of his life and the power of his eloquence. ❖ He was called *Scholasticus* on account of his great learning and writings. ❖ He was an intimate friend of St Anthony the great and made him the confidant of his visions and bequeathed to him one of his two sheepskins; St Athanasius received the other. ❖ He was the recipient of a number of important epistles from St Athanasius.	**1. Against the Manichaeans** ❖ St Jerome tells us that Serapion wrote an excellent treatise against the Manichaeans, another on the titles of the Psalms and useful epistles to various persons. ❖ The work on the Psalms is lost, but that against the Manichaeans has only recently been recovered entire. ❖ St Jerome calls it an *egregious liber*. There is sufficient evidence of his rhetorical, philosophical and theological learning. **2. The Euchologion** ❖ A unique 11th century manuscript of the Laura Monastery of Mount Athos contains an *euchologion* or sacramentary, which is ascribed to Serapion of Thmuis.

	❖ As early as 339 St Athanasius sent one of his Festal Letters 'to the beloved brother and fellow minister,' which indicates that Serapion must have been consecrated before this date. ❖ But, most important of all, St Athanasius addressed to him four letters concerning the Holy Spirit, which present the first formal treatise ever written upon this subject and bear witness to their mutual regard and frequent intercourse. ❖ Moreover, in 356 St Athanasius sent Serapion with four other Egyptian bishops and three presbyters to the court of Constantius in order to refute the calumnies of the Arian party and conciliate the ruler.	❖ Consisting of 30 prayers, the collection is certainly Egyptian and dates in its present form to the 4th century. ❖ 18 of these are connected with the Eucharistic liturgy, seven with baptism and confirmation, three with ordination, two with the blessing of the oils and funerals. ❖ It is true that certain sentences in the preface agree word for word with the Liturgy of St Mark (also known as the Liturgy of St Cyril). ❖ However, the anaphora is explicitly attributed to him and the epiklesis of the Logos seems to be Serapion's own contribution. ❖ Sts Peter and Theophilus, the patriarchs of Alexandria, testify that St Athanasius and the Liturgies of Alexandria never knew of any invocation asking for the coming of the Logos upon the bread and the cup. [38] **3. Letters** ❖ Of the 'useful epistles to various persons', which Serapion wrote according to St Jerome, only a few are extant.
13 Didymus the Blind b. ca. 313- d. ca. 398	❖ He was born ca. 313, and at the age of four, lost his sight entirely. ❖ He learned to write by means of wooden tablets in which the characters were engraved, and invented engraved writing for the blind. ❖ Despite the tremendous handicap of lifelong blindness, he amassed an amazing treasure of erudition without ever going to school. He gained a comprehensive and thorough knowledge in philosophy, rhetoric, and mathematics. ❖ The knowledge of which he gives proof of in his works supposes a bewildering memory. He became so familiar with the Scriptures, that he knew them almost all by heart. ❖ He attracted people not only by his teachings but also by his asceticism; he lived almost a hermit's life. ❖ St Athanasius did not hesitate to appoint him as the	❖ He interpreted many books of the Bible; a large number of quotations from his work still existing. He followed Origen in the allegorical method of interpretation and textual criticism. **1. Dogmatic Works** ❖ *On the Trinity*: 3 books written between 381 and 392; still existing. ❖ *On the Holy Spirit*: The Greek original lost; the Latin translation still existing. ❖ *Contra Manie*: Still existing in 18 short articles. ❖ Lost dogmatical works **2. Exegetical Works** ❖ Old Testament: Psalms, Job, Isaiah, Zechariah, Proverbs. ❖ New Testament: Gospels of Matthew and John, Acts, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians. **His Theology** ❖ The Trinity: He concludes that there is only one operation of the three divine persons. He uses the catch-phrase "one

	head of the catechetical school of Alexandria. He was the last of its famous teachers, since that celebrated institution closed down after his death. ❖ He stood in high esteem with the Egyptian anchorites; with St Anthony in particular, who congratulated him, that, though blind to the perishable world of sense, he was endowed with the eye of an angel to behold the mysteries of God. [39] ❖ He was visited by St Anthony several times and by Palladius four times. ❖ Among his students and friends were Sts Gregory Nazianzen, St Jerome, Rufinus, Palladius. ❖ St Jerome mentions Didymus as his *magister*, praises his learning, and testifies to his influence on the divines of his time in the West and in the East. Rufinus calls him "a prophet" and "apostolic man." ❖ He was 85 years old when he died ca. the year 398.	essence, three hypostases." He is above all, the theologian of the Trinity. ❖ The Mother of God: He calls St Mary 'Theotokos', a title which originated in Alexandria, and he addresses her as 'the perpetual virgin.' ❖ Original sin: All the children of Adam have inherited the original sin from their parents. ❖ The influence of Origen can be seen in his doctrines of Christology, the Holy Spirit, and Anthropology. ❖ He defended the *De Principiis* of Origen; he was anathematized at the Council of Constantinople in 553 together with Origen and Evagrius Ponticus for their doctrines of the pre-existence of the soul and the Apokatastasis (universal salvation). The sixth council in 680 stigmatized Didymus as a defender of the abominable doctrine of Origen, and the seventh repeated this in 787. [40] ❖ As a result of the condemnations almost all of his works have perished.
14 St Theophilus of Alexandria ca. 385 - 412	❖ St Theophilus was the third successor to St Athanasius and the predecessor of St Cyril, his nephew, as pope of Alexandria. ❖ He shepherded the Church of Egypt for 28 years, fully conscious of the important role that his see had played in the history of both Church and empire. ❖ He was undoubtedly a man of great intellectual ability. He made his tremendous influence felt in all the political questions that in his day affected either Church or state. ❖ Three important events are especially connected with his name: 1. The decay of paganism in Egypt. 2. The controversy over Origen. 3. The deposition and exile of St John Chrysostom. ❖ An ardent admirer of Origen until 399 and a friend of his adherents like John of Jerusalem, he later	❖ He must have been a prominent Church author; his literary bequest was of considerable volume (cf. Theodoret, *Ep*. 83; Leo M., *Ep*. 75; Gelasius, *Ep*. 42, 3, 3; Gennadius, *De vir. ill*. 34). Unfortunately, very little remains. **1. Paschal Canon** ❖ He composed a table showing the Easter cycle for the years 380 to 479, which he sent to the victorious Emperor Theodosius about 388 or a little later. **2. Epistles** ❖ Several letters were translated into Latin by St Jerome and are preserved among his collected epistles. ❖ Ep. 92 to the bishops of Palestine and Egypt, reporting on a gathering in Alexandria ca. 399 against the Origenists. Two others were addressed in the summer of 400 to Jerome. ❖ Ep. 97 asking Jerome's aid in hunting out the Origenists. ❖ Ep. 89 introducing the monk Theodore, who was on his way to Rome.

condemned him.

- It seems that St Theophilus in one of his Paschal Letters had expressed himself in favor of God's incorporeity. Thereupon some monks conceived grave doubts regarding his Orthodoxy and sent a commission to examine him. To forestall a riot by these anthropomorphists and, also anxious for political reasons to come to terms with them he said to them, that as he saw them he beheld the face of God. Thus they imagined that he was anthropomorphist like them.
- The Four Tall Brothers in the Nitrian desert, Dioscurus, Ammon, Eusebius and Euthymus, who were admirers of Origen stirred against him. They went to St Chrysostom to complain about him before the emperor.
- He condemned Origenism at a synod in Alexandria in 401.
- The empress misused this problem and arranged for the holding of the Synod at Oak in 403 under the presidency of Pope Theophilus that deposed St John Chrysostom and sent him into exile.
- In all justice, we must remember that most of our information comes from the enemies of Pope Theophilus, especially Palladius, *Dialogus de vita Joh. Chrysostomi*.
- Arnobius (*Conflictus* 2,18), Theodoret (*Ep*. 170), Leo the Great (*Ep*. 53.63.74), Vigilius Taps. (*C. Eut*. I, 15) and others regard St Theophilus as a Father of the Church. [41]
- The *Apophthegmata Patrum* proves the reputation he enjoyed in monastic circles. He was on excellent terms with the two famous abbots Horsiesios and Ammon, whom he always venerated as his spiritual fathers.
- The Coptic Church celebrates his feast on October 28 (Babah 18 according to the Coptic Calendar), the Syrian Orthodox in the same month.
- The last sent to St Epiphanius in 401, admonishes that prelate to call a synod to condemn the Origenists.
- A communication to Abbot Horsiesios and another to the Pachomian monks in Phbow.
- We know of many more of his letters. Of some fragments remain, of others nothing.

3. Paschal Letters

- He composed a great number of Paschal Letters: 26, at least, that we know of.
- Three, preserved in translation of Jerome's were issued in 401, 402 and 404 and have an anti-Origenistic tendency, although they also polemize against Apollinaris of Laodicea.

4. Against Origen

- Most probably this was merely a collection of the anti-Origenistic synodical and Paschal Letters.

5. Homilies

- A homily on the judgment is preserved in its Greek text in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.
- A homily on *Contrition and Abstinence* is extant in a Coptic translation.
- A homily on the *Cross and the Thief* survives also in Coptic.
- A homily on the *Institution of the Eucharist* is really a discourse of Pope Theophilus directed against the Origenist monks.
- Several homilies extant in Coptic and Ethiopic have not been edited as yet. Of others only fragments remain.

The number of fragments preserved in Catenae indicates that Pope Theophilus had a name as an exegete as well.

7. Spurious Writings

- A large number of writings are of doubtful authenticity.
- St Theophilus calls Christ, "*Priest and Sacrificial Lamb, sacrificing and sacrificed, recipient and distributor*." [42]

15 Synesius of Cyrene b. ca. 370 – 375	❖ Born at Cyrene in Libya between 370 and 375 of a noble pagan family, he received his early schooling in his native town. ❖ For his higher studies he betook himself to Alexandria, where the famous Hypatia initiated him into the mysteries of Neo-platonism philosophy. ❖ He visited Athens and was deeply disappointed because 'philosophy had departed from the city'. ❖ In 399 the citizens of the Pentapolis sent him as their ambassador to the imperial court at Constantinople. ❖ He returned in 402 after he had obtained a remittal of the excessive taxes levied on his country. ❖ Soon afterwards he went to Alexandria to be married. His words 'God and the law and the sacred hand of Theophilus gave me my wife' (Ep. 105) indicate that it was a Christian wedding ceremony, performed by the Pope of Alexandria. He was elected bishop and metropolitan of the Pentapolis by the people of Ptolemais and the patriarch of Alexandria did not hesitate to consecrate him. St Synesius was reluctant to accept: *"Though I am fond of amusements – for from my childhood I have been accused of being mad after arms and horses – still, I will consent to give them up – though I shall regret to see my darling dogs no longer allowed to hunt, and my bows moth-eaten! Still, I will submit to this if it is God's will."* [43] ❖ As a bishop, St Synesius governed his diocese very successfully with strong sentiment for justice and peace. Nevertheless in his heart he remained more of a Platonist than a Christian, as his writings betray. ❖ None of his letters exhibit a date later than 413; therefore he must have died shortly afterwards. ❖ He belongs to those historical figures between dying Hellenism and rising Christianity which attract our	**1.** *The Discourse on Royal* is a courageous speech made in 400 at Constantinople, in the presence of the Emperor Arcadius, in which he describes the duty of a young ruler to be the image of God. His criticism of the existing conditions at the imperial court is of astonishing frankness. **2.** *The Egyptian Discourses* or *On Providence*: a strange treatise: Its content is mostly supplied by events at the imperial capital, disguised as the native myth of Osiris and Typhos, the one the image of virtue, the other of crime. He was a true disciple of Plato who believes in the return of all things and the unlimited succession of worlds. **3.** *Dion* or *His Mode of Life* was written in his own defense about 405. It consists of 3 parts. The first deals with Dion of Prusa and his writings; the second justifies his preoccupation with philosophy and rhetoric; in the third he gives his own philosophy of life as Dion's follower. He criticizes the monks who despise literary work, and prefers the Greek way of life to 'the other', the Christian (Dion 9, 13). He attacks the sophists for their ambition, because they look only for honor and reputation, not for truth. **4.** *The Praise of Baldness* is a **humorous sophistic** on the advantages of being bald. He uses arguments from nature, history and mythology, looking at baldness as a sign of wisdom and a stamp of similarity with God. He refutes a treatise of Dio Chrysostom: "The Praise of Hair." **5.** *On Dreams* composed in 403 or 404, is a tractate on the causing and the meaning of dreams which the author regards as divine revelations. **6.** *The Gift* is dedicated to a certain Paeonius at Constantinople, to whom he sent it with a fine astronomical instrument. **7.** Letters: Consist of 156 items. Some of them were written to Hypatia, his teacher. **8.** Hymns. **9.** Two Orations: Both of them are masterpieces of rhetoric. **10.** Homilies: Only two fragments remain, and give us an

	attention at once. He has been called 'the Platonist in the mitre.'	impression of him as a preacher.
16 **St Cyril the Great** The Pillar of Faith b. ca. 375 – 380 Pope: 412 d. 444	❖ St Cyril's name is forever connected with the second great Christological controversy, which led to the Council of Ephesus (431) and the condemnation of Nestorius. ❖ St Cyril was born, in Alexandria, between 375 and 380, and received his classical and theological training besides the instruction he had received from his uncle, Pope Theophilus. ❖ He studied the works of Origen, St Athanasius and Didymus the Blind, and read the works of St Basil the Great and St Gregory of Nazianzus. Also he studied the Hebrew and Syriac languages, but he wrote almost all his works in Greek, and perhaps little in Coptic. ❖ His uncle sent, him to St Macarius' Monastery, where he became a disciple of St Serapion for 5 years. ❖ His uncle appointed him deacon, then a priest. He accompanied him in the Synod of the Oak, where St John Chrysostom was condemned in 403. ❖ He succeeded Pope Theophilus in October 412. ❖ He fulfilled his uncle's advice by admitting the name of St John Chrysostom to the diptychs. ❖ Stormy relations were established between him and Orestes, the prefect of Alexandria for his relentless fight against the last remnants of paganism. "The first outbreak of violence came when a great devotee of [St] Cyril…was caught eavesdropping on the occasion when the prefect was issuing regulations for the Jewish theatricals on the Sabbath. Orestes…arrested his [St Cyril's] supposed spy, and there and then publicly tortured him." [44] ❖ St Cyril's struggle with Alexandria's Jews dates back to the first years of his episcopate. F. Young says, "[St] Cyril complained to the Jewish leaders, who promptly	❖ Ten of the thirty books of St Cyril survive. ❖ He came into conflict with the Novatians who refused the repentance of those who denied their faith through persecution. ❖ His literature was devoted to exegesis and polemics against the Arians until 428, and then was almost completely taken up by his refutation of the Nestorian heresy. **1. Commentaries on the Old Testament** ❖ Before his episcopate he wrote 17 books titled: ***"The Adoration and Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth"*** (*De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*). It is written in the form of a dialogue between St Cyril and Palladius, an allegorical and typological exegesis of specifically chosen passages of the Pentateuch which do not follow the order of the Old Testament text. ❖ *Glaphyra (Selections):* 13 Books contain expositions of select Pentateuch passages. Seven books are devoted to Genesis, three to Exodus, and one book each to Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. ❖ *Commentary on Isaiah.* ❖ *Commentary on the Minor Prophets.* **2. Commentaries on the New Testament** ❖ *Commentary on the Gospel of St John:* This Commentary, the longest of St Cyril's biblical commentaries, is the most important source for the Christology of St Cyril's biblical exegesis. This commentary has more of a dogmatico-polemical tendency. St Cyril's Christology is more developed in this commentary than in his Old Testament commentaries. ❖ *Commentary on the Gospel of St Luke*: It is of a different nature, being in reality a series of homilies on the text with practical rather than dogmatic purposes. ❖ *Commentary on the Gospel of St Matthew*. ❖ The Catenae contain in addition a number of fragments of St

plotted against the Christians. At night they raised an outcry that a certain Church was on fire, and then slaughtered all the Christians who turned out to save it. [St] Cyril promptly led a great army of Christians to the synagogues and drove all Jews out of the city." [45]

- St Cyril is a common father for the universal Church and his Cyrillian formula *one incarnate nature of God the Word* – μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λογοῦ σεσαρκωμένη (mia physis tou Theou Logou sesarkomene) is the cornerstone in all ecumenical dialogues on Christology.
- The Greek Church regards him as the ultimate authority in all Christological questions. He was called the 'Seal of the Fathers' by Anastasius Sinaita in the 7th century, and given the title 'Doctor ecclesiae' in 1882.
- A doxology taken from the Greek Orthodox Church – "*Hail Translucent star, defending warrior to the Holy Virgin who shouted out above all the hierarchs at Ephesus that she was the Mother of God… Rejoice most blessed Cyril, spring of theology and river of the knowledge of God. Never cease to intercede with Christ on our behalf*" [46] – exemplifies the high esteem held by churches other than the Alexandrian Church.
- The Syrian Orthodox Church also venerates St Cyril in her liturgy in the Commemoration of the Ascetic Fathers and Teachers (*Malphone*):

  > *particularly Mar Qoryllos (Cyril) the Great, the high tower who is in steadfastness and with all sincerity proved that the Word of God became man, our Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnate.* [47]

- St Cyril's feast day in the Coptic Orthodox Church is celebrated on 3 Apip (10 July), and in the Greek Orthodox Church on June 9 and again on January 19.

St Cyril and Nestorianism

- Nestorius publicly drew a plain distinction between the

Cyril's lost commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans, on First and Second Corinthians and on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

3. Dogmatic Writings Against the Arians

- *Thesaurus de sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate*: A Trinitarian summa comprising the Arian objections, their refutation and the lasting results of the controversies of the 4th century. St Cyril, relying particularly on St Athanasius, plainly and succinctly summarizes the entire anti Arian polemic.
- *De Sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate* (On the Holy and Consubstantial i.e. Co-essential Trinity).

4. Dogmatic Writings Against the Nestorians

- *Adversus Nestorii blasphemias*: The first of the anti-Nestorian treatises is the *Five Tomes against Nestorius* composed in the spring of 430.
- *De recta fide* (On the True Faith): Written shortly after the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy.
- *The Twelve Anathemas* or *"Chapters" against Nestorius:* Were written in the same year 430. St Cyril found it necessary to defend them in three apologies. In the first two he refutes two attacks which accused him of Apollinarianism and Monophysitism, one by Andrew of Samosata, the other by Theodoret of Cyrus. Thus St Cyril's first apology *Against the Oriental Bishops* answers the charges of Andrew, who represented the Syrian bishops, and the second, the *Letter to Euoptius*, those of Theodoret. The third defense of the anathema is found in the brief commentary written while St Cyril was in prison at Ephesus in August or September 431.
- *Apologeticus aimperatorem*: This is an apology to the Emperor Theodosius II immediately after St Cyril's release and his return to Alexandria. He justifies therein his actions, both before and during the Council of Ephesus.
- *Scholia de incarnation Unigeniti* (The Scholia on the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten): Composed after 431, gives

	man Jesus, born of Mary, and the Son of God who dwelt in Him. There were two distinct persons in Christ, the Son of Mary and the Son of God, who were united not hypostatically but only morally. Christ should be called not God but "God-bearer (*Theophoron*)." Subsequently, Mary was not the mother of God, but of the man Jesus in whom the Godhead dwelt. ❖ Nestorius and his followers criticized the wise men for their kneeling to the Child Jesus, and preached that the divinity was separated from the humanity at the moment of Crucifixion. ❖ St Cyril sent letters to Nestorius in which he explains the nature of Christ, as the Incarnate Son of God, one Person, and declared St Mary's right to be called "*Theotokos*." **Nestorius said**, "*that which was formed in the womb of Mary is not God Himself…but because God dwells in **Him** whom **He** has assumed, therefore also He who is assumed is called God because of Him who assumes Him. It is not God who has suffered, but God was conjoined with the crucified flesh…We will therefore call the holy virgin Θεοδόχος[the vessel of God] but not Θεοτόκος [God bearer]*." [48] ❖ Afterwards a local council was held in Alexandria, and a synodical letter was sent to Nestorius, clarifying the same doctrines mentioned in St Cyril's letters, and concluding with "**The Twelve Articles or Anathemas**." ❖ In early 430 he addressed a second dogmatic epistle to Nestorius in which he elucidated the mystery of the Incarnation on the basis of tradition and the inalterable faith of the Church. This epistle was subsequently approved at the Council of Ephesus. ❖ Finally, St Cyril released his *Five Tomes Against Nestorius*, which he composed in the spring of 430.	first an explanation of the names of Christ, Emmanuel and Jesus, and then defines the hypostatic union as opposed to a mixture or external association only. ❖ *Adversus nolentes confilterie sanctam Virginem esse Deiparam* (Against Those That Do Not Acknowledge Mary to Be the Mother of God): It was composed after the Council of Ephesus. ❖ *Contra Diodorum et Theodorum*: This tractate was written against Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teachers of Nestorius. It consists of three books. Numerous fragments are extant in Greek and Syriac. It was most probably composed about 438. ❖ *Quod unus Sit Christus*: This dialogue on the unity of person in Christ is a thorough refutation of the false doctrine that the Word or Logos of God did not become flesh but was united only to a man, with the result that there is the true and natural Son of God and 'another one,' an adopted son of God, who does not share the dignity and honor of the first. **5. Apology Against the Books of the Impious Julian Dedicated to Theodosius II** ❖ After more than twenty-five years of his episcopal career (ca. between 433 and 441), St Cyril found it necessary to write a large apologetic book: *For the Holy Religion of the Christians Against the Books of the Impious Julian*. Dedicated to Theodosius II, it refutes Julian the Apostate's three books *Against the Galilaeans* of the year 363. **6. Letters** ❖ St Cyril's large correspondence is extremely important for the history of the relationship between the Church and the Empire. **7. Paschal Letters** ❖ St Cyril continued the custom of the popes of Alexandria of sending every year to all the churches of Egypt an announcement in the form of a pastoral epistle on the date of the Feast of the Resurrection and the preceding fast.

The Council of Ephesus

- On 22 June, 431, the Third Ecumenical Council was held at Ephesus, over which St Cyril presided.
- Nestorius was deposed from his see and excommunicated, his doctrines were condemned, the creed of Nicaea was reaffirmed, and formal approval was given to the title "*Theotokos*."
- The council discussed Pelagianism which holds that man can take the initial steps towards salvation through his own efforts, independent of divine grace.
- The Antiochian side attacked the decisions of the third Ecumenical Council in Ephesus in the year 431.

The Counter Council

- John bishop of Antioch was delayed in attending on the date when the council convened. John came into the neighbourhood of Ephesus, and sent to St Cyril a letter, which is still extant, full of friendliness, setting forth the details of their delay but they were soon to arrive within five or six days. In spite of this St Cyril waited another 16 days and then two metropolitans of the patriarchate of Antioch came and repeatedly declared that "John had bid them say that they were no longer to defer the opening of the Synod on his account, but, in case it should be necessary for him to delay longer, they were to do what was to be done." [49]
- When John of Antioch arrived, joined by Theodoret of Cyrus and 43 delegates, a rival meeting was held in which St Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus were deposed.
- St Cyril was jailed for two months and was then permitted to return to his see, but Nestorius was exiled to Petra in Arabia and then to the deserts of Egypt where he died ca. 449.
- A reconciliation between John and St Cyril was finally effected in 433, but the dispute between the Antiochian

8. Sermons

- Not more than 22 sermons remain of all the homilies which St Cyril delivered during his long papacy, and even they are sometimes in only fragmentary condition.

9. The Liturgy of St Cyril

- The liturgy that was instituted by St Mark the Apostle, the evangelist in the land of Egypt, and the first pope of the Church of Alexandria, was translated from Greek into Coptic by St Cyril the Great.
- The Coptic version of the *Liturgy of St Mark* is known as the *Liturgy of St Cyril*.
- "*The Liturgy of St Cyril is 'to all intents and purposes the same as that of St Mark… the Liturgy of St Mark came, as we have it now, from the hands of St Cyril, or, to use the expression of Abu'lberkat, that [St] Cyril 'perfected' it.*" [50]
- About John 5:36 ("If the Son shall make you free you shall be free indeed.") in his *Commentary on the Gospel of St John*, St Cyril wrote:

> *To Him alone (He says) Who is by nature Son of a Truth free and remote from all bondage is found to pertain the power of freeing and to none other whatever save He. For as He because He is by nature Wisdom and Light and Power, makes wise the things recipient of wisdom, enlightens those that lack light and strengthens those that want strength; so because He is God of God, and the Genuine and Free Fruit of Essence That reigns over all, He bestows freedom on whomever He will…when the Son Himself wills to free any, infusing his own Good, they are called free indeed, receiving the Dignity from Him who hath the Authority…Let them then who rejoice in the dignities of the world not be swollen with lofty conceits nor let them run down the glory and grace of the saints, even though they should be little and spring of little after the flesh: for not the seeming to be illustrious among men suffices to nobility before God, but splendor*

	and the Alexandrian theology was temporarily stopped to reappear in an extreme degree in the Council of Chalcedon in 451. **Reunion of 433** ❖ The emperor himself exerted his influence to re-establish peace between St Cyril and John of Antioch, for each represented a different theological point of view. John sent Paul of Emesa to Alexandria with credentials for St Cyril, and a profession of faith that was to serve as the basis of an agreement. St Cyril accepted it and sent back to Antioch his famous letter "*Laetentur caeli*," i.e. the "Formulary of Reunion of 433." ❖ The problem was externally solved, but the "Reunion" itself was being taken in a different way by the Alexandrian and the Antiochian sides.	*in life and virtuous ways render a man free indeed and noble. Joseph was sold for a bond-slave, but even so was he free, all radiant in the nobility of soul: Esau was born of a free father and was really free, but by the baseness of his ways he showed a slave-befitting mind.* [51] ❖ At his Acclamation at the Council of Ephesus after the reading of St Cyril's writings against Nestorius, Bishop Hermogenes of Rhinocourouros said: *It is one and the same Holy Spirit, which the Fathers at Nicaea had within them as they defined the faith, which was in the soul and voice of our most holy and venerable Father the Archbishop Cyril when he dictated this for the correction of the errors that the reverend Nestorius introduced to the church.* [52]
17 **St Dioscorus** 25th Pope of Alexandria: 444	❖ **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ At Edessa, in 435, a newly elected bishop Ibas turned out to be a zealous disciple of Theodore of Mospuestia (a Nestorian Antiochian leader), and the dogmatic controversy now began to concentrate on Theodore's writings. John of Antioch was replaced in 443 by his nephew Domnus, who had unstable character, a man only capable of sensible decisions when he had Theodoret of Cyrus at hand to advise him. In the year 444 **St Cyril died and was succeeded by Dioscorus**. At Constantinople Proclus was succeeded (446) by Flavian. He seemed to believe in "one incarnate nature of the Word of God out of the two," but Theodoret of Cyrus changed his mind. ❖ According to Church tradition St Dioscorus sent letters to his brothers the bishops. Theodoret of Cyrus replied with a kind letter. Afterwards Theodoret declared his enmity to St Dioscorus, for the latter sent a letter to	Council of Chalcedon should not be deemed deserving any attention by impartial scholarship." [58] ❖ Many Chalcedonians state that the schism which occurred through the Council of Chalcedon was a reaction of what happened in the Second Council of Ephesus; first because Dioscorus omitted the *Tome of Leo*, and second because he was violent. But we shall argue these two charges. ❖ Concerning the **first charge**, after the council of 449, Pope Dioscorus was blamed by Pope Leo of Rome for not allowing the reading of his Tome. At the Council the Roman legates appealed at least three times for the papal letter to be read, there was no one in the council to support them, so far as our record goes, at Ephesus, apart from the Roman legates**, Pope Dioscorus alone suggested the reading of the letter**. Pope Dioscorus himself made this point at Chalcedon, "*Twice*", he said, "*I asked for presenting the letter of Leo to the council*." ❖

Domnus of Antioch, blaming him kindly and openly for his encouragement to Theodoret to preach the people with the Nestorian dualism of the Person of Christ, despising the Council of Ephesus and declaring that Nestorius was not a heretic. Domnus sent a kind reply to St Dioscorus, saying that he enjoyed his letter.

St Dioscorus and Eutyches

- On 8 November 448, Eusebius of Dorylaeum accused Eutyches, an aged and respected archimandrite of the Monastery of Job-Constantinople who was responsible for over 300 monks, of not having the faith of the Nicene Fathers to Flavian patriarch of Constantinople.[53]
- Flavian called for a Home Synod beginning on 10 November 448, resulting in the condemnation of Eutyches. Eutyches accepted the Alexandrian Christological formula "one incarnate nature of the Word of God." In his eager opposition to Nestorianism, he defended the formula "one nature" against that of the "two natures," but without sound theological basis, as he inferred that the Godhead absorbed the manhood of Christ.
- Eutyches refused to appear before the council until the seventh session. He denied ever having said that Jesus' flesh came from heaven. He repeated that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary, and added that it was a complete incarnation, but he refused to conclude that His flesh was co-essential with us.
- Eutyches was condemned, at the Home Synod. He appealed to the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica, and lodged a complaint to the emperor.[54]

The Second Council of Ephesus in 449

- Leo of Rome wrote to Eutyches, praising his zeal in

The **second charge: Was St Dioscorus Violent?**

- Metropolitan Gregorius Behnam of the Syrian Orthodox Church, after publishing the imperial letter of Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinus, translated from the Syriac to the Arabic, gives the following remarks:

1. The Council was not held on the demand of Pope Dioscorus, and there were no previous letters between the Alexandrian pope and the emperors. This means that St Dioscorus demanded no personal benefit.
2. The imperial letters did not describe St Dioscorus with titles more honorable than others. This means that there was no previous agreement between the emperor and St Dioscorus.
3. The imperial letters revealed the increased theological troubles that spread in the See of Constantinople.
4. Decisions were accepted through voting, and we do not hear that one of the bishops who were present resented or withdrew from the Council, except Flavian and Eusebius on giving a statement against them.
5. In the opening word which Juvenal of Jerusalem addressed, he described Leo of Rome as a "saint" and "lover of God." These titles revealed the council's spirit.
6. When Leo of Rome asked the emperor of the West, Valentinus, his mother and his sister Pulcheria to intercede before Theodosius II, to summon another council, the latter sent them a letter praising the Council of Ephesus, starting that it was controlled by the fear of God.
7. In the imperial message at the opening of the Council, the emperor revealed the violence of Theodoret of Cyrus. [59]
8. Until the last moment of this council, St Dioscorus did not speak an evil word against Rome, while Leo in his epistles referred to the Pope of Alexandria as "that Egyptian plunderer," and "preacher of the devil's errors," who tried to force his "villainous blasphemies" on his brethren.

The Council of Chalcedon

- Although the Council of Chalcedon is believed to have con-

opposing the Nestorian dualism, and at the same time wrote to Flavian to be kind to Eutyches

- But he changed his mind perhaps when he heard that the emperor wrote to St Dioscorus, Pope of Alexandria, summoning him to a council to be held to discuss this matter.
- Emperor Theodosius II convened the second Council of Ephesus in 449. He asked Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria to preside. He was the nominee of the emperor with special instruction to investigate the condemnation of Eutyches at the Home Synod of 448, and in light of the Nicene faith as ratified by the Council of Ephesus 431.
- Eutyches declared Orthodox statements.
- After examining the proceedings of the First Council of Ephesus in 431, and the Home Synod of Constantinople in 448, and reading a written confession of the Orthodox faith which Eutyches had (deceitfully) submitted to this Council, the Council condemned and deposed Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople and Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaem, and acquitted Eutyches and restored him to his clerical post.[55]
- Leo of Rome, however, denounced the council of 449 as a *lactrocinium*—a meeting of robbers—which Frend thinks 'has stuck for all time.'[56] In rejecting the council in this way Pope Leo may not have had in mind any iniquity which critics in later times spoke concerning it and which pro-Chalcedonian writers delighted in perpetuating. The real grievance of Pope Leo, as the term which he employed clearly indicates, 'was that the council did not honor his *Tome*'.
- He may well have seen in this an act of ignoring his papal authority and even robbing his see of the divine right which he was claiming for it. An assembly which dared to pay no attention to his papal mandate was for demned Eutyches, the man whom it really dealt with was not the old monk, but Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria, for Eutyches was not present at the council but he was away in north Syria, where he had been exiled even before the council was held.
- St Dioscorus was condemned not because of theological heresy but due to political circumstances which played the principal role in this council. Some of the leaders of this council, such as Anatolius of Constantinople considered him quite Orthodox. Many of the scholars confirm his Orthodoxy.
- It was the emperor's favor that the council had to draw out Alexandria and declare a new formula to bring the entire Church in the East under the leadership of Constantinople. Emperors - for political reasons - wished to bring down Alexandria from the hegemony which it enjoyed in the East and to set up Constantinople in its place. They used Leo as a tool to realize their desire exploring his enmity to Alexandria that seemed to him an obstacle in spreading his papal supreme authority over the Church world-wide.
- We quote Dioscorus here:
  "*I know full well, having been brought up in the faith, that the Lord has been begotten of the Father as God and that the same has been begotten of Mary as man. See Him walking on the earth as Man and creator of the heavenly hosts as God;* [60] *see Him sleeping in the boat as a man and walking on the seas as God; see Him hungry as man and giving food as God; see Him thirsty as man and giving drink as God; see Him tempted as man and driving demons away as God and similarly of many other instances.*"
- He says also: "*God the Logos co-essential with the Father eternally became co-essential with man in the flesh for our redemption, remaining what He was before.*" [61]
- *If then, He who is born of the Virgin is named Jesus, He is the same by whom all things came into being. One is the nature, because, one is the person, who cannot be separated*

	Pope Leo a meeting of robbers, and not a council of the Church.[57] ❖ Pope Dioscorus has also been branded by pro-Chalcedonians for the death of the patriarch Flavian. The death of Flavian, which occurred probably not long after his condemnation, was an event which elicited sympathy for the cause of Pope Leo, particularly in Constantinople. This incident came to be interpreted in later times by the opponents of the council of 449 as having been caused by physical injuries inflicted on him at the council, though no such story was told at Chalcedon in 451. As VC Samuel states, "as to the council of 449, it is only fair that no adverse comment which is clearly not established by the minutes of the	*into two; for, in the incarnation, the nature of the body does not exist by itself and the nature of the Godhead separately.* ❖ *In the flesh He really suffered passion for us. Like us, He was fatigued of traveling - it was not an illusion. Like us, He slept. He felt the pain of the wounds, inflicted on Him by Pilate...We also confess that He had the rational soul which endured for us suffering like this. He endured the reality of the passions of' the soul, namely sorrow, anguish and grief.* ❖ *There is no nature (substantio) which has not (its) hypostasis, and there is no hypostasis which exists without its prosopon; if then there are two natures after the Incarnation, there are of necessity two prosopa; but if there are two prosopa, there are also two Christs, as these new teachers preach.* ❖ See also Chapter Ten: Monophysite Vs Miaphysite.
18 **St Timothy Aelurus** 26th Pope Of Alexandria 457-477	❖ In the absence of the prefect of Alexandria, when the Copts heard that their pope Dioscorus had departed to the Lord while he was in exile, the people met with the clergymen and had his disciple Timothy ordained patriarch. ❖ He was a monk from the monastery of Qalamon who had been ordained a priest in Alexandria by Pope Cyril the Great. Timothy was an ascetic zealous man, known for his theological knowledge. ❖ When the ruler returned to Alexandria he considered their behavior as a rebellion against Byzantium (Constantinople). Therefore, he took the side of Proterius the alien patriarch, keenly persecuting the Copts. In spite of severe violence he only won to his side four bishops who followed the alien Patriarch. When Pope Timothy left Alexandria on a pastoral trip, Count Dionysius arrived at Alexandria to commit atrocities against the Coptic Church causing it to be wounded by Christian hands.	❖ When Professor Meyendorff wrote about him, and about Sts Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabbug he said that the non-Chalcedonians had at that time strong theologians contrary to the Chalcedonians. ❖ In his exile, Pope Timothy was careful to send ***letters of faith*** to his people. ❖ He explained in these letters the faith of the Church cautioning the people from the Eutychian thought, giving reference to the writings of St Dioscorus. ❖ The **treatise** of St Timothy, the Pope of Alexandria, written during the sixties of the 5th century when he was in his exile, reveals that St Dioscorus – his predecessor – was fighting against Nestorianism. ❖ The writings and letters of Timothy are lost in the original language, but his final and most voluminous work survives in complete form only in an Armenian translation. It is titled, "***The Book Written by Mar Timothy, Bishop of Alexandria, against the Synod of Chalcedon***" and was written during his exile in the Crimea.

	❖ Upon the return of the Pope, the Count closed the gates of the city to prevent him from entering it. A mob assembled and nothing could control their feelings. They clashed with the army and fought a battle in which there were many casualties. The mob entered the Church and killed Proterius the alien and burned his corpse in the street. ❖ Pope Timothy and his brother were first exiled to Gangra and then to the Crimea. ❖ The people of Gangra island loved him and called him "the miracle-performer" and "the charitable." ❖ The ruler then appointed "Salophaciolus" as patriarch, and the people boycotted him for seven years. ❖ In the year 475, Marcian the emperor died and was succeeded by Basiliscus. His physician who was from Alexandria interceded to the emperor to set the pope free. ❖ The pope then left his exile and went to Constantinople to thank the emperor. There he was welcomed by both the Church and state. He requested from the emperor the return of the exiled bishops. He called for a council that was attended by 500 bishops. In the council he confirmed the anathema against the Eutychian heresy and the rejection of the *Tome of Leo*. Reconciliation among the churches of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria was established and lasted for a number of years.	❖ In it Timothy wrote: ❖ *On the fact that one must assert as one our Lord and God Jesus Christ with His flesh and must assign everything to Him, what is divine and what is human, and that He became co-essential with us according to the body but also remained God, and that it is godless to separate Him into two [natures]'…wherein also is the refutation of the blasphemies contained in Leo's Tome and of the godlessness of the definition of the synod held at Chalcedon.*[62] ❖ Two more shorter works, one ***Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon***, and one ***Against Leo's Tome*** survive in Syriac translations. **His Theology** ❖ Following St Cyril, Timothy maintained that the nature of the incarnate Logos is one, since the humanity assumed by Him being without a specific hypostasis of its own. This humanity, however, is whole and complete and is united to the divine nature without alteration or confusion, so that Christ, incarnate and becoming man according to the economy, is co-essential with men according to the flesh, and co-essential with God the Father according to the divine nature. By virtue of this union, Timothy, like St Cyril could claim that the Logos, while remaining impassible in His divine nature suffered on the cross thanks to the flesh He assumed. [63]

[1] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 2.
[2] P Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan, 1910, p. 819.
[3] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, p. 271.
[4] JD Douglas, ed., *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, rev. edn, Zondervan Publishing House, Michigan, 1978, p.734.
[5] *ap*. Jerome, *Ep*. XCV. 1-2 in J Stevenson, *Creeds, Councils & Controversies*, SPCK, London, 1966, p. 176.
[6] LD Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their History and Theology*, Liturgical Press, Minnesota, p. 233.
[7] Douglas, op. cit., p.734.
[8] Jerome, *Ep*. XXXII 4 in Stevenson, op. cit., 1966, p. 172.
[9] ibid., p. 173.
[10] H Bettenson, ed. trans., *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St Clement of Rome to St Athanasius*, Oxford University Press, London, 1956, p. 321.
[11] J Stevenson, ed., *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrating the History of the Church to AD 337*, rev. edn, SPCK, London, 1987, p. 202.
[12] ibid., p. 202.
[13] GL Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, SPCK, London, 1952, p.133.
[14] Stevenson, op. cit., 1987, p. 203.
[15] ibid., p. 204.
[16] DD Wace & WC Piercy, eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1994, p. 445.
[17] A Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 374.
[18] Bettenson, op. cit., 1956, p. 32.
[19] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 6, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, p. 79.
[20] CD Hudson, JA Sharrer, & L Vanker, eds, *Day by Day With the Early Church Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1999, p. 64.
[21] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 156.
[22] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 844.
[23] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 258.
[24] *Coptic Synaxarium*, vol. 1, St Mark and St Bishoy Coptic Orthodox Church, Illinois, 1999, p. 137.
[25] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 832.
[26] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 115.
[27] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 6, p. 283.
[28] ibid., p. 290.
[29] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 13.
[30] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 292.
[31] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, Christian Classics, Maryland, p. 42.
[32] ME Molloy, *Champion of Truth: The Life of St Athanasius*, Society of St Paul, New York, 2003, p. *xix*.
[33] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*, vol. 7, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, pp. 269, 271-72, 280.
[34] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*, vol. 4, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, pp. 38, 40.
[35] ibid., pp. 308-09, 311.
[36] ibid., p. 517.
[37] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 60.
[38] ibid., p. 83.
[39] P Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 3, Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan, 1910, p. 922.
[40] ibid.

[41] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 101.
[42] A Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2: part 4, Mowbray, London, 1996, p. 247.
[43] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 107.
[44] FM Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon: A Guide to the Literature and its Background*, SCM Press, London, 1983, p. 243.
[45] ibid.
[46] JA McGuckin, trans., *St Cyril of Alexandria on the Unity of Christ*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1995, p.32.
[47] *The Bread of Life: The Book of the Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch*, Bishopric of Mount Lebanon, 2002, p. 160.
[48] CJ Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, vol. 3, AMS Press, New York, 1972, p. 16.
[49] ibid., p. 45.
[50] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 7, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, p. 534.
[51] *St Cyril of Alexandria: Commentary on the Gospel According to S. John: vol. 1*, James Parker & Co, Oxford, 1874, pp. 631-632.
[52] McGuckin, op. cit., p. 7.
[53] VC Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1977, p. 16.
[54] ibid., p. 24.
[55] Metropolitan Bishoy, *A Documentary on the Nestorian Assyrian Church of the East*, The Diocese of Damiette, Kafr El Sheikh, and Barary, The Monastery of St Demiana, Cairo, 2004, p. 82.
[56] Samuel, op. cit., p. 38.
[57] ibid.
[58] Note 184 in ibid, p. 41.
[59] GB Behnam, *Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria: Defender of the Faith (444-454)*, (Arabic), Cairo, 1968, pp. 41-44 in T Malaty, *The Coptic Church as a Church of Erudition and Theology*, St George's Coptic Orthodox Church Sporting, Alexandria, 1986, p. 123.
[60] SGF Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, p. 392 in Malaty, op. cit., p. 139.
[61] SGF Perry, *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, p. 393 in Malaty, op. cit., p. 139.
[62] Grillmeier, op. cit., p. 13.
[63] Di Berardino, op. cit., p. 841.

THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH

ANTIOCH

- Antioch was the center of Christendom outside Palestine.
- The community strongly supported St Paul's anti-Judaizing policy. According to tradition, the first bishop of the city was St Peter, and by the beginning of the 2nd century, the Church had a well-established organization, with the celebrated St Ignatius as its bishop.
- By the 4th century, the see ranked after Rome and Alexandria as the third patriarchal see of Christendom, reaching its greatest extent of jurisdiction at the end of that century.
- Gradually, however, the rise in power of the see of Constantinople, and to a lesser extent the erection of Jerusalem into a Patriarchate, reduced the importance of Antioch, and its influence also suffered later with the Nestorians.
- Antioch was captured temporarily by the Persians in 540 and 611, and was absorbed into the Arab caliphate in 637. The Byzantine empire recaptured the city in 969, and it served as a frontier fortification until taken by the Seljuq Turks in 1084. In the same year it was captured by the Crusades and was taken by the Mamluks in 1268.
- Antioch was captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1516 and it remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until shortly after World War I, when it was conveyed to Syria under a French mandate. The province of Hatay, of which *Antakya* is the capital, became autonomous in 1938, and the following year was ceded to Turkey.

THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH

- Modern scholars normally consider **Lucian of Antioch** as its founder. The real beginning of the school as such was with **Diodore of Tarsus** in the final decades of the 4th century.
- Schaff says, "*The Antiochian School was not a regular institution with a continuous succession of teachers, like the Catechetical School of Alexandria, but rather a theological tendency, more particularly a peculiar type of hermeneutics and exegesis which had its center in Antioch.*" [1]
- Quasten writes, "*Arius…received his theological training at Antioch in the School of Lucian.*" [2] He won many adherents among his former schoolmasters; a great number of bishops of the patriarchate belonged to the different Arian parties. **At the same time, we do not ignore the great Orthodox Fathers of this School**.

ITS PROGRAM

- The students as well as the ordained teachers lived in the *Asketerion* τό ἀσκητήριον, and special rules regulated the daily program of this cenobite.
- The students joined the *Asketerion* for ascetic-theological training and promised to remain unmarried.
- Study hours were long. The principal subject of the curriculum was the Bible. In addition, questions of dogmatics, apologetics, and ethics were studied; philosophy was also taught.
- Diodore, in contrasting the exegetical methodology of the School of Alexandria declared, "*We demand them to know that we prefer much more the historical comprehension of the text than the allegorical*."

STAGES OF THE ANTIOCHIAN SCHOOL

- Its establishment was between 260-360. It was founded by Lucian and Dorotheus, who were prominent.
- Its great period or **the golden stage** was 360-430. It reached its peak under Diodore of Tarsus. The scholars of this period were Flavian, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and above all St John Chrysostom.
- Its period of decadence was after 430. It started to decline at the appearance of Nestorianism. Its followers were admitted to the School of Edessa, until it was ruined. Then they went to Nisibis in 489.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF ANTIOCHIAN THEOLOGY (in comparison with Alexandrian Theology)

1. The Emphasis on the Human Nature of Christ

- In Scripture and theology, the Antiochian theology's methodology was more rational, historical, and literal than that of Alexandria.
- Many of the Antiochians emphasized the human element of the text, and this allowed for a critical reading of the Holy Scripture that accounted for doctrinal development within the text itself. This human emphasis scarred the school's reputation.
- The efforts to uphold the unity of God degenerated into the doctrine of Paul of Samosata who considered the Logos as impersonal, and not distinct from the Father, and saw in Christ only a man in whom the divine Logos had dwelt and operated.[3] It was in this doctrine that Antiochian theology found its roots and paved the way for Nestorianism.
- Many of the Antiochians, in controversy with the Arians and Apollinarians, exalted the humanity of the Incarnate Logos so high as to consider it another person alongside the Logos, with the risk of compromising Christ's unity…Hence the clash between Nestorius and St Cyril.
- In contrast, the supremacy of Logology is one of the main features of Alexandrian theology. The Alexandrians stressed the Logos-doctrine in an effort to bridge the gap between God and the world, and as the bond of union between the religion of the Gospel and Gentile science.
- Alexandrian theology aims at a reconciliation of Christianity with philosophy, or, subjectively speaking, of *pistis* (faith) with *gnosis* (knowledge); but it seeks this union upon the basis of the Bible, and the doctrine of the Church. Its center, therefore, is the Divine Logos, viewed as the sum of all reason and all truth, before and after the Incarnation.
- Although the Alexandrian theologians were ascetics, they did not despise their own bodies, **nor deny our Lord's manhood**, but they concentrated on the soteriological aspect. Their asceticism was biblical; it did not deny human free-will, nor despised earthly life with its properties. It is noteworthy that even the Egyptian hermits considered extreme ascetic practices evil, in the same way as luxury.

2. The *Dyophyseis* δύο φύσεις (Two natures of Christ)

- The Nestorians held the two natures apart i.e. two separate natures after the union, causing them to believe that the Divine Nature (Logos) is a person and the complete human nature, perfect in everything belong to the human nature, is another person. Therefore their belief is two persons in Christ, because they misunderstood that the rational human soul is a person. The Alexandrians say that the rational soul is a quality of the human nature i.e. the Logos united to Himself a complete human nature having a rational soul as one of its essential qualities. St Cyril was adamant in rejecting the Aristotelian empiricist view that identity was reducible to brain act. [4]

3. The Historico-Grammatical Method of Exegesis of the Holy Scriptures

- The School was opposed to the allegorical interpretation of Alexandria keeping as a prudent, literal sense, either proper or metaphorical, and insisting on the helps afforded by language-study. Occasionally the spirit was neglected for the letter. For the mystical, they substituted a moral teaching (especially that of St John Chrysostom). They cultivated Aristotelian philosophy. This diversity of method in the two schools was a

diversity of mind: Alexandria's idealism and speculative bent owed inspiration to Plato, Antioch's realism and empiricism to Aristotle; the former inclined to mysticism, the latter to rationalism.

PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH

- **Arius** received his theological training in the School of Antioch, whose teaching led to the great "Trinitarian controversy." Lucian is often called the father of Arianism. **The fact is that the most famous writers of this ecclesiastical province, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret of Cyrus, defended the Nicene faith against the Arians, though they must be regarded as the main representatives of the School of Antioch**.
- **Nestorius** and **Theodoret of Cyrus** also belonged to this theological school. A one-sided use of the historico-grammatical method led some of its representatives into errors that are partly to be explained by a rationalistic attitude (the desire to rid Christian doctrine as far as possible from all elements of mystery): into Arianism, Macedonianism, Apollinarianism, Pelagianism and Nestorianism.
- **Apollinaris of Laodicea** belonged to this exegetical school. About the year 373 Apollinaris was lecturing there.

ALEXANDRIAN AND ANTIOCHIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL THOUGHTS

- While the Alexandrian school adopted the "***hypostatic union***" "ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν" or the "***natural union***" "ἕνωσις κατὰ φύσιν" of the Godhead and the manhood to assert the oneness of Jesus Christ, the Antiochian School accepted the "***indwelling theology***," that is, the Godhead dwells in a man, as if Jesus Christ were two persons in one, to assert that no confusion had occurred between the Godhead and manhood, and to avoid attributing human weakness to His divinity.
- The starting point of the Alexandrian School was John 1:14 "And the Word became flesh," while that of the Antiochian was Colossians 2:9 "For in Him dwells the fullness of the Godhead bodily."
- Imperial and church politics played their role in this controversy to create a huge gap between the leaders of these schools.

✞ ***Alexandrians***: This very God of very God united to Himself our human nature.

✞ ***Antiochians***: Jesus is the Perfect Man, who obeyed with his own free will the will of the Logos who assumed Him as Adam the Second in the renewal of the human race. The **Man** whom the Logos took to Himself, they insist, is altogether unique among men.

✞ ***Alexandrians***: The Logos has so entered into human experiences that the passion has real meaning for Him as the **Incarnate Logos**, he has become the Suffering One. According to the hypostatic union, **the divine Logos was the only personal subject experiencing all the acts of the incarnation** so **it was permissible to attribute the experience of both natures to one and the same person.** The Alexandrians maintain that all the actions and sayings reported of Jesus Christ in Scripture are those of the one Person, the Logos as He has become man.

✞ ***Antiochians***: They insist that it was Christ and not the Logos who suffered and so the passion of Christ looses its endless value as the passion of the Incarnate God and this destroys our redemption completely. They were fearful lest passibility should be attributed to the Logos in His divine nature.

THE ALEXANDRIAN HYPOSTATIC UNION "ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν"

- St Cyril, in his struggle against Nestorius explained the "*hypostatic union*" as a "natural union" and "real unification." **The Word of God united our nature to Himself and made it His own**, that is, in Him is effected a real unification of Godhead and manhood. In other words this theory does not ignore the difference of natures, but it insisted on the oneness of Christ by declaring His one incarnate nature of two, without confusion of natures or separation. It conserves at least two ideas:
  1. Manhood was not an independent *hypostasis* ὑπόστασις over and against the Logos.
  2. The union of the natures was inward and real.
- For "*hypostasis*" is the entire "*ousia*" which has come into concrete existence, while "*prosopic union*" signifies the external aspect of the object or person, whereby one hypostasis of a class is distinguished from another. St Cyril rejected the Antiochian theory of "***indwelling,***" that is, the Godhead of Christ dwelt in a man and that there are two persons in Christ, or the theory of "*conjunction*" or "*close participation*" as insufficient to reveal the real unification, but permits the division of natures of Christ as Nestorius taught.
- St Cyril refused the term "prosopic union." In his *Second Letter to Nestorius* (*Ep*. iv. 7) he said, "*For the Scriptures has not said that the Word united the person* [the union of persons] *of a man to Himself, but that He became flesh*." [5] The term hypostasis for St Cyril always meant the personalized nature i.e. the person together with the nature he possessed. The term hypostatic union (*ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) for him always meant the union of natures in one single person (prosopon). This is why to speak about "hypostatic union" is automatically speaking about "natural union" (physical union). For the same reason, St Cyril used both the expressions (Mia physis tou Theo Logou sesarkomene - μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λογοῦ σεσαρκωμένη) and (Mia hypostasis tou Theo Logou sesarkomene - μία *ὑπόστασις* τοῦ θεοῦ λογοῦ σεσαρκωμένη), since hypostatic union for him always meant natural union. The Incarnate Logos is co-essential in Godhead with the Father and co-essential with us in manhood without sin. Two natures for St Cyril continued to exist in the union and are distinguished in thought alone τῇ θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ.

THE ANTIOCHIAN *DYOPHYSEIS* δύο φύσεις (TWO NATURES) (See p. 72)

- Some Antiochian leaders treated the "*hypostatic*" union of St Cyril with suspicion, as if it were Apollinarian. They adopted their theory to assert Christ's manhood and to confirm Him as a real and perfect man. However they say that there are two natures after the union, and then their thought developed to speak about two persons and not only two natures in Jesus Christ.
- Apollinaris of Laodicea states that Christ has no human soul, believing that thus he asserts the hypostatic union. He believed that the manhood of Christ is incomplete.
- The reaction is their adoption of the "*Dyophyseis*" theory to assert three facts in the Incarnation:
  1. The manhood of Christ was real and perfect. The Antiochians stress on the genuine and complete humanity of Jesus Christ.
  2. There was no confusion between the natures of Christ.
  3. The Godhead is impassible, God did not suffer, nor did He die.

- These facts are also assured by the true Alexandrian fathers, but not by Eutyches and Apollinaris who were truly not Alexandrian. But the Alexandrians maintained that there is only one composite nature (out of two) after the union in one person.

THE "INDWELLING" THEORY AND THE HISTORIC-GRAMMATICAL METHOD OF EXEGESIS

- The Antiochians adopted the theory of "***indwelling***" not just as a contrast to the Alexandrian theology of the ***hypostatic union***, but in harmony with their interest in the historic-grammatical method of the exegesis of the Holy Scriptures. In Christology, the divergence between Antioch and Alexandria is sharpest. The Antiochian teachers generally insisted upon Christ's true humanity and approached an understanding of His person from the human end. But their more radical advocates, Theodore and Nestorius especially, tended to destroy the concrete unity of Christ's person and to see Him, not as the God-man, but a man indwelt by God. Interest centred on the historical Jesus and the general movement was thus towards an "adoptive" understanding Christ's person. [6]
- Meyedorff says: "The rigid critical approach of men like Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret led them to study the Gospel text literally in order to describe the history of our salvation rather than to explain it. Since they maintained a literal interpretation of the Old Testament, the Antiochians tended, in their exegesis of the Gospels and Epistles to take chiefly into consideration the historical Jesus, the aim and the end of the history of Israel, in the full reality of his human nature."
- Antioch made a fundamental principle to see figures of Christ just occasionally, not always, in the Old Testament. Where the resemblance was marked and the analogy clear, only there would it admit a foreshadowing of the Savior. Types were the exception, not the rule; the Incarnation was everywhere prepared, but not everywhere prefigured. [7]

THE ANTIOCHIANS' THEORY AND OUR REDEMPTION

- The point of union is the idea of the incarnation of God. In the Christological contest, the incarnate historical Christ and the constitution of His divine-human person was the subject of dispute. The notion of redemption, which forms the center of Christian thinking, demands a Redeemer who unites in His person the nature of God and the nature of man, yet without confusion. In order to be a true Redeemer, the person must possess all divine attributes, and at the same time enter into all relations and conditions of mankind, to raise them to God. Four elements thus enter into the orthodox doctrine concerning Christ: He is true God; He is true man; He is one person; and the divine and human in Him, with all the personal union and harmony, remain distinct. [8]
- **Nestorius** believed that St Cyril, by introducing his "***hypostatic union***," speaks as if the divine Logos were deprived of His nature in the Incarnation. St Cyril wanted to reveal the danger of Nestorianism; he explained that Nestorius asserted his commonly known heresy through his conviction that the **person of Jesus Christ is not the same person of the Son of God, the Logos**; i.e. believing in the external conjoining of two persons as an external union only in image. This destructs the whole concept of redemption as accordingly, God the Word would not be, Himself, the crucified Redeemer and Savior of the world. This would make meaningless the everlasting words of John, "For God so loved the world, that He gave His Only-Begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John 3:16). How then would the words that the Lord said through His prophet Isaiah be fulfilled: "I, even I, am the Lord; and beside Me there is no Savior." (Is 43:11). [9]
- Actually, the body of Christ is not the body of any other, but of the Word, i.e. **the human nature of Christ does not belong to any human person, but the personality to which it belongs is the Logos**. St Cyril compares the death of Christ with our death. In our case, he says, it

is properly only the body which dies, and yet we say, "the man dies…" So it is with Christ. The Godhead in itself did not die, but the Logos has what in the first plan belonged to His human nature, and thus we can say, "He suffered death." As man He suffered death, as God He again abolished death; and He could not have wrought our salvation by His divine nature if He had not endured death for our sake in His human nature.

- **Theodoret** states: "*Those who believe that after the union there was one nature of Godhead and manhood destroy by this reasoning the peculiarities of the nature; and their destruction involves the denial of either nature. For the confusion of the united natures prevents us from recognizing either that the flesh is flesh or that God is God*."
- St Cyril settled on the key term, 'union' (*Henosis*). From deity and humanity a union has taken place; not an overlap, or a co-habitation, or a relationship, or a displacement, or an association. None of the things his opponents had proposed. He argued for a union of the strict sense of the word, yet a union that was of the type that did not destroy its constituent elements. It was thus in the manner of the soul-body union in humans, a union that effected new conditions and capacities for both constituents while preserving their basic elements intact, and not, for example, in the manner of a union of sand and sugar (one that did nothing to either element and not really combine either part for any positive end), or a union of fire and wood (one which only worked by destroying the basis of the elements so united).
- He also wrote: "*two natures exist inseparably after the union*." [10] Despite the fact that the Incarnate God is "one nature" (out of two natures) each of them remains and is perceived in its natural property. The natures with the proper energies and wills are united hypostatically and naturally without confusion, without change, without division and without separation, and that they are distinguished in thought alone.[11] (see also *Hypostatic Union*, p. 74).
- St Cyril used a recurrent phrase which his opponents pilloried, interpreting it as an indication that he did not take Christ's human experience seriously; he spoke of how Christ "suffered impassibly" (*apathos epathen*). He points to the whole experience of incarnation as adding a unique aspect to the divinity: the personal experience of human suffering and death. This "adding to" the deity is impossible if considered in terms of natures: divine nature cannot be added to or subtracted from in terms of its essence; but it is possible, St Cyril argues, in terms of personal experience of a life form. And in the incarnation St Cyril sees the eternal God directly suffering and death–insofar as like other men He too is brought under the terms of the human lifeform. St Cyril sees this part of the incarnate transaction as the key of redemption. For although God experiences suffering and death, just as he experiences all other human factors (except sin), he does not become dominated by suffering or death. It is the same with His deity as with His humanity: the conditions of the one do not wipe out the distinct realities of the other, even though there is a dynamic mutual experience passing between the two.
- It was permissible to attribute the experiences of both natures to one and the same person-always understanding that one's language referred to the incarnate condition.
- St Cyril stated, "*This is why we must understand our Lord Jesus Christ in one Person. As the Word He is born divinely before all ages and times, but in these last times of this age the same one was born of a woman according to the flesh. To the same one we attribute both the divine and human characteristics, and we also say that to the same one belongs the birth and the suffering on the cross since He appropriated everything that belonged to His own flesh, while ever remaining impassible in the nature of the Godhead. This is why 'every knee shall bend before Him, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.' " (Phil 2:10-11*). [12]

FATHERS AND THEOLOGIANS OF ANTIOCH AND SYRIA

Because of the continuous struggle between the Persian Empire and the Roman Empire, this area, or part of it, was sometimes subjected to one of these empires. This struggle had its effect on the churches and schools. Sometimes the deans were Orthodox and others Nestorians. The churches there from very early centuries were divided into the Assyrian Church, which is still Nestorian and very zealous towards Nestorianism, and the Orthodox Church. Mentioned are the Fathers and theologians of this region both **the Orthodox and the Nestorian**.

The most ancient documents of Syriac authorship we know of are the *Diatessaron*, *Melito's discourse*, *works (Gnostic) of Bardaisan*, *Acts of Thomas* and the *Teaching of Thaddaeus*. From the 2nd century the theological **School of Edessa** was a seminary for the Persian clergy and the center of academic and literary activity in Syria. **St Ephraem** (4th century) is one of its best representatives. The school was related closely to that of Antioch and devoted to the literal interpretation of Scripture. The East-Syrian School was Oriental as compared with the West-Syrian. It was more poetical, mystical and contemplative, averse to change or evolution, or speculative thought. The Church of Syria was deeply and irreparably injured by the Christological heresies; and the School of Edessa was the last prop of Nestorianism in the Empire. The Emperor Zeno closed it in 489 for this reason, but from its ruins arose the Nestorian school of Nisibis in Persia.

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	BIOGRAPHY	MAIN WRITINGS
1 IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH d. ca. 120	❖ He was the Apostle John's disciple and the second bishop of Antioch. He was sentenced during Trajan's reign (98-117) to be devoured by wild beasts and was ordered from Syria to Rome to suffer his martyrdom. He begged the members of the Church of Rome to take no steps whatever which might defraud him of his most ardent desire – to die for Christ; for death to him was but the beginning of true life. He said: "*How glorious to be a setting sun—away from the world, onto God. May I rise in his presence." (Rom. 2:2) "I fear that your love will cause me damage for I shall not have such another occasion to enter into the possession of God. I am the wheat of God, and I must be ground by teeth of wild beasts, that I may become the pure bread of Christ*." *(Rom. 1,2; 2,1; 4,1).*	❖ He wrote that dogma and Christian doctrines are not a philosophy, but a practical life which believers examine in their church life, in their own private rooms, and in their relationship with others. ❖ He did not quote from the Old Testament. ❖ He wrote in openness of heart and firmness to be cautious of the heretics, but in humility. ❖ His letters had a very strong eschatological attitude. ❖ He is the first to use the term "Catholic [universal] Church," to mean the faithful collectively.

	His Theology ❖ The idea of divine "economy" in the universe is the core of Ignatius' theology. God wishes to deliver the world and humanity from the despotism of the devil. He prepared mankind for salvation in Judaism through the instrumentality of the prophets; their expectation found its fulfillment in Christ. **His Christology** ❖ "There is only one physician both carnal and spiritual, born and unborn, God became man, true life in death, spring both from Mary and from God, first subject to suffering, and then incapable of it - Jesus Christ our Lord (Eph. 7:2). Christ is timeless and invisible but for our sake became visible, the impassible, became subject to suffering and for our sake endured everything (Pol. 3,2). ❖ He attacked the heresy of Docetism. ❖ His Christology was founded by St Paul, but influenced and enriched by the theology of St John. ❖ The Church is called "*the place of sacrifice*" (Eph. 5,2; Trall. 7,2:Phil 4), i.e. Eucharist. He calls the Eucharist, "*the medicine of immortality, the antidote against death, the everlasting life in Jesus Christ*" (Eph. 20,2). **His Mysticism** ❖ Also influenced by St Paul's idea of union with Christ joined to St John's idea of life in Christ and there emerges the ideal favored by Ignatius – the "imitation" of Christ. ❖ Martyrdom as the perfect imitation of Christ; the true disciple of Christ is he who is ready to sacrifice his life for Him. ❖ Inhabitation of Christ and being in Christ.	❖ From his letters a vivid picture of the hierarchical dignity and prestige accorded a bishop in the midst of his flock is obtained. ❖ The bishop is above all the responsible teacher of the faithful, and to be in communion with him is to be safeguarded against error and heresy (Trall. 6: Phil 3). ❖ The bishop is the high priest of the liturgy and dispenses the mysteries of God. ❖ St Ignatius' interpretation of matrimony and virginity shows the stamp of St Paul's influence. ❖ His letters are included in the Apostolic Fathers. ❖ In his Letter to the Ephesians St Ignatius wrote: *Therefore, be eager for more frequent gatherings for thanksgiving [Eucharist] to God and for His glory. For when you meet frequently the forces of Satan are annulled and his destructive power is cancelled in the concord of your faith. There is nothing better than peace in which all hostility is abolished, whether it comes from the powers of heaven of the powers of earth.* [13] ❖ See also p. 12.
2 **THEOPHILUS**	See *The Early Apologists*, under "Theophilus of Antioch," p. 19.	
3 **PAUL** **OF SAMOSATA**	❖ Paul, was a native of Samosata, the capital of the Syrian province of Commagene. ❖ He was governor and secretary of the treasury to Queen Zenobia of Palmyra and, from the year 260, bishop of Antioch.	❖ Paul shared the views of Monarchianism and his Christological ideas remind one of the modalist forms of Adoptianism. ❖ Fragments of the debate between Paul and

(260-268) **AND** **MALCHION OF ANTIOCH**	❖ Soon after his consecration, he taught views which were contrary to the Church's teaching. ❖ He did not recognize three hypostases in God, but according to Leontius (*De Sectis* 3,3) he merely "gave the name Father to God who created all things, that of Son, to him who was purely man, and that of the Spirit, to the grace which resided in the apostles." [14] Jesus was greater than Moses and the prophets, but He was not the Word. Thus the Trinity which Paul recognized was only a Trinity of names. ❖ Three synods were held at Antioch between the years 264 and 268 to deal with his heresy, the first two with no results. The third in 268 declared him as a heretic and deposed him. ❖ His condemnation was by the priest Malchion.	Malchion, taken from the stenographic records, are extant in Leontius of Byzantium, the Emperor Justinian, and Peter the deacon. ❖ According to St Jerome (*De vir. ill.* 71) Malchion was also the author of the encyclical sent out by the bishops after the synod. ❖ Of this, Eusebius quotes several passages, which, however, deal more with Paul's morals and character, copies the minutes of the meeting having been attached to the letters.
4 **LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH** 4th century d. 312	❖ Modern scholars normally consider Lucian of Antioch as the founder of the Theological School of Antioch. ❖ This School stood in opposition to the allegorism of that of Alexandrian. ❖ Lucian was the father of Arianism. Thus this heresy had its roots not in Alexandria, where it was first taught, but Antioch. ❖ He was transported from Antioch to Nicomedia, where the emperor then resided, made a noble confession of his faith before the judge and died under the tortures in prison (312). ❖ Evidently his strictly theological perspectives were heterodox, for Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia claimed to be his students, even calling themselves Lucianists. The association of Lucian with Paul of Samosata and later with his disciple Arius kept him under suspicion for his adoptionist Christology. ❖ The oldest document about Lucian's teaching accuses him of being a successor to Paul of Samosata and the originator of the doctrine which soon became so notorious as Arianism. It is a letter written by Pope Alexander of Alexandria ten years after Lucian's death. [15]	❖ He accepted the pre-existence of Christ, but insisted that this had not been from all eternity. ❖ He was not a prolific writer. ❖ He was a Hebrew scholar known by his critical revision of the text of the Septuagint which was adopted by the greater number of churches of Syria and Asia Minor, and was highly esteemed. ❖ Jerome mentions that copies were known in his days as "*exemplaria Lucianea*," but in other places he speaks rather disparagingly of the texts of Lucian. ❖ Lucian also extended his textual criticism to the New Testament but limited it most probably to the four Gospels. ❖ Jerome refers to his 'small treatise on faith' without referring to its contents.

5 **EUSEBIUS OF EMESA** b. ca. 300	❖ He was early attracted to biblical studies. His mother-tongue was Syriac, and he learned Greek. ❖ He was a disciple of Eusebius of Caesarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis before completing his education at Antioch and Alexandria. ❖ It was from Eusebius of Caesarea whom he contracted the Arian learnings which distinguished him to the end of his life. ❖ He went to Antioch in 331 for further exegetical training. ❖ Then he went to Alexandria to take courses in philosophy. There he became the intimate friend of the Arian, George of Laodicea. ❖ In 340, the Arian Synod of Antioch elected him to replace the newly deposed St Athanasius of Alexandria. But knowing how St Athanasius was beloved by the Alexandrians, he resolutely declined. ❖ Shortly afterwards he became bishop of Emesa (now Homs). The people did not want a scholarly bishop. ❖ He fled to George of Laodicea who helped him to return to Emesa.	❖ He was a very successful author. He wrote: **1.** *Against the Jews, Gentiles and Novatians*. **2.** *Homilies on the Gospels.* **3.** *Commentary on Galatians* in 10 books. **4.** *Treatises against Marcionites,* and *Manichaeans*. **5.** *Sermons*. ❖ Numerous surviving exegetical fragments which show an exegesis with a strongly literalist tendency. ❖ A corpus of 29 homilies almost all on doctrinal subjects. ❖ While fighting on the Eusebian and Anti-Nicaean front, he strongly attacked the opposite extremes of Sabellian and Marcellian monarchianism and radical Arianism (anomoeism) in his writings.
6 **EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH** bp. 324-326	❖ Born at Side in Pamphylia, he was the bishop of Beroea in Syria, then bishop of Antioch toward the end of 324. ❖ He was the first to speak at the Council of Nicaea in 325, and when the Emperor Constantine entered the assembly of the assembled bishops, he greeted him with a welcome address. ❖ It was the same emperor who in 330 drove him into exile to Trajanopolis in Thrace after the Arian synod at Antioch had deposed him, in 326. ❖ He must have died before the year 337, when Constantine recalled the banished bishops. ❖ Eustathius has been accused of being in his Christology a successor of Paul of Samosata, and a forerunner to Nestorius. Although the few fragments of his works make it very difficult to give a complete picture of his teaching, they suffice to refute this accusation. ❖ He unreservedly uses the title *Theotokos* for the Virgin Mary. ❖ He is the first to attempt a Logos-Man Christology against the	❖ He wrote many treatises against the Arians: **1.** ***De Anima*** in two parts. The first is a refutation of the philosophers; the second attacks the Arians**.** **2.** ***De Engastrmytho Adversum Origenem*** (On the Witch of Endor Against Origen) *(1 Samuel 28)*. In it, he ridicules Origen with great vehemence and attacks his allegorical exegesis. **3.** ***Adversus Arianos*** in at least eight books, is his most important work. **4.** Exegetical treatises on the Psalms, especially Ps 15 and 92; and Proverbs 8:22. **5.** A letter to Pope Alexander of Alexandria refuting the Melchisedechians, who were of the opinion that the Priest-King of Salem was greater than Christ.

	predominant Logos-Sarx doctrine. However, it is only by an isolation of these words from his other affirmations that he can be made suspect of Adoptionism and Nestorianism. [16]	❖ Fragments of his dogmatic writings show that his theology foreshadows Antiochian Christology.
7 **AËTIUS** **OF** **ANTIOCH** ca. 300-370	❖ Antioch became a center of Arianism after Eustathius had been exiled. Among the literary defenders of the heresy was Aëtius, a native of the city. He was the leader of the Anomoean party within Arianism. ❖ He was ordained a deacon by Leontius, the Arian bishop of Antioch (344-or 345). ❖ He was condemned and exiled by councils at Ancyra (358) and Constantinople (360) ❖ Recalled by Julian, he was consecrated bishop in 362, but without a specific see. ❖ Eunomius of Cyzicus was his disciple and secretary. ❖ He died a few years after 365 and was buried in Constantinople.	❖ He was little acquainted with the Holy Bible, and had never carefully studied the writings of the ancient fathers. **1.** *Syntagmation*: Of his works, only this short treatise is entirely preserved by St Epiphanius. It defends in 47 theses the watch-word of the Arians *anomoios*. **2.** St Epiphanius adds that he wrote 300 theses **3.** *Epistles to the Emperor Constantius* and others. **4.** Letters.
8 **EUNOMIUS** **OF** **CYZICUS** ca. 325 - 394	❖ He is the first well read defender and leader of Neo-Arianism. ❖ Eudoxius of Antioch ordained him a deacon and in 360, after he had become bishop of Constantinople, he promoted him to the see of Cyzicus. ❖ The people, unable to endure his empty and arrogant parade of language, drove him out of their city. He withdrew to Constantinople, and taking up his abode with Eudoxius, and was regarded as a titular bishop. ❖ He was the secretary of Aetius of Antioch, and after his death, he became the chief exponent of Anomoeanism and his adherents were called Eunomians. ❖ In 383, he attended a synod at Constantinople, and was shortly afterwards exiled by the Emperor Theodosius.	**1.** *First Apology*: In it, Eunomius mentions that only the Unbegotten is God; the Son is begotten and therefore of a different nature than God the Father. He is created from nothing. **2.** *Second Apology*: St Basil wrote a refutation of the *First Apology*; 12 years later in 378, Eunomius wrote his counter reply. **3.** *Confessions of Faith*: A formal profession of faith written in 383 and sent to the Emperor Theodosius. **4.** *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* **5.** Letters: He wrote 40 addressed to different people.
9 **ACACIUS** **OF** **CAESAREA** bp. 340, d. ca. 366	❖ The disciple of Eusebius and his successor. ❖ St Jerome describes him as follows: “Acacius, whom, because he was blind in one eye, they nicknamed ‘the one-eyed.’ ” [17] ❖ He was so influential in the reign of the Emperor Constantius who imposed Acacius’ doctrines on his opponents. ❖ He was deposed in 343 by the Council of Sardica.	**1.** *A Commentary On Ecclesiastes* in 17 books **2.** Six books of *Miscellaneous Questions*. **3.** A surviving fragment of juvenile work against Marcellus of Ancyra focuses on Christ as the image of God and draws from this the distinction between the two divine

	❖ At the Council of Seleucia in 359 he opposed the homoeousian majority and put forward a compromise formula defining the Son as like the Father. ❖ In the controversy over the Holy Spirit, he denied His divinity. ❖ After Constantius' death he accepted the *homoousios* at Antioch in 363 together with Meletius and others. But he returned to Arianism in 364 when the pro-Arians prevailed with the support of the Emperor Valens. ❖ Jerome records his labors to preserve Origen's library.	hypostases but also their close affinity and likeness. The fragment is preserved by St Epiphanius. **4.** His *Life of Eusebius Pamphili* has unhappily perished. ❖ Remaining fragments of his other works show a tendency to literal interpretation of Scripture.
10 **GELASIUS OF CAESAREA** b. ca. 335/6 bp. ca. 367 d. 394/5	❖ The second successor to Eusebius was Gelasius, Cyril of Jerusalem's nephew. Theodoret calls him "a man distinguished by the purity of his doctrine, and the sanctity of his life." ❖ A staunch defender of the faith of Nicaea, he was elected to the see of Caesarea but was ousted during the reign of Valens. He returned, however, on the accession of Theodosius in 379. ❖ He attended the Council of Constantinople in 381. ❖ St Jerome mentions that he wrote in a more or less carefully polished style but did not publish his works. Some of them, however, must have been circulated, because quotations can be found in a number of authors, e.g. Theodoret, Leontius of Byzantium and the compiler of the *Doctrina Patrum*.	❖ A writer of some talent. **1.** *Ecclesiastical History* as a continuation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. **2.** *Expositio Symboli:* Only fragments survive, which suggest that it might have been a series of catechetical instructions akin to his uncle St Cyril of Jerusalem, based on the Creed, and dealing with the principal doctrines of the Church. **3.** *Against the Anomoeans*: The sect of extreme Arians who held that the Son was unlike the Father.
11 **EUZOIUS OF CAESAREA** in Palestine Arian bishop d. 376	❖ He was the intimate friend of Arius from an early age. ❖ When Gelasius, bishop of Caesarea was banished in 370 by Valens' pro-Arian policy, the Arian Euzoius replaced him. ❖ He was educated with St Gregory of Nazianzus at Caesarea by Thespius the rhetorician. ❖ After Acacius, he made every effort to restore the library of Origen and Pamphilus, which had already suffered considerable damage. ❖ He was expelled when Theodosius became emperor.	❖ St Jerome states that many of his *treatises* were in circulation. ❖ All have disappeared, and their titles are unknown. ❖ Arius and Euzoius addressed a letter to the Emperor Constantine at the end of 327; it contains a creed by which Arius and Euzoius intended to prove their orthodoxy.
12 **NEMESIUS**	❖ One of the successors of Eusebius in the see of Emesa. Beyond this fact nothing is known of his life. ❖ Nevertheless, he remains an interesting personality on account of	❖ *On the Nature of Man*: The author attempts to construct on a mainly Platonic basis, a doctrine of the soul and its union with the

OF EMESA ca. 390	the treatise *On the Nature of Man* which he wrote during the last decade of the 4th century. ❖ He emerges from this work as a man of liberal Greek education, widely read in philosophy and medicine, and with a good deal of knowledge of psychology and physiology. ❖ Valuable as a quarry to the classical philologist and historian of philosophy, it yields less to the theologian, though it is essentially a piece of Christian apologetic.	body which would be in agreement with revelation. Thus he deals in the introduction (ch.1) with the nature of man, who consists of soul and body. He was created to be the link between two worlds, the phenomenal and the intelligible. The world was made for man and lower creatures exist for his sake. The first chapter ends with a panegyric on man.
13 APOLLINARIS OF LAODICEA Bishop and Writer b. ca. 310-315 bp. ca. 361 d. ca. 390-392	❖ Apollinaris' father (of the same name) was a native of Alexandria. As a priest and rhetor, Apollinaris the Elder taught grammar in Beirut before settling down in Laodicea (in Syria). His son, born in Laodicea, became a lector in his local church. ❖ Because of Apollinaris and his father's friendship with St Athanasius, they were excommunicated in 342 by George, the Arian bishop. In 346, they welcomed in their home St Athanasius, on his return from exile in the western part of the Roman Empire, and about 361 Apollinaris, the son, became bishop of the Nicene community of Laodicea. ❖ He was a very successful teacher who combined classical erudition with rhetorical ability, so that even St Jerome was among his pupils at Antioch in 374 (cf. *Ep*. 84,3). ❖ St Gregory of Nyssa wrote his "*Antirrheticus*" in 385 against him. **His Doctrines** ❖ He believes that in Christ were to be found the human body and the irrational soul, but he had not the spirit or *mondo* as **the rational soul** and the controlling and determining principal. It was replaced by the Divine Logos. Thus, **He possessed perfect Godhead but not complete manhood**. He gave for this two reasons: (1) The metaphysical reason is that two beings already perfect, God and man, cannot produce unity, but only a hybrid nature; (2) The psychological reason is that the rational soul constitutes the seat and center of the power of self-determination for good or evil, which would attribute the possibility of sin to	**1. Exegetical Works** ❖ Innumerable volumes on Scripture. **2. Apologetic Works** ❖ *The Truth:* The two Apollinarii reacted against Julian. The father composed poems inspired by the Old Testament; and the son wrote gospel dialogues in a style proper to contemporary rhetors. ❖ *30 books Against Porphyry.* **3. Polemic Works** ❖ Against the Arian Eunomius of Cyzicus. ❖ Against Marcellus of Ancyra (accused him of Sabelllianism). ❖ Against Diodore and Flavian defending the unity of Godhood and manhood in Christ. ❖ Against Origen and Didymius. **4. Dogmatic Works** ❖ *Proof of the Incarnation of God According to the Image of Man.* ❖ *Detailed Confession of Faith.* ❖ *Recapitulatio.* ❖ 3 works detected under the name of Julius I bishop of Rome.

	Christ. But the Savior must be without sin, if redemption is to be accomplished. ❖ Although St Athanasius refuted his heresy without mentioning his name, some Antiochians accused him and St Cyril of Apollinarianism. In fact, Apollinaris defends the Alexandrian term of *mia-physis*, but he had no knowledge of the Alexandrian theology. He was not learned in the School of Alexandria.	**5. Poetry** ❖ Together with his father he rewrote much of the biblical materials in comedies, tragedies and epics. **6. Letters to St Basil the Great** ❖ About his condemnation, see p. 207.
14 **MARCELLUS OF ANCYRA** d. ca. 374	❖ Marcellus was bishop of Ancyra in Galatia. A strong supporter of the *Homoousion* at the Council of Nicaea. In 336 he was deposed from his see on the grounds of certain statements in his work against the Arian Asterius and the two Eusebii. ❖ The reaction of the Eusebian party was virulent. They accused him of Sabellianism, and so he was deposed and exiled by a synod at Constantinople in 336. ❖ He attended with St Athanasius the synod convoked by Pope Julius in Rome in the fall of 340. Pope Julius requested of him an account of his faith in writing. ❖ This writing was judged to be Orthodox and the Synod refused to sanction his deposition. The Council of Sardica (343/344) also cleared him of the same charge thereupon. Marcellus was restored to his see. A few years later, in 347, he was again deposed and exiled, this time by Emperor Constantius. ❖ Canon I of the Second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 381 condemned him as a heretic. **His Doctrines** ❖ He was accused of Sabellianism. The Council of Sardica was correct in its statement that Marcellus never had asserted that the Word of God had a beginning. Nevertheless, he seemed to have held that the **Word became Son only with the Incarnation**. In his attempt to prove the Arian heresy no more than a poorly veiled polytheism, he himself teaches a monotheism which knows only an economical trinity, not identical with, but closely related to the concept of rationalist or dynamic Monarchians of former times. ❖ It is this tendency which leads him to the heretical doctrine that	**1.** The book which made him famous but caused all his troubles was his treatise *Against Asterius* the Sophist of Cappadocia. In it he not only attacked Asterius' errors but also the two Eusebii. ❖ We do not even know its title, not its outline or divisions. But not less than 127 passages are quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Contra Marcellus* and *De ecclesiastica theologica*. ❖ Another excerpt is found in St Epiphanius as part of the refutation which Acacius of Caesarea, Eusebius' successor, composed against Marcellus. **2.** The *profession of faith* which Marcellus wrote down at the request of Pope Julius is extant. It could be interpreted as being in agreement with the Orthodox doctrine. **3.** A small tract *De sancta ecclesia*; deals with the marks by which the true Church can be recognized, i.e. oneness, catholicity and apostolicity. ❖ St Jerome remarks that he wrote many volumes especially against the Arians, in which he defended himself against their accusations and referred to his friendship with the bishops of Rome and Alexandria as a proof of his Orthodoxy. None of these

	before creation of the world the Logos was only in God and that at the end he will be only in God. **The Logos** therefore is absolutely co-essential with the Father (ὁμοούσιος τῷ παρτί) but **He is not generated and not a person**. Only the God-man Christ is a person, He alone is called, and is in reality, Son of God.	later works has survived. **4.** Marcellus is thought to be the author of the *Sermo maior de fide* and the *Exposito fidei*, wrongly attributed to St Athanasius. [18]
15 **MELETIUS OF ANTIOCH** 360-381	❖ Armenian by origin, and a friend of Acacius of Caesarea. He was elected bishop of Sebaste in Armenia ca. 360. ❖ Late in 360 Eudoxius of Antioch was transferred to Constantinople, and Meletius was elected bishop of Antioch through Acacius' influence. ❖ A few months later, when he professed the Nicene faith in a homily on Proverbs 8:22 preached before Constantius, the Arians immediately deposed and exiled him to Armenia and transferred his bishopric to Euzoius. ❖ The traditional Nicenes however, disowned Euzoius but split among themselves; the majority adhered to the exiled Meletius, while the more orthodox party who had been known as the Eustathians, and with whom St Athanasius communicated, rejected a bishop of Arian consecration (Euzoius) and elected Paulinus, a presbyter of high character, who was ordained by Lucifer of Cagliari. On Constantius' death in ca. 362, Meletius returned to Antioch and recognized his community, as the most numerous, against the Arian community under Euzoius and the traditional Nicenes under Paulinus. This is referred to as the **Meletian Schism of Antioch**. ❖ In 363 at Antioch, he presided over a small council which accepted the Nicene *homoousios* but gave it a homoeousian interpretation. ❖ St Athanasius went to Antioch to make contact with him in order to attempt a reconciliation between the Eustathians and the Meletians, but Meletius avoided meeting him.	❖ Meletius was twice banished under Valens, from 365 to 366 and from 371 to 378, St Basil being unswerving in support of his claims, but Alexandria wavering, and Rome hostile. ❖ He was finally restored in 378 and presided at the Council of Constantinople of 381, during which he died. ❖ The schism ought now to have ended. Paulinus was still alive, and should have recognized as sole bishop. The Meletian party, however, irritated by his treatment of their leader secured the appointment of Flavian and this gave rise to fresh troubles. ❖ The schism was practically ended in Flavian's lifetime, 85 years after the ordination of Paulinus by Lucifer. **Writings** ❖ A synodal letter to the Emperor Jovian is reported under his name in Socrates Scholasticus. ❖ A homily by Meletius is preserved by St Epiphanius of Salamis. ❖ Most of the writings attributed to him are dubious.

16
DIODORE OF TARSUS
d. ca. 394

- The real beginning of the school of Antioch was as such with Diodore of Tarsus.
- All the surviving texts present him as strongly literalist.
- His disciples were Meletius of Antioch, John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Nestorius and Theodoret of Cyrus also belong to this theological school.
- Circumstances made Diodore an apologetic and polemic in character. In Antioch the conflict between the Church and the Arians was very bitter, and especially under the Arian emperors Constantius (337-361), and Valens (364-378).
- Not without justice, Diodore has been deemed the virtual parent of Nestorianism and called "a Nestorian before Nestorius." It was his repugnance to the errors of Apollinarianism which led him to the opposite errors of Nestorianism. His sense of the importance of the truth of Christ's manhood caused him to insist on its distinctness from His Godhead in a manner which gradually led to its being represented as a separate personality.
- He drew a distinction between Him Who according to His essence was Son of God – the eternal Logos – and Him Who through divine decree and adoption became Son of God. The one was Son of God by nature, the other by grace. The son of man became Son of God because chosen to be the receptacle or temple of God the Word. It followed that Mary could not be properly termed the "Mother of God," nor God the Word be strictly called the Son of David, that designation belonging, according to human descent, to the temple in which the Divine Son tabernacled.
- Diodore therefore distinguished **two sons**, the Son of God and the Son of Mary, combined in the person of Christ. **St Cyril** clearly saw that, apart from the watch-word Θεοτόκος, which had not arisen in the days of Diodore, what men called Nestorianism was substantially the doctrine of Diodore as developed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and that Nestorianism could only be fully crushed by a condemnation of the doctrines of Diodore as the fountainhead. This condemnation was most difficult to

- Diodore's literary output was very large.
- His writings comprised a great number of works on exegesis, apologetics, polemics, dogma, cosmology, astronomy, and chronology.
- Only fragments of his works survive; the small quantity of these fragments is due to the thorough destruction of his works.

Biblical Commentaries [20]

- In his exegesis Diodore follows firmly the historical and grammatical method and strongly opposes the allegorical interpretation of the Alexandrian School.
- He does not look for a hidden meaning in the text, but for the meaning intended by the inspired writer.
- St Jerome mentions (*Ep*. 48, 3) a commentary on 1 Corinthians and (*Ep*. 119, 4) on 1 Thessalonians. He also speaks (*De vir. ill*. 119) of Diodore's "extant commentaries to the Apostle and many others."
- He wrote comments on all the books of the Old and New Testaments, except the Epistle to the Hebrew, the Catholic Epistles (1 John however being commented on), and the Apocalypse.
- A treatise *On the difference between Theory and Allegory*.

1. Dogmatic, Polemic, and Apologetic Treatises

- ***Contra Manichaeos* –** 25 books Against the Manichaeans. In the first seven, he refuted the work of Mani's disciple Addas. In the remaining books he explained and cleared

	obtain; no name was held in so much reverence throughout the East. St Cyril however, was far too determined a spirit to hesitate. **If Orthodox views of the Incarnation were to be established, the authority of Diodore must, at any cost of enmity and unpopularity, be destroyed**. ❖ Every means was therefore taken to enforce, by the aid of the emperor and the patriarch Proclus, his condemnation, together with that of his still more heretical pupil Theodore. All attempts to depreciate the authority of Diodore, both by St Cyril and Rabbula of Edessa, only exalted him in the estimation of the Nestorian party and **the opposition contributed to the formation of the independent and still existing Nestorian Church, which looks upon Diodore and Theodore with the deepest veneration as its founders**. Flavian III, bishop of Antioch (was compelled) to pass an anathema on the writings of Diodore and Theodore in 499. ❖ Photius asserts that Diodore was formally condemned by the fifth ecumenical council (so called by the Greek Orthodox) held at Constantinople 553. [19]	up the meaning of certain passages in the Scriptures which the Manichaeans were in the habit of appropriating to support their own views. ❖ ***Concerning the Holy Spirit***, in which he shows that the Nestorian heresy is already evident in his work. ❖ His other numerous apologetic and polemic works comprise tracts against pagans, Jews, and heretics. Nothing remains of such works. **3. Astronomical and Chronological Works** ❖ Of these works the only one remaining is the *Contra Astronomos astrologos, et Fatum* (Against Astronomers, Astrologers and Fate). ❖ It consists of eight books and defends the faith in God and Divine Providence against fate and the unlimited power of the stars. [21]
17 **SEVERIAN OF GABALA** d. after 408	❖ Bishop of Gabala in Syria and a very skillful preacher. ❖ He was of a rather passionate nature and very proud of his talents as an orator. ❖ He won popularity by his occasional preaching in Constantinople, especially with the Empress Eudoxia. ❖ St John Chrysostom made him his vicar before his journey to Ephesus in 401, but his originally friendly relations with St John Chrysostom soon turned into intense hostility. He played a leading part at Constantinople in the events leading up to the Synod of the Oak in 403. At this synod, Severian sided with St John's accusers and defended his deposition. He was responsible for the transfer of the exiled Patriarch from Cucusus to Pityus. ❖ He is an exegete of the Antiochian School and his cosmology and preference for literal interpretations are typically Antiochian. ❖ He was a fervent defender of the faith of Nicaea against heretics	❖ *Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians.* ❖ *On Baptism and the Feast of Epiphany.* ❖ 14 sermons, among them *Orationes sex in mundi creationem.* ❖ 6 homilies on the *Hexaemeron,* ❖ 2 homilies *on the Hexaemeron,* ❖ Other sermons: *Homilia in illud Abrahae dictum Genesis* 24, 2; *Hom. de serpente quem Moyses in cruce suspendit; Hom. in dictum illud Matt. 21,23; Hom. de ficu arefacta; Hom. de Sigillis librorum.* ❖ *Homilia de pace,* delivered after Eudoxia had brought a temporary reconciliation between him and St Chrysostom (in 401). ❖ *Sermo in dedicatione pretiosae et vivificae*

	and Jews, but his works lack originality. ❖ Occasionally he reveals a high level of philological knowledge, but often his Hebrew etymologies are explicable only as from the Aramaic. ❖ Gennadius tells us: "*Severian was learned in the Holy Scriptures and a wonderful preacher of homilies. On this account he was frequently summoned by the Bishop John and the Emperor Arcadius to preach a sermon at Constantinople…He died in the reign of Theodosius, his son by baptism*." ❖ It is said that Severian had close contacts with St Ephraem.	*cruces*, 2 homilies. ❖ 12 additional homilies among the works of St Chrysostom. ❖ Old Armenian version of 15 homilies. Others are extant in Syriac, Coptic and Arabic; their genuineness has not been established. ❖ Large fragments are extant of a *Commentary of the Epistles of St Paul* in Biblical catenae.
18 **THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA** b. ca. 350- d. 428	❖ Like his teacher Diodore, Theodore of Mopsuestia was born at Antioch. ❖ He studied rhetoric and literature under the famous rhetorician and philosopher Libanius, in whose school he began a lifelong friendship with St John Chrysostom. ❖ According to St John Chrysostom, he was a man of noble birth and an heir to large estates. Probably his parents were Christians. ❖ Theodore left the Museum and the Forum, and following the example and advice of his former fellow student, St John Chrysostom, retired with Maximus to the monastic school of Diodore and Carterius in the vicinity of Antioch. ❖ Afterwards, he left the monastic school and life, and returned to the Forum, and assumed his juristic studies. Theodore was seduced by a beautiful woman, called Hermione. St Chrysostom dealt with this problem as an excellent physician of souls. He did not rebuke him on his fall, but through love and kindness he helped him in his weakness and revealed the divine love to him. He sent to him two eloquent epistles "*Paraereses ad Theodorum lapsum*," asking him to repent and return to the monastic life. ❖ In 383 Flavian of Antioch ordained Theodore presbyter while he was about 33 years old. He fervently opposed the errors of the Arians, Eunomians, Apollinarians, Origenists, and Persian magic. ❖ In 392 he was promoted, after the death of Bishop Olympios, to the see of Mopsuestia, "the heart of Mopsuestia," in Cilicia	**1. Biblical Commentaries on the Old Testament** ❖ *On Genesis.* ❖ *On Exodus.* ❖ *On the Psalms.* ❖ *On the Twelve Prophets.* ❖ *On 1 and 2 Samuel.* ❖ *On the Book of Job.* ❖ *On the Book of Ecclesiastes.* ❖ *On the Song of Songs.* ❖ *On the Major Prophets*. **2. Biblical Commentaries on the New Testament** ❖ *The Gospels.* ❖ *The Pauline Epistles.* **3. Works on Liturgy, Discipline, and Theology** ❖ *Catechetical Homilies*: There are 16 catecheses; the first ten deal with articles of faith as contained in the Nicene Creed, while the other six explain the Lord's Prayer, the liturgy of Baptism, and the Eucharist. ❖ In his *Catechetical Homilies* Theodore declares that it was not merely a human

	Secunda. ❖ He alone among early exegetes does not accept the traditional interpretation of the couple in the Song of Songs as Christ and the Church and reads the work as a simple love song, for which reason he rejects its full canonicity. ❖ He died in 428 after gaining a wide reputation. Highly esteemed by his contemporaries **but condemned as a heretic 125 years after his death**, he shared the fate of his master Diodore of Tarsus. [22] **His Christology** ❖ Bardenhewer drew the following conclusion: *We possess at present only isolated fragments of these works but enough, however, to make certain that **Theodore was a Nestorian before Nestorius. Like Diodorus he taught that in Christ there were two persons**. The divine nature is a person, and the human nature is a person. The unity of the two natures consists in the community of thought and will. The Christian adores one sole Lord because the man who was joined to the Logos in a moral union was raised, in reward of his perseverance, to a divine dignity*. [23] ❖ For all his insistence on the unity of the nature, his conception of it as a "**junction**" (συνάφεια) rather than a "**union**" (ἕνωσις) was ultimately unsatisfactory. [24] ❖ He was condemned and ever since the Fifth General Council (Constantinople) in 553 he has been branded as "a Nestorian before Nestorius." ❖ Theodore is the most typical representative of the Antiochian School of exegesis and is by far its most famous author. ❖ The Nestorian Church venerated him as "the great exponent of the Scriptures" second to none. [25]	body that was assumed, but a complete man of body and soul. [Catech. 5. 19] [26] The fifth catechetical homily is very valuable to explain his Christology: "*Because of all this our blessed Fathers warned and said: 'He was incarnate and became man', so that we should believe that the **one** who was assumed and in **whom** God the Word dwelt was **a complete man**, perfect in everything that belongs to human nature, and composed of a mortal body and a rational soul, because it is for man and for his salvation that He came down from heaven. (Cat. Hom. 5 ed. Mingana 55-59).*" Here we notice the progress made in realizing the two natures in Christ; He is no longer said to consist of Logos and sarx but of Logos and man. [27] ❖ *De Incarnatione* (On the Incarnation). **2. Other Works** ❖ *The Sacrament*; *On Faith*; *Priesthood*; *The Holy Spirit*; *Against Eunomius; Against those who affirm that sin is innate in the human nature*; *Against Magic*; *On Monasticism*; *Against Allegorists*. ❖ A book defending Basil, and another on the *Assemente and Assumpts*. ❖ A sermon on *Legislatio*.
19 **NILUS OF ANCYRA** d. ca. 430	❖ Abbot or archimandrite of a monastery near Ancyra (Ankara). ❖ He lived around the turn of the 4th to the 5th century and died shortly before or after 430. ❖ He was a disciple of St John Chrysostom and a contemporary of Proclus, St Mark the Recluse, and St Isidore of Pelusium.	**1. Letters** ❖ Some scholars believe that some letters, in whole or in part, are merely excerpts from treatises from Nilus or others. **2. Treatises**

	❖ Nilus' own letters testify that he regarded St John Chrysostom as his teacher (cf. Ep. 2, 265. 294; 3, 279). [28] ❖ When the Emperor Arcadius in 407 begged him to pray for Constantinople which was seriously afflicted by earthquakes and fires, Nilus answered in a letter that he could not comply with his wish since these trials were caused by the crimes committed against the bishop of the capital St John Chrysostom. ❖ It is said that he was the prefect of Constantinople at the time of Theodosius the Great (379-395). ❖ He resigned from his high office, and with his son, Theodulus, they became hermits. ❖ When the monks were attacked by barbarian robbers, Theodulus was captured but Nilus managed to escape. Finally Theodulus succeeded in returning to his father and the two were ordained priests by the bishop of Eleusa in Palestine, who sent them back to Mt. Sinai. It must be noted that this account of events at Mt. Sinai is of doubtful authenticity. ❖ His literary heritage confronts us with numerous problems and there is a need for critical study of his works.	❖ Deal mainly with ascetic and moral subjects. *De monastica exercitatione* (to cenobites), *De voluntaria paupertate (*On Voluntary poverty) to Deaconess Magna of Ancyra, *In Albianum oratio:* Albiano was born in Ancyra, lived in a monastic community and died in Nitria, *De monachorum praestantia* (On the Advantage to Monks of living far from the Cities in the Deserts), *De magistris et discipulis* (On the Teachers and Pupils), and *De octo spiritibus malitiae,* deals with the eight capital sins. They are capital for they give rise to other sins. **3. Lost works** ❖ *Commentary on Songs of Songs*, Sermons, *Adversus gentiles* (Against Pagans), *Ad Eucarpium monarchum.* **4. Spurious works**
20 **POLYCHRONIUS OF APAMEA** ca. 428-431	❖ Bishop of Apamea in Syria, he was a brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodoret (Hist. eccl. 5,40,2) praises him as an excellent shepherd of the Church of Apamea who, "*ruled with wisdom and success and was distinguished for the charm of his discourse as well as for the sanctity of his life.*" When Theodoret wrote these words (ca. 428) Polychronius was still alive, but he died before the bishops met at Ephesus in June 431. ❖ He must be ranked among the great exegetes of the School of Antioch. His exposition betrays a rationalizing tendency in so far as he repeatedly tries to interpret Messianic prophecies as referring to events in the near future. If he has this in common with his brother, **he definitely does not share his views regarding the canonicity of the book of Job**. Polychronius strongly defends the latter. **None of the extant quotations shows any trace of Nestorianism.**	❖ There are scattered fragments concerned principally with Job, Daniel and Ezekiel. The anonymous *scholia* therein on Jeremias most probably belong to him. ❖ His interpretation of the book of Daniel was found to have points of agreement with that of the Neo-Platonist philosopher Porphry, which evoked later criticism. ❖ However few the fragments of Polychronius' works, they are enough to prove that he, like his brother, was strongly opposed to allegorical interpretation. ❖ He composed commentaries on the books of the Old Testament.

21 **ST MARK THE RECLUSE** d. after 430	❖ He was a disciple of St John Chrysostom and a contemporary of St Nilus the Ascetic, and St Isidore of Pelusium. ❖ It seems that he was abbot of a monastery at Ancyra in Galatia in the first half of the 5th century but in his old age lived as a hermit in the desert, most probably the desert of Juda. ❖ Since he took part in the controversy with the Nestorians, he must have died after 430. ❖ He wrote at least 40 ascetic treatises, nine have survived. ❖ In his treatise *On Those who Think that They are Made Righteous by Works* (226 Texts), St Mark wrote: *56. Real knowledge is patiently to accept affliction and not to blame others for our misfortunes.* *61. Grace has been given mystically to those who have been baptized into Christ; and it becomes active within them to the extent that they actively observe the commandments. Grace never ceases to help us secretly; but to do good – as far as lies in our power – depends on us.* *92. Everyone baptized in the Orthodox manner has received mystically the fullness of grace; but he becomes conscious of this grace only to the extent that he actively observes the commandments.* *135. If you want your sins to be 'covered' by the Lord... do not display your virtues to others. For whatever we do with our virtues, God will also do with our sins.'* [29]	**1. Ascetic treatises** ❖ *De lege spirituali* (On the Law of the Spirit). ❖ *De his qui putant se ex operibus iustificari* (On Those who Think that They are Made Righteous by Works). It seems to be a part of the above-mentioned treatise. ❖ *De poenitentia (*13 chapters on Penance), ❖ *De ieiunio* (On Fasting), *De Nicolaum praecepta animae salutaria, De baptismo* (On Baptism), *Consultatio intellectus cum sua ipsius anima*. ❖ *Disputatio cum quodam causidico:* A dispute between an advocate and an aged ascetic (probably St Mark himself), deals with the question of whether Christians should take anyone to court. **2. *De Melchisedech*** ❖ Against those who believed that Melchizedek was an incarnation of the Logos. **3. *Adversus Nestorianos*** ❖ In agreement with St Cyril's Anathemas.
22 **ST JOHN CHRYSOSTOM** b. ca. 347- d. 407	❖ Known as the "Golden Mouth" for the eloquence of his sermons. ❖ He was born in Antioch and raised by his mother. He became a monk and later was appointed deacon in 381, and then a priest in Antioch in 386. ❖ His reputation as a preacher increased, and in 398, he was appointed as bishop of Constantinople against his will. ❖ The emperor was eventually convinced to exile him on three occasions, and he died in exile. ❖ Referring to allegorical exegesis, he argued, "*I disdain this exegesis, and consider the literal to be more accurate*." While remaining loyal to the principles of the Antiochian School,	❖ Among the eastern fathers none has left so extensive a literary legacy as St John Chrysostom. His writings are almost entirely preserved. ❖ His printed treatises and six hundred sermons contain about eighteen thousand Scripture references, about seven thousand from the Old Testament and eleven thousand from the New. **1. Sermons** ❖ Exegetical Homilies on the New and Old

	Chrysostom was not averse on occasion to citing the figurative meaning of a passage, thus demonstrating more flexibility than Theodore. ❖ For Chrysostom, theology is not a theoretical exercise, but practical and pastoral. He believed the biblical message made changes in people's lives. He declared that the Scriptures' divine message prepared people for good works. ❖ In *Homily 6 on Matthew* St John Chrysostom wrote: *How does Paul say, "Rejoice in the Lord always"? The joy he is speaking of springs from tears of mourning. For just as worldly joy comes with sorrow, godly tears produce never-ending, unfading joy. The harlot…experienced joy when seized by this fire. Thoroughly warmed by repentance, she was moved by her longing desire for Christ. She loosened her hair, drenched His holy feet with her tears, wiped them with her tresses, and poured out all the ointment. But these were only outward expressions. Those emotions in her mind were much more fervent – things only God could see… For I seek those tears shed, not for display, but in repentance, I want those that trickle down secretly and in closets, out of sight, softly and noiselessly. I desire those that rise from depth of mind, those shed in anguish and sorrow, those which are for God alone.* [30]	Testaments: *Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, Matthew, John, Acts of the Apostles, all the epistles of St Paul including the Hebrews.* ❖ Dogmatic and Polemical Homilies *on the Incomprehensible Nature of God, Baptismal Catecheses, Homilies against the Jews.* ❖ Moral Discourses: *In Kalendas* – celebrating the New Year, *Against the Circus and the Theatre* etc. ❖ Sermons for Liturgical Feasts. ❖ Occasional Discourses: *The First Sermon, Homilies on the Statues, Two Homilies on Eutropius* **2. Treatises** ❖ *On Priesthood, On Monastic Life, On Virginity and Widowhood, Concerning the Education of Children, On Suffering, Against Pagans and Jews.* **3. Letters** ❖ There are about 236 letters extant.
23 **ACACIUS OF BEROEA (Aleppo)** b. ca. 340- d. 433	❖ He became a monk at an early age, and acquired prestige for his austere asceticism. ❖ During this time, he corresponded with St Basil the Great and St Epiphanius of Salamis. ❖ He was at first friendly with St John Chrysostom, but because of personal differences, Acacius became one of his opponents. ❖ Meletius of Antioch ordained him bishop of Beroea in 378. ❖ Acacius took part in the Council of Constantinople in 381, after which he was sent to Pope Damasus in Rome in an unsuccessful attempt to solve the schism of Antioch. ❖ Old age prevented him from attending the Council of Ephesus,	❖ Of what must have been a vast correspondence, only six letters remain. • One is addressed to St Cyril of Alexandria in favor of Nestorius and recommends peace. It is extant in the Greek original and in a Latin translation. • Two others sent to the Nestorian Alexander of Hierapolis, deal with the agreement to be reached between St Cyril of Alexandria and the bishops of Antioch. They are preserved in a Latin

	nevertheless he had a decisive role in the negotiations between St Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch which led to the union formula of 433. He died soon after.	version only. ❖ The *Confession fidei* attributed to him seems to be spurious.
24 **ANTIOCHUS OF PTOLEMAIS (in Phoenicia)** d. before 408	❖ Bishop of Ptolemais. ❖ He was one of the leaders against St John Chrysostom, and participated in the Synod of Oak against him in 403. ❖ He frequently preached at Constantinople and had so fine a voice and delivery of speech that he was nicknamed by some "Chrysostom." ❖ He must have died shortly after the Synod of Oak.	❖ Gennadius says that he wrote one great volume *Against Avarice* and a homily, full of godly patience and humility *On the Healing of the Blind man.* ❖ A homily *On the Creation of the Soul of Adam and on the Passion of Christ.* ❖ There are also two *Christmas* sermons.
25 **MACARIUS MAGNES** End of 4th century	❖ He was an apologist. ❖ Photius informs us that at the Synod of Oak Macarius of Magnesia, stood forth as the accuser of Heraclides whom St Chrysostom had ordained bishop of Ephesus.	❖ *Apocriticus*: An apology for the faith in 5 books; and containing dialogue between himself and a pagan philosopher, perhaps Porphyry.
26 **DIDACHUS OF PHOTICE** Middle of the 5th century	❖ Bishop of Photice in Epirus and an ascetic. ❖ Didachus was evidently a man of considerable culture which he combined with a deep faith in Christ. ❖ He belonged to the generation immediately after the great Greek fathers, Sts Basil and Greogory of Nazianzus. ❖ He attacked the Alexandrian formula of Christology at the Council of Chalcedon. ❖ His chapters on *Spiritual Perfection* enjoyed great popularity in succeeding generations, and is still of practical value.	❖ One hundred chapters on *Spiritual Perfection*: In which he attempts to analyze what it means to be Christ-like, and how to live such a life. He finds its basis in the three theological virtues, especially love. ❖ Homily on the *Ascension*. ❖ *The Vision and the Catechesis*. ❖ He wrote against the Arians.
27 **EUTHERIUS ARCHBISHOP OF TYANA** (of Cappadocia)	❖ He was one of the first to side with Nestorius. ❖ The Council of Ephesus (431) excommunicated him without being able to silence him. ❖ He warned John of Antioch against negotiations for a union with St Cyril of Alexandria and the Oriental bishops. ❖ He called John of Antioch "Judas" when he made peace with St Cyril in 433, and broke decisively with him.	❖ His *Refutations of Various Propositions* composed ca. 432 are against St Cyril's Christology, in defense of Antiochian dyophysitism. He criticized mainly the propositions with the one person in Christ and the *Communicato idiomatum.* ❖ Five letters are preserved in a poor Latin

Deposed 434	❖ He was deposed in 434 and exiled to Scythopolis in Palestine, finally to Tyre in Phoenicia. ❖ The date of his death is unknown.	translation. In the first he refuted the views of St Cyril and his friends. ❖ One letter is addressed to Pope Sixtus III.
28 **HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM** d. ca. 450	❖ In 412 he was held in high repute as a priest and preacher of the Church at Jerusalem. ❖ The Greek Church venerates him as a saint and highly gifted interpreter of Holy Scriptures. ❖ In 428 or 429 he accompanied Patriarch Juvenal of Jerusalem to the consecration of the church of the Monastery of Euthymius. ❖ He commented on the entire Bible. He generally follows the Alexandrian method of allegorical exegesis. He denied the literal meaning of almost all the passages of Scripture. ❖ He was an enemy of Philosophy, because the heretics used it to falsify the teaching of the Church, especially the Christological philosophy. ❖ Cyril of Scythopolis praised him as 'teacher of the Church,' 'Theologian' and 'far famed luminary.' **His Christology** ❖ The basis of his Christological views is Alexandrian. ❖ He follows St Cyril of Alexandria but without adopting his technical vocabulary. ❖ He defends Orthodoxy against Arians, Apollinarians and the Antiochian doctrine of separation. ❖ He assures the one incarnate nature of Christ without falling into Eutychianism. ❖ His theology is entirely biblical and his Christology unphilosophical. Words like Person, Hypostasis, Essence, Nature, and Incarnation are avoided and Scriptural expressions substituted.	**1. Exegetical** ❖ *Commentary on Leviticus, Commentary on Job, Glossary on Isaiah, Glossary on the Minor Prophets, Glossaries on Psalms, Great Commentary on the Psalms, a second Commentary on Psalms* and *Glossary on Biblical Canticles*. **2. Sermons** ❖ Only a few of his authentic sermons have been published so far. **3. Church History** ❖ An important chapter on Theodore of Mopsuestia, read at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. It proves that Hesychius was a strong opponent of Nestorianism. ❖ *Collection of Objections and Solutions,* contains questions and solutions on 61 Gospel problems. **4. Spurious works** ❖ *Ad Theodulum de temperantia et virtute* (composed by Abbot Hesychius of Mt. Sinica in 6th or 7th century) ❖ *The Kephalia* on the minor Prophets. ❖ The *Martyrium S. Longini* and *Laudatio S. Procopii Persae.*
29 **THEODORET OF CYRUS**	❖ Theodoret of Cyrus was the last of the major representatives of the Antiochian school. He has been generally regarded as one of the great exegetes of the Greek Church. ❖ He was born and educated in Antioch, where he spent his initial	❖ In 450 he himself estimated the number of his books at 35. He was acquainted with several languages besides his own, which was the Syriac.

b. ca. 393- d. ca. 458	twenty-three years of life. His education was at monasteries and included training in Christian theology through the Church, his family, and particularly through the writings of Diodore, Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. ❖ In 423, much against his own will, he was raised to the episcopate of Cyrus, a town in the province of Euphratensis in Syria, and he ruled this see of 800 churches for 35 years. ❖ He took pains to moderate the rigid literalism of Diodore and Theodore, making room for the traditional Christological interpretation of the Old Testament. ❖ The *Commentary on the Song of Songs* represents the high point of Theodoret's divergence from Theodore and thus likewise the greatest rapprochement to Alexandrian hermeneutics. ❖ His writings evidence classical training and a familiarity with a wide spectrum of classical Greek poets, philosophers, and orators. Theodoret himself, while bishop of Cyrus, encouraged the children of the wealthy in Cyrus to attend the schools of the rhetoricians. ❖ Not the least of his pastoral cares was the eradication of heresy, for Cyrus was a stronghold of Arians, Eunomians, Marcionites, and Encratites, as well as of Jews and pagans. By 449 he could claim that not a single heretic was to be found in his diocese. ❖ He became involved in the controversy between St Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius, whose cause he supported. ❖ Deeply imbued with the ideas of the Antiochian School, he was convinced that the heresy of Apollinaris lurked in the teaching of St Cyril. At the beginning of 431, he expressed this concern in his Refutation of the *Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria Against Nestorius*. ❖ At the Council of Ephesus (431) he sided with John of Antioch and maintained his views even after Nestorius was condemned. He then published five books in which he attacked St Cyril and the decisions of the Council. ❖ In 442, Domnus, the nephew of John of Antioch, succeeded him as bishop. He was completely under the control of Theodoret who,	**1. Exegetical** ❖ *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*: A series of questions on the Pentateuch with an appendix on the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth. ❖ *Quaestiones in libros Regnorum at Paralipomenon*: A continuation of the above on the Books of Kings and Chronicles. ❖ *Interpretatio in Psalmos*. ❖ *Interpretatio in Canticum Canticorum*: Continuous explanation of the Song of Songs. ❖ *Interpretatio in Danielem*: Continuous commentary on the Book of Daniel (excluding the story of Susanna and the narrative of Bel and the Dragon) with a strong anti-Jewish tendency. ❖ *Interpretatio in Ezechielem.* ❖ *Interpretatio in duodecim Prophetas Minores.* ❖ *Interpretatio in Isaiam.* ❖ *Interpretaio in Jeremiam*: Also deals with the Book of Baruch and the Lamentations. ❖ *Interpretation in quatuordecim epistolas S. Pauli.* **2. Apologetical Works** ❖ *Graecarum affectionum curatio*: Refutation of paganism titled *The Cure of Pagan Maladies of the Truth of the Gospels Proved from Greek Philosophy*. ❖ *De providentia orations decem*: Series of Ten Discourses on Providence. ❖ *Ad quaesita magorum*: Refutes the

every inch of him, was anti-Alexandrine and anti-Cyrilline.

- When St Cyril died, Theodoret wrote to Domnus, "*At last and with difficulty the villain has gone. The good and the gentle pass away all too soon; the bad prolong their life for years…*" [31]
- When the see of Antioch and the patriarch came within the sphere of his influence, Theodoret saw to it that only Antiochian partisans could find recognition in the Orient. Not being satisfied, Theodoret published in 447 his 'Eranistes' a book intended to distort and ridicule the teaching of the Alexandrian fathers.
- His activities aroused so much opposition that on 18 April 448 an imperial edict was published in Antioch, proscribing Nestorius, his writings, and his supporters. [32]
- At the Second Council of Ephesus (449) Theodoret was deposed by Pope Dioscorus, the successor of St Cyril, and exiled. Theodoret appealed to Pope Leo I and the following year, he was permitted by the Emperor Marcian to return to his see.
- Theodoret's loyal love for Nestorius led him to give his friend credit for meaning what he himself meant.
- Theodoret's Christological opinions have been a matter of controversy, but it seems to be conceded by many scholars that he held Nestorian views at least till 434-5 and possibly until Chalcedon, but abandoned them at the latest after 451.
- At the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, he met at first with great opposition. A special session considered the case and insisted on his pronouncing anathema against Nestorius. With great reluctance he finally did so and proclaimed: "*Anathema to Nestorius and to all who not confess that the Blessed Virgin Mary is the Mother of God and divide into two the only Son, the Only-Begotten*."
- Thereupon he was formally reinstated to his episcopal seat.
- He ruled the Church of Cyrus for seven more years and died ca. 458.
- In summary, Theodoret of Cyrus was condemned at the Council of Ephesus 431, deposed at the Second Council of Ephesus 449, and acquitted at the Council of Chalcedon 451.[33]

objections on the Persian Magi against the Christian faith.

- *Contra Judaeos*: Treatise against the Jews.

3. Dogmatic and Controversial Treatises

- *Reprehensio duodecim capitum seu anathematismorum Cyrilli*: **Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius** (no longer extant).
- *Pentalogium*: **Five books written in 431 against St Cyril and the Council of Ephesus**.
- *De sancta et vivifica Trinitate* and *De incarnatione Domni*: Two books *On the Holy and Vivifying Trinity* and *On the Incarnation of the Lord*.
- *Eranistes seu Polymorphus*: Treatise against the Monophysites known as *Eranistes* or *Beggar*.
- *Expositio rectae fidei*: Treatise intended for the initiated in the mysteries of the faith.
- *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*: Answers to 61 questions on historical, dogmatic, moral and exegetical subjects.
- *That there is One Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ*

4. Historical Writings

- *Historia religiosa seu ascetica vivendi ratio* (Religious History of the Ascetics).
- *Historia ecclesiastica* (Ecclesiastical History).
- *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*: History of Heresies in five books.

	❖ At the (second) Council of Constantinople in 553, the "***Three Chapters***," were condemned, viz.: 1. The person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. **2. The writings of Theodoret against St Cyril of Alexandria**. 3. The letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris the Persian.	❖ *On the Council of Chalcedon*. ❖ Sermons. **5. Letters** ❖ Of 500, there are 232 extant. [34]
30 **PROCHLUS** **OF** **CONSTANTINOPLE** d. 446	❖ Proclus was the second successor to Nestorius and became patriarch in 434. ❖ In 426 he was consecrated Archbishop of Cyzicus in Propontis, but was unable to take possession of his see. Thus he was forced to return to Constantinople where he gained great renown as a preacher. ❖ In 428 or 429 he delivered a famous sermon in the presence of Nestorius, in which he praised the Virgin Mary as the *Theotokos*. Nestorius answered with a sermon, in which he warned against this title. ❖ He did not take an active part in the Council of Ephesus. He had a role in strengthening the unity between the Orientals and St Cyril achieved in 434. ❖ He settled the dangerous quarrel about Theodore of Mopsuestia which threatened the Church of Armenia, before it could spread further. ❖ In 438 he transferred the body of St John Chrysostom to Constantinople. ❖ His Sermons witness to his study of rhetoric. ❖ Most of Prochlus' sermons deal with dogmatic questions, especially the dogma of the Incarnation. ❖ In *Hom. 3 De dogmate incarnations* he states: "*There is only one Son because the two natures are not torn asunder into two persons but the adorable plan of salvation (economy) unites the two natures to one Person*." [35]	**1. Sermons** ❖ Most were delivered on Liturgical feasts as *De nativitate* (Serm. 4); *De circumcisione actavo post nativitatem die* (2); *In s. theopaniam* (7); *In transfigurationem* (8); *In ramas palmarium* (9); *In s. quintam feriam* (10); *In s. parasceven* (11); and *In resurrectionem* (12). **2. Orations** ❖ 1,5,6 are devoted to the Blessed Virgin. Oration 18 is a panegyric on St Paul, 19 on St Andrew, 20 on St John Chrysostom and 25 on Clement of Ancyra (a martyr of the 4th century). **3. Letters** ❖ Seven letters deal with the Nestorian controversy. The second letter addressed to the Armenians, is called *Tomus ad Armenius.* **4.** His introduction of the ***Trisagion*** into the Liturgy of Constantinople shows his interest in the promotion of worship.

31 **BASIL** **OF** **SELEUCIA** d. ca. 468	❖ Basil, archbishop of Seleucia in Isauria from ca. 440, played a strange part in the events leading up to the Council of Chalcedon. ❖ He first voted against the Alexandrians at the Synod of Constantinople in 448, at the Synod of Ephesus in 449 he declared in favor of Eutyches, but at Chalcedon he subscribed to the *Tome* of Pope Leo *Ad Flavianum*. ❖ In 458 together with the rest of the Isaurian bishops he wrote a letter to the Emperor to the effect that the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon must be sustained and the intruded patriarch of Alexandria, St Timothy Aelurus, Pope of Alexandria be deposed.	❖ His extant treatises show that he was well read in classical literature and well trained in rhetoric. ❖ Photius (*Bibl. Cod*. 168) blames his lack of simplicity and naturalness and his excessive use of tropes and figures. He remarks on his exegesis the influence of St Basil the Great and St Chrysostom. **1. Sermons**: 39 extant (17 on the Old Testament, and 22 on the New Testament). **2.** *De vita et miraculis S. Theclae libri II:* About the life of the protomartyr Thecla.
32 **GENNADIUS** **OF** **CONSTANTINOPLE** bp. 458-471	❖ Gennadius was the 21st patriarch of Constantinople between Anatolius and Acacius. ❖ His namesake Gennadius of Marseilles informs us that he "*was able to expound the prophet Daniel entire commenting on every word. He composed also many homilies*.' ❖ His *Commentaries on the Scriptures* show clearly that he followed the School of Antioch. ❖ He wrote a treatise ca. 431 against the *Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria* of exceptional sharpness and bitterness. ❖ St John Damascene cited him in his *Sacra Parallela* as a follower of Nestorius.	**1. Commentaries on the Scriptures** ❖ Commentary on Daniel, on Genesis, Exodus, the Psalter, and all of the Epistles of St Paul. **2. Dogmatic Writings** ❖ Among them a treatise *against the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril; Ad Parthenium* as a follower of Nestorius; *Ad Flavianum* against the heresy of Eutyches; and *Epistola encyclica* against Simony.
33 **ZACHARIAS** **the Rhetor** d. After 536	❖ He was born at Maiuma of Gaza in Palestine in the last third of the 5th century. He was one of five brothers and one of his brothers was Procopius of Gaza. ❖ From 485 to 487 he studied at Alexandria where he made friends with St Severus, the future Orthodox patriarch of Antioch. ❖ He joined St Severus in autumn 487 at Berytus (Beirut) to study law (487-492), leading an austere life among the Orthodox ascetics. ❖ At least from 492, he practiced as a *scholastikos* (advocate) at Constantinople where he also reached a high office, while	❖ *Ammonius* or the *Dispute on the Creation of the World*: About the dispute which took place at Alexandria with his professor, the pagan sophist Ammonius. ❖ Opuscula *Against the Manichaeans*: Written in 527 or slightly earlier. ❖ The *Life of Severus of Antioch*: An autobiographical document written in ca. 515 and preserved in Syriac. ❖ *The Life of Peter the Iberian*: Only a brief

	remaining in close touch with religious circles, indeed living in the same monastery as his brothers, the priests Philip and Victor. ❖ Between 527 and 536 he was promoted as metropolitan for the see of Mitylene (Lesbos). ❖ Evagrius depended on Zacharias' *Ecclesiastical History*. Even in its reduced form, the work remains the most important historical source for the reign of Marcian, Leo I, and Zeno.	fragment in Syriac survives. ❖ *The Life of Isaiah of Gaza*: Zacharias' authorship of this work is denied by some scholars. ❖ *Ecclesiastical History*: Books III-VI are a valuable source for events in Egypt and Palestine from 450 to 491.
34 **JOHN** **OF** **EPHESUS** **(John of Asia)** b. ca. 507 – d. 586/7	❖ A Syriac writer, missionary, bishop and historian. ❖ He was born in Amid in North Mesopotamia early in the 6th century. ❖ He was ordained deacon at the Monastery of Mar Yuhannan in Amid in 529. ❖ He stood high in the confidence of the Emperor Justinian, and was commissioned by him in 542 as 'Teacher of the heathen' in the four provinces of Asia, Caria, Phrygia and Lydia; hence the name John of Asia ('Asia' meaning the district of which Ephesus was the capital). ❖ On this missionary campaign in Asia Minor, John converted around 80, 000 people to Christianity. ❖ He built 99 churches and 12 monasteries together with Deuterius who was 35 years his fellow labourer, and successor at Caria. ❖ In the extant portion of his *Ecclesiastical History* he describes himself once as, "John, who is called superintendent of the heathen, and Breaker of Idols." ❖ He was consecrated bishop of Ephesus probably ca. 558. ❖ He was afterwards recalled to Constantinople to combat the idolatry in and around the capital. ❖ Justinian died in 565, and under Justin II, from 571, John suffered a series of tribulations and persecutions of all kinds. ❖ He was described as an historian who sincerely loved truth, a bishop who was upright and devoted, and a man whose piety rested on a thorough knowledge of Scripture. ❖ John's *Ecclesiastical History*, which is distinguished by his originality, is far ahead of similar contemporary works, and it is indispensable for the history of the 6th century.	Two important Syriac works by John survive: **1. *The Lives of the Eastern Saints***: ❖ Written while he was at the Monastery of Mar Yuhannan. ❖ It contains 58 short biographies of the most prominent holy men and women, all his contemporaries. **2. *Ecclesiastical History***: ❖ The most ancient history known to us by a Syrian Orthodox historian. ❖ Three volumes comprising of six chapters in each. ❖ Volume 1 covered the period beginning from the time of Julius Caesar until the sixth year of the reign of Justin II, son of the sister of Justinian. ❖ Volume 2 furnished much important matter from the reign of Justinian until 571. ❖ Volume 3 continues the history to ca. 585, in 418 pages. It covers the period between the 6th year of Justin II and the fourth of Maurice, and includes historical information about the Church and the world. ❖ Of the three volumes, only Part 3 survives. It was first edited from the unique MS. in the British Museum by Dr. Cureton (Oxford 1853). It was translated into English by Dr. Payne Smith (Oxford 1860).

[1] P Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan, 1910, p. 816.
[2] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, Christian Classics, Maryland, p. 7.
[3] CJ Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, vol. 1, AMS Press, New York, 1972, p. 237.
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OTHER ANTIOCHIAN AND SYRIAN THEOLOGIANS

The Syrian Orthodox Church is one of the most ancient apostolic Christian Churches tracing its roots to the Church of Antioch. The disciples were first called Christians in Antioch (Acts 11:26). St Peter the Apostle is believed to have established a church in Antioch in 37, the remnants of which are still in Antakya (the modern name of Antioch), Turkey. After the martyrdom of St Peter, he was succeeded by St Euodius and St Ignatius as shepherds of the flock in Antioch and in the writings of St Ignatius we find the growth of the ecclesiastical order of bishops - ordained successors of the apostles in whom continued the spiritual authorities vested by our Lord in the Apostles. The bishopric of Antioch was recognized in the ecumenical Synod of Nicaea (325) as one of the patriarchates of Christendom (along with that of Alexandria and Rome). It produced a line of succession beginning with St Peter the Apostle which continues to this day in the Syrian Orthodox Church.

Antioch was at the time of Christ, the capital of the Roman province of Syria and an important center of commerce. As a city imbued in the Hellenistic culture, Greek was the common language. But the majority of the people in the region, especially outside the cities spoke Syriac, the Edessene dialect of Aramaic, the language spoken by our Lord.

Syrian Christianity has the distinction of developing one of the earliest musical traditions in Christendom. **Early Syriac Christian writers preferred poetry as the mode of theological expression**, employing imagery and symbolism, basic to all human experience. Despite the later Christological controversies of the 4th and 5th centuries, which drew the Syriac tradition along with the rest of Christendom into precise theological positions and resulting schisms, the poetic form continued to be the preferred mode of theological expression in the Syriac churches. The teaching songs of Syriac liturgy express the profound mysteries of the Creator and the creation in a manner that is not didactic but spiritually resonant with the soul.

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 TATIAN THE SYRIAN	2 nd century. See *The Early Apologists,* p. 18.	
2 MELITO OF SARDIS	2nd century. See *The Early Apologists*, p. 20.	

3 **BARDAISAN** **(BARDESANES)** b. 154 - 222	❖ A Syrian theologian, commonly reckoned among Gnostics. Born at Edessa. ❖ He was the most outstanding representative of the early Christian community in Edessa, Syria. A friend of court, and particularly of King Abgar IX of Edessa, he was a philosopher able to write in Greek and Syriac, and a poet of considerable powers. ❖ St Epiphanius tells us: *Bardaisan, the founder of the sect of the Bardaisanites…He had the bad luck to fall in with the Valentinians, and from their wickedness he derived his noxious weed; he too introduced many principles and emanations, denied the resurrection of the dead, and so formed the doctrines of his sect. But he accepts the law and the prophets, the Old and New Testament, and some apocryphal works likewise*[1]. ❖ Prior to his conversion he had been interested in astrology, and this remained with him when passing over to the new faith. He could not shake off the ancient glamor of the stars, or abjure the Semitic love of clothing thoughts in mythological forms, and this contributed to his reputation for unorthodoxy and even heresy. ❖ The remains of his theology disclose no trace of the deeper thoughts which moved the Gnostic leaders. That he held a doctrinal possible intermediate between them and the Church is consistent with the circumstances of his life, but is not supported by any internal evidence. ❖ The 56 Hymns of St Ephraem the Syrian against Heresies are intended to refute the doctrines of Marcion, Bardaisan, and Mani.	❖ From St Ephraem we learn that he was a musician and composed hymns. ❖ His main claim to fame is his having been the first to compose hymns or verse canticles to ensure the spread of his doctrine among people. ❖ He composed 150, of which only a few scraps remain, collected in the citations of St Ephraem (373), an implacable opponent of Bardaisan and his disciples who simply used the method initiated with such success by his adversary. ❖ Scarcely anything survives of his writings; a dialogue concerning Fate, extant in Syriac under the title "***Book of the Laws of the Countries***," was dictated to his disciple Phillip. ❖ This dialogue is between Bardaisan and a Marcionite named Avida. ❖ He composed dialogues against the Marcionites and other leaders of various opinions. ❖ He wrote that there is in man a triple division of the spirit, soul, and body. ❖ The spirit comes from God and is the principle of freedom, the soul from celestial spheres crossed by the spirit in its descent. It is submitted to destiny, which is ruled by the stars. The body is composed of the four elements. ❖ He tried to reconcile Christian doctrine with the astrological conceptions of his cultural milieu. ❖ He composed a work on astronomy of which a single fragment remains, cited by George, bishop of the Arabs.
4 **HARMONIUS**	❖ He was Bardaisan's son, who continued the work of his father. He introduced Platonist concepts. ❖ St Ephraem when perceived that the Syrians were charmed with the melodious versification of Harmonius,	❖ He was the first to compose verses in his vernacular language, he delivered them to choirs, and even now the Syrians frequently sing, not the precise verses written by Harmonius, but others of the same meter.

	he composed similar poems in accordance with the doctrines of the Church, and sacred hymns in praises of holy men. From that time, the Syrians sang the odes of St Ephraem according to the method indicated by Harmonius.	❖ He was not free from the errors of his father concerning the soul, the generation and destruction of the body, and the doctrine of transmigration. He introduced some of them into the lyrical songs which he composed.
5 **JACOB** **OF** **NISIBIS** End of 3rd century	❖ Jacob, bishop of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, called "The Moses of Mesopotamia." ❖ He was born at Nisibis or Antiochia Mygdoniae. ❖ Gennadius (*de Script. Ecc*l. c. I) reports that Jacob was a confessor in the Maximinian persecution. ❖ He was compelled by the popular demand to become bishop. His episcopate, according to Theodoret, was signalized by fresh miracles. ❖ In 325, he was summoned to the council of Nicaea (*Labbe, Concil*. ii. 52, 76). A leading part is ascribed to him by Theodoret in its debates (Theod. *u.s*. p. III4). He is commended by St Athanasius, with Hosius, Alexander, Eustathius, and others (*adv. Arian*. t. i. p. 252). ❖ As bishop of Nisibis, Jacob was the spiritual father of St Ephraem the Syrian, who was baptized by him and remained by his side as long as he lived.	❖ Gennadius speaks of Jacob as a copious writer, and gives the titles of 26 of his treatises. ❖ Eighteen were found by Assemani in the Armenian convent of St Anthony at Venice, together with a request for some of his works from a Gregory and Jacob's reply. ❖ Their titles – *de Fide, de Dilectione, de Jejunio, de Oratione, de Bello, de Devotis, de Poenitentia, de Resurrectione,* etc. – correspond generally with those given by Gennadius, but the order is different. ❖ In the same collection, Assemani found the long letter of Jacob to the bishops of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, on the Assyrian schism. ❖ It is in 31 sections, lamenting the divisions of the Church and the pride and arrogance which caused them, and exhorting them to seek peace and concord. [2]
6 **ASONA** 4th Century	❖ Asona's only works were two eloquent poems, both for obsequies. **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ He was one of the most intelligent disciples of St Ephraem the Syrian. ❖ He was well skilled in poetry and wrote many poems. ❖ St Philoxenus of Mabbug wrote of him to Patrick the ascetic of Mount Edessa: *I believe you have heard of the story of Asona who lived in Edessa; he wrote poems which are still sung*	*in our present time. Because he was eager to see phantasms and visions, Satan seduced him and led him to stand on a high mountain-peak where he showed him fantasies of a chariot and horses. Satan told him, "God is calling you, to lift you up in the same way that He took Elijah." Through his own foolishness, Asona was led astray, and as he was about to climb up into the chariot, it vanished, and he fell to his death.* [3]

7 **EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA** ca. 260 – ca. 340	❖ In Caesarea, the young Eusebius studied with Pamphilus, a noted Christian teacher with a remarkable theological library and an admiration for Origen. ❖ Eusebius devoted himself to scholarship and to Pamphilus, even taking the name of his teacher, Eusebius Pamphili ("the son of Pamphilus"). ❖ During the Diocletian persecution, Pamphilus was imprisoned and eventually martyred. After his teacher's death in 310, Eusebius traveled through Palestine and Egypt. ❖ The result of his experiences was a remarkable work, *The Martyrs of Palestine* (later incorporated into the History), an eyewitness account of the torture and heroism of Christian martyrs of the persecution of 303-311. ❖ He himself was imprisoned in Egypt. Shortly afterwards (ca. 313), he became bishop of Caesarea and continued his historical and apologetic writings. ❖ The favors granted to Christianity under Constantine confirmed Eusebius's vision of the historical triumph of the Church, and his reflections on Constantine's rule celebrated the new union of spiritual and temporal power. A similar theology was expressed in the unfinished *Life of Constantine*. These optimistic reflections laid the foundation for later political theory in the Byzantine empire. ❖ He wrote several letters in favor of Arius and in a synod at Caesarea, he declared Arius' profession of faith to be Orthodox. Soon afterwards, a synod of Antioch in 325 excommunicated him when he rejected a formula directed against the Arian teaching. ❖ At the Council of Nicaea in 325, he advocated a recognition of the true divinity of Christ in simply biblical terms and refused the Homoousian doctrine of St Athanasius as leading to Sabellianism. He finally signed the Creed drawn up by the Council as merely external	**1. Historical Works** ❖ *The Chronicle*: A chronology of biblical and historical events in two parts. It was one of his earliest compositions, and was written ca. 303. ❖ *The Martyrs of Palestine*. ❖ *The Ecclesiastical History* is his most famous work. It covers the period from the foundation of the Church to the defeat of Lucinius (324) and the sole rulership of Constantine. **2. Panegyrics on Constantine** ❖ *Vita Constantini*: The Life of Constantine, in four books. ❖ *Ad coetum sanctorum*: A translation of the *Oration of the Emperor Constantine Which He Addressed to the Assembly of the Saints*. ❖ *Laudes Constantini*: (a) Chapters 1-10 represent the panegyric which Eusebius delivered on the occasion of Constantine's thirtieth anniversary as emperor (335). (b) Chapters 11-18 are the treatise which he presented to the Emperor at the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (335). **3. Apologetic Works** ❖ *General Elementary Introduction* to the Gospels. ❖ *Praeparatio Evangelica*: In reply to the devastating polemic against Christian interpretation of Scripture by the philosopher ***Porphyry***, Eusebius wrote *two massive apologetic works* that drew on his knowledge of Scripture and Greek literature. ❖ *Demonstratio Evangelica*: A sequel to *Praeparatio*, it answers the accusations by the Jews. ❖ *Theophania:* In which he defended the Incarnation. ❖ *Against Porphyry*: In 25 books; no longer extant. ❖ *Against Hierocles*: A short apology defending the miracles of Jesus.

	conforming to the express wish of the emperor, but without any internal assent. ❖ He may, in fact, have influenced the emperor's measures against the Orthodox bishops, because he appears to have been his chief theological advisor. ❖ He does not belong to the outstanding theologians of Christian antiquity. ❖ If he has won eternal fame, it is by his great historical work - the *Ecclesiastical History*. ❖ The first major historian of the Church. He was also a biblical exegete and apologist for Christianity against paganism, an activist in the Arian controversy, and an early interpreter of the duties of a Christian emperor. ❖ Although not an eloquent writer or original thinker, he preserved precious documents and valuable reflections on Christian life and thought in a transitional period. ❖ His writings reflect Eusebius' lifelong interest in proving the truth of Christianity by showing the fulfillment of prophecy and Scripture in historical events. ❖ His many works reveal his attention to the literal or historical interpretation of Scripture rather than to allegorical exegesis or theological reflection in spite of his admiration for Origen.	❖ *Refutation and Defense.* **4. Biblical and Exegetical Works** ❖ *The Evangelical Canons*. ❖ *Onomasticon*: A study of biblical place-names and geography. ❖ *Gospel Questions and Solutions*: This work represents and important contribution to biblical criticism. ❖ *Commentary on the Psalms.* ❖ *Commentary on Isaias.* ❖ *The polygamy and Large Families of the Patriarchs.* ❖ *On Easter*. **5. Dogmatic Works** ❖ Together with Pamphilus he wrote *A Defense of Origen*. ❖ In *Contra Marcellum* and *De ecclesiastica theologia,* Eusebius presented the teaching of three pre-existent and distinguished *hypostases*; the Son was begotten by the Father but was clearly **secondary**. Eusebius defended subordinationism, and so his theological reputation was tarnished for later generations. **6. Orations and Sermons** **7. Epistles** [4]
8 **SIMON BAR-SABOË** d. 343	❖ Simon Bar-Saboë was ordained as archdeacon and then Catholicos of Seleucia and Ctsiphon in 328. ❖ He shepherded his flock in the apostolic path. ❖ He had a great zeal for Christianity which led to his martyrdom at the hand of Sapor II.	❖ He composed beautiful religious songs. ❖ Four of these were published in the second volume of *Patrologia Syriaca*.
9 **JACOB APHRAATES** 270?-345	❖ Jacob Aphraates, "the Persian sage," was born late in the 3rd century. ❖ He was the principal theologian of the Persian (i.e. Eastern Nestorian) Church in the 4th century. ❖ He was a monk and probably became a bishop of the	❖ In 1869 W. Wright discovered the Syriac original text of *twenty-three demonstrations*, wrongly called homilies, which were written in the years 337 (1-10), 344 (11-22) and 345 (23); they give a kind of survey of the whole body of Christian doctrine. He writes on

	monastery of Mar Mattai (St Matthew), east of Mosul, in North Iraq. He was an important figure in the Mesopotamian hierarchy. ❖ He witnessed the beginnings of the persecution of church leaders by the Sasanian King Sapor II, in the early 340's. ❖ His writings have a very great philological value and are of fundamental importance for Syriac syntax. ❖ He is as yet hardly influenced by Greek philosophy and his Christological ideas are those of Nicene Fathers. ❖ He defended the unity of the Church against the Gnostics, and treated Baptism, the Eucharist and Penance rather fully. ❖ As a theologian, Aphraates is strikingly independent and remote from the controversies of his day in the Roman Empire. The "Church of the East" was so isolated that it was never asked to accept the Nicene Creed until the year 410; and apparently used, until that date, the formula that Aphraates gives (Hom. I). ❖ His Trinitarian doctrine and his Christology ignore the Council of Nicaea, to which the Persian Church apparently sent no representatives. ❖ In the year 344, he presided over a council of the church of his province (Adiabene), and the synodal letter is included in his works. ❖ His foundation is Scripture interpreted in a literal, historical manner. ❖ He cites the Bible over 1,000 times, usually from the Peshitta text.	faith (1), charity (2), fasting (3), prayer (4), exhortation to ascetics (6), penance (7), the resurrection of the dead (8), on "Christ, that he is the Son of God." (17). He frequently attacks the Jews and attaches great importance to asceticism. ❖ The Gospels are cited according to Tatian's *Diatessaron.* ❖ The quotations from the Old Testament are taken from the Peshitta. ❖ A curious feature in Aphraates' teaching is the use of expressions that plainly suggest that he regarded the Holy Spirit as the female element in the Godhead (XVIII.10). It is a thought strange to us. ❖ Aphraates wrote in his *Demonstration IV on Prayer*: *The moment you start praying, raise your heart upwards, and lower your eyes downwards; enter inside your inner person and pray in secret to your Father who is in heaven…You who pray should remember that you are making an offering before God: let not Gabriel who presents the prayers be ashamed by an offering that has a blemish. When you pray to be forgiven, and acknowledge that you yourself forgive, consider first in your mind whether you really do forgive, and only then acknowledge 'I forgive'. You must not act deceitfully with God and say 'I forgive' when you do not really forgive; for God is not like you, a mortal, whom you can deceive.*" [5]
10 **ST** **EPHRAEM** **THE** **SYRIAN** ca. b. 306–d. 373	❖ St Ephraem: Deacon and doctor of the Church is the most important writer of the Syrian patristic age, and reckoned as one of the greatest of the Syrian fathers and poets. ❖ The Syrians venerated him, giving him especially the title of "Malphono" ملفنا the teacher; and also called him	❖ St Ephraem was an extraordinarily prolific writer; Sozomen (III. 16) reckoned that he had written 300,000 verses. ❖ St Ephraem was the earliest advocate of the poetic genre of the madroshe, the teaching songs, in communicating the Orthodox faith of the Church to a

"Harp of the Holy Spirit," "eloquent mouth," "doctor of the world," and "pillar of the Church."

- ❖ Several of his hymns were adopted in the Syrian liturgies and his praises were sung by the whole East.
- ❖ He was born at Nisibis of Christian parents, became an ascetic, and was made headmaster of the School of Nisibis.
- ❖ The city was besieged by Sapor II in 338, 346, and 350 and passed into his hands in 363. St Ephraem and most of the Christians went to the Roman territory and lived at Edessa, where most of his writings were composed.
- ❖ On his journey to Edessa he rescued the people of Samosata from the influence of false teaching of a counteract heresy by teaching Orthodoxy in hymns.
- ❖ He seems to have resumed his hermit's life near the city. He traveled to Caesarea to see St Basil in 370 after seeing him in a dream as a column of fire reaching from earth to heaven, and is said to have received diaconate from him. He groaned in spirit when he saw him seated in a magnificent pulpit arrayed with shining garments. However when he saw the Holy Spirit in a shape like a dove sitting upon his shoulder suggesting to him the words, St Ephraem turned to praise him.
- ❖ Two instances are given in the *Acta* of the influence of St Ephraem's teaching on St Basil:
  - It had been usual at Caesarea in the Doxology to say, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, to the Holy Ghost," but after St Ephraem's visit, St Basil inserted "and" before the third clause. When the people murmured, he answered that his Syrian visitor taught him this 'and' was necessary for the more clear manifestation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.
  - In Gen. 1:2 the LXX renders "The Spirit of God was borne upon the surface of the water." So St Basil had understood it, but the Peshitta-Syriac version renders

wide audience. Many of St Ephraem's poetic works were translated into Greek by the latter part of the 4th century by Flavian of Antioch and Diodore of Tarsus. **As Sts Basil and Gregory were both strongly influenced by Origen, St Ephraem's independence is the most remarkable**.

- ❖ The subjects of the hymns were the life of Christ, including His Nativity, Baptism, Fasting, Ministry, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension. He also wrote about repentance, the dead, and the martyrs.
- ❖ His major works fall into three categories:

1. Exegetical

- ❖ His commentaries are in prose, and in the Antiochian tradition, excellent in their exposition. There are extant commentaries (Syriac) on *Genesis* and *Exodus* and Armenian versions of treatises on *Tatian's Diatessaron, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of St Paul* (including three to Corinthians and excluding one to Philemon).

2. Dogmatic-Polemical

- ❖ Practically all his treatises are polemical - against Bardaisan, Marcion, etc. The fantalistic tenets of Bardaisan, a Gnostic who flourished at the end of the 2nd century, had been embodied in 150 psalms. To combat their influence, St Ephraem composed numerous hymns and trained young women who desired the conventual life, to sing them in chorus. On Feasts of the Lord, days of the martyrs, and days of the week St Ephraem would gather round him his choirs, and so the poems of Bardaisan lost their influence. [8]

3. Homiletic

- ❖ These are in meter and the homilies usually run into equi-syllabic lines (seven-syllable lines - the Ephraemic meter). His moralizing discourses,

	it, "The Spirit of God brooded upon the face of the waters," which St Ephraem explained of the Spirit resting upon them with a warm and fostering influence as of a hen sitting upon her nest, and so endowing them with the power of bringing forth the moving creature that hath life. ❖ St Basil gives two reasons for trusting his Syrian friend: First, that St Ephraem led a very ascetic life. Secondly, that "St Ephraem is an acute thinker, and has a thorough knowledge of the divine philosophy," i.e. of the general sense of Holy Scripture. ❖ St Ephraem says that the words simply mean that a wind was in motion; for the waters were instinct, he argues, with no creative energy till the fourth day. [6] ❖ St Ephraem wrote about the first Adam-second Adam typology which would demand as a logical extension the equation of Mary, not with Eve, but with the earth from which the first Adam sprang: *The virgin earth of old gave birth to the Adam who is Lord of the earth, but today another virgin has given birth to the Adam who is Lord of heaven* (*H. Nativ*. 1, 16). [7]	monitory or penitential, form the greater part of his works. There are four poems against Julian the Apostate. His poems are doctrinal, moral, polemical, liturgical, poems of Nisibis etc. and "his harp resounds to the praises of St Mary more frequently than that of any other poet or orator of Christian antiquity. He loves to sing of her stainless virginity, her truly divine maternity." (Bardenhewer). ❖ At an early date his works were translated into Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopian. ❖ He wrote in *Hymns Preserved in Armenian,* no. I: *Blessed is the person who has consented to become the close friend of faith and of prayer: he lives in singlemindedness and makes prayer and faith stop by with him. Prayer that rises up in someone's heart serves to open up for us the door of heaven: that person stands in converse with the Divinity and gives pleasure to the Son of God. Prayer makes peace with the Lord's anger and with the vehemence of his wrath. In this way too, tears that well up in the eyes can open the door of compassion.* [9]
11 GREGORY THE MONK	❖ Of Persian descent, he became a monk after seeing a vision. ❖ He was a student in the School of Edessa. ❖ He spent a short period of his life in Cyprus. ❖ Most of his letters were addressed to two of his friends, St Epiphanius and Theodorus, who were either monks or abbots of monasteries. ❖ Only a few of these letters are extant and it is suggested they were originally chapters in a book about monastic life.	❖ He wrote 10 treatises: 1. To the Monks Warning them about the Machinations of the Devils; 2. On the Emotions of the Soul; 3. Encouraging the Monks; 4. On the Monastic Life; 5. On the Power of God; 6. Exhortation to the Abbots; 7. On Divine Revelation and Contemplations; 8. On Visiting Monks; 9. Questions and Answers on the Practice of Virtues Addressed to St Epiphanius and Theodorus; and 10. Answers to the Questions of the Monks on the Divine Economy. [10]

12 **AHI (AHAY)** **CATHOLICOS OF MADAEN** d. 415	❖ Led a strict ascetic life and practiced much fasting. ❖ He enjoyed entertaining strangers. ❖ He was a great teacher. ❖ He was ordained at the end of 410.	❖ He wrote a book about the eastern martyrs. ❖ He wrote the biography of St Abda, the person from whom he learned his ascetic way. ❖ The details of his life are asserted in the ecclesiastical history of Daniel ibn Mariam [11]
13 **MARUTHA OF MAIFERQAT** d. ca. 420	❖ Bishop of Maiferqat; his father was the governor of the region of Sophita near Diar Bakr (Amid). After the death of his father he became governor in his place. ❖ He was a man of considerable culture, well versed in both Greek and Syriac. He studied Greek sciences, Aramaic, and medicine and afterwards was ordained bishop. ❖ He became bishop of Maiferqat during the reign of Theodosius I (375-395). ❖ The Emperor Arcadius (395-408) and Theodosius II (408-450) sent him as an ambassador on several occasions (399, 403, 408) to the Persian King, Yazdagird I (399-421). ❖ As one who was *persona grata* to Yazdagird I, he seems to have prevailed over the king (a) to end the persecution of the Church, (b) to recognize Isaac as the duly elected head of the Church in Persia, (c) to order the reconstruction of churches destroyed in the recent persecution, and to free Christians still in prison, and (d) to allow Christian clergy to move about freely within the kingdom. ❖ Through his efforts the Christians in Persia enjoyed peaceful and secure times. ❖ From these missions he transported many of the relics of the martyrs of Sapor II's persecution to Maiferqat, and so the city was known as '*Martyropolis*,' the city of martyrs. ❖ One of these occasions he is said to have cured the Persian king of a troublesome malady. ❖ He played an active role in the reorganization of the Persian Church by presiding over a synod together with	❖ Marutha translated the canons of the council of Nicaea from Greek to Syriac. He was also delegated by Emperor Arcadius to circulate the canons in the Persian lands. ❖ He wrote a history of the Council of Nicaea. ❖ He wrote biographies of the most famous eastern martyrs who were killed by Sapor II (339-379). ❖ Other than the 21 canons included in Marutha's record of the Council of Nicaea, he also wrote a set of monastic canons known as the *Canons of Marutha*. Marutha was himself a monk and was interested in the spread of a disciplined asceticism. These provide evidence of the existence of monasticism in the Persian Church in the early 5th century. An example of these canons is shown below: *54. On the internal discipline of a monastery:* *All shall participate in…prayer, in reading and in fasting; item 2 suggests that the work of the monastery is allotted to each on a weekly basis; …complaints regarding food served at the table; altercations between monks or physical violence against the abbot; items 7-17 indicate how to cope with slander, laziness, quarrelsomeness, insubordination; rebelliousness, fornication, stealing, absence from the monastery, trouble-making, somnolence during the service; working monks eat twice a day (sixth hour and evening), non-working monks eat once a day; monks sleep on the floor or on the ground; the abbot and the*

	Isaac I held at Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410. ❖ He also contributed, it seems, to the election of Catholicos Ahi (Ahay) at the end of 410 after Isaac's death. ❖ His body was originally buried in Maiferqat, but later transferred to the Monastery of the Virgin Mary (Syrian Monastery) in Egypt. [12]	*sick may sleep in beds; there is to be no disrobing or loosening of the girdle when retiring; there shall be seven services a day (morning, third, sixth and ninth hours, evening meal, evening, night)…there shall be two kind of garments, one for the winter and one for the summer.*[13]
14 **ST RABBULA OF EDESSA** bp. 411- 435	❖ St Rabbula, a contemporary of Marutha, bishop of Maiferqat, was born in the 4th century in Chalcis (Qenneshrin). ❖ The tradition is that his father was a wealthy pagan priest and that his mother was a Christian. He became a Christian under the influence of Eusebius, bishop of Chalcis and Acacius, bishop of Aleppo, and subsequently retired to the monastery of Abraham at Chalcis. ❖ When Diogenes, the bishop of Edessa died, Rabbula was selected by a synod at Antioch as his successor, a post which he held for 24 years. ❖ These were difficult times for any eastern bishop, and not less so for a bishop in Edessa, for, so his biographer claims, Rabbula found that he had to contend with Bardaisanites, Arians, Marcionites, Manichaeans and Messalians. ❖ This situation was further complicated by the controversy centering on Nestorius, who had become patriarch of Constantinople in 428. ❖ Rabbula at first had sided with Nestorius, and at the Council of Ephesus (431) he had supported John of Antioch, a friend of Nestorius, but a few months later he decided that St Cyril of Alexandria, an opponent of Nestorius, was right. ❖ He translated some of the writings of St Cyril from Greek to Syriac, including the work of St Cyril *On the True Faith* which he had sent to Theodosius II. ❖ A visit to Constantinople, 431-32, only confirmed him in	❖ Whatever his earlier education, St Rabbula was sufficiently bilingual for his biographer to credit him with translating the New Testament from Greek into Syriac. ❖ He may have sponsored the Peshitta Syriac translation of the Bible ❖ He established firm rules of conduct for priests and monks, some of which have come down to us and have been edited, most recently, by A. Voobus. The canons for monks are of special interest because they indicate that coenobitical monasticism was expanding within the Syrian Church at this time. ❖ He wrote a set of 26 monastic rules; some of these rules are summarized below: *1. No women are to enter monasteries.* *4. Monks shall not drink wine.* *5. Monks shall not grow hair.* *10. Heretical books are not to be found in monasteries.* *11. Buying and selling in the monasteries is forbidden except for needful things.* *12. No monk shall own private possessions.* *13. The monks shall not meet with relatives.* *14. Sickness is to be endured within the monastery, and is not to be used as a pretext for visiting the village or town.* *16. Attendance at the hours of worship is compulsory and no excuses for absence are*

	this position, and from this time on he was an opponent of Nestorianism. This made the work in his own see all the more difficult, for Edessa was traditionally sympathetic with Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Rabbula's public burning of the works of Theodore and of Diodore of Tarsus, only added to his troubles, especially when his own clergy, headed by Ibas, were increasingly discontented with his leadership. ❖ But he saw clearly that the evil must be attacked at his source in the works of Diodore and Theodore. ❖ That this austere and scholarly monk had his human side is shown by his constant concern for the poor. From the time he disposed of his private property when entering Abraham's monastery until his establishment in Edessa of hospitals for the sick and needy of both sexes, his social conscience was very much alive, and helps to explain why his death was an occasion for general grief in the city.	*accepted.* *17. Strangers are to be received kindly.* *18. Dwelling in isolation (within the monastery?) is allowed to a monk only rarely.* *24. If a monk dies, he is to be buried quietly by the monks without the presence of outsiders.* *26. An itinerant monk is to be received only if he is recommended by the abbot of the last monastery he was in.* [14] ❖ Nearly all his few surviving works were printed by Overbeck in the original Syriac text in his edition of Ephraem Syrus (Oxf. 1865, pp. 200-248, 362-378). They include the scanty remains of the 640 letters which according to his biographers, he wrote to the emperor, bishops, prefects, and monks. [15] ❖ Rabbula, also with Acacius of Melitene, wrote to warn the Armenian bishops of the Nestorian heresy in the writings of Diodore and Theodore.
15 **ST** **BALAI** d. before 449	❖ A 5th century Syrian poet who was a bishop of Balsh in the Aleppo region. ❖ It is probable that he died before the year 449, because his name was not mentioned in the synods of 449 or 451. ❖ His poems focus on repentance and prayers for the departed. ❖ Many of his poems in pentasyllabic verse are included in the liturgies of the Syrian Orthodox and Maronite churches.	❖ He wrote five hymns in honor of a bishop Acacius, usually identified with Acacius of Beroea (Aleppo, modern Haleb) who died ca. 437. ❖ St Balai also composed hymns for the dedication of the church in Qenneshrin (Chalis) and a long series of poems, many included in the liturgical books of the Syrian Church. ❖ 134 poems were published in 1902, 65 of which bear the title of his name, and 69 of which are supposed to have been written by him.
16 **IBAS** **OF** **EDESSA** bp. 435-457	❖ Ibas bishop of Edessa was a Syrian by birth. ❖ He appears first as a presbyter of the Church of Edessa during the episcopate of Rabbula. ❖ He was an ardent admirer of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which he translated into Syriac.	❖ He wrote the letter to Maris in 433, who was then, or subsequently, bishop of Hardaschir in Persia and had visited Edessa. In the letter, Ibas discussed current theological issues and harshly attacked the person and doctrines of St Cyril of Alexandria. Only a Greek

	❖ According to some accounts, Ibas was the head of the famous theological School of Edessa which offered great facilities for this propagation of Theodore's tenets. ❖ The Church of Edessa was generally favorable to Theodore's teaching, and Ibas was supported by the majority against their bishop (Rabbula). He attended the Council of Ephesus in 431, as a presbyter. ❖ When Rabbula died in 435, a reactionary wave made Ibas his successor. This was very distasteful to those who held the strong anti-Nestorian views of their late bishop and they speedily planned to secure his deposition by spreading charges against him of openly preaching heretical doctrines. They told Ibas and all of the eastern bishops that they would remove the scandal if he would publicly condemn certain propositions against the errors of Nestorius chiefly drawn from Theodore's writings. But Ibas and the bishops generally refused to condemn Theodore's propositions. ❖ He was condemned as a Nestorian in the Second Council of Ephesus in 449; he was deposed for two years and replaced by Nonnus. ❖ Without thoroughly examining the teaching of Ibas included in his famous letter to Maris, and without officially condemning it, the Council of Chalcedon in 451, agreed to declare Ibas innocent if he would accept the *Tome of Leo* and revoke what he had written in his letter. Consequently was returned to his chair in Edessa, where he lived until his death in 457.	translation is preserved in the acts in the Council of Chalcedon. ❖ At the Second Council of Constantinople in 553, Ibas' *letter to Maris* was officially condemned as one of "The Three Chapters." ❖ Ibas was a translator and disseminator of the writings of others, rather than an original author. ❖ He must have received a good linguistic education in either Edessa or Antioch, for when he became a teacher in the School of Edessa, he was able to assist in translating the theological works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Nestorius. ❖ Consequently these works were actively spread through Syria, Persia, and the East, and were very influential in fostering the tenets which have, even to the present day, characterized some of the Christians of those regions. ❖ His influence was permanent in the theological School of Edessa, in spite of the efforts of Nonnus to eradicate it, until its final overthrow and the banishment of its teachers to Persia. ❖ The catalogue of "Abdiso" of Nisibis attributes to Ibas a *Commentary on Proverbs*, homilies, hymns, and a polemical treatise. ❖ None of the hymns, homilies, or commentaries reputedly authored by him have survived. [16]
17 **ISAAC** **OF** **ANTIOCH** d. ca. 491?	❖ He was born in the late 4th century in Amid. ❖ He studied at Edessa, and was ordained a presbyter in Amid. ❖ He avoided public involvement in the theological disputes of his age, although his own position appears to have been Orthodox.	❖ His writings in Syriac, "nearly as voluminous and varied as those of St Ephraem" (Wright), have been published by G Bickell. ❖ One of these on the earthquake, followed by fire, which destroyed much of Antioch in 459, was probably was one of his latest efforts. [17]

18 **ST** **SIMEON** **THE** **STYLITE** b. ca. 388- d. 459/60	❖ St Simeon wrote 36 epistles and essays on spiritual topics and current ecclesiastical matters. ❖ There is also extant a Latin version of a sermon, *de Morte Assidue Cogitanda*. ❖ **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ We have two accounts of St Simeon's life that are extant – one by his disciple Markolon, the other by Cosma the Priest in 472. ❖ He was originally an enclosed anchorite, and raised his cell to avoid the honors paid to him. ❖ St Simeon's pillar was only three feet in circumference at the top, which would barely afford standing ground. ❖ He was born at Sisan, a village on the borders of Cilicia and Syria. He embraced the monastic life, aged about 16. ❖ From 413 to 423, Simeon dwelt in an enclosed cell near Antioch where his austerities speedily attracted a number of followers who formed a society called the Mandra. ❖ In 423 he built a low pillar which he gradually raised, until in 430 it was 40 cubits high; there with his neck manacled by an iron collar, he spent his 30 last years of life engaged in perpetual adoration, save when he was bestowing advice about mundane matters. ❖ His extraordinary life made a great impression; large numbers of Arabians, Armenians and other pagans were converted by him, while emperors bishops and pilgrims from distant lands, even Spain and Britain, consulted him most reverently. ❖ On August 29 he was seized with a mortal illness and died on 2 September, 459/60.	❖ The following points provide evidence for St Simeon's Orthodoxy: • The Nestorians, Alexander of Mabbug and Andrew of Samosata, wrote against him and his teacher St Jacob Kafrshimi to John of Antioch and Theodoret of Cyrus. They wrote saying that they considered St Simeon and St Jacob as heretics. • St Simeon and his teacher condemned the Council of Chalcedon and called it the "anathematized council." • St Simeon spoke of St Barsauma – who was famous for his strong opposition against the Council of Chalcedon - witnessing to the sanctity of his life. • Jacob of Sarug, in the beginning of his metrical homily concerning the holy St Simeon the Stylite, wrote: *Grant to me, O Lord, that I may depict an image which is full of grace, of Simeon the chosen one, whose graces are more exalted than (human) speech. Through You I will speak of his exploits while I am lost in wonder…I am Your flute, breathe on me Your spirit, O Son of God, That I may give out wondrous sounds concerning the excellent one; May Your strength stir me up, as the Spirit stirs up the pen, and speaks through it sweet music with a sublime voice.* [18]
19 **ST** **PHILOXENUS** **OF**	❖ One of the great leaders who defended the Christological formula of St Cyril: "one incarnate nature of God the Logos." A major Syriac writer and theologian of the 5th/6th century. ❖ Born in Persia in the province of Beth Garmai, seemingly	❖ He sponsored a revision of the Syriac translation of the New Testament, bringing it closer into line with the current Greek text and is called the "Philoxenian Syriac version." ❖ His writings fall into three main categories:

MABBUG 5th/6th Century d. 523	of Christian parents, he fled to Roman territory from Persia under the persecution of Yazdagird II (439-457). ❖ He studied at the famous theological school in Edessa known as the "Persian School" when Ibas was the bishop of that city. The school followed the Antiochian theological tradition, in particular that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but it is clear that some students, Philoxenus among them, reacted against this and sided with Alexandrian tradition of St Cyril. ❖ He was appointed bishop of Mabbug (to the north-east of Antioch) in 485. ❖ After the death of the Emperor Anastasius in 518, his successor Justin enforced on all bishops acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon and its controversial Definition of Faith; Philoxenus' refusal to do so, resulted in his deposition and exile. ❖ He died five years later in Paphlagonia. ❖ He accepted the *Henoticon* and the *Twelve Anathemas of St Cyril*. ❖ He proved an active opponent of all Nestorianizers; he demanded that not only Nestorius but all who regarded as sympathizing with him, Diodorus, Theodorus, Theodoret, and many others, should be repudiated. **His Theology** ❖ He was an ardent opponent of the Christological definition of faith laid down at the Council of Chalcedon. ❖ He believed that the very personality of God the Word became man in the womb of the Virgin, personally without conversion. Neither the deity nor the humanity was absorbed one by the other, nor converted one into the other. It is one nature constituted out of two. The one person of the Incarnate Word was not a duality, but a unity. In all said, done, or suffered by Christ, there was only one and the same God the Word; who became man, and took on Himself voluntarily the condition of want	exegetical, dogmatic, and ascetic. ❖ Examples for the first two categories are: *Commentary on the Prologue of John* and the *Three Tractates on the Trinity and the Incarnation*. ❖ The third category of works shows up a quite different aspect of Philoxenus' character, pointing to his deep concern for, and interest in, the religious life. ❖ Best known are his thirteen *Discourses.* Their titles are: Prologue (1), the first commandment that a person should seize upon (2), faith (3-4), serenity (5), the fear of God (6-7), self emptying (8), greed (9), abstinence (10), fornication (of the mind; 12-13). ❖ He also wrote some letters on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, in which he wrote: *Suppose someone objects and says that the Holy Spirit leaves us as the result of other sins as well, and when we repent of them he returns to us. If He leaves us, who is it then who works in us so that we repent of our sins? Repentance does not take place without the Holy Spirit; it is accompanied by fastings and vigils, by almsgiving and prayer, by continual affliction of soul and continual shedding of tears and inexpressible groans, all of which are a result of the activity of the Spirit…Do not quench the Spirit…do not grieve Him by sin, otherwise His light will be quenched from your soul – a light which, when kindled within you, gives you a possession of power that is beyond expression and you will be able to…fight against the evil spirits under heaven, and reject all the world with its pleasures and pains.* [19] ❖ He also says of the baptized person in the same letter: *the Spirit whom he put on once and for all from*

	and suffering, for the accomplishment of man's redemption. ❖ It followed that God the Word suffered and died and not merely a body distinct from, or, obedient to Him, or in which He dwelt. He affirmed a single will in Christ. ❖ This was the faith of him and his friend Severus who became patriarch of Antioch after Flavian, towards the close of 512.	*the water, he will never again put off, except for denial alone. For if it is through faith that he puts on the Spirit, it is only through denial that he can put him off, seeing that faith and denial are opposites, like darkness and light.* [20] ❖ He wrote a letter to a solitary, Patricius of Edessa on the passions of the soul and the commandments of Christ. [21]
20 **BARSAUMA** **BISHOP** **OF** **NISIBIS** b. ca. 415-420 d. 496	❖ Barsauma's letters to Acacius (a fellow student with him at the School of Edessa are his only writings which survive. ❖ **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ A Nestorian; the bishop of Nisibis and metropolitan 435 (at the time of Catholicos Babaway 457-484). ❖ After the suppression of Nestorianism within the empire, he engaged successfully in its propagation in Eastern Asia, especially in Persia. ❖ Barsauma had the skill to secure for his church the powerful support of the Persian King Pherozes (Firuz) who ascended the throne in 462. ❖ He worked upon his enmity to the Roman power to obtain his patronage for a development of doctrine which had been formally condemned by the Roman emperor and his assembled bishops, representing to Pherozes that the king of Persia could never securely reckon on the allegiance of his subjects so long as they held the same religious faith as his enemies. ❖ Pherozes admitted the force of this argument, and Nestorianism became the only form of Christianity tolerated in Persia.	❖ Barsauma called for, and presided over, the synod at Beth Laphat in 484 which proclaimed, on his initiative, the deposition of Catholicos Babaway (an upholder of Orthodoxy) and anathematized all those who rejected the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. ❖ In this synod, he also set down new rules which permitted the marriage of clergy and monks. Barsauma had set the example for this by marrying a nun named Mamoe. ❖ In 489, the Emperor Zeno together with Bishop Cyrus of Edessa broke up the theological seminary at Edessa on account of its Nestorianism. ❖ When they closed the School and exiled its teachers, Barsauma welcomed them to his city, thus founding the famous School of Nisibis. He gave it a rule and put Narsai, who from the start, gave this institution the primary role in the history of the Nestorian Church. ❖ Narsai presided over the School for 50 years; missionaries went out from it in great multitudes, and Nestorianism became the recognized form of Christianity in eastern Asia. [22]

21 **ACACIUS OF SELEUCIA** Catholicos: 485-496	❖ He was Catholicos of the East, famous especially for his synod held in Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 486. ❖ The acts of the synod exist with signatures of Acacius and most of the Persian bishops including three metropolitans, and 21 bishops, the signatures of four of the latter being by their deputies. ❖ It sanctioned Nestorianism as the only correct theology and rejected contrary doctrines. ❖ The synod is recorded as having adopted some laws which gave metropolitans, priests, and deacons the freedom to marry even after their ordination. The laws also gave monks the freedom to change their status whenever they desired. ❖ The date of the synod is considered as the definitive date in the Nestorian Church. ❖ Barsauma of Nisibis and Acacius both were members of the School of Edessa and had followed Ibas' teaching before the school was broken up and the Nestorianizers moved east. ❖ Several times, Acacius invited Barsauma of Nisibis to attend his synod, but he declined. Barsauma explained in a letter to Acacius why he could not be present.	❖ He wrote homilies about fasting, several discourses against the Orthodox faith, and some letters. ❖ He translated an article into Persian written by Elisha or Hosea who later became successor of Barsauma as metropolitan of Nisibis. ❖ He formulated some laws in his synod: • The first canon of the synod determined the identity of the Persian Church which held: "*We join the diversities of the two natures in one majesty and adoration, because of the perfect and inseparable* ***conjoining*** *(συνάφεια) that existed between the Godhead and the Manhood…If anyone does not keep to the confession of perfect God and perfect Man in the unity of the Person* (Parsopa) *of our Redeemer, let him be anathema*." [23] • The second canon was for monks forbidding them to enter cities or villages which were under the jurisdiction of clergy. • The third canon renewed one of the laws of the synod of Beth Laphat concerning the marriage of priests - it prohibited bishops from imposing virginity upon them; it also permitted evangelic deacons to be married.
22 **NARSAI (NARSES)** b. ca. 399- d. ca. 502	❖ He was a theologian of the Nestorian Church and the founder of the School of Nisibis. ❖ He was born in a village north-east of Mosul. ❖ Left an orphan at an early age, Narsai was reared in a monastery where his uncle was the abbot. ❖ He subsequently studied for ten years at the School of Edessa. ❖ His uncle tried to keep him in his monastery and make him his successor, but his love of teaching brought him back to Edessa ca. 435. ❖ On the death of Qiyore in 437, who was the director of	❖ Narsai's theology is not original, but is that of Theodore of Mopsuestia who was his true teacher. ❖ His literary works are displayed in three fields: Exegesis, preaching, and liturgy. ❖ Some of his liturgical compositions are attributed to other authors, e.g. St Ephraem and Balai. But he wrote 82 (or 84) authentic homilies (memre) in twelve-syllable verse, on liturgical, theological, exegetical, and moral subjects, of which only half have been published. ❖ He wrote 360 articles, in twelve books, similar in

	the School, he was unanimously elected to succeed him. He directed the school for 20 years, propagating the doctrine of Theodore of Mopsuestia and maintaining a friendship with Ibas, bishop of Edessa. ❖ When Ibas died, his successor Nonnus who was a strong opponent of Nestorianism dismissed him. ❖ After persuasion from Barsauma, bishop of Nisibis, he founded the School of Nisibis and was its director for many years. It replaced that of Edessa which was closed in 489. ❖ He was later to come into conflict with Barsauma, and it is believed that the cause of the conflict was a nun named Mamoe whom Barsauma married. ❖ He was the most influential exponent of Nestorian doctrine.	number to the days of the year. ❖ The articles contradicted the beliefs of St Jacob of Sarug. They also strongly promoted Nestorianism and contained many insults and offensive remarks directed at St Cyril of Alexandria. ❖ His writings show that Narsai considered Diodore, Theodore, and "*Mar*" Nestorius, as great teachers of the Church. ❖ He wrote an article rebuking his friend Barsauma for marrying a nun. ❖ He wrote two long discourses concerning the offering of the liturgy, and the sacraments of Baptism and Priesthood. ❖ His writings are used in prayers and services of the Nestorian Church.
23 ST JOANNES SABA 507	❖ St Joannes Saba was a native of Ninevah who flourished in the 6th century; some believed that he lived in the 8th century. ❖ Wace & Piercy (p. 568) gives the date as 507. ❖ He was an Orthodox monk of Dilaita or Dalyatha, a small town on the west bank of the Euphrates. ❖ He is known as "The Spiritual Elder" (in Syriac, "elder" means "Saba سبا." ❖ He was Nestorian by birth and probably became a monk in a Nestorian monastery. Afterwards, when he became aware of the faults of Nestorianism, he abandoned the Nestorian Church of the East and established a monastery which adhered to true Orthodox doctrine and prayers. ❖ Approximately 300 years after his death in 786-7, he was anathematized by a synod of the Nestorian Church, presided over by Catholicos Timotheus (780-823). ❖ The Nestorians opposed his writings because he adopted Orthodox doctrines against the doctrines of the Nestorian	❖ His works are 30 discourses and 48 epistles, of which Syriac and Arabic manuscripts exist in the Roman libraries. ❖ His style is marked by persuasive eloquence; the works are headed, "On the divine gifts and spiritual solace vouchsafed to the monks for their comfort and delight." ❖ His writings are recognized and famous in the Syrian, Coptic, and Ethiopian Orthodox Churches. ❖ In *Letter 5*, St John Saba wrote: *Your door is open, Lord, and no one is entering. Your glory is revealed, but no one pays attention. Your light shines out in the pupils of our eyes, but we are not willing to see. Your right hand is extended, ready to give, but there is no one who takes from it! You entice us with all sorts of attractions, but we ignore them. You instill fear with terrors which are nevertheless intermingled with mercy, but we do not flee to You. O our God*

	Church. ❖ In many places in his writings he refers to the Virgin St Mary as "Theotokos," Mother of God. [24]	*who is good, have pity on our miserable state… Remove our soul from prison, for we have imprisoned ourselves, and bring us to the true light*. [25]
24 **POLYCARPUS OF MABBUG** ca. 508	❖ He was chorebishop of Mabbug. ❖ Polycarpus was well versed in Greek and Syriac and was probably the first to translate the Pauline Epistles into Syriac.	❖ He was famous during 500-508 for translating the Scriptures from Greek to Syriac, on request by Philoxenus who was metropolitan of Mabbug at the time. ❖ Consequently, his translation was titled by Philoxenus as "The Philoxenian Version."
25 **STEPHEN BAR SUDAYLE** Last quarter of 5th Century	❖ He was a philosopher and monk born at Edessa probably in the last quarter of the 5th century. ❖ The most detailed contemporary source of Stephen's life is a letter by St Philoxenus of Mabbug written ca. 510 to two Edessan priests, Abraham and Orestes, warning them about the exaggeration of Stephen's teaching, which he accuses of pantheistic tendencies. ❖ In his youth, he traveled to Egypt to pursue his studies, and according to St Philoxenus, he was the disciple of a monk who upheld heresies, whom he called "John the Egyptian." ❖ Jacob of Sarug wrote a letter to Stephen rebuking him for his eschatological ideas. He then excommunicated him, and expelled him from Edessa. ❖ He fled to Palestine to the Origenist monks where he continued to propagate his ideas and correspond with his disciples who remained at Edessa.	❖ Stephen wrote letters and theological treatises, none of which survive. ❖ He also wrote mystical commentaries on the Bible, especially the Psalms, dating back to the 9th and 10th centuries (which exist in the British Museum). ❖ Critics unanimously recognize his paternity of work extant in Syriac under the name *Book of Hierotheus* or *Saint Hierotheus on the Mystery Hidden in God's Dwelling* in five parts: I: Cosmology; II-IV: Ascent of the intellect towards its perfection; V: Eschatology. ❖ His writings display pantheistic conceptions of reality, namely the view that the universe is to be identified with God, ie., that there is only one reality, alternately describable as "God" or "nature."
26 **ST SIMEON KOKOYO** **The Potter**	❖ He was a deacon at a village in the region of Antioch. ❖ He was a potter who wrote Syriac religious songs during his work; he composed a certain melody which was later named after him. ❖ St Jacob of Sarug visited him in his workshop, and while	❖ The songs of Simeon: - centered on the Nativity, miracles, crucifixion, and Resurrection of Christ; - praised the Virgin Mary; - focused on the prophets, saints, the departed, and repentance. ❖ Some of his hymns are used in the prayers of the

d. 514	there, he heard his songs. He praised him and encouraged him to continue. ❖ He also took some of the songs to show to St Severus the patriarch.	Syrian Church. ❖ He also wrote poetry which he adapted to different melodies. 28 of these verses (discovered in the 8th century) are extant in London.
27 ST JACOB OF SARUG b. ca. 451- d. 521	❖ A Syriac speaking priest whose learning and piety, expressed in numerous writings, earned him esteem as "flute of the Holy Spirit and harp of the Orthodox Church." ❖ Born at Kurtam, a village on the Euphrates, in the district of Sarug. ❖ Jacob was educated at Edessa prior to his ordination. ❖ He was appointed periodeutes (itinerant priest over villages of the region) at Haura in 503. ❖ In 519, at the age of 68, he became bishop of (Batnae) Batnan, the chief city of Sarug. ❖ He died on 29 November 521 and was buried with honor in the town of Sarug. ❖ In his homily *Concerning the Blessed Virgin Mother of God, Mary*, he wrote: *The holy virgin calls me today to speak of her… Second heaven, in whose womb the Lord of heaven dwelt and shone from her to expel darkness from the lands. Blessed of women, by whom the curse of the land was eradicated, and the sentence henceforth has come to an end…Daughter of poor ones, who became mother of the Lord of kings and gave riches to a needy world that it might live from Him. Ship which bore treasure and blessings from the house of the Father and came and poured out riches on our destitute earth. Good field which, without seed, gave a sheaf and grew a great yield while being unploughed. Maiden who became like the heavenly chariot and solemnly carried that Mighty One, bearing Creation…It is easier to depict the sun with*	❖ Although some prose compositions, especially letters, as well as expositions, epistles, hymns, and psalms survived, he is most famous for about 760 homiletical poems (memres), about half of which are extant. His writings in general supply ample proof of Orthodoxy on the doctrines in question. **Prose Works** ❖ 1. An anaphora or liturgy; 2. An order of Baptism; 3. An order of Confirmation; 4. A number of epistles; 5. Six homilies: on Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Palm Sunday, the Passion, and the Resurrection of Christ. **Poetic Works** ❖ The subjects are chiefly the personages and events of the Old and New Testaments, especially the words and deeds of Christ. He wrote 231. [27] ❖ About the humility of the Mother of God, he wrote: *Humility is total perfection, so that when man first beholds God, then he behaves humbly. For Moses was humble, a great one among all men; God went down to him on the mountain in revelation. Again humility is seen in Abraham, for although he was just, he called himself dust and ashes. Again also John was humble because he was proclaiming that he was not worthy to loose the sandals of the bridegroom, his Lord. By humility, the heroic in every generation have been pleasing, because it is the great way by which one draws near to God. But no one on earth was brought low like Mary, and from this it is manifest that no one was exalted like her...He*

	its light and heat that to tell the story of Mary in its splendor. [26]	*made her His mother and who is like her in humility?* [28]
28 **ELISHA BAR KOSBAYEE** Metropolitan of Nisibis 496	❖ Elisha wrote answers in defense of Christianity in response to attacks from the Magi religion. ❖ He wrote anti-heretical arguments and exegesis on the entire Old Testament. ❖ He composed 38 articles dealing with the topics of the existence of God, the Trinity, creation, and the Incarnation. ❖ **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ He was born in a village called Kosbo. ❖ After the death of Narsai, the director of the School of Edessa, he took over his position of the interpreter. ❖ He became the metropolitan of Nisibis in 496, after the death of Barsauma. ❖ The death of Babai (the Catholicos) in 503, resulted in great disturbance and unrest in the Church of the East. ❖ Babai's successor was Shila – a man whose life was tainted with numerous flaws, but who had earned the support of the king. ❖ When he died in 523, Elisha became his successor. However the bishops saw that Elisha was undeserving of	this position. Consequently, some of them ordained Narsai, the metropolitan of Haira, as Catholicos of Seleucia. ❖ Elisha's supporters rejected the appointment of Narsai and in response, ordained Elisha as Catholicos of Ctesiphon. ❖ Both Elisha and Narsai ordained bishops in their respective regions. ❖ This resulted in further conflicts and disputes between the two sides. ❖ When Narsai died in 535, Elisha sought to become Catholicos of both Seleucia and Ctesiphon, but without success because of his ill reputation. ❖ Afterwards, the bishops deleted the names of Elisha and Narsai from the list of Catholicos' and elected Paulos as successor of Narsai. ❖ Paulos worked tirelessly to repair the 12 years of damage caused by Narsai and Elisha.
29 **SERGIUS OF RIS'AYNA (RAS EL-EIN)** d. 536	❖ He was a Syrian philosopher. ❖ The date and place of his birth is unknown. ❖ We know that he studied at Alexandria where he acquired a sound Hellenistic education. ❖ He worked as a head physician in Ris'ayna (Theodosiopolis), and was also a priest. ❖ He was Orthodox but remained outside the Christological disputes. ❖ He was responsible for making known in Syriac speaking circles, all the works that circulated at the start of the 6th century under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.	❖ He deserves particular attention as a translator of Greek into Syriac. ❖ The literality and exactness of his versions are of great interest, especially from a lexicographical point of view. Some of these translations served as the basis for Arabic versions. ❖ Various philosophical works survive: A *Treatise on Logic* in seven books; *On negation and Affirmation*; *On the Cause of the Universe According to Aristotle's Principles*; *On Genus, Species and the Individual*.

	❖ This exercised an immense influence on mystical authors. ❖ He died in Constantinople.	❖ His *Treatise on Faith* is lost. ❖ Among the works which he translated were: Porphyry's *Isagoge*; Aristotles *Categories*, and a treatise *On the Soul*; Galen's treatise on *Simples*, and other works by Galen on medicine, nutrition and astrology, surviving only in fragments. ❖ He translated the *Geoponics*.
30 **ST** **SEVERUS** **OF** **ANTIOCH** b. ca. 456-d. 538 Patriarch: 512	❖ St Severus was a very important figure who became one of the great Church leaders like St Athanasius of Alexandria and St Basil of Caesarea. ❖ He was born in a wealthy Christian family in the town of Sozopolis in Asia Minor in about 456, and was the grandson of Bishop Severus who had participated in the Council of Ephesus in 431. ❖ He had the best secular education before joining the service of the Church. He became well-versed in Christian Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. ❖ Instead of following a legal career which he had planned to adopt, he was attracted to a monastic life in Palestine, and the influence of Peter the Iberian led him to the non-Chalcedonian camp. ❖ As a monk, he joined the monastery of Peter at Maiuma and later organized a community of his own. ❖ He was elected as patriarch of Antioch on 6 November 512, and was consecrated by 12 Syrian bishops. ❖ St Severus was the most outstanding theologian of the Church of Antioch in the 6th century. ❖ As patriarch, he devoted himself to the task of shepherding his flock with remarkable zeal and clear dedication. ❖ He was an uncompromising critic of the Council of Chalcedon and his aim was to try his best for the establishment if the non-Chalcedonian position as the faith of the Church.	❖ He wrote two books refuting a book written in defense of Chalcedon by Nubian monk Nephalius. It is published as *Scriptores Syri*. ❖ The sermons he preached (*Cathedral Homilies*) and the doctrinal letters which he wrote, besides his hymns, show that he was a man with biblical piety and sincere religious belief. ❖ The *Philalethes* (Lover of Truth), had been produced by St Severus in order to refute a Chalcedonian work containing excerpts from the writings of St Cyril of Alexandria, which had been compiled with the intention of showing that St Cyril had anticipated the Council of Chalcedon. ❖ In the *Philalethes*, St Severus makes two main points: Firstly, he insists that the Chalcedonian compiler is laboring under the illusion that his section of the Church would not accept the principle of a difference between Godhead and Manhood in the one Christ. Secondly, he argues that the Chalcedonian compiler had on many occasions mutilated or modified the passages as they are found in the works of St Cyril. ❖ He wrote the *Contra Impium Grammaticum* in three books refuting a work which John the Grammarian of Caesarea had published in defense of Chalcedon and in opposition to its critics. This treatise worked out an interpretation of the person of Christ on the basis of the writings of the Church Fathers and may have

- Accession of Emperor Justin I to the throne affected St Severus badly. A home Synod with 43 or 44 bishops passed a resolution deposing St Severus and the Emperor is said to have ordered that he be arrested and his tongue be cut off.
- St Severus fled to Alexandria, arriving there on 25 September 518, and spent the rest of his life in Egypt.
- Emperor Justin II issued an edict stating, "We accept the blessed patriarch St Severus and revoke the condemnation that had been pronounced against him wickedly and without reason…"
- St Severus considered Eutyches as a heretic, but he defended the position of St Dioscorus at the synod of 449 since Eutyches deceivingly introduced a confession of faith which was thoroughly unblamable (and Pope Dioscorus himself later anathematized Eutyches).
- A section of the liturgy of the Syrian Orthodox Church states, "*Let us remember our patriarch Mar Sowerious the crown of the Syrians, the eloquent tongue, and the pillar and the doctor of the Catholic Church of God*." [29]
- In the Commemoration of the Saints during the liturgy of the Coptic Orthodox Church, St Severus is mentioned directly after Saint Mark the Apostle - who is the founder of the See of Alexandria - but before her great patriarchs, Sts Athanasius, Cyril and Dioscorus. The Coptic Church also celebrates three feasts for him annually in the Coptic Calendar: His arrival to Egypt on 2 Babah, his death on 14 Amshir, and the transfer of his relics to the *Zogag* Monastery (to the west of Alexandria) on 10 Kiahk.

His Theology

- He affirmed that the Word became flesh without change and that He remained the same before and after the Incarnation but drew a distinction between the Word *before*, and the Word *in*, the Incarnation. Before the incarnation, he maintains, the Word was incorporeal, been completed by St Severus in the early twenties of the 6th century.
- A few years later, he wrote two refutations of Julian of Halicarnassus.
- St Severus wrote a letter to Eusebius briefly defining the terms *ousia* and *hypostasis*.
- Sergius the Grammarian wrote a letter to St Severus on *The View that Christ had only one Property*. St Severus wrote replying that the natures which are united in the one Christ are different, without confusion, division, or reduction.
- In total, he wrote 125 discourses titled "*Pulpit Discourses*" contained in three large volumes, 51 of which were translated into French; 3,800 letters found in 23 volumes, 10 of which were written between 512 and 518. 230 of the letters were published by Broks in four English volumes.
- St Severus in a letter to Oecumenius the Count wrote:

  We also have in the God-inspired Scripture supplies of humility, and no lack of arguments to bring us down and help us to keep silence. If you, as if you were about to go up to Mt Sinai, shrink from writing, 'to such a man' (referring to me), and think it fit to use David's words which he says to those who were urging him to take Saul's daughter in marriage, "Is it a small thing in your eye that I should be son-in-law to the king?", while I am a poor man and inglorious, I also, when required to make an answer to your question, make use of these words: "I am not a prophet, nor the son of prophets, but I am a shepherd, and a scraper of sycamore fruit" (Amos 7:14), if it is not too much for me to say even this: for I am not worthy to tell the righteousness of God, and to take His covenant in

	simple, invisible and beyond all sensory perception; but in the Incarnation He is corporeal, composite and united with flesh. ❖ He argued strongly and consistently against the *Tome of Leo* and the Council of Chalcedon, and insists that the 'two natures after the union' of the Antiochian side which the council adopted by means of the 'in two natures' was objectionable. St Severus stated that Christ is one person, God the Word incarnate. ❖ He argues again and again that the 'two natures after the union' implies that the human child was formed in the womb by himself first, and that God the Word assumed him later. According to this view, the man remained man and God the Son remained God the Son in a state of conjoint existence without being united in any real sense, in Jesus Christ. This was the position affirmed by the men of the Antiochian School and declared heretical by the Council of Ephesus in 431. [30]	*my mouth*. [31] ❖ The Syrian Orthodox Church, uses the following prayer, written by St Severus, daily in the canonical hours and in her liturgy: *By the prayer of Your Mother, who brought You forth, and of all the Saints, I will exalt You, my Lord and King, the Only-Begotten Son, and the Word of the heavenly Father; Who are in Your nature immortal; Who by His grace was pleased and came for the life and for the salvation of the human race. And He was incarnate from the holy, glorious, and pure Virgin Mother of God, Mary; Who without change, became man and was crucified for us, Christ our God; Who, by His death, trampled and killed our own death, and is one of the Holy Trinity; Who, together with His Father and His Holy Spirit is worshiped and glorified, have mercy upon us all*. [32]
31 ST JOHN OF TELLA (BAR KURSOS) b. ca. 483- d. 538	❖ John bar Kursos was born in Callinicus. ❖ After a short period in the army, he became a monk and in 519 he became bishop of Tella (Constantia). ❖ St Severus of Antioch appointed him as a general representative of the patriarchate. In 521, he was one of the 54 bishops expelled from their sees by Justin I. ❖ He spent the next several years propagating his faith, travelling widely, often in secret, and ordaining many deacons and priests, but he was arrested in a monastery near Antioch, treated badly, and died in imprisonment on 6 February 538. One of those ordained deacon ca. 529, was John of Amid who later became the famous bishop of Ephesus. ❖ He worked tirelessly to protect the little flock and defend the Orthodox faith. The Church considers him as one of her great confessors and celebrates his feast day.	❖ John of Tella wrote 48 canons for the monks of his monastery. ❖ He wrote 27 rules including exhortations for the clergy. ❖ These are titled in some manuscripts as, "*Rules of John of Tella to be Observed by Priests, especially those in Country Areas.*" ❖ He wrote 48 questions and answers. ❖ He wrote seven pages and one epistle which included the Creed. ❖ He sent them to deacons, priests, monasteries, abbots, and monks in his bishopric. ❖ He also wrote an explanation of the Trisagion and many other epistles.

32 **ST** **SIMEON** **OF** **BETH-ARSHAM** bp. 503 d. 540	❖ A highly educated theologian, renowned as "the controversialist." He was famous for defending the orthodoxy of the Church and assisting its believers to remain steadfast in the true Orthodox faith. ❖ He was consecrated as bishop of Beth-Arsham which lies on the shore of the River Tigris (near Al Madaen, modern Iraq) ca. 503. ❖ He converted three leaders of the Magi sect who consequently became his disciples, and later became martyrs. He baptized many people in Hierat Al-No'man. ❖ The Emperor Anastasius sent him as an ambassador to the Persian King, and as a result of his efforts, the king put an end to the hardships suffered by Christians. ❖ He was imprisoned by the king of Persia for seven years in Nisibis. ❖ He visited Constantinople three times, and his third visit was for the purpose of meeting Queen Theodora. ❖ He died in Constantinople at an old age.	❖ He wrote many theological discourses and epistles to the faithful. ❖ A liturgy and a letter, which he wrote in 511, are still extant. ❖ In the letter, he delivered the news of Barsauma of Nisibis, the spread of Nestorianism in Persia, and the closure of the School of Edessa. This letter is the most ancient document outlining these two famous events. ❖ He also sent a second letter in 524 from Haira to Simeon, the abbot of the monastery of Gaboul, describing the martyrdom of the "Hemyar" Christians who were killed by the Jewish king of Yemen one year before the letter was written.
33 **ABA** b. 490-d. 552 Catholicos of the Church of the East: 540	❖ Aba was born to pagan parents in a village on the eastern shore of the River Tigris. ❖ He was educated in the sciences and Persian literature. Because of his high level of education, he was chosen as the chief of the Magi in his village. ❖ An interesting story led to his conversion from paganism: Joseph called Moses, a student or teacher at the School of Nisibis, sought to cross the River Tigris in the same boat as Aba. Aba refused and tried to cross the river three times without him, but he was prevented by storms. However, when afterwards he allowed Moses to cross with him, he was able to reach the other side of the river with great ease. Aba was captured by his decency and meekness, and as a result was encouraged to learn about Christianity. ❖ He was taught Greek by a man named Thomas whom he	**Translations** ❖ The works which Aba translated are: • The Old Testament from Greek to Syriac. • Some works by Theodore of Mopsuestia. • The liturgies of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius from Greek to Aramaic. These liturgies are used by the Assyrian Church of the East during specific times of the year. **Other Works** ❖ He wrote exegesis on some books of the Old Testament and the Epistles of St Paul. ❖ He tried to restore the disorder within the Church of the East by establishing new laws concerning the rights of bishops, and by holding a synod in Beth Laphat. ❖ He wrote several articles and letters to organize

	met in Edessa. They visited Palestine and Egypt together. ❖ While in Alexandria, Aba studied the Scriptures in Greek, and he also visited monasteries throughout Egypt. ❖ He and Thomas afterwards went to Athens, Corinth, and Constantinople between 525 and 533. They remained in Constantinople for one year, and it is said that they fled the city suddenly because **they refused to condemn Diodore and Nestorius.** ❖ He returned to Nisibis and became a teacher in its school. ❖ In 540, he was chosen to be Catholicos by the bishops of the Church of the East.	matters in the Church of the East. ❖ The hymns recited daily during Lent in the Assyrian Nestorian Church are ascribed to him.
34 **ST** **JACOB** **BARADAEUS** (BORD'ONO) b. 505 bp. 543 d. 578	❖ Jacob Baradaeus has no extant writings. **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ Ordained bishop of Edessa with oecumenical authority throughout the East. By his indomitable zeal and untiring activity, this remarkable man rescued the community from the extinction with which persecution by the imperial power threatened it. ❖ The name of Jacob Baradaeus ("the ragged") was applied in the eighth century to the non-Chalcedonian churches in Asia Minor, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt - the "Jacobites." **This nomination is rejected by the Syrian and Coptic Orthodox Churches** because they are apostolic churches founded by the apostles themselves at the beginning of Christianity, and not by Jacob Baradaeus in the 6th century. ❖ There are two Syriac biographies of his life by his contemporary, John of Asia bishop of Ephesus, who was ordained by him. The surname Baradaeus is derived from the ragged mendicant's garb patched up out of the old saddle-cloths. His father, Theophilus Bar-Manu, was one of the clergy. In pursuance of a vow of his parents, St Jacobus, when he was two years old, was placed in the	❖ Making the most of his appointment, Jacob began to fill numerous bishoprics in Asia Minor and Syria with non-Chalcedonians, of ten monks from prominent Syrian monasteries. Thus he re-established a non-Chalcedonian hierarchy disrupted after the ouster in 518 of St Severus, patriarch of Antioch. His appointment of Sargis as patriarch of Antioch completed his task. ❖ Justinian enforced the Chalcedonian decrees universally, and the bishops and clergy who refused them were punished with imprisonment, deprivation, and exile. Whole districts of Syria and the adjacent countries were thus deprived of their pastors. A considerable number of bishops from all parts of the East, including Theodosius of Alexandria, Anthimus the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, Constantius of Laodicea, John of Egypt, Peter, and others, who had come to Constantinople in the hope of mitigating the displeasure of the emperor, were held by Justinian in one of the imperial castles in a kind of honorable imprisonment. By them Jacobus was consecrated to the episcopate.

	monastery of Pesilto in the region of Nisibis under the care of abbot Eustathius, and trained in Greek and Syriac literature and in the strictest asceticism. He became remarkable for the severity of his self-discipline. ❖ With Sargis, another monk of his house, he went in 527 to Constantinople as an ambassador for his interests of the non-Chalcedonians in Syria. The Empress Theodora was noted for her sympathy to the non-Chalcedonian party. ❖ After the death of his parents, he manumitted the slaves and made over all his inherited property to them, reserving nothing for himself. He became a presbyter, his fame spread over the East. The empress Theodora was eager to see him and she received him with much honor. He lived in a monastery at Constantinople for 15 years as a complete recluse after which time he was made bishop of Edessa. At the same time, a fellow non-Chalcedonian, Theodosius, became bishop of Bostra in response to a request from Harith ibn-Gabala, sheikh of the Ghassanid Arab tribes at the eastern Roman border, for an "Orthodox," that is, non-Chalcedonian, leader.	❖ Jacobus in his tattered beggar's disguise, traversed on foot the whole of Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the adjacent provinces, even to the borders of Persia, everywhere ordaining bishops and clergy, by his exhortations or his encyclical letters encouraging depressed co-religionists to courageously maintain their faith against the advocates of two natures, and organizing them into a complete spiritual body. ❖ He consecrated bishops, ordained clergy, and united the scattered elements in an organization so well planned and so stable that it has subsisted unharmed through all the many political and dynastic storms in that portion of the world. He is stated to have ordained the incredible number of 80, 000 clergy. John of Ephesus says 100, 000, including 89 bishops and two patriarchs. ❖ At last, he set out to Alexandria. On the arrival of his party, including several bishops, at the monastery of Cassianus or St Romanus on the Egyptian frontier, a deadly sickness attacked them, and St Jacob himself fell victim to it. His episcopate lasted 37 years and his life 73 years. [33]
35 **ISAAC** **THE** **SYRIAN** 6th century	❖ An anchorite and bishop towards the end of the 6th century. ❖ He was by birth a Syrian, and, with his brother who became abbot, entered the great monastery of St Matthew at Nineveh. ❖ Afterwards he retired to a lonely cell, where he long remained. Isaac's fame as an anchorite became so great that he was raised to the bishopric of Nineveh, which, however, he resigned from on the very day of his consecration, owing to an incident which convinced him that his office was superfluous in a place where the Gospel was little esteemed. Feeling also that episcopal	❖ Ebedjesu writes that "he composed ***Seven Tomes On Spiritual Guidance***, and ***On Divine Mysteries***, ***Judgments***, and ***Government***." A considerable number, though not all, of these discourses are extant in Syriac, Arabic and Greek MSS. in the Vatican and other libraries. ❖ 53 of his homilies were rendered from Greek into Latin, ca. 1407, by a monk who freely abridged and altered the order of his original. ❖ His style teems with metaphor; his matter is often interesting, both theologically and historically. He treats mainly of the ascetic life, its rules and spiritual

functions interfered with the ascetic life, he finally retired to the desert of Scete or Scetis in Egypt, where he died.

- He is much quoted by the old Syrian writers.

His Christology

- Following a tradition derived from Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore, and Nestorius, Isaac wrote:

  *We do not hesitate to call the humanity of our Lord – He being truly man – 'God' and 'Creator' and 'Lord'; or to apply to Him in divine fashion the statement that 'by His hand the worlds were established and everything was created.' For **He** to whom all these things apply willingly dwelt in **him**, giving **him** the honor of **His** divinity and authority over all, because of the benefits which creation was about to receive through Him…He even bade the angels worship him, according to the words of the blessed Paul: 'introducing the Firstborn into the world, he said: Him shall all the angels of God worship.' He granted him that he should be worshipped with Himself indistinguishably, with a single act of worship for the man who became Lord and for the Divinity equally, while the two natures are preserved with their properties, without there being any difference of honor.* [34]

- Isaac says that the cross is a symbol of "the man who completely became a temple" of God (II/11,12); the cross is made in the name of "that man in whom the Divinity dwells" (II/11,13); the humanity of Christ is the "garment of his divinity" (II/11,24). [35]
- The above texts highlight that Isaac's Christology was Nestorian.

experiences. Watching, fasting, silence, and solitude are means to self-master.

- For him a soul can approach unto God by love, fear and divine training. He who has gotten love feeds on Christ at all times, and becomes immortal (Jn 6:52).
- On humility Isaac the Syrian said:

  A humble man is never rushed, hasty, or agitated, never has any hot or volatile thoughts, but at all times remains calm. Even if heaven were to fall and cleave to the earth, the humble man would not be dismayed. Not every quiet man is humble, but every humble man is quiet…for the humble man is always at rest, because there is nothing which can agitate or shake his mind. Just as no one can frighten a mountain, so the mind of a humble man cannot be frightened. [36]

- On tears in the monastic life, he wrote:
- *What meditation can a monk have in his cell save weeping? Could he have any free time from weeping to turn his gaze to another thought? And what occupation is better than this? A monk's very cell and his solitude, which bear a likeness to life in a tomb, far from human joys, teach him that his work is to mourn. And the very calling of his name urges him on to this, because he is called 'the mournful one' (abila), that is, bitter in heart. All the saints have left this life in mourning. If, therefore, all the saints mourned and their eyes were ever filled with tears till they departed from this life, who would have no need of weeping? A monk's consolation is born of his weeping.* [37]

[1] PR Amidon, trans., *The Panarion of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis: Selected Passages*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990, p. 198.
[2] DD Wace & WC Piercy, eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1994, pp. 549-550.
[3] Mor Ignatius Ephrem I Barsoum, *Allo'lo' Al Manthour*: *History of Syriac Sciences and Literature*: *6th edn* (Arabic), Mardin Publishing House, Damascus, 1996, p. 204.
[4] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, Christian Classics, Texas, pp. 311-343.
[5] S Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1987, pp. 17-18.
[6] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 296.
[7] M Hansbury, trans., *Jacob of Serug On the Mother of God*, St Vladmir's Seminary Press, New York, 1998, p. 8.
[8] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 296.
[9] Brock, op. cit., p. 36.
[10] A Abouna, *The Literature of the Aramaic Language: 2nd edn* (Arabic), Dar Al Mashreq, 1996, pp. 88-89.
[11] Mor Ignatius Ephrem I Barsoum, op. cit., 1996, pp. 206-207.
[12] ibid., p. 207; A Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 537; WS McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam*, Scholars Press, California, 1982, p. 63.
[13] McCullough, op. cit., pp. 168-169.
[14] ibid., pp. 73-74.
[15] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 874.
[16] ibid., pp. 504-505
[17] McCullough, op. cit., p. 66.
[18] ibid., 79-80.
[19] Brock, op. cit., pp. 115, 118.
[20] ibid., p. 120.
[21] ibid., pp. 102-103.
[22] Wace & Piercy., op. cit., p. 101.
[23] BJ Kidd, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, vol. 2, Macmillan, New York, 1932, p. 333.
[24] Cardinal Augin Tessran, *Historical Summary of the Chaldean Church*, trans., Fr Soliman Sa'egh, p. 145 in Bishop Mettaos, *The Story of the Spiritual Elder and a Collection of His Sayings: 2nd edn*, (Arabic), Anba Rueiss Al-Abassiya, Cairo, 1988, p. 19.
[25] Brock, op. cit., p. 332.
[26] M Hansbury, op. cit., pp. 18, 19, 20.
[27] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 550-551.
[28] Hansbury, op. cit., p. 22.
[29] *The Bread of Life: The Book of the Divine Liturgy According to the Rite of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch*, Bishopric of Mount Lebanon, 2002, p. 160.
[30] VC Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1977, pp. 31, 117, 119-21, 124-125, 180, 190-192, 209.
[31] EW Brooks., ed., trans., *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Severus of Antioch From Numerous Syriac Manuscripts*, pp. 2-3.
[32] Mor Ignatius Ephrem I Barsoum, *The Spiritual Treasure on Canonical Prayer*, trans., J Tarzi, The Archdiocese of the Syrian Orthodox Church, Western United States, 1999, p. 62.
[33] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 551-553.
[34] H Alfeyev, *The Spiritual World of Isaac the Syrian*, Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 2000, pp. 54-5
[35] ibid., p. 54.
[36] ibid., p. 120.
[37] ibid., p. 135.

THE WRITERS OF ASIA MINOR

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 **EUSEBIUS OF NICOMEDIA** bp. 317-342 d. 342	❖ He was the most powerful friend of Arius, to whom the latter went after his excommunication. The two were disciples of Lucian of Antioch. ❖ He acquired the see of Nicomedia during the reign of the eastern Roman emperor Licinius when the emperor took up residence in Nicomedia. Connections at the imperial court may have facilitated Eusebius' rise to prominence, for he had been previously bishop of Berytus and his critics criticized the move to Nicomedia as non-canonical. ❖ As bishop of the emperor's city, he apparently enjoyed considerable prestige among his colleagues. This prestige perhaps more than Eusebius' known theological predilections may have prompted the recently excommunicated Arius to appeal his case to Eusebius shortly before 324. Eusebius' favorable endorsement of Arius' petition put him at the center of the Arian controversy which dominated the remainder of his ecclesiastical life. ❖ Eusebius accepted the anti-Arian creed formulated by the Council of Nicaea, but refused to recognize the council's confirmation of Arius' excommunication. This refusal presumable, Emperor Constantine deposed and banished him in 325. ❖ He was reinstated at Nicomedia, however, scarcely two years later, he became thereafter Constantine's primary ecclesiastical adviser; and himself administered Constantine's deathbed baptism - all the while continuing to fight for the reinstatement of Arius ❖ That the death of Constantine did not reduce Eusebius' prominence is shown by the pro-Arian attitude of Constantine's heir in the East, Constantine II. Just prior to his own death in 342, Eusebius became bishop of the new capital, Constantinople.	**1. Letter to Paulinus of Tyre** ❖ An interesting document, preserved by Theodoret of Cyrus. It is a sample of the letters which Eusebius inundated the East after Arius left Alexandria and found shelter in Eusebius' house. **2. Letter to Arius** ❖ St Athanasius mentions a letter addressed by Eusebius to Arius before the Council of Nicaea took place. ❖ He quotes the following sentence: "*Since your sentiments are good, pray that all adopt them; for it is plain to anyone, that what has been made was not before its origination; but what came to be has a beginning of being.*" (*De syn. 17*). [1] **3. Letter to St Athanasius** ❖ He wrote to St Athanasius to re-admit Arius and his adherents into the Church. **4. Letter to the Bishops of the Nicene Council** ❖ Socrates and Sozomen preserved this letter which Eusebius and Theognis of Nicaea sent to the principal bishops who participated in the Council. They composed it while they were in exile. ❖ According to Sozomen their restoration was realized by an imperial edict shortly after sending this letter.

2 **THEOGNIS OF NICAEA** d. after 343	❖ Theognis has no extant writings. **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ He was bishop of Nicaea, and was according to Philostorgius (*Hist. eccl. 2, 14*) a disciple of Lucian of Antioch, and one of Arius' supporters from the start. ❖ At the Council of 325 he opposed its decisions at first, but finally gave his signature to the Creed under pressure. ❖ Soon after, Constantine deported and exiled him and Eusebius of Nicomedia to Gaul, for continuing to support the Arians. ❖ In 335 he was one of the protagonists of the Council of Tyre and the subsequent talks with the emperor at Constantinople, whose outcome was the condemnation of, and deposition and exile of	St Athanasius. ❖ He was one of the chief conspirators against St Athanasius at the court of Constantius. ❖ Sozomen (*HE* III, 7) says that in 342 Theognis ordained Macedonius bishop of Constantinople after the death of Eusebius, but this election does not seem to have been recognized as valid at the time. ❖ He must have died soon after, since he was not present at the Council of Sardica (343). ❖ His teaching was condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381. [2]
3 **BASIL OF ANCYRA** d. after 363	❖ A physician of great eloquence and learning. ❖ Basil was chosen bishop of Ancyra when Marcellus was deposed in 336. ❖ Leader of the Semi-Arians, or Homoiousians, those who said that Christ was of similar substance (*homoiousios* – ὁμοιούσιος) to God, and "like Him in all things." ❖ Although he enjoyed considerable influence with the Emperor Constantius, his extreme Arian opponents secured his banishment from 343/344 to 348/353 and again from 360. ❖ He had a leading role at the councils of Sirmium (351, which condemned Photinus) and Ancyra (358). ❖ St Epiphanius (Haer. 73.12-22) preserves a doctrinal statement that Basil composed a treatise in 359 along with George of Laodicea.	❖ A treatise, composed with George of Laodicea, on the Trinitarian doctrine preserved by St Epiphanius. His discussion of Trinitarian questions reveals Homoiousian influence and has much in common with the synodical letter which Basil composed after the Synod of Ancyra in 358. ❖ *Against Marcellus*: In which he refuted his predecessor. ❖ The treatise *De virginitate*, attributed to St Basil of Caesarea, is likely his. His investigation of the relation between food and chastity (7-12 MG 30, 681-693) is very interesting. ❖ A number of other tracts.
4 **MARCELLUS OF ANCYRA**	See *Theologians of Antioch and Syria*, p. 84ff.	
5 **ASTERIUS THE SOPHIST** d. ca. 431	❖ He had been a rhetorician or philosopher before he became a Christian. ❖ He was a native of Cappadocia and a disciple of Lucian of Antioch but apostatized in the persecution of Maximinus. ❖ He was perhaps the first Arian writer and Arius himself made	**1. *The Syntagmation*** ❖ Written right after Nicaea, sums up the Arian doctrine. ❖ St Athanasius preserves fragments of it. ❖ It shows the radicalism typical of Arius before

use of his works in his rejection of the doctrine of Nicaea, as St Athanasius testifies, calling him "the sacrificer" on account of his apostasy and "the advocate" of the Arian heresy.

❖ More information about him is supplied in St Athanasius' *De synodis* 18:

> *And one Asterius…a many-headed sophist, one of the fellows of Eusebius…writes with the countenance of Eusebius…a small treatise, which was on par with the crime of his sacrifice…After comparing, or rather preferring, the locust and the caterpillar to Christ, and saying that Wisdom in God was other than Christ, and was the Framer as well of Christ as of the world, he went round the Churches in Syria and elsewhere, with introductions from Eusebius…that as he once made trial of denying, so now he might boldly oppose the truth. The bold man intruded himself into forbidden places, and seating himself in the place of the clergy, he used to read publicly this treatise of his.* [3]

❖ We last see him at the Council of Antioch in 341.

Nicaea. Marcellus of Ancyra preserves fragments of another work with dates from some time later. It shows a more attenuated subordinationism. Philostorgius (*HE II, 15*) rebukes him for moderating his initial Arianism.

2. *Refutation of Marcellus*

❖ Socrates (*Hist. eccl.* 1, 36) reports that Marcellus of Ancyra, wishing to counteract Asterius' influence, fell into the opposite error; for he dared to say, as the Samosatene had done, that Christ was a mere man.

❖ St Jerome (*De vir. ill. 86*) mentions that Asterius answered Marcellus and charged him with Sabellianism. This work seems to be lost.

3. Commentaries and Homilies on the Psalms

❖ 31 homilies; 29 on the Psalms (not all certainly authentic) and 27 fragments of the commentary on the Psalms. [4]

THE CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS

In the 4th century, two Cappadocian families produced a trio of saints and scholars, who may almost be said to have formed a local school of theological thought. The great Cappadocian fathers are St Basil, Bishop of Caesarea; his brother St Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa; and his friend St Gregory of Nazianzus, the "Theologian," Bishop of Constantinople.

Harnack states that the Cappadocians used new forms to make the faith of St Athanasius intelligible to contemporary thought, and thus established the Athanasian doctrine, "though with modifications, on a secure basis." But it is easy to exaggerate the modifications; they are of form rather than of substance. The Cappadocians interpreted the older theology; they did not create a new one. The mission of Sts Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa, was distinct from that of St Athanasius; and the Church owes them, under God, a debt of gratitude. They reduced to a working system, and provided with a terminology which appealed to the Greek understanding, a belief which it is the glory of St Athanasius to have defended and saved (Swete).

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 ST GREGORY THAUMATURGUS Bishop of Neocaesarea b. ca. 213 d. ca. 270-275	❖ Gregory Thaumaturgus ("The Wonder Worker") was born into a pagan family in Cappadocian Pontus. ❖ After the death of his parents, he studied rhetoric, then law. Intending to go to Beirut to further his legal education in 233, he instead went with his brother to Caesarea in Palestine where they both became pupils of Origen for five years. ❖ By 238, he had returned to Pontus and sometime in the 240's became bishop of Neocaesarea. ❖ He preached the Gospel in town and countryside with such zeal and success that at his death but a handful of pagans remained in all Pontus. ❖ The Cappadocian Fathers of the 4th century venerated him as the founder of the Church of Cappadocia. He fled at the Decian persecution. ❖ He took part in the synod that excommunicated Paul of Samosata around 264. ❖ Macrina, the influential grandmother of Sts Basil	**1.** ***The Panegyric to Origen*** ❖ An oration he delivered on leaving the school of Origen at Caesarea. **2.** ***The Creed or Exposition of Faith*** ❖ A short one though restricted to the Orthodox dogma of the Trinity, gives a very exact statement of it. For example: *There is one Lord, God of God, True Son of True Father …Eternal of Eternal. There is a perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity…Wherefore there is nothing either created or in servitude, nor nothing superinduced, as if at some former period it was non-existent, and at some later period it was introduced. And thus neither was the Son ever wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son.*[7] ❖ The Greek text of this Creed, besides being incorporated in Gregory of Nyssa's biography, is also extant in a large number of manuscripts; we have, in addition, a Latin version by Rufinus (*Hist. eccl*. 7,26) and a Syriac translation. **3.** The *so-called* ***Canonical Epistle***

- and Gregory of Nyssa had been instructed by St Gregory Thaumaturgos.
- Five *Lives* recount the miracles that earned him the name *Thaumaturgos* "Wonder Worker": only that by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46, 893-958)[5] seems to contain some historical elements.
- Gregory's influence depended much upon the widely circulating accounts of his miracles.
- He died in the reign of Aurelian (270-275).
- Gregory of Nyssa has left us his life.
- In his Third Homily *On the Annunciation to the Holy Virgin Mary*, St Gregory wrote:

> *Again we have the glad tidings of joy, again the announcements of liberty, again the restoration, again the return, again the promise of gladness, again the release from slavery. An angel talks with the Virgin, in order that the serpent may no more have converse with the woman…Gabriel was sent to declare the world-wide salvation; Gabriel was sent to bear to Adam the signature of his restoration; Gabriel was sent to a virgin, in order to transform the dishonor of the female sex into honour; Gabriel was sent to prepare the worthy chamber for the pure spouse; Gabriel was sent to wed the creature with the Creator; Gabriel was sent to a virgin espoused to Joseph, but preserved for Jesus the Son of God. The incorporeal servant was sent to the virgin undefiled…The light was sent that should announce the Sun of righteousness. The dawn was sent that should precede the light of the day. Gabriel was sent to proclaim Him who is in the bosom of the Father, and who yet was to be in the arms of the mother.* [6]

- Addressed to some unknown bishop who had consulted the author, derives its name from the fact that it has been embodied in the collection of Canonical Epistles of the Greek Church.

4. *The Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes*

- This is nothing more than a paraphrase of the Septuagint text of Ecclesiastes.

5. *On the Impassability and Passability of God*

- This treatise, addressed to a certain Theopompus, is extant in a Syriac translation only.
- God cannot be subject to suffering, however He is free in His decisions.
- By His voluntary suffering, the Son of God defeated death and proved His impassibility.

6. Twelve Topics *On the Faith*

7. *On the Subject of the Soul*

8. *On All the Saints*

9. Four Homilies

10. *On the Gospel According to Matthew*

11. Spurious Writings

- The treatise to *Philagrius on Consubstantiability*. Also the treatise to *Tatian on the Soul*, and six homilies preserved in Armenian.

12. Other Works

- A *Communal Letter* that deals with pastoral problems during the Gothic invasion is extant.
- A treatise for preachers on how to interpret the Septuagint.
- A piece dedicated to Philogrius which deals with the doctrine of the Trinity is probably authentic.
- The confession of faith attributed to him by St Gregory of Nyssa is the latter's own composition.
- Some Apollinarian forgeries were transmitted under his name.

2 **ST BASIL THE GREAT OF CAESAREA** ca. 330-379	❖ He was one of ten children, three of whom became bishops: St Basil, St Gregory of Nyssa, St Peter of Sebaste. His sister St Macrina the Younger was a model of ascetic life. ❖ He received his elementary training from his father Basil, the son of St Macrina the Elder who was a pupil of St Gregory the Wonderworker. ❖ St Basil began his education at Caesarea, the Cappadocian capital, but presently proceeded to Constantinople, and from thence to Athens. At Athens he had for a fellow-student Gregory, a son of the bishop of the small Cappadocian town Nazianzus, who had previously studied at Caesarea in Palestine, and at Alexandria under Didymus with whom he entered upon a lifelong friendship. ❖ He returned to Caesarea ca. 356 to begin a career as a rhetorician but soon afterwards embraced monasticism. ❖ He journeyed through Egypt, Palestine and Syria in order to meet the most famous ascetics, after which he went into solitude near Neocaesarea. ❖ When St Gregory of Nazianzus visited him in 358, they prepared together the *Philocalia* and the two *Rules* which had a decisive influence in the expansion of the cenobitic life, and earned St Basil the name of "Lawgiver of Greek monasticism." In a short time, he founded a number of monasteries. ❖ In 364 Eusebius, the metropolitan of Caesarea, persuaded St Basil to become a priest. He accepted and, as Gregory of Nazianzus writes, was "*a good counselor, a skillful helper, and expounder of the Scriptures, an interpreter of his duties, the staff of his old age, the prop of his faith, more trustworthy than all his clerics, more experienced than any layman*." [8] ❖ After Eusebius died in 370, St Basil became his successor as bishop of Caesarea and metropolitan of	**1. Dogmatic Works** ❖ *De Spiritu Sancto.* He appeals to Scripture and early Christian tradition in support of the catholic (universal) doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the book is at once well reasoned and edifying in tone and substance. ❖ *Contra Eunomium*, is a lengthy refutation of Anomoean Arianism. **2. Homilies** ❖ *The Hexaemeron*, an *Exposition of the Psalms*, and addresses on a variety of subjects, **doctrinal** and **practical**. **3. Ascetic Writings** ❖ The *Moralia*, rules for the ordering of life in the world, especially the life of the clergy; and *two sets of Regulae*, rules for the monastic state. **4. Letters** ❖ 366 letters have survived. They possess deep feeling, great warmth of affection, and a fund of quiet humor, at times approaching to playfulness. ❖ It must be remembered that we are reading the self-revelations of one who struggled with constant ill-health, and whose days were full of distractions and anxieties from without. **5. The Liturgies of St Basil** ❖ Three liturgies are attributed to St Basil: (a) that of the Byzantine Church, (b) that of the Syrian Orthodox Church, and (c) that of the Coptic Orthodox Church, of which there is also a Greek version. ❖ In the Anaphora of the Coptic Liturgy of St Basil, he says: *He was incarnate and became man, and taught us the ways of salvation. He granted us the birth from on high through water and Spirit. He made us unto Himself a congregation, and sanctified us by Your Holy Spirit ; He loved His own who are in the world, and gave Himself up for our salvation unto death which reigned over us, whereby we were bound and sold on account of our sins,*

Cappadocia. He established hospitals for the sick and diseased, homes for the poor, and hospices for strangers and travelers.

- He fought against Arianism and was not intimidated by the Emperor Valens. When the Prefect Modestus was sent by the Emperor to threaten him with confiscation and exile in order to obtain a signed statement of his adherence to Arianism, St Basil replied:

  The confiscation of goods does not harm one who has nothing, unless perchance for these tortures and sufferings you need a cloak and a few books which are my whole life. Exile I do not know, for I am bound to no one place: not only this my own land in which I live, but the whole world into which I may be banished, I hold as my own, for the whole world is of God, whose dweller and sojourner I am. These tortures, what harm could they do me…Of these things only are you lord. But death would be an act of kindness for it will bring me nearer to God, form Whom I live and for Whom I have been created and to Whom in the greater part I have died and towards Whom I hasten…Also, let the Emperor hear this, that at all events you will not persuade us or win us over to the impious doctrine [Arianism], though you threaten with cruel deeds.[9]
- Strongly affected by St Basil's words, the Emperor annulled the decree for his banishment.
- St Basil died in 379, aged not more than 50.
- St Basil was the greatest orator or thinker, a strong advocate of monasticism, and a firm adherent of the Nicene faith. He was one of the most generous and sympathetic of men. These characteristics, combined with the attractiveness of a strong personality, give a singular charm to his writings.

He descended into Hades through the cross.[10]

- About the beginnings of his monastic life, St Basil wrote:

  Much time had I spent in vanity, and had wasted nearly all my youth in the vain labor which I underwent in acquiring the wisdom made foolish by God. Then once upon a time, like a man roused from a deep sleep, I turned my eyes to the marvelous light of the truth of the Gospel, and I perceived the uselessness of "the princes of this world that come to naught." I wept many tears over my miserable life, and I prayed that guidance might be vouchsafed to me to admit me to the doctrines of true religion. First of all, I was minded to make some mending of my ways, long perverted as they were by my intimacy with wicked men. Then I read the Gospel and I saw there that a great means of perfection was the selling of one's goods…the giving up of all care for this life, and the refusal to allow the soul to be turned by any sympathy to the things of earth.[11]
- St Basil was inspired by the lives of the most famous ascetics in Egypt, Palestine, Syrian and Mesopotamia and he wrote:

  I admired their continence in living, and their endurance in toil. I was amazed at their persistency in prayer, and at their triumphing over sleep. Subdued by no natural necessity, ever keeping their soul's purpose high and free in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, they never yielded to the body; they were never willing to waste attention on it. Always, as though living in a flesh that was not theirs, they showed in very deed what it is to sojourn for a while in this life, and what to have one's citizenship and home in heaven. All this moved my admiration. I called these men's lives blessed, in that they did indeed show that 'they bear about in their body the dying of Jesus'. And I prayed that I too, as far as in me lay, might imitate them (LNPF).[12]

3 ST GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS The Theologian ca. b. 329-d. 390	❖ Bishop of Constantinople (380-381). ❖ St Gregory was born into an upper-class, landholding family in Cappadocia. His father, also a Gregory, was able to pay most of the cost of a new church building in Nazianzus. ❖ He had not always held Christianity in such high regard; his family had belonged to the *Hypsistarii*, a Hellenized Jewish sect that worshiped one God, observed the Sabbath, and kept the food laws, but rejected circumcision. ❖ St Gregory's mother, Nonna, evidently was the Christian center of the family. She influenced her husband to become a believer. ❖ When the elder Gregory became a Christian, his paternal grandmother disowned him for a time. But during the younger Gregory's early adult years, Gregory the elder was bishop of Nazianzus. ❖ St Gregory studied at Nazianzus, Caesarea in Cappadocia (where he first met Basil of Caesarea), Caesarea in Palestine, Alexandria, and finally Athens. ❖ He was also able to learn from Thespesius, a noted rhetorician. ❖ Ca. 371, the Emperor Valens divided the civil province of Cappadocia into two, naming Caesarea (the centre of St Basil's metropolitanship) as the capital of Cappadocia Prima, and Tyana as capital of Cappadocia Secunda. Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, insisted that the ecclesiastical divisions should be the same as the civil and claimed jurisdiction over some of St Basil's sees. St Basil objected and erected several new bishoprics to assert his rights and his position. Sasima was one of the towns selected, and St Basil consecrated St Gregory as its bishop. ❖ St Gregory never received possession of his see and he remained at Nazianzus assisting his father until his	❖ Having written most things during his lifetime with a view to a larger public, he was able to collect his letters and to edit and publish various other works. ❖ In his writings, St Gregory turned Hellenic and Hellenistic tradition to Christian use. He wrote more than 17,000 verses. Unlike the two Apollinaris of Laodicea, he did not think of versifying the Bible but of making Greek poetry carry Christian content. ❖ Although his lines are not always markedly creative, he did write good elegies. His theological poetry, if often bland, fits the classical forms well. He used classical vocabulary and meter in works featuring Christian concepts and heroes. His greatest achievement in verse, however, is his autobiographical poetry, which marks a new level of autobiography both in poetic form and in personal reflection. **1. Five Theological Orations and Other Orations** ❖ St Gregory's most important works are his Orations. 44 genuine discourses have come down to us. The bulk of them were preached at church services and the festivals of the *Epiphany* and the *Pentecost* etc. They reveal St Gregory at his best, both as orator and as Christian believer. ❖ *The Five Theological Orations* on the Divinity of the Logos give evidence of his rhetorical skill and defense of the Nicene position. They were delivered at Constantinople, probably in the year before the Second General Council 381, and they form at once a tremendous indictment of the Eunomians and Macedonians. These orations earned him the title, "The Theologian." **2.** His **Panegyrics** are splendid specimens of another kind of oratory. His funeral oration for St Basil is often considered the best. **3. Thirty-Eight Dogmatic and Forty Moral Poems**, besides **ninety-nine** on his own life and others to his friends. **4.** His **Letters** to St Basil help us to follow the course of one of the most romantic of friendships. The letters to Cledonius on

death in 374. St Gregory then took over the administration of Nazianzus for one year before withdrawing to Seleucia.

- ❖ In 379, the Orthodox community in Constantinople urged St Gregory to reorganize their Church which was oppressed by a succession Arian emperors and archbishops.
- ❖ In December 380, when the new Emperor Theodosius entered Constantinople, St Gregory was made bishop of the city.
- ❖ The Emperor convoked and opened the Council of Constantinople in May 381, but opposition at the Council to St Gregory's claim to the bishopric of Constantinople made him resign from the second see of Christendom within a few days.
- ❖ He returned to Nazianzus, then in 384, once more citing ill health, he again retired to monastic life on the family estate and devoted himself to writing.
- ❖ He appears to have been a good pastor and administrator.
- ❖ He is the "***Theologian***" of Greek Orthodox Christology, sharing the title with St John. Yet his works consist exclusively of orations, poems, and letters. He has won his right to the title chiefly by the singular merits of ***five orations known as the "Theological***."
- ❖ The strength of St Gregory's teaching lies in a relatively pure Greek style, a vigorous and yet persuasive oratory, a facile and graceful expression of glowing thoughts. He is a consummate interpreter of Greek theology rather than an independent theologian. No one did so much to popularize the Catholic (universal) faith of the Holy Trinity; and there is perhaps no single book in Greek patristic literature to which the student who desires to gain an exact and comprehensive view of Greek theology can be more confidently referred.

the Apollinarian controversy should be read for their theological interest. Three letters (*Ep*. 101-102; 202) are of such theological importance for Apollinarianism that they belong to a separate manuscript tradition. One letter to Nicobulus (*Ep*. 51).

5. The Liturgy of St Gregory

- ❖ In early times, the Coptic Orthodox Church reserved the Liturgy of St Gregory for three solemn festivals: the midnight liturgies of Christmas, Epiphany, and the Christian Pascha (the Feast of the Resurrection). This tradition continues, however, it is also common to pray St Gregory's liturgy at any time during the liturgical year.
- ❖ In the Anaphora of the Gregorian Liturgy, St Gregory says:

  Holy, Holy are You, O Lord and Holy in everything, and exceedingly elect is the light of Your essence. And inexpressible is the power of Your wisdom. No manner of speech is able to define the deep expanse of Your love for mankind. You, as a Lover of mankind, created me, a man. You had no need of my servitude. Rather, it was me who was in need of Your lordship. Because of the multitude of Your compassions, You formed me when I had no being. You set up the sky for me as a ceiling. You made the earth firm for me so that I could walk on it. For my sake You bridled the sea. For my sake You have revealed the nature of animals. You subdued everything under my feet. You did not permit me to lack anything from among the works of Your honor. [13]
- ❖ St Gregory explains Christ being born of a virgin as follows:

  A great thing is virginity and celibacy, a being ranked with the angels, and with the single nature; for I shrink from calling it Christ's, who, though He willed to be born for our sakes, by being born of a Virgin, enacted the law of virginity, to lead us away from this life, and cut short the power of the world, or rather, to transmit one world to another, the present to the future. [14]

4
ST GREGORY OF NYSSA
b. ca. 330-
d. ca. 395

- ❖ St Gregory of Nyssa was born in the city of Caesarea.
- ❖ Unlike Sts Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, he did not study at the great centers of higher learning. His education seems to have been influenced especially by his oldest sister Macrina (the younger), and later in both rhetoric and theology by St Basil.
- ❖ He was certainly married and did not join Sts Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus in their monastic retirement. He did return, however, into the full service of the Church and was ordained by St Basil in 372 to the modest bishopric of Nyssa in Cappadocia.
- ❖ As an administrator, he was a disappointment to Basil (*Ep*. 58; 60; 100); because of accusations of mismanagement raised by the Arians, he was deposed in 376 but returned to his bishopric two years later. After St Basil's death in 379, Gregory became his recognized heir (St Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep*. 76) in the struggle against extreme Arianism, as represented by Eunomius, and began the most fruitful period of his life.
- ❖ In 379, he took part in the synod of the Nicene party held in Antioch; returning from there, he visited his dying sister Macrina, superior of a monastery of women in Annesi (*Ep*. 19; *Vita Macr*).
- ❖ Soon afterward, he traveled to Ibora and Sebaste in order to supervise the election of new bishops (*Ep*. 15; 18; 19; 22). In Sebaste, he himself was elected bishop, but he extricated himself, and, a short time afterward, his youngest brother, Peter, became bishop there.
- ❖ From May to July 381, St Gregory played an important role side by side with St Gregory of Nazianzus at the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople convoked by Theodosius I.
- ❖ On a mandate of this council, St Gregory traveled in the same year to the Roman province of Arabia to intervene in a conflict concerning the bishopric of its capital,

- ❖ His range of thought is wide; with Origen, he enters on such vast problems as the origin of the soul, the nature of evil, the freedom of the will, the relation of matter to spirit, the constitution of the risen body, the restitution of all things.
- ❖ But as J Quasten states: "*he does not share Origen's ideas regarding the pre-existence and migration of souls and explicitly rejects the doctrine that they are enclosed in material bodies as a punishment for sins committed in a preceding world.*" [16]
- ❖ In his treatment of the great controversies of his time, St Gregory is naturally far in advance of Origen, and follows in the steps of Sts Athanasius and Basil.
- ❖ He is a mystic and an idealist. He is in some respects a greater theologian than St Gregory the Theologian. While the latter popularized Orthodox theology, the former was an original and constructive thinker.

1. Dogmatic Works

- ❖ The most important is the twelve-books *Against Eunomius.*
- ❖ Other dogmatic works are treatises *Against Apollinaris and Macedonius*, a treatise *Against Tritheism* addressed to Ablabius, a tract *Against Fatalism*, *On the Soul* and *the Resurrection*, presented as a dialogue with the dying Macrina (who functioned as the teacher of Gregory), and the *Life of Macrina*.

2. His ***Catechetical Oration*** *is* a course of instruction in which St Gregory carries the catechumen over the whole field of his theology.

3. His **Exegetical Works** are numerous, but less impressive than his works on doctrine.

- ❖ St Gregory's most extensive and mature works are the *Song of Songs*, and *the Life of Moses*, both treating especially the nature of Christian perfection as continuous progress, stem probably from St Gregory's last years (391-395).
- ❖ *On the Making of Man* and *Hexaemeron* explicitly complete and correct St Basil's homilies on creation and stem

	Bostra. On this trip, he also visited Jerusalem to mediate in ecclesiastical controversies (*Ep*. 2.11-12) and in the process was constrained to defend the Orthodoxy of his own Christology (*Ep*. 3). He confessed that he himself did not experience an increase in faith as a result of his pilgrimage: "*Change of places does not affect any drawing nearer unto God, but wherever you may be, God will come to you, if the chambers of your soul be found of such a sort that He can dwell in you*." [15] ❖ St Gregory's presence at the Constantinopolitan synod of 383 is attested by a sermon. He delivered sermons in the capital on the occasions of the death of the young princess Pulcheria in 385 and her mother the Empress Flaccilla soon afterwards. We know that he was present at the synod of Constantinople in 394; he died probably soon afterwards.	probably from 379-389. **4.** His **Homilies** and **Orations** lack the eloquence of his namesake of Nazianzus. ❖ *On Virginity* is St Gregory's first published writing, although its date can be set only approximately, between 370 and 379 (probably in the earlier years of this period). ❖ *On the Lord's Prayer, The Beatitudes* etc. ❖ He wrote in *De virginitate* that virginity is: *the channel which draws down the Deity to share man's estate, it keeps wings for man's desire to rise to heavenly things, and is a bond of union between the Divine and the human, by its mediation bringing into harmony these existences so wildly divided…The real virginity, the real zeal for chastity, ends in no other goal than this, viz. the power thereby of seeing God.* [17]
5 AMPHILOCH -IUS OF ICONIUM b. ca. 340-345	❖ He was born at Diocaesarea in Cappadocia and became a lawyer at Constantinople about 364. ❖ His desire to live as a hermit remained unfulfilled because in 374 he was, at the request of St Basil the Great, consecrated bishop of Iconium. ❖ He was an intimate friend of the Three Cappadocians: Basil dedicated *De Spititu Sancto* to him, and Gregory of Nazianzus was very probably his cousin. ❖ Amphilochius governed his diocese very successfully, restoring order and discipline everywhere. ❖ He was a prominent figure in the controversies of his time. ❖ He seems to have acted vigorously against heretics, taking part in the Council of Constantinople (381), where he was praised for his Orthodoxy in the Law of Emperor Theodosius on 30 July 381, and in local synods against Macedonians and Messalians. ❖ He is last mentioned in 394, when he attended the	❖ All of Amphilochius' writings are controversial. ❖ He defended the Christian doctrine in his speeches and writings against the Arians, Messalians, and Encratities. **1.** ***Epistula synodalis*** (Synodical Letter) ❖ One of the few things that have come down to us complete. ❖ It is a profession of faith which defends the true divinity and consubstantiality (co-essentiality) of the Holy Spirit against the Pneumatomachi. **2.** ***Against the Apotactites and Gemellites*** ❖ This polemical treatise is extant in a Coptic version only; it was probably composed between 373 and 381. ❖ It combats extremists, who for ascetical reasons rejected marriage, wine, the partaking of the Lord's blood, and meat. **3.** ***Contra haereticos*** (Against the Messalians) **4.** ***Epistula iambica as Seleucum*** (Iambics for Seleucus). ❖ A short, well written didactic poem which instructs Seleucus in the life of study and virtue. **5. Homilies**

	Synod of Constantinople which settled the Episcopal succession in the diocese of Bostra. ❖ The year of his death is unknown.	❖ He wrote eight homilies on various texts from the Bible. **6. Lost Writings** ❖ *On the Holy Spirit.* ❖ *Oration on the Son*.
6 ASTERIUS OF AMASEA bp. ca. 380-390	❖ He was metropolitan of Amasea in Pontus. ❖ He was a contemporary of Amphilochius and his three great countrymen (the Three Cappadocians: Sts Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa). ❖ Little is known about his life. ❖ He had been a lawyer before becoming bishop. ❖ Photius found evidence that Asterius attained a great age.	❖ Sixteen homilies and panegyrics on martyrs show his training in rhetoric and his familiarity with the classics. • One, *Adversios Kalendarum festum*, condemns the pagan customs. • Oration II, *On the Martyrdom of St Euphemia*, is important for the history of art. Asterius describes a painting of the martyrdom of this saint and compares it with the works of Euphranor and Timomachus. The Second Council of Nicaea in 787 quotes the entire text twice as a precious proof of the veneration of holy icons.

OTHER EASTERN FATHERS AND THEOLOGIANS

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 ST EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS b. ca. 315- d. 403	❖ Native of Palestine and bishop of Salamis in Cyprus. ❖ He is referred to as a zealous champion of Orthodox faith and monastic piety. ❖ Much of his early lifetime was spent with the monks of Egypt, among whom he not only acquired a burning zeal for ecclesiastical Orthodoxy and the forms of ascetic life, but also first came in contact with various kinds of heretics. ❖ He founded a monastery at Eleutheropolis in Judea (ca. 335). ❖ The bishops of Cyprus made him their metropolitan in 367, because of his sincere concern for the faith and his organizational abilities. ❖ He encouraged ascetic life by word and example, leading St Jerome to call Cyprus a meeting place for monks from the whole world. But his main concern was to keep them in purity of faith, for him the guarantee of the Church's unity. ❖ St Jerome visited St Epiphanius on his way to Bethlehem, bringing a train of monks to Cyprus, to salute, "*the father of almost the whole episcopate, the last relic of ancient piety*." [19] ❖ A veteran of the struggle against Origenism, aged ca. 80, he was involved in St Theophilus' campaign against the Tall Brothers, who had taken refuge with St John Chrysostom. He had known them at the time of his education in the Egyptian monastery and had condemned their subordinationist Christology and their theories on pre-existence and resurrection. ❖ St Jerome says he was averse to quarrels and was admired	❖ St Epiphanius' reputation rests primarily on his attempts to refute heresy and uphold Nicene Orthodoxy. He was a heresy hunter who insisted on Nicene Orthodoxy. **1.** He wrote the ***Panarion*** ❖ It deals with 80 heresies in three books in which he attacked every heretical opinion and group known to him from the beginning of the Church through his own era. ❖ It contains information unavailable elsewhere, and is by far the most extensive ancient account of heresies. ❖ The *Panarion* is also called "*Medicine Chest*" in Greek. In it, he tried to furnish an antidote to those who have been bitten by the serpent of heresy and protect those who have remained sound in their faith. **2.** ***Ancoratus*** - A doctrinal treatise ❖ Though he did not himself attend the second ecumenical council of Constantinople (381), his shorter confession of faith, which is found at the end of his *Ancoratus* and seems to have been the baptismal creed of the Church of Salamis, agrees almost word for word with the Constantinopolitan formula. ❖ In his *Ancoratus*, and still more in his *Panarion*, he attacked Origen as the ancestor of the Arian heresy and whose allegorical interpretation he regarded as the root of all heresies. ❖ Condemning Origenism as the most dangerous of them, he was unyielding and relentless in its pursuit.

	by the unlearned as well as the erudite; Socrates praises his piety and his rectitude; Sozomen admires him. Palladius of Helenopolis, so favorable to St Chrysostom, had nothing to say against St Epiphanius. Nor did the case of Origen do any immediate harm to St Epiphanius' reputation. ❖ St Epiphanius labored to wipe out Apollinarian and Melitian sympathizers. After meeting St Jerome in Rome during 392, he joined forces with him in attempting to root out Origenistic influence, particularly within monastic communities. ❖ He attacked John, bishop of Jerusalem, as an Origenist while a guest preaching in John's pulpit. ❖ In 400, he made his way to Constantinople to assist St Theophilus of Alexandria's apparent efforts against Origenism. ❖ He left Constantinople and died on the journey back to Cyprus.	**3.** ***De mensuris et ponderibus*** (On Weights and Measures) ❖ A work composed at Constantinople in 392 for a Persian priest. ❖ It is the preliminary form of a dictionary of the Bible, which deals in its first part with the Canon and the translations of the Old Testament, in the second with biblical measures and weights, and in the third with geography of Palestine. **4.** ***De XII gemmis*** (On Twelve Precious Stones in the breastplate of the high priest of the Old Testament) ❖ It was written in 394 at the request of Diodore of Tarsus to whom it is dedicated. ❖ St Epiphanius said, "*God sells righteousness at a very low price to those who wish to buy it: a little piece of bread, a cloak of no value, a cup of cold water, a mite.*" [18]
2 **HEGEMONIUS** 4th century	❖ We know nothing more than that he is the author of "*Acta Archelai*." It contains the narrative of a dispute between Archelaus, bishop of Charchar in Mesopotamia and Mani held in the presence of arbiters who decided in favor of Archelaus. ❖ Jerome believes that the disputes were an historical event.	❖ *Acta Archelai:* It was composed in the first half of the 4th century, most probably after the Council of Nicaea (325) and before 348. ❖ It represents the common source of all later Greek and Latin works on Manichaeism.
3 **TITUS OF BOSTRA** bp. ca. 362	❖ Emperor Julian the Apostate addressed on 1 August 362, a letter (*Ep.52*) to the people of Bostra, the capital of the province Arabia (Hauran), in which he attacked their bishop Titus. ❖ St Jerome reports that the bishop of Bostra wrote "vigorous works against the Manichaeans, and some other things." [20] ❖ His work *Against Manichaeans* proves the author's rhetorical skill and his excellent philosophical training as his sober exegetical judgment. He stresses the importance of authority in the teaching of the Church as a guide and guardian of human reason. ❖ He died under the Emperor Valens (363-378).	**1**. ***Against Manichaeans*** ❖ Four books, composed after Julian's death (June 363). Book 1: Justice of God and existence of evil. Book 2: Defense of Christian teaching on Divine Creation and Providence. Book 3: Manichaean concept of revelation and inspiration. Book 4: Doctrine of Incarnation and Virginal Birth and scriptural texts dealing with the devil. **2**. ***Commentary on St Luke.*** **3. *Sermon on Epiphany***.

[1] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, Christian Classics, Maryland, p. 192.
[2] ibid., pp. 193-194; A Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 830.
[3] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3. p. 195.
[4] Di Berardino, op. cit., p. 92.
[5] ibid., p. 368.
[6] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 6, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, pp. 65-66.
[7] ibid., p. 7.
[8] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 205.
[9] ibid., p. 206.
[10] *The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, St John the Beloved Publishing House, Cairo, 1993, p. 230.
[11] BJ Kidd, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, vol. 2, Macmillan, New York, 1932, p. 90.
[12] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 205.
[13] *The Divine Liturgy of St Gregory the Theologian: According the Rites of the Coptic Orthodox Church*, Pope Shenouda III Coptic Orthodox Theological College, Sydney, 2000, pp. 32-34.
[14] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 253.
[15] ibid., p. 282.
[16] ibid., p. 289.
[17] ibid., pp. 270, 271
[18] B Ward, trans., *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1975, p. 59.
[19] DD Wace & WC Piercy MA, eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1994, p. 300.
[20] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 359.

ANTE-NICENE
WESTERN FATHERS AND WRITERS

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 TERTULLIAN	See *The Early Apologists*, p.21.	
2 ST CYPRIAN OF CARTHAGE Bishop and Martyr b. ca. 200 – d. 258	❖ *Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus* is one of the most attractive figures in early ecclesiastical literature. ❖ Born in Africa of wealthy pagan parents, he was educated at the best centers of learning, and became a rhetorician. ❖ He attained great eminence in the most outstanding career in Africa, and was known as "the nurse of pleaders," as a teacher of rhetoric at Carthage. ❖ Ca. 246 he was converted by a priest, Caecilius or Caecilianus (whose name he took), and was admitted to the clergy. ❖ At the end of 248, or more probably the beginning of 249, he was elected bishop of Carthage, becoming thereby metropolitan of North Africa. ❖ His episcopate of ten years was a most momentous one in the history of the Church, and he guided with great success the Church of Africa through the trials of the Decian persecution, a fearful plague (like the Black Death) which swept through and devastated the Roman Empire, and the initial stages of the Valerian persecution. ❖ He was the central figure in great disciplinary disputes and domestic perils which threatened the Church much more seriously than the persecutions. ❖ The Numidian bishops, convicts in the mines during the	❖ He did not indulge in speculations, but concerned himself with the needs of the hour, with practical aims and interests, appeals to Christian sentiments, to Scripture. He was a man of action primarily. ❖ He was always moderate and mild. In many of his works he relied on, and borrowed openly from, Tertullian. ❖ **Letters**: The collection contains 81 Letters; 65 from his own hand, and 16 sent to him or to Carthage clergy. 12 letters treat the issue of the Novatian Schism. ❖ **Treatises**: 13 are extant: **1.** *To Donatus:* A highly coloured, poetical description of the new life entered into by baptismal regeneration (ca. 246). **2.** *The Dress of Virgins*: A pastoral letter to women dedicated to God against vanity in dress, etc. (ca. 249). It resembles Tertullian's work. **3.** *Concerning the Lapsed*: Composed on his return to Carthage after the Decian persecution on the fallen brethren (25l), laments their fall and states conditions for return to the Church. **4.** *On the Unity of the Church*: Composed chiefly

Valerian persecution, wrote to him: "*In all the excellences which you have inscribed in your many books you have unknowingly portrayed yourself to us.*"

- ❖ During the Decian persecution (250-251) he fled from Carthage (on divine guidance and for the sake of the Church), and many renounced the faith. The question of **restoring these *lapsi* to the Church**, and the penance to be done by them occasioned a schism in Rome and Carthage. Another result of the Decian persecution was the Baptism controversy, on **the validity of baptism conferred by heretics**.
- ❖ St Cyprian held with Tertullian, that such baptism was invalid. Several councils held in Carthage between 255 and 256 upheld this decision.
- ❖ St Cyprian was martyred, beheaded in the Valerian persecution.
- ❖ In the East he became the hero of many stories circulated about his life. Of his conversion, confession and passion, it is said that he was first a magician who sells his soul to the devil; we also read of his story with Justina and her victory over her seducer by the power of the persistent Prayer of Jesus. Some believe that Cyprian of Carthage is the Cyprian in the story of Justina, while others believe it refers to Cyprian of Antioch.
- ❖ This story was known to Gregory Nazianzus (PG 35, 1169-93), Prudentius (*Perist*. 13, 21-24), Eudoxia (PG 103, 537-41), and is found in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopian, and Palaeoslavonic.
- ❖ In his treatise *On the Unity of the Church*, he wrote:

  He can no longer have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his mother. If anyone could escape who was outside the ark of Noah, then he may also escape who shall be outside of the Church. [1]

because of the Novatian Schism and that of the deacon Felicissimus at Carthage.

5. *On the Lord's Prayer*: (251-2). Like Tertullian's treatise but far deeper and more comprehensive.

6. *To Demetrianus*: (ca. 252) Apologetic address to a magistrate proving that famine, war, and pestilence are attributed wrongly to Christian neglect of pagan gods, and are sent really as punishment for the treatment of Christians.

7. *On the Mortality*: Written during the plague of 252 to encourage the spirit of the faithful to face life's end. In this treatise, he wrote:

Always remember that we have renounced the world and are living here as guests and strangers in the meantime. Anticipate the day assigned to each of us for our homecoming. This day will snatch us up, set us free from the snares of the world, and return us to Paradise and the kingdom...We consider Paradise as our country. We already consider the patriarchs as our parents…Beloved, let us hurry to these people eagerly. Let us long to be with them and to come to Christ quickly. [3]

8. *Concerning Works and Almsgiving*: A magnificent discourse of consolation on the occasion of the pestilence in 252.

9. *The Advantage of Patience*: Written during the baptism controversy (256); about how patience is an imitation of Christ.

10. *Jealousy and Envy*: (256). There is only one medicine against such deathly sickness of the soul - to love your neighbour.

11. *Exhortation to Martyrdom, addressed to Fortunatus* to encourage one to suffer (257).

	He then continues saying: *He cannot be a martyr who is not in the Church…Even if such men were slain in confession of the Name, that stain [heresy and schism] is not even washed away by blood: the inexpiable and grave fault of discord is not even purged by suffering.* [2]	**12.** *To Quirinus:* Three Books of Testimonies Against the Jews: Of great importance for the study of the Bible (248). **13.** *That the Idols are Not Gods*: Written while still a catechumen (246).
3 **HIPPOLYTUS** Presbyter, Rival Bishop at Rome d. ca. 235	❖ Ancient sources show confliction about Hippolytus' identity. ❖ A learned and cultivated person whose heritage derived from the Greek-speaking East, Hippolytus became a leading theologian in the Church at Rome. ❖ He found himself in sharp disagreement with the bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus. When Bishop Callistus relaxed the treatment of penitents who had been guilty of mortal sin, the austere and ambitious Hippolytus accused him of having departed from the tradition of the primitive Church by his leniency. He also accused Callistus of being a Sabellianist and a heretic. ❖ Hippolytus, on the other hand, went too far and defended a theology of the Logos which had subordinationistic tendencies. He described the generation of the Word from the Father as a progressive development in three periods and taught that the Logos appeared as a person only later, at the time and in the way determined by the Father. ❖ The following passage highlights his heretical Christology: "*There was nothing contemporaneous with God…All thjngs were in Him, and He was the All. When He willed, and as He willed, He manifested His Word in the times determined by Him, and by Him He made all things*." [4] ❖ Hippolytus and some of his followers separated from the Church; he was elected bishop of Rome by a small but influential circle and thus became the first anti-pope. [5]	**1.** The most important work ascribed to Hippolytus is the ***Philosophumena*** (Refutation of All Heresies), which finds the origin of Christian heresies in the philosophical schools of the Greeks. **2.** ***The Syntagma*** (Against All Heresies): Against 32 heresies; composed long before his *Philosophumena.* **3.** A treatise *On Christ and Antichrist*. **4. Exegetical Treatises** ❖ *Commentary on Daniel*, preserved in Slavonic, is the earliest Orthodox commentary to survive in its entirety. ❖ Commentary *on the Canticle of Canticles*. ❖ *On the Blessing of Jacob*. ❖ *On the Blessing of Moses*. ❖ *The Story of David and Goliath*. ❖ *On the Psalms*. **5. Chronological Treatises** ❖ *The Chronicle.* ❖ *The Determination of the Date of Easter*. **6. Homilies** ❖ *On the Passover.* ❖ *On the Praise of the Lord Our Savior*. ❖ Homily on the *Heresy of Noetus.* ❖ *Demonstration Against the Jews.* **7. *The Apostolic Tradition*** ❖ The recovery of Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*

	❖ The most likely explanation for his designation in mainly eastern sources as a bishop (e.g., Eusebius, HE 6.20) is that he became the bishop of a schismatic community. ❖ In 235, Emperor Maximinus Thrax exiled both Hippolytus and bishop Pontianus to Sardinia. Before they were killed they were reconciled with the Pope, for Bishop Fabian (236-250) brought the two bodies back to Rome to be buried with honor by the Church on the same day. ❖ Since he was a schismatic and the last prominent writer of the Roman Church to use Greek, his works suffered much in transmission often preserved only in translations. ❖ Hippolytus resembled Irenaeus in theology, Origen in scholarship, and Tertullian in attitudes, but was inferior to all three in originality and achievement. His debt to Irenaeus' theology is seen especially in his doctrine of salvation: Christ took on flesh and reversed the experience of Adam in order to confer immortality on the human race. ❖ Hippolytus clashed with Callistus on Christology and on the nature of the Church and forgiveness. The Word (Christ) was distinguished from the Father in such a way that Callistus accused him of believing in two gods. Hippolytus wanted a church of the pure and took a rigorist position against forgiving those guilty of serious sins after receiving baptism.	from the later church-order literature that incorporated it has given valuable information on ordination ministries in the Church, the catechumenate, Baptism, Eucharist, the agape and other church practices. ❖ In his *Apostolic Tradition* Hippolytus wrote: *If you are tempted, reverently sign yourself on the forehead. For this sign of the passion is displayed against the Devil, if it is made in faith and not to please people, but through knowledge, putting it forward like a breastplate. For if the Adversary sees the power of the Spirit…being outwardly demonstrated in the likeness of baptism, he will flee away trembling.* [6] **8. Lost Writings** ❖ *On the Universe, the Greeks and Plato.* ❖ *Against the Heresy of Artemon.* ❖ *On the Resurrection.* ❖ *Exhortation to Severina.* ❖ *Against Marcion.* ❖ *On the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse.* **9.** *Against Gaius.* [7]
4 **COMMODIAN** 3rd century	❖ He is the first of the Christian-Latin poets. ❖ His life is known from his own writings. ❖ Born a heathen, he became a Christian and he lived in the Latin west (born possibly at Gaza in Palestine). ❖ All the poems are acrostic, i.e. the initial letters of successive verses express the theme and title of the poem. ❖ The content of his writings betrays a practical and sagacious ecclesiastic, filled with benevolent zeal, but	❖ His works were written ca. 250. **1. *Instructions*** ❖ Two books of poems; the meter is hexameter. ❖ The first book is against Jews and heathens in which he defends the Christian faith against pagan gods such as Saturn, Jupiter and Hercules. ❖ The second book urges Christians to fulfill their duties and avoid sin, and addresses moral precepts.

	endowed with slight theological culture. ❖ In *Instructions* he wrote: ❖ *By thinking that you are safe, even though you fluctuate between Christianity and the world, you go on your way stripped of self-control and broken down by luxury. You are looking forward to so many things in vain. Why do seek evil things? For you will account for everything you do when you die. Consider this, foolish one. Once you didn't exist, but now you live. You don't know where you have come from, how you are sustained. You avoid the kind and excellent God of your life and your Governor who wants you to live.* [8]	**2. *Carmen Apologeticum*** ❖ It is composed of 1060 hexameters grouped two by two. ❖ Verses 1-88 introduce the author, a convert from paganism, who desires that other pagans may participate in his faith in God. ❖ Verses 89-578 outline the history of salvation from creation to the death and resurrection of Christ. ❖ Verses 579-790 refute the arguments of the pagans and Jews on the divinity of Christ and give an exhortation to the faith. ❖ In verses 791-1060, Commodian, who was tinged with Millenarianism, expounds his eschatological ideas. [9]
5 **LACTANTIUS** b. ca. 240 – d. ca. 320	❖ Lucius Caelius Firmianus Lactantius was born in Africa, of heathen parents. ❖ He may have been a pupil of Arnobius. ❖ He won fame in Africa as a rhetorician, and Diocletian summoned him to be a professor at Nicomedia. He tells the story of his journey in a poem (lost). ❖ Converted in 303, he resigned from his position in the same year when the persecution broke out, and lived in utter destitution. ❖ Ca. 317 Constantine invited him to teach Crispus, his son, at Trier. ❖ He was more successful in attacking paganism than defending Christianity. St Jerome wrote: "*I wish that he could have upheld our heritage with as much ease as he destroyed others.*" (*Ep*. 58:10). ❖ Comprehensive and versatile, he has a natural, pleasing, restrained style, "*The most eloquent men of his time, like a very fount of Tertullian eloquence*" (St Jerome). Pico della	**1. *De Opificio Dei*** (On God's Workmanship): 304 or 305. ❖ It was written against the Epicureans who blame the work of nature in order to show that the world is prepared and governed by no providence. ❖ It is a treatise of man, anatomically and physiologically, maintaining against the Epicureans that the human organism is a creation of God. **2. *Divinae institutiones*** (Divine Institutes): Seven books. ❖ His chief work, composed ca. 311. ❖ It is apologetic and theological in character. It is commonly held that the above-mentioned work is an epitome of this. ❖ Books 1-2 impugn polytheism and prove monotheism to be the only true religion. ❖ He outlines Christianity, concluding with a description of the after-life of the blessed in books

	Mirandola (1494) and other humanists called him the Christian Cicero. ❖ Except for St Jerome and perhaps St Augustine, no Christian writer of antiquity was so deeply versed in Latin and Greek literature, but his knowledge of ecclesiastical literature was meager. ❖ He tended towards dualism which seems to be derived from Stoicism, as well as towards Chiliasm. **His Theology** ❖ He defines Christianity only as a kind of popular morality without giving enough attention to the redeeming of mankind by a divine Savior. ❖ He denies, especially in his *Letters to Demetrianus*, now lost, the existence of the divine personality of the Holy Spirit, identifying Him sometimes with the Father, sometimes with the Son. ❖ In *Divine Institutes* 6.4 , he wrote: ❖ *Since good and evil things are set before us, we should remember that it is much better to offset short-term evil by eternal things than to endure eternal evils for short-term and perishable things. For in a contest, in this life, an enemy is set before you. You must work hard first so that you can enjoy rest afterwards...But, if you choose present ease over hard work, you do yourself the greatest harm: the enemy will surprise you and will find you not resisting…In short, we must patiently submit to everything that is unpleasant and painful, all the more because God, our Commander, has appointed us eternal rewards for our efforts.* [10]	3-7. **3.** ***De ira dei*** (The Anger of God): 310-312. ❖ Against Stoics and Epicureans. ❖ The Epicureans imagined God as entirely inert, without anger or kindness, because these emotions are inconsistent with His nature. ❖ Lactantius insists that this theory implies a denial of divine providence and even God's existence; for if He exists, He cannot be inoperative, since to live is to function. **4.** ***De mortibus persecutorum*** (The Death of the Persecutors): 313 or post 316. ❖ An account of the terrible deaths of imperial persecutors - Nero, Domitian, Valerian, Diocletian, Maximin, and Severus. An argument is derived for the truth of Christianity. **5.** ***De ave Phoenice*** (The Bird Phoenix) ❖ A poem which relates the myth of the fabulous Eastern Bird rising from its pyre to a new life every thousand years. ❖ It has a specific Christian color, and is believed to be the work of Lactantius. ❖ Herodotus is the first to narrate it, and Clement of Rome was the earliest Christian author to make it a symbol of the resurrection. It appears also in Tertullian. ❖ There are, besides, lost works and spurious works, e.g. ***De resurrectione***, ***De passione Domini***.
6 **ARNOBIUS OF SICCA** d. 327	❖ Arnobius flourished in Proconsular Africa under Diocletian (284-305) at Sicca and taught rhetoric with distinction. ❖ He was an eminent Latin apologist for Christianity. ❖ As a professor of rhetoric, his reputation was high and his	**1.** ***Adversus Nationes*** (Against the Heathen): Seven books. ❖ Written ca. 303-311. ❖ Books 1-2 are a defense of Christianity - vindication

	pupils numerous and distinguished; among them was Lactantius. ❖ Arnobius was a sincere pagan, well versed in philosophy, and active as a lecturer in attacks on Christianity. ❖ However, the sight of the martyrdoms during the Diocletian persecution affected him; and as a result of a dream, in which he was warned to submit to Christ, he was converted and approached the bishop of Sicca for reception as a Christian. ❖ The bishop was doubtful about his conversion, and Arnobius, to prove his sincerity, composed a polemical work against heathenism during the Diocletian persecution: *Adversus Nationes.* ❖ He was thereupon baptized and then ordained a presbyter. ❖ Of the remainder of his life, nothing is known.	from charges. ❖ Books 3-7 attack pagan superstition and mythology, his knowledge of Christian doctrine is slight. ❖ The second part of the work is the better part. ❖ In this work, he speaks of God in the noblest language of adoration, referring to Him as the First Cause; Father and Lord of all things; Foundation of all; Author of only good; Unborn; Omnipresent; Infinite; Incorporeal; shrouded in light; to be known as the Ineffable. [11] ❖ Of the Lord Jesus Christ, he says that He is God, and is the supreme Philosopher and Teacher, both of nature and religion. [12] ❖ *Against the Heathen* is of great importance for its allusions to heathen mythology and ceremony; and to the law, education, and amusements of the period.
7 **VICTORINUS OF PETTAU** d. ca. 304	❖ He was bishop of Pettau in Syria. ❖ The earliest exegete of the Latin Church. ❖ St Jerome says that he was not equally as familiar with Latin as with Greek, but this does not necessarily imply that he was Greek by birth. ❖ St Jerome also considered him to be affected by the opinions of the Chiliasts or Millenarians, and borrowed extensively from Origen. ❖ He was killed in the Diocletian persecution, most probably in 304.	**1.** ***The Commentary on the Apocalypse***: It testifies to the chiliastic view of its author. **2.** ***De fabrica mundi***: In this work, Victorinus' chiliastic tendency again appears clear. **3.** ***Against All Heresies***: This work is identical with the pamphlet of the same name appended to Tertullian's *Prescription of Heretics* which is believed to have been translated by Victorinus. **4.** **Commentaries** on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habbakuk, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, and Matthew.
8 **RETICIUS OF AUTUN**	❖ In the reign of Constantine, he was the most highly esteemed bishop in Gaul, (France). ❖ The Emperor sent him to Rome to attend the synods of 313 and 314 which were convened to deal with the Donatists.	❖ He wrote a commentary on the *Canticle of Canticles* passing a severe criticism. ❖ A commentary *Against Novatian* from which St Augustine quotes a sentence regarding original sin.

POST-NICENE WESTERN FATHERS AND THEOLOGIANS

The West produced no great schools of thought like those of Alexandria and Antioch, and no local group of great theologians such as the three Cappadocian Fathers. Its writers were in many cases molded by the influence of earlier or contemporary Greek (eastern) theology. Yet among the Western Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries there are commanding personalities which have no superior in the East, and not a few lesser authors of high merit.

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 EUSEBIUS OF VERCELLI d. 370/1	❖ Native of Sardinia, cleric at Rome, after 344 he became the first bishop of Vercelli; an opponent of Arianism. ❖ At Libenus' request, Bishop of Rome, Eusebius was (with Lucifer of Cagliari) a leader of the western supporters of Nicaea after the Arianizing Synod of Arles in 353. ❖ At the Council of Milan in 355, he resisted the condemnation of St Athanasius and asked the bishops to sign the Creed of Nicaea. As a result, he was deposed by the Council and was exiled to the East (Scythopolis in Palestine, then to Thebaid in Egypt) from 355 to 361. ❖ After he was set free in 362 at the accession of Julian to the throne, he participated in the Council of Alexandria in 362. ❖ In 362, he signed St Athanasius' Tome "*de Antiochenes*" and carried it to Antioch. ❖ He appears again in 364 in Milan, engaged together with Hilary in an unsuccessful attempt to expel the local Arian bishop, Auxentius.[13]	❖ He translated Eusebius of Caesarea's commentary on the Psalms, but this work has been lost. ❖ He is considered by some to be the author of the famous *Codex Vercellensis*, a pre-Jerome Latin translation of the Gospels. ❖ Three of his letters are extant: • The first letter is drawn from a correspondence among several parties regarding the Council of Milan. • The second letter was written and sent secretly to his faithful at Vercelli from Scythopolis where he was being virtually held prisoner by Patrophilus, the Arian sympathizer who was bishop of that city. • In the third letter, Eusebius congratulates Gregory of Elvira who had resisted pressure from Hosius and refused to enter into communion with bishops sympathetic to the Arian cause. ❖ A work on the Trinity is not authentic.

2 ST HILARY OF POITIERS b. ca. 315 bp. ca. 353 d. ca. 367	❖ St Hilary, "the Athanasius of the West," was a contemporary of the great Patriarch of Alexandria (ca. 300-370). ❖ St Hilary was born and died in Poitiers, France. His distinguished pagan family gave him an education in philosophy and classics. ❖ As a young man, he was converted to Christianity by reading the Bible. He was brought up in the literary circles of Aquitania, Hilary became adept both in the Greek and Latin tongues, and his mind was steeped in Neo-Platonism before it was turned to the study of the Gospel. Dissatisfied with paganism, he turned to Moses and the Prophets, and thence to the prologue of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles of St Paul. ❖ He married and had one daughter, Abra. ❖ Elected bishop of Poitiers by popular acclaim (353), he began to defend the doctrine of the Trinity declared at Nicaea in 325 against the Arians. ❖ At the Council of Beziers (356), he refused to condemn St Athanasius and was exiled to Phrygia by the emperor. ❖ In September 359, he attended the Council of Seleucia, where he upheld the Orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and the Council of Rimini, where the Emperor Constantius forced the Orthodox bishops to subscribe to the so-called Arian Creed of Rimini ❖ Considered a troublemaker and a disseminator of discord in the East, St Hilary was sent back to Gaul without being asked to sign the Arian profession of faith, and without having his banishment annulled. Sulpicius Severus (*Chron. II* 45) wrote that St Hilary's return home did not imply a reinstatement to his Episcopal see. [14] ❖ He then worked vigorously on behalf of the unity of the Trinity, first in Gaul, then in Italy. ❖ In Milan in 364, he was involved together with Eusebius	❖ After his conversion, Hilary became a diligent student of later Christian writers; his Christology follows the lines which had been marked out by St Athanasius and were afterwards revived by the Cappadocians. ❖ Hilary's writings were important in the development of Latin theology. ❖ In his ***Commentary on St Matthew*** and ***Homilies on the Psalms***, he followed Origen's allegorical method. ❖ His twelve books ***On the Trinity***; the first three written before 356, the last nine during the exile in Phrygia. They are not only the first approach to a comprehensive treatment of the subject in the Latin tongue, but are full of interesting matter and valid argument. ❖ In Book Two *On the Trinity* he wrote: *All existence originates from the Father. In Christ and through Christ God is the source of everything. In contrast to everything else, He is completely self-existent. He doesn't receive His being from the outside, but possesses it from and in Himself. He is infinite, for nothing can contain Him and He contains everything. He is eternally unrestricted by space, for He can't be limited. He is eternally prior to time, for time is His creation. Imagine what you think might be God's farthest limit, and you will find him present there…Words will fail you but His being will not be restrained.* [15] ❖ St Hilary's controversial work, the ***De Synodis*** (On the Synods), written in Phrygia, explains why the eastern clergy were dissatisfied with the expression *homoousios* (of the same esssence) in the Nicene Creed and provides citations and explanations of the eastern professions of faith. It is an appeal to the Semi-Arians. ❖ Two addresses to the Emperor Constantine, pleading for a just treatment towards supporters of the Creed of Nicaea,

	of Vercelli in an attempt to dislodge the Arian bishop Auxentius from that see. The attempt failed and St Hilary was ordered back to Gaul.	and an address to the bishops of Gaul in reference to the Emperor's attitude. ❖ He composed five historical works; as well as hymns, three of which have come down to us.
3 **LUCIFER** d. ca. 370	❖ The fierce Orthodoxy of Lucifer, Bishop of Calaris (Cagliari) in Sardinia, repels modern readers as it repelled the best of his contemporaries. ❖ Lucifer appears as the representative of Liberius, bishop of Rome, at the Council of Milan in 355, called to re-examine the case of St Athanasius. ❖ With Eusebius of Verecelli, Lucifer was exiled by the Emperor Constantius for his vigorous defense of St Athanasius, refusing to sign his condemnation. ❖ Released on the accession of Julian (362), he became entangled in the controversy between the followers of Melitius and Eustathius of Antioch.	❖ Author of five polemics addressed to Constantius during his years of exile (355-361). ❖ *De non conveniendo cum haereticis, De regibus apostaticis*, *De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus*, and *Moriendum esse pro Dei Filio* are now chiefly valuable as presenting in their Biblical quotations a certain type of the Old Latin version of the Bible. ❖ In ***Pro sancto Athanasio***, the longest and most compelling of his writings, Lucifer attacks the Emperor in reference to the irregular conduct which had taken place at the Council of Milan, where St Athanasius had been condemned without having been heard in person. ❖ His followers endorsed his rigorist views. Attacked by St Jerome in the Dialogue *Against Luciferians*, they disappeared early in the fifth century.
4 **DAMASUS OF ROME** b. ca. 304/5 bp. 366-384	❖ Damasus was born at Rome, where his family was well established and his father was engaged in an ecclesiastical career. ❖ Damasus was a deacon of Liberius when the latter was sent to exile by Constantius in 355. ❖ At the death of Liberius, he was elected bishop of Rome. ❖ He was a forceful opponent of Arianism and other forms of heresy; in this he enjoyed the support of St Peter of Alexandria, who was his firm friend all along and was associated with him in the condemnation of Apollinaris. ❖ His interest in Scripture was shown to his commission to his secretary, St Jerome, to revise existing Old Latin	❖ He is one of the greatest writers that has appeared among the bishops of the Roman Church. ❖ His own contributions to Christian literature were mainly hymns and epitaphs. ❖ A number of his letters survive, although the authenticity of some is doubtful. ❖ The genuineness of three letters in Damasus' name contained in the correspondence of St Jerome has come into question. ❖ A decretal addressed to the bishops of Gaul on disciplinary matters is probably authentic. ❖ The fourth letter, *The Tome of Damasus*, is a summary of

	versions of the Bible in light of the Greek text; an assignment that would eventually result in the *Vulgate*. ❖ St Jerome speaks in high terms of Damasus; calling him "that illustrious man, that virgin doctor of the virgin church", "eager to catch the first sound of the preaching of continence" who "wrote both verse and prose in favor of virginity." ❖ From this, we understand that Damasus was a patron of the growing monastic party. ❖ The best known record of Damasus will always be his labor of love in the catacombs of Rome. He searched ardently and devotedly for the tombs of the martyrs, which had been blocked up and hidden by the Christians during the last persecution. ❖ Almost all the catacombs bear traces of his labors, and modern discovery is continually bringing to light fragments of the inscriptions which he composed in honor of the martyrs. ❖ Damasus, indeed, deserves our gratitude for calling forth the genius of St Jerome.	errors pertaining to the Trinity and to Christology in a profession of faith drawn up by a Roman council (382) and sent to Paulinus of Antioch. ❖ Damasus may have composed the first three parts of the *Decretum Gelasianum*, those on the Holy Spirit, the canon of Scripture, and the Roman see as the source of authority, in connection with a Roman council (382), but the work as a whole is probably a product of southern Gaul in the later 5th or early 6th century. ❖ Damasus' greatest literary fame is connected with the numerous epigrams (titles) he composed to honor the martyrs or deceased relatives and friends, or in memory of various undertakings. The majority of the inscriptions are known from transcriptions made in the Middle Ages. ❖ His epigrams carry much historical and archaeological importance. ❖ St Jerome attributes to him works on virginity (e.g. *De virginitate*) in both prose and verse, but these are now lost.
5 **ST AMBROSE OF MILAN** b. ca. 339 bp. ca. 374 d. 397	❖ One of the four "Doctors" of the Latin Church; the other three are Sts Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory the Great. ❖ A bishop, an ecclesiastical statesman, a theologian and a writer. ❖ St Ambrose was born at Trier while his father, also named Ambrose, was administering to the Prefecture of Gaul (ca. between 334 and 340). ❖ After the premature death of his father, Ambrose arrived together with his mother and two brothers at Rome. [16] ❖ He devoted himself to studying the law and was appointed governor of the northern section of Italy in 370. Four years later, the people of Milan appointed him	**1. Expository Works** [17] ❖ The *Hexaemeron*, or commentary on Creation (6 books): It is in a great part a literal translation from St Basil. St Augustine was interested by the method of interpretation in which St Ambrose found a spiritual or mystical meaning latent under the natural or historical. ❖ The *Hexaemeron* is followed by *de Paradiso, de Cain et Abel (2), de Noe et Arca, de Abraham (2), de Isaac et Anima, de Bono Mortis, de Fuga Saeculi, de Jacob et Beata Vita (2), de Joseph Patriarcha, de Benedictionibus Patriarcharum, de Elia et Jejunio, de Nabuthe Jezraelita, de Tobia, de Interpellatione Job et David (4), Apologia*

as their bishop.

- From the day when St Ambrose passed over from the ranks of the un-baptized into the Episcopal order, he devoted himself to theological studies so far as his pastoral duties would allow.
- As an exegete, St Ambrose, like St Hilary, follows the dominant method of the Alexandrians; as a theologian he depends largely on St Basil and other contemporary eastern writers. Yet his writings do not always echo the tone of eastern theology.
- He possessed a deep sense of the greatness of the episcopal office and his writings raise a high standard of Christian morality.
- One of the chief glories of him is that St Augustine ascribed to him his conversion and sought Christian baptism at his hands.
- In the years 385-6, he defended the churches of Milan so stoutly against the intrusion of Arian worship.
- He gave his people hymns composed by himself to sing (hymns in honor of the Trinity) by which their fervor was greatly stimulated. The singing of hymns is described by St Augustine as extremely moving and is said by him to have been an imitation of eastern customs, and to have been followed generally throughout the Church. Paulinus also observes that at this time, antiphons, hymns, and vigils began to be performed in the Church of Milan, and had spread thence amongst all the churches of the West.
- While returning from Pavia in February of 397, on one of his trips necessitated by his attendance at an Episcopal election, Ambrose fell ill and died in Milan.

Prophetae David, Apol. altera ib., Enarrationes in Psalmos (12), Expositio in Ps. cxviii., Expositio Evang. secundum Lucam (10). [18]

2. Doctrinal or Didactic Works

- *De Officiis Ministrorum (3 books), de Virginibus (3), de Viduis, de Virginitate, Exhoratio Virginitatis, de Lapsu Virginis, Consecratae, de Mysteriis, de Sacramentis (6), de Poenitentia (2), de Fide (5), de Spiritu Sancto (3), de Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento*. [19]
- *De Officiis* is a book addressed to the clergy (imitated from Cicero).
- St Ambrose's discourses on virginity became famous, and these discourses, in the third year of his ordination, he digested into three books, *de virginibus*, which were addressed in their new form to his sister. Besides much praise of Marcellina, they contain the address made to her at her dedication by the bishop of Rome in 353.

3. Occasional Works

- The occasional writings, which are biographically most valuable, are the discourses *de Excessu Fratris sui Satyri* (2), *de Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*, *de Obitu Theodosii Oratio*, and the *Epistles*, 91 in number, with *Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis* inserted amongst them. [20]
- In *Of the Holy Spirit* he said:

  O the divine mystery of that cross! Weakness hangs on it, power is freed by it, evil is nailed to it, and triumphal trophies are raised toward it...Do you also crucify sin so that you can die to sin? Those who die to sin live to God. Do you live for Him who didn't even spare His own Son so that He could crucify our sins in His body? [21]

6 **RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA** ca. 345 - 410	❖ Tyrannius Rufinus, with whom St Jerome was involved in controversy, had been in early life his devoted friend. ❖ Rufinus was born at Concordia (Italy) ca. 345 and studied at Rome ca. 359-368, where he met St Jerome. ❖ At Aquileia 368-373, Rufinus was one of the group of ascetics to which St Jerome belonged. ❖ He departed for the East at the same time as St Jerome but passed the years 373-380 in Egypt in the company of the monks and in the school of Didymus the Blind. [22] ❖ With Melania the Elder, he took up residence on the Mount of Olives where they founded a double monastery for men and women; he remained there until 397. ❖ During his time in Jerusalem he was in frequent communication with St Jerome, who was then at Bethlehem. ❖ An unfortunate quarrel between the two began while Rufinus was still in Palestine. Rufinus took the side of the bishop of Jerusalem in the Origenist Controvery, and St Jerome attacked him as someone lazy who did not succeed in writing. ❖ Though resolved for a time, their quarrel broke out again on the return of Rufinus to Italy in 397, and continued until his death in 410. ❖ One of the consequences was that in ecclesiastical circles Rufinus lay long under the suspicion of heresy.	❖ Translations from the Greek, introduced to the West and in some cases preserved for posterity some of the masterpieces of Origen, Pamphilus, Eusebius, Sts Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and others. ❖ It is to Rufinus we owe our knowledge of the greater part of Origen's *De Principiis*, and of his homilies on the Old Testament. ❖ As an original author, Rufinus is less remarkable. He has given us a **continuation of the Church history of Eusebius** to 395. ❖ An **apology** in which he defends himself against the attacks of St Jerome. ❖ A **commentary on the creed of Aquileia**. ❖ Among his original works, his *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed* is somewhat dependent on the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem. In it he wrote: *Could I doubt that He who made me from the dust of the earth can make me, a guilty person, innocent? Could I doubt that He who made me see when I was blind, or hear when I was deaf, or walk when lame, can recover my lost innocence for me?…Just as an evil will, prompted by an evil demon, has exposed me to sin and death, the will changed to good and prompted by the good God has restored me to innocence and life.* [23]
7 **ST JEROME** Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus ca. 345 - 419	❖ St Jerome was born in the remote town of Stridon somewhere on the border of Dalmatia, near the Adriatic Sea. ❖ He was a Scripture scholar, translator, polemicist, and ascetic. ❖ His younger brother, Paulinian, together with a younger sister, would follow his example in taking up the ascetic	**1. Biblical Translations** ❖ The Gospels and the New Testament. ❖ The First Revision of the Psalter. ❖ The Gallican Psalter and Revision from the *Hexapla*. ❖ The Deuterocanonical Books. **2. Translations and Reference Works** ❖ The *Chronicle* of Eusebius.

	life. ❖ From ca. 360 to 366, he studied at Rome**,** where one of his teachers was Aelius Donatus, a renowned grammarian and commentator on Terence and Virgil. ❖ It was at Rome, in 366, that he received baptism. ❖ After a stay in Trier, he spent some time in Aquileia; there, with several friends, among them Rufinus of Aquileia, he devoted himself to asceticism. ❖ Setting out for the East ca. 372, he stayed first at Antioch, where he continued his study of Hebrew and Greek. ❖ He lived for several years (ca. 375-377) as a hermit in the desert region of Chaleis in Syria where he began his study of Hebrew and thus laid the foundations of his mature studies in the Old and New Testaments. ❖ Again at Antioch, he was ordained a priest by Paulinus. While in the city, he attended the lectures of Apollinaris of Laodicea. ❖ He accompanied his bishop to the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381), where he made the acquaintance of Sts Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa from whom he learnt to form the design of translating Origen's commentaries into Latin. ❖ He went on to Rome with Paulinus to gain the support of Damasus I in the controversy with Melitius. ❖ While in Rome (382-385), he served as Damasus' secretary and became the spiritual counselor of a group of noble Roman women among them Paula and her daughter Eustochium (who was the aunt of Paula the Younger). ❖ The true work of his life began in 383, when Damasus entrusted him with the task of revising the Old Latin version of the Gospels, a process which was afterwards extended, though with less thoroughness, to the rest of the New Testament. ❖ After Damasus' death and the election of Siticius to the	❖ The *Onomastica*: From Eusebius' work containing a list of names of persons and places with their etymological interpretation, Jerome drew a *Liber locorum* and a *Liber nominum*. ❖ *De viris illustribis*: A guide to Christian literature based on Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. **3. Biblical Commentaries** ❖ On Paul's Epistles (*Galatians, Ephesians, Philemon, Titus*); On *Ecclesiastes*; *On the Psalms; On the Prophets; On Matthew*. ❖ *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*: A technical work on Genesis. ❖ *On the Book of Revelation*: A revision of Victorinus of Pettau's Latin treatise. **4. Translations of Origen and Didymus the Blind** ❖ St Jerome translated several of Origen's collections of numerous homilies, and 39 homilies on the Gospel of St Luke. ❖ *De principiis*: In the course of the controversy with Rufinus, St Jerome issued (399) his own translation of Origen's *On the Principles* to counter that of his former friend (Rufinus). ❖ His translation of the work of Didymus the Blind *On the Holy Spirit* (387-390), the only extant version, was directed against a treatise of St Ambrose. **5. Translations of Polemical Works** ❖ Scattered throughout St Jerome's correspondence are translations of writings of St Epiphanius of Salamis and St Theophilus of Alexandria among others. **6. Monastic Works** ❖ *The Life of St Paul of Thebes.* ❖ *The Life of Hilarion of Gaza*, the spiritual father of St Epiphanius of Salamis. ❖ *The Life of Malchus* whom St Jerome had met during his

see in 384, he departed, under some compulsion for the East. He had made enemies by his rigorous ascetical teachings and stringent censures of Roman laxity and did not enjoy Siticius' support.

❖ After a period of travel about the East, he founded, along with Paula, a double monastery of men and women at Bethlehem in 386. There, he would devote his life to his scriptural studies and voluminous writings.

❖ He was at first favorable to the works of Origen and enjoyed cordial relations with his old friends Rufinus and Melania the Younger, who themselves had founded a double monastery in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives. The subsequent bitter dispute between St Jerome and Rufinus would continue, despite a brief period of reconciliation (397), until Rufinus' death.

❖ When St Jerome's monastery was attacked by a maraud gang in 416, the Roman bishop Innocent I criticized John of Jerusalem for his failure to prevent the assault. St Jerome died a few years thereafter.

❖ Although showing considerable dependence on earlier exegetes, the commentaries manifest St Jerome's own considerable erudition.

❖ At the suggestion of Damasus, He began his work upon the Latin version of the Old Testament (the *Vulgate*). His first experiment was a slight revision of the Old Latin Psalter, in which he used the help of the Septuagint.

❖ At Bethlehem this task was resumed, and a more careful revision made by comparing the Latin version with the Hebrew, and other Old Testament books were similarly treated.

❖ Lastly, in 391, St Jerome set himself to translating the whole of the Old Testament from the original.

❖ The work was not finished before 404, more than twenty years after his first experiment was made upon the Old stay in the desert of Chalcis.

❖ The *Pachomiana*: A Latin version of the *Rule of Pachomius*, made from a Greek rendering of the Coptic original. It preserved that work and allowed for its influence on western monasticism.

7. Homilies

❖ A series of *homilies* given in Bethlehem ca. 400 are based mainly on the Psalms and Gospels, especially St Mark; many are related to the cycle of the liturgical year.

8. Polemical Works

❖ *Against adherents of Lucifer of Cagliari* (ca. 379).

❖ *Against Helvidius* (ca. 383), who asserted that the Virgin Mary had other children after Jesus' birth.

❖ *Against Jovinian* (393), who taught that the reward of heaven would be equal for all and that virginity was not superior to marriage.

❖ *Against John of Jerusalem* (397), a refutation of the teachings of Origen and defense of St Epiphanius.

❖ *Against Rufinus* in three books composed (401-402) in the course of the Origenist controversy.

❖ *Against Vigilantius* (406), a defense of the veneration of martyrs, monasticism, and clerical celibacy.

❖ *Against* the *adherents of Pelagius*, a dialogue in three books (415).

❖ St Jerome wrote in one of his letters:

> *The Son of God was made Son of Man for our salvation. Nine months He waited for His birth in the womb…He who encloses the world in His fist was contained in the narrow walls of a manger. And I am not even talking about the thirty years when He lived in obscurity, satisfied with His parents' poverty. When He was whipped, He remained calm. When He was crucified, He prayed for His crucifiers. "What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits*

	Latin version of the Gospels.	*towards me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord. Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints…Because we are redeemed by the blood of Christ, we should gladly desire to lay down our lives for our Redeemer*. [24]
8 **INNOCENT I** bp. 402-417	❖ He was called to govern the Church of Rome at a very difficult time. He was bishop of the Roman Church during the siege of Rome by Alaric (408-410) but was not present at the taking of the city, as he had gone to Ravenna in a vain effort to arrange a truce with the western Emperor Honorius. He returned to his see only several years later (412). ❖ Under him, the idea of universal papal supremacy, though as yet somewhat shadowy, already took form. ❖ Innocent affirmed the position of the bishops of Africa in their condemnation of Pelagius and Celestius. ❖ In the East, he maintained communion with St John Chrysostom of Constantinople after John was deposed and exiled (404), and he broke off relations with the sees of Alexandria and Antioch over the dispute. ❖ He gave staunch support to St Jerome and Eustochium and her niece Paula the younger, who were two noble virgins living in retirement under St Jerome's spiritual direction, when their monastery was attacked. He was critical of John bishop of Jerusalem for his failure to check the assaults.	❖ Innocent I has left a small collection of pontifical letters. ❖ 36 of his letters are extant; they constitute the principal source for his activities. ❖ Letter to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio in Umbria (416; *Ep*. 25), figures in the development of the canon of the Roman liturgy. The same letter witnesses to the anointing of the sick and distinguishes the rite of confirmation from that of baptism. ❖ Other letters to western bishops are concerned with upholding the prerogative of the papacy – as all western churches owed their beginnings to Peter (in their opinion) and his successors, Roman liturgical customs were to be kept and major disputes were to be referred to Rome. Likewise, Roman prerogatives were upheld over eastern Illyricum, which fell under civil jurisdiction of the eastern empire. [25]
9 **ST AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO** b. 354- d. 430	❖ St Augustine studied at Thagaste, Madaura, and Carthage; he had a profound knowledge of the Latin language and culture, but was not proficient in Greek, and knew no Hebrew. ❖ He received a Christian education from his very pious mother, Monica, but aged 19, he abandoned the faith.	❖ There are two sources listing St Augustine's works, each of them incomplete: the *Retractiones* of St Augustine himself and the *Indiculus* of Possidius. ❖ The first ten volumes of the Benedictine text contains the genuine works arranged in the following order: I. Works written before St Augustine's ordination, and

	❖ St Augustine's long and tormented interior evolution (373-386) began with the reading of Cicero's *Hortensius*, which stirred his enthusiasm for wisdom. ❖ Shortly afterwards, having read the Scriptures without profit, he encountered, listened to, and followed the Manichaeans. ❖ The road back began at Milan with the preaching of St Ambrose, which dispersed Manichaean difficulties, and taught him that the way which led to Christ was the Church. [26] ❖ St Augustine was thirty-three years of age at the time of his conversion, but his thoughts had long turned upon subjects akin to Christian theology. Like Hilary, he passed through Neo-Platonism on his way to Christianity. ❖ His conversion involved a greater break with the past, and a more complete recasting of the inner life. ❖ He was of Numidian birth and upbringing, and had inherited the passion and fire of the African nature together with the religious traditions of the Church of Tertullian and St Cyprian. ❖ St Augustine owed to St Ambrose not only his conversion, but his initiation into Alexandrian exegesis and Cappadocian theology. ❖ St Augustine's African theology and Greek theology met, and the result was a system which, in its arrangement and proportions as well as in many of its details, was a new creation. ❖ In his doctrine of Sin and Grace we are conscious of some narrowness and an unwillingness to recognize facts when they are at variance with his position; in few instances he led the way to erroneous views of Scripture, of Church policy, or of the Christian life, which have left their mark on the history of Latin Christianity.	autobiographical writings. II. Letters. III - IV. Expositions. V. Sermons. VI. Writings on Faith and Morals. VII. The *De Civitate Dei* (The City of God). VIII., IX., X. Polemical writings: (1) against various heresies. (2) against Donatism. (3) against Pelagianism ❖ The immortal ***Confessions*** reveal the personal history of Augustine's earlier life; the ***De Trinitate*** sets forth in a reasoned system his mature faith in God; the ***De Civitate Dei*** argues the case of the Church against Paganism; the ***Tractatus in Evangelium S. Johannis*** forms the noblest of Latin commentaries on the noblest book of the New Testament. ❖ His sermons are not oratorical efforts like those of St Gregory Nazianzus, or of St John Chrysostom; but they are full of insight into the mysteries of Scripture and of human life, and the preacher of today will often find in them materials which can be adapted to the wants of a modern congregation. ❖ In his famous *Confessions* St Augustine wrote: *What therefore, is my God? What, I ask, but my Lord God? For who is Lord but the Lord? Or who is God but our God?...You love but without disturbance, are jealous but without care. You…are angry but tranquil. You change your works but not your purpose. You take what you find but have never lost anything, are never in need but take joy in gain, are never covetous but exact due return. Return is made to you abundantly that you may be the debtor, but who has anything that is not yours?* [27]

10 CAESARIUS OF ARLES Bishop, Abbot, and Writer b. 469/70- d. 542	❖ Born into a wealthy Gallo-Roman family in Châlon-sur-Saône. ❖ Sometimes called of Châlons (*Cabillonensis seu Cabellinensis*) from his birth place; but more usually known as Caesarius of Arles (*Arelatensis*) from his see, which he occupied for 40 years. ❖ Caesarius was certainly the foremost ecclesiastic in the Gaul of his own age; he was one of the most important figures in the sixth-century Gallic Church, less for his theological achievements than for his efforts as a pastor to promote a Christian system of values, practices, and beliefs among his people. ❖ He entered the local clergy in his eighteenth year. ❖ Two years later, he departed for the famous monastery of Lérins, where he remained for several years as a monk, and where he rapidly became master of all which the learning and discipline of the place could impart. ❖ Having injured his health by austerities, he was sent to Arles to recover. There, he studied with the rhetorician Julianus Pomerius and was ordained first a deacon and then a priest by bishop Eonus. ❖ In 499, Caesarius was named abbot of a monastery in the suburbs of Arles, where he remained until chosen bishop of Arles in 502. ❖ At the death of Eonus the clergy, citizens, and persons in authority proceeded, as Eonus himself had suggested, to elect Caesarius, sincerely against his own wish, to the vacant see, being probably about 33 years of age. ❖ He presided over several regional councils, including those of Agde (506) and Orange (529). The most important was that of Orange; its statements on the subject of grace and free agency have been justly eulogized by modern historians. [28]	❖ He was particularly well known for the **sermons** that he regularly delivered, "*suitable to different festivals and places but also against the evils of drunkenness and lust, discord and hatred, wrath and pride...and other vices*" (*vita* 1.55). ❖ These Sermons, numbering almost 250, are Caesarius' most important writings. Their clarity, simplicity, and vigor gave them a wide circulation in his own time and throughout the Middle Ages. ❖ *Regula monachorum*, two *Epistulae*, the *Testamentum*, and the *Rule for Nuns*, which had a measurable influence on later Gallic rules. ❖ A book he wrote against the Semi-Pelagians, entitled *de Gratiâ et Libero Arbitrio,* was sanctioned by Pope Felix; and the canons passed at Orange were approved by Boniface II. ❖ Four theological treatises have also been plausibly attributed to Caesarius by Dom Morin (*Opusculum de gratia, Libellus de mysterio sanctae Trinitatis, Breviarium adversus haereticos, Expositio in Apocalypsim*), but their authenticity has not been universally accepted. ❖ Caesarius was particularly well known for the women's monastery that he founded in Arles, and for the rule that he composed for it. His sister Caesaria afterwards presided over the monastery, and to her he addressed his *Regula ad Virgines*. ❖ In the great doctrinal question of Semi-Pelagianism of his age, Caesarius, although a disciple of St Augustine, displayed in this respect considerable independence of thought. ❖ His vigorous denial of anything like predestination to evil has caused a difference in the honor paid to his memory.

11 **GREGORY THE GREAT** b. 540 bp. 590 d. 604	❖ The father of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. ❖ Bishop of Rome, civil official, monk, and writer. ❖ Gregory was born to an aristocratic Roman family that had been Christian for several generations. ❖ His great-great grandfather was Pope Felix II (III) (483-492), and Pope Agepetus I (535-36) was another paternal ancestor. ❖ His three sisters, Tarsilla, Aemiliana, and Gordiana, embraced the life of Christian virgins. Tarsilla and Aemiliana were known for their asceticism, but Gordiana abandoned the dedicated life and married. ❖ Gregory founded the Monastery of St Andrew in the family mansion, and used family lands in Sicily to establish and endow six monasteries there. ❖ He was ordained deacon and sent to Constantinople as Episcopal representative from 579 to 586, when he was recalled to Rome, where he lived again in the Monastery of St Andrew as a simple monk, and assisted Pelagius II with papal business. ❖ When Pelagius died in 590, Gregory was unanimously chosen by the people to succeed him as bishop. ❖ Gregory called himself "**servant of the servants of God**," a title used by others ever since. **His Theology and Spirituality** ❖ He held many of St Augustine's theology, such as: the fallen state of human beings (with the pervasive effects of original sin, the primacy of grace in salvation, the doctrine of predestination, and the mediating role of the sacraments). ❖ His consideration of the possibility of an after death purgatory of sins contributed to the gradual elaboration of a doctrine of purgatory.	❖ His ***Regula Pastoralis*** (Pastoral Rule): It takes up the question of the effective ministry of bishops in their dioceses, in which Gregory sought to sketch the duties of the ideal shepherd (pastor) of souls. King Alfred thought so highly of it that he translated it for the use of the English clergy of his time. ❖ The ***Moralia***, an allegorizing exposition of the Book of Job. ❖ His Letters, no fewer than 838 have been preserved. ❖ He delivered many sermons to the people of Rome on Sundays and feast days. ❖ Of his sermons, there survive several series: on the liturgical cycle of Gospel lessons, on the opening and closing chapters on the Book of Ezekiel, and two on the Songs of Solomon. ❖ Commentary on the book of I Kings. ❖ Now lost are commentaries on Proverbs, all of Kings, and Genesis through Judges. ❖ ***The Dialogues***, in four books recounts the lives and miracles of holy men and women in Italy. ❖ In his *Epistles* 2.48, he wrote: *Watch out! The world doesn't attack the Lord's flock stealthily at night anymore, but in open daylight…We must study to make our hearts passionate by imitating earthly shepherds. They often keep watch through winter nights, nipped by rain and frost, lest even one sheep should perish. And if the prowler does bite one greedily, they busy themselves to save it. They pant with rapid heartbeats, leap to rescue the sheep with loud cries, and are stimulated by the urgency, lest the lord of the flock require what they lost carelessly.* [29]

12 **BEDE** ca. 673-735	❖ An English Father, the Northumbrian Baeda. ❖ An English monk and writer, known as "the Venerable." ❖ Educated by monks from the age of seven, Bede spent his life in the dual monastic foundations of Wearmouth and Jarrow, as a monk, deacon (from age nineteen), and priest (from about age thirty). ❖ He never traveled beyond Northumbria (north-east England). ❖ In 55 years of monastic life he never left his monastery except for a few literary journeys, spending all his life employed in study and devotional exercises. ❖ Alucin has preserved one of his sayings: *I know that the angels visit the canonical hours and gatherings of the brethren; what if they find not me there among the brethren? Will they not say, Where is Bede: why does he not come with the brethren to the prescribed prayers*? (Alc. *Ep*. 16, ed. Migne). [30]	**1. Historical Works** ❖ Of his historical works, Bede is most famous for his grandiose *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History), which was completed in 731. **2. Commentaries on the Old Testament** ❖ Genesis (4 books) derived chiefly from Sts Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine; the Tabernacle (3); Samuel (3); the Building of the Temple (2); on Kings, 30 questions dedicated to Nothlem; Proverbs (3); Canticles (7); on Isaiah, Daniel, the 12 minor prophets and part of Jeremiah, extracts from Jerome; on Ezra and Nehemiah (3), on the Song of Habakkuk (1), on Tobit (1), chapters of lessons on the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges; Kings, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Isaiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah. **3. Commentaries on the New Testament** ❖ St Mark (4); St Luke (6); Book of Homilies on the Gospels (2); Acts (2); a book on each Catholic Epistle; on the Apocalypse (3); lessons on the whole New Testament except the Gospels, and these are professedly compilations from ancient Fathers. **4. Letters** **5. Hagiographies** **6. Hymns and epigrams** **7. Scientific books** **8. Elementary books**

[1] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 5, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, p. 423.
[2] ibid., p. 425.
[3] Hudson, JA Sharrer, & L Vanker, eds, *Day by Day With the Early Church Fathers*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1999, p. 44.
[4] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 199.
[5] ibid., p. 164.
[6] A Stewart-Sykes, *Hippolytus: On the Apostolic Tradition*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001, New York, p. 160.
[7] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 166-197.
[8] Hudson, op. cit., p. 263.
[9] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 4, Christian Classics, Maryland, pp. 262-63.
[10] Hudson, op. cit., p. 315.
[11] DD Wace & WC Piercy, eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1994, p. 50.
[12] ibid., p. 50.
[13] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 62-3.
[14] ibid., p. 38.
[15] Hudson, op. cit., p. 214
[16] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 144.
[17] Ambrosiaster (fl. ca. 366-384) is the name given first by D. Erasmus to the author of a set of Latin commentaries on the Epistles of St Paul once thought to have been composed by St Ambrose of Milan (ca. 339-397).
[18] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 22.
[19] ibid.
[20] ibid.
[21] Hudson, op. cit., p. 87.
[22] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 247.
[23] Hudson, op. cit., p. 346.
[24] ibid., p. 283.
[25] E Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1992, pp. 462-463.
[26] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 345-6.
[27] EM Blaiklock, trans., *The Confessions of St Augustine*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1983, p. 17.
[28] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 167.
[29] Hudson, op. cit., p. 180.
[30] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

OTHER POST-NICENE WESTERN FATHERS AND WRITERS

The South of Gaul (France) in the 5th century produced a group of Latin writers whose affinities are on the whole eastern rather than western, and who represent to some extent a revolt against the dogmatism of Sts Ambrose and Augustine.

THE SCHOOL OF LERINS

- While Cassian was engaged in founding monasteries in the neighborhood of Marseilles, **Honoratus** afterwards bishop of Arles, converted the island of Lerins, off Cannes, into the seat of a monastic community, from which issued a succession of bishops and theologians, such as **Eucherius of Lyons, Faustus of Riez, Hilary of Arles, and Vincent of Lerins.**
- The school asserted the freedom of the human will, and the existence in human nature, even after the fall, of the image of God, and thus helped to restore the balance of truth, which was in danger of being upset by the exaggeration of St Augustine's attack on Pelagianism.
- **Prosper of Aquitaine** (403-465), **Avrrus of Vienne** (450-523), and **Caesarius of Arles** (470-542), averted the danger of a serious reaction against the Augustinian doctrine of Grace.

POETS

- For religious and moral reasons there was a certain distrust of pagan Latin poetry. Isidore of Seville wrote, "*It is prohibited to the Christian to read the compositions of poets, because these, with their delight in lying fables, stir up the mind with incitements of lust.*" [1]
- Consequently, in the 4th century, Christian Latin poetry first flourished as a substitute for pagan literature.
- When the Christians began to make use of poetry, they kept as close as possible to the classical rules without making innovations except in regard to content.
- Christian poetry was conservative, wished to preserve classical form, and rejected popular terms; Christian prose was more creative, more innovative, and even assimilated popular aspects.
- The initial literary genre was epic poetry, followed by the genre of hymnody, and rhythmic poetry.
- Other forms of poetry included letters and tracts in verse, epigrams and epigraphs, hexameters, and inscriptions for the tombs of saints and martyrs.
- By the end of the 5th century, the Latin Church could boast of an abundance of hymns and sacred poems. Two Spaniards, **Juvencus** (ca. 330) and **Prudentius** (b. 348), led the way.

CHURCH HISTORIANS

- The Church historians of the West during these centuries were fewer and less important than in the Greek East.
- Most of the Latin historical writers of the period contented themselves with translating and continuing eastern histories (e.g. **Rufinus**) or compiled chronicles extending from the creation of the world to their own times, which are valuable only when they approach the end of their story (e.g. **Sulpicius Severus**).
- A few wisely limited themselves to contemporary events, and some of those wrote with the authority of eye witnesses. Such are **Salvian of Marseilles**, **Liberatus Diaconus, Facundus of Hermiane**, and **Victor of Tununum**.
- No comprehensive history of Western Christianity was attempted during this period; and the deficiencies of the works which we possess must be supplied by referring to the lives and correspondence of the greater ecclesiastics, or from public documents.

FATHER OR WRITER	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS
1 JOHN CASSIAN b. ca. 360- d. 435	❖ John Cassian is one of the most notable writers of Gaul in the 5th century. ❖ He was probably born in Dacia, roughly equivalent to present-day Romania. ❖ He has been called by some the founder of the Semi-Pelagian School[2], while others claim that he professed a Semi-Augustinian position, or better, a mitigated Augustinianism. [3] ❖ In his twenties or thirties he left his native land and the large family property in the company of a friend called Germanus, and joined a monastery in Bethlehem. He was trained at Bethlehem before Jerome chose it as his retreat. ❖ After two years, he and his friend visited Egypt and made the acquaintance of some of the most famous cenobites and hermits of the Nitrian oasis and Thebaid. ❖ Cassian returned to Bethlehem after seven years in Egypt, but after a short stay returned to the desert of Scete in 386 or 387. ❖ Toward the beginning of the 5th century, he departed from Egypt to Constantinople. He spent a few years there and met St John Chrysostom, who ordained him to the diaconate.	❖ When he was in Marseilles he composed: **1.** *The Institutes of the Cenobia and the Remedies for the Eight Principal Vices*: Describes the life of Egyptian recluses. **2.** *The Conferences (Collationes):* Cassian's interviews with certain famous abbots in Egypt. His writings record twenty-four dialogues with different abbas. ❖ In the *Sixteenth Conference on Friendship*, John Cassian wrote: *Just as nothing is to be preferred to love, then, so also, on the other hand, nothing is to be less esteemed than rage and wrath. For everything, however beneficial and necessary it may appear, should nonetheless be put aside in order to avoid the disturbance of anger, and everything that may seem inimical should be put up with and tolerated in order to maintain unharmed the tranquility of love and peace, for it must be believed that nothing is more destructive than anger and annoyance and nothing more beneficial than love.* [4] **3.** *On the Incarnation of Christ Against Nestorius*: After the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy Cassian wrote, at

	❖ He then went to Rome where he was ordained to the priesthood, and afterwards traveled to Antioch. ❖ When at length he settled down in the old Greek town of Massilia (Marseilles), he founded monasteries for men and women, composed three treatises, and committed his time to writing his experiences of eastern asceticism.	the desire of Leo, who was then archdeacon of Rome, his one dogmatic work, the *De Incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium*. ❖ His monastic works reveal a remarkably ordered and synthetic mind, and one that was endowed with considerable psychological acumen.
2 **JUVENCUS** ca. 330	❖ Juvencus, C. Vettius Aquallinus, a Christian poet, by birth a Spaniard, descended from a noble family. ❖ He was a presbyter, and composed his poem on the Gospels during the reign of peace established by Constantine. ❖ His works show an acquaintance with the chief Latin poets.	❖ *Historia Evangelica*: This is the only extant work attributed to him on the authority of St Jerome. ❖ It is a hexameter poem on our Lord's life, based upon the Gospels. ❖ It is of interest as the first Christian epic, the first effort to tell the Gospel story in a metrical form. [5]
3 **PRUDENTIUS** b. 348	❖ Prudentius, Marcus the chief Christian poet of early times, born somewhere in the north of Spain. ❖ His name, education, and career imply that he was of a good family. ❖ He was educated in rhetoric and law, and his poems show an exact knowledge of the Latin classical poets, especially Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Juvenal. ❖ It is likely that his family was already Christian since the poet is silent about a conversion of his own. ❖ He seems to have known little Greek and no Hebrew. ❖ He speaks of his early life as stained with much sinfulness, but must have been held in high respect, for after practicing as an advocate, he twice held an important civil office, and was at last raised to some high position at the emperor's court. ❖ Late in life he received some deep religious impression, in consequence of which he gave up public life. ❖ Some expressions of his seem to imply that he joined a religious society. He no longer had any money to relieve the poor; the only offering he could make to God was his poetry. To this and to prayer he devoted his life, seeking to	❖ The most remarkable characteristic of his works being their variety. ❖ All the poems have a considerable literary value; they are written on the whole in good classical Latin, with many new words needed for church purposes and with a touch of archaic forms and words characteristic of this period. ❖ His extant works are: **1. Lyrical** ❖ *Cathemerinon:* A collection of hymns for the hours of the day and for church seasons. ❖ *Peristephanon*: A collection of 14 lyrical poems in honor of the martyrs. **2. Apologetical or Didactic** ❖ *Apotheosis*: The Deification of Human Nature in Christ. ❖ *Hamartigenia*: A treatise on the origin of sin. ❖ *Libri c. Symmachum*: Prudentius wrote these books to counteract the influence of heathen invaders. **3. Allegorical** ❖ *Psychomachia, De Compugnantia Animi* (the Spiritual Combat): The Preface consists of a mystical application of Abraham with his 318 servants freed Lot, was blessed

	spread among the educated classes a correct knowledge of Christianity, or, like a "Christian Pindar," to sing the triumphs of the martyrs on their festal days and so win them greater honor. ❖ His lyrical poems were afterwards used in the services of the Spanish Church. ❖ All trace of him is lost after 405 and the year of his death is unknown.	by Melchizedek, then begat Isaac ; so the Christian, with the aid of Christ's cross, ie. τιη 318 [τ=300, ι=10, η=8] the cross (τ) of Ιησους (Ιη) frees his soul, wins Christ's blessing, and brings forth good works. **4. The *Dittochaeon*** (double testament): Stands by itself and can scarcely be called a poem. It comprises 49 sets of four verses on scenes from the Old and New Testaments. [6]
4 **SULPICIUS SEVERUS** b. ca. 360 d. 420-425	❖ His life is known for the most part from the work of Gennadius (*De vir. ill.* 19) and the letters of his friend Paulinus of Nola. ❖ He was born into an aristocratic family in Aquitania and studied the classics and law at Bordeaux, where he probably made the acquaintance of Paulinus. ❖ He entered on a forensic career and married the daughter of a wealthy family of consular rank. ❖ Upon his wife's premature death, Sulpicius abandoned his career and took up the ascetic life. ❖ He was baptized ca. 389. ❖ He was a disciple of Martin of Tours and was greatly influenced by his example. ❖ Of St Martin in his *Vita Martini* he wrote: *No one ever saw him enraged, or excited, or lamenting, or laughing; he was always one and the same: displaying a kind of heavenly happiness in his countenance...Never was there any word on his lips except Christ…Frequently too, he used to weep for the sins of those who showed themselves his revilers.* [7] ❖ Gennadius states that he was a priest, but his contemporaries refer to him as a layman.	**1. The Chronicles / Sacred History** ❖ A brief history of the world from creation to 400. ❖ He omits the history of Christ and the Apostles which he regards as unsuitable for a resume because of its greatness. It is valuable for its treatment of Priscillians. 2. ***Vita Martini*** (Life of St Martin) ❖ This biography, written while St Martin was still alive (ca. 396), is the testimony of a Christian recently converted to asceticism. ❖ It became an exemplar for medieval hagiography. **3. Letters** ❖ The *Vita Martini* was supplemented by three letters written in 397 and 398. ❖ They deal with St Martin's death and defend him against detractors. **4.** The ***Dialogues*** ❖ An account of a conversation between Gallus (an elderly monk and a disciple of St Martin) and Postumianus (a friend of Sulpicius and a great admirer of the monks of Egypt). Postumianus recounts the deeds of the Egyptian monks, while Gallus speaks of the deeds of St Martin, modeling them after the accounts of the wonders coming from the East. [8]

5 **CLAUDIUS MARIUS VICTORIUS** d. 425-450	❖ He was a Christian Latin poet and rhetorician. ❖ A teacher of rhetoric at Marseilles. ❖ Victorius died during the reign of Theodosius II and Valentinian III. ❖ He was a contemporary of Prudentius. ❖ Victorius imitates and draws abundantly from pagan sources such as Ovid, Vergil, and especially Lucretius, as well as from Christian models such as Lactantius, Prudentius, St Ambrose, St Augustine and the *Carmen de Providential divina*.	❖ Victorius composed (between ca. 420 and 440) the *Alethia* (αλήθεια). ❖ The poem as it now exists consists of some 2,000 hexameter verses in an opening prayer and three books; a fourth book may have been lost. ❖ The work is a paraphrase of material from Genesis, from creation through the destruction of Sodom (Gen 1-19), and was intended for the instruction of youth. ❖ It shows a wide knowledge of authors, both classical and Christian, but its role in subsequent literary history has been slight. [9]
6 **AUSONIUS OF AQUITANIA** b. ca. 310- d. ca. 394	❖ A native of Bordeaux, he was the son of Julius Ausonius, a physician of Cossium, in Aquitania. ❖ He was the most celebrated rhetor of the age and a refined poet. ❖ At the age of 30 he was promoted to the chair of rhetoric in his native city, and not long after (364) was invited to court by the then Christian Emperor Valentinian I, who appointed him tutor to his son Gratian. ❖ Ausonius was held in high regard by the emperor. It was no doubt during the residence of the court at Treves at this time that he composed his *Mosella*. ❖ From the office of Quaestor, and the accession of Gratian, he became successively Prefect of Latium, Libya, and Gaul, and finally, 379, was raised to the consulship. ❖ When Gratian died in 384, Ausonius retired to Burdigala. ❖ He was the teacher of St Paulinus of Nola, but he did not approve of the latter's conversion and retirement to Spain in 389. ❖ He wrote to Paulinus four letters in verse, which arrived rather late at their destination, to persuade and plead with him to return, but in vain. ❖ The question of the poet's religion has always been a matter of dispute. It is questioned whether he was a pagan	**1.** Certain of his poems testify distinctly to his Christianity in language that is only to be set aside by assuming the poems themselves to be spurious. Such are: a. The first of his idylls, entitled *Versus Paschales*, and commencing *Sancta salutiferi redeunt solemnia Chrsti*, the genuineness of which is proved by a short prose address to the reader connecting it with the idyll, the *Epicedion*, inscribed to his father. b. The *Ephemeris*, an account of the author's mode of spending his day, which contains not merely an allusion to the chapel in which his morning devotions were performed, but a distinct confession of faith, in the form of a prayer to the first two Persons of the Trinity. c. The letters of the poet to his friend and former pupil St Paulinus of Nola, when the latter had forsaken the service of the pagan Muses for the life of a Christian recluse. This correspondence, so far from being evidence that he was a heathen, displays him rather as a Christian by conviction, still clinging to the pagan associations of his youth, and incapable of understanding a truth which had revealed itself to his friend, that Christianity was not merely a creed but a life. **2.** ***Epigrammaton Liber***, a collection of 150 epigrams on all

	who composed Christian poems out of opportunism, or a syncretist, or a Christian who by training followed pagan poetical schemes or a pagan who subsequently became Christian. [10]	manner of subjects. **3.** ***Parentalia,*** a series of tributes to the memory of those of his family and kindred who had died before him. **4.** The ***Mosella*** a poem in praise of his favourite river. **5.** The ***Epistolae*** are, on the whole, the most interesting, because the most heartfelt, of the works of Ausonious; they number 25, addressed to various friends. [11]
7 **PAULINUS OF NOLA** b. ca. 354 d. 431	❖ Bishop of Nola, was probably born at Bordeaux, and his tutor was Ausonius, who thought very highly of him as a pupil, regarded him with warm affection, and addressed to him many of his poetical epistles. ❖ Whatever merit his Latin compositions possess, he was by his own admission not strong in Greek. ❖ He entered early into public life, became a member of the senate, and filled the office of consul for part of the official year in the place of some one who had vacated it. ❖ Between 379 or not later than 389, he and his brother received baptism at Bordeaux, from Delphinus, the bishop there. ❖ Determined to renounce the world, he parted with a large portion of his property and his wife's, spending some of the money in redeeming captives, releasing debtors, and the like. ❖ In compliance with a sudden popular demand, he was ordained priest, but without any especial cure of souls, by Lampius, bishop of Barcelona, on Christmas Day, 393. ❖ In 394 he determined to retire to Nola, where he had property, including a house. ❖ At Nola he entered with his wife at once upon the course of life he had marked out, and founded a monastery at the tomb of St Felix (395. He pursued the monastic life as far as possible until his death in 431. ❖ Sts Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome regarded the self-sacrifice of him and his wife with high respect and	❖ St Paulinus' writings include 51 letters and 36 poems. St Jerome mentions a panegyric in prose in honor of the Emperor Theodosius, but it has been lost. St Augustine (*Ep*. 31, 8) speaks of a polemical work which Paulinus was writing against the pagans, but it is not known if this work was ever completed. **1. Letters** ❖ 50 are extant today. Four letters are addressed to Sts Jerome and Augustine requesting explanations of Scriptural passages or doctrinal clarifications. ❖ Five letters to Delphinus in which he expresses his gratitude for having been baptized by him and declined the request to write works of greater depth of which his friend considers him to be capable. ❖ Six letters to Amandus in which he confronts theological themes such as the Incarnation. ❖ 13 letters addressed to Sulpicius Severus. **2. Poems** ❖ 29 poems are attributed to St Paulinus. ❖ Three are from the period prior to 389, the year of his baptism. ❖ Poem six consists of 330 hexameters in honor of St John the Baptist drawing material from the Gospel account to reconstruct the important episodes in the life of the saint. ❖ Poems seven, eight, and nine paraphrase respectively Psalms 1, 2, and 136. ❖ Poems ten and eleven are poetic epistles.

	admiration. ❖ St Paulinus became bishop of Nola before the autumn of 410, when Alaric laid waste of Campania. Therasia's (his wife's) death perhaps took place in the latter part of 408. ❖ After residing 36 years in retirement at Nola, a period devoted both by himself, and during her lifetime by his wife, to unsparing self-denial; religious observances, and works of piety and charity without stint, he died 22 June 431, aged 77 or 78. ❖ In Carmen 10, 57-64 St Paulinus wrote: *When Christ from heaven hurls His light into our hearts, he purifies the slothful body from painful torpor and renews the disposition of the mind; destroying all that once gave pleasure in place of chaste joys, as a rightful master, claims our all: our heart, our mouth, our time."* [12]	❖ Poem 31 was composed at the death of the young boy, Celsus. The emotion reaches its height when the repeated name of Celsus recalls to the poet's mind his own little son of the same name who had lived only a brief time. ❖ Poem 17 was written in 398 for Nicetas, bishop of Remesiana in Dacia. ❖ *Carmen 25* was composed for the marriage of Julian (the future bishop of Eclanum and leader of Pelagianism) and Ja (or Tizia). ❖ *Carmina natalicia* are 14 poems composed for the feast of St Felix. ❖ St Paulinus' artistic talent is most successful in his description and sketches of popular scenes which offer a valuable testimony to the customs and religiosity of his time. [13]
8 **SALVIAN OF MARSEILLES** b. ca. 400 d. ca. 469/70	❖ Priest of Marseilles. He was born possibly at Trier or Cologne, and experienced the terror of the barbarian invasions during the years 418-420. ❖ In 429 Hilary of Arles, in a sermon on St Honoratus, describes him as "the most blessed man Salvianus the presbyter." ❖ When a young man, he married Palladia, daughter of Hypatius, and had one daughter Auspicola, after whose birth Salvianus and his wife adopted the ascetic life. ❖ Seven years later Salvian left his wife and daughter and retired to live with Honoratus at Lerins. ❖ Together with Vincent and Hilary he had charge of the education of the sons of Eucherius of Lyons. ❖ He went to Marseilles to Cassian's newly established monastery of St Victor. ❖ He became a priest in 429. ❖ His writings are important from a social, political and ecclesiastical point of view.	❖ Salvian seems to have been a prolific author whose works illustrate most vividly the state of Gaul in the 5th century. ❖ Gennadius (*De vir. ill.* 68[67]) gives the approximate title of a good number of his more important works: *De virginitatis bono ad Marcellum presbyterum libri tres; Adversus avaritiam libri quattuor; Expositio extremae partis libri Ecclesiastes ad Claudium ep. Viennensem; De principio Genesis usque ad condicionem hominis*; homilies, and *libelli sacramentorum*. ❖ Most of these works have been lost, and we possess only: • *Adversus avaritiam* or *Ad ecclesiam* (The Four Books of Timothy to the Church) which are a forceful denunciation of avarice and a plea for almsgiving, composed ca. 435-439 under the pseudonym of Timothy. • *De gubernatione Dei* (The Governance of God) which is a justification of divine providence written ca. 439-451 under the stress of the barbarian

		invasions. ❖ Nine letters addressed to several bishops and monks. [14]
9 **FAUSTUS** **OF** **RIEZ** b. ca. 400 bp. 457 d. ca. 490/95	❖ Sometimes called "the Breton," from having been born in Brittany, or in Britain, but more generally known as Faustus of Riez from the name of his see. ❖ Born towards the close of the 4th century, Faustus studied Greek philosophy, but in a Christian spirit; mastered the principles of rhetoric, and may have pleaded for a time at the bar. ❖ Probably ca. 424 or little later, he entered the famous monastery of Lerins, then presided over by St Maximus. Here he became a thorough ascetic and a great student of Holy Scripture, without, however, giving up his philosophic pursuits. ❖ He became a presbyter, and ca. 432 or 433 succeeded Maximus as abbot of Lerins. Faustus next succeeded St Maximus in the episcopate of Riez in Provence. ❖ Faustus was of unimpeachably good character; of an earnest, active, ascetic life; orthodox on the central doctrine of Christian faith and suffering exile for it as a confessor; but stigmatized as a Semi-Pelagian, and consequently by many authorities, both ancient and modern, denied the title of saint. ❖ His ***De Gratia Dei et Humanae Metis libero Arbitrio*** was condemned as heretical by John Maxentius through the agency of Filgentius of Ruspe and Caesarius of Arles, Semi-Pelagian teachings were condemned at the second of the Councils of Orange (529). ❖	**1.** ***Professio Fidei:*** He opens with a severe attack on the teaching of Pelagius as heretical, but expresses a fear of the opposite extreme. **2.** ***Epistola ad Lucidum Presbyterum:*** Here, too, he anathematizes the error of Pelagius; but also any who shall have declared that Christ did not die for all men, or willeth not that all should be saved. **3.** ***De Gratia Dei et Humanae Metis libero Arbitrio:*** After again censuring Pelagius, the writer argues strongly on behalf of the need of human endeavour and co-operation with the Divine aid. **4.** ***Ad Monachos Sermo:*** He refers to excommunication as a terrible weapon only to be used in the last resort. It is sad to see monks go back to the world, especially if, after doing so, they retain their monastic dress **5.** ***De Ratione Fidei Catholicae***: A brief statement of the case against Arianism. **6.** ***Homilia de S. Maximi Laudibus:*** A eulogy of his predecessor. **7.** ***Epistolae***: Two have already been described. The other 17 epistles touch upon problems of metaphysics and theology. [15] **8.** ***De Spiritu Sancto***: On the divinity of the Holy Spirit, composed after 470.
10 **CYPRIAN** **OF** **GAUL** ca. 400	❖ A Christian Latin poet who lived ca. 400. ❖ Nothing is certain about his life, even the identification with Gaul being questioned. ❖ He uses a pre-Vulgate version of the biblical text and sometimes goes back directly to the Septuagint.	❖ Cyprian is the probable author of the *Heptateuchos*, a poetic paraphrase of the first seven books of the Old Testament, which evidences knowledge of the Latin poets both Christian and classical, Virgil especially. ❖ Other works attributed to him are dubious or spurious. [16]

	❖ He is sober and concise in his descriptions and carefully avoids any reference to classical mythology.	❖ In his exegesis he sometimes gives preference to the literal sense.
11 **CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS** d. ca. 404	❖ The last significant Latin poet in the classical tradition. ❖ He was born, and probably educated, at Alexandria in Egypt. ❖ When he was still a young man, he arrived in Rome in 394. ❖ Claudius became court poet to the emperor Honorius and the panegyrist of Stilicho, and was so famous in his own time as to be considered the equal of Homer and Virgil. ❖ He was at most a nominal Christian and was considered a pagan by St Augustine and Orosius.	❖ He composed, in Greek and Latin, political panegyrics and invectives, mythological poems, epigrams, and miscellaneous short verse. ❖ He composed two short poems of Christian tenor: The *De Salvatore* (or *Carmen paschale*) which presents a wonderful sketch of Christology, and *In Jacobum*. ❖ They are evidence of the religious syncretism possible in an age of transition. [17]
12 **HONORATUS OF ARLES** d. ca. 430	❖ Nothing remains of his literary activity (letters, the rule), and the anonymous *Vita S. Honorati* is a late work. ❖ **The following details are biographical only**: ❖ A notable figure in the emergence of western monasticism because of the monastery he founded ca. 400-410 on the island of Lerins. He soon attracted many disciples, for whom he developed a rule.	❖ His monastery produced generations of church men who gave spiritual and intellectual leadership to the Western Church during the 5th and 6th centuries. ❖ His greater reputation for sanctity caused him to be called from Lerins in 428 to serve briefly as bishop of Arles before his death ca. 430. [18]
13 **HILARY OF ARLES** b. ca. 401 d. 449	❖ Bishop of Arles and metropolitan. Born probably at apparently that part of Gallia Belgica called later Austrasia. ❖ His education was, according to the standard of the age, a thoroughly liberal one, including philosophy and rhetoric. ❖ At a young age, by the example and entreaties of his friend and kinsman Honoratus of Arles to renounce all secular society for the solitude of the isle of Lerins, he sold his estates to his brother, and gave the proceeds partly to the poor, partly to some monasteries which needed aid. ❖ At Lerins he became a model monk in the very best and highest sense; after a short period his friend Honoratus, being chosen bishop of Arles, obtained the comfort of Hilary's companionship in his new duties. ❖ Honoratus died 7 January 449, and Hilary at once prepared	❖ Hilary was an accomplished preacher to an extent to be compared to St Augustine. ❖ He provides information on his own life in his sermon *De vita S. Honorati Arelatensis episcoie,* which is a commemoration spoken by Hilary in ca. 431 on the anniversary of Honoratus' death, and probably re-written in elaborate form, with good knowledge of the rules of rhetoric and biography. ❖ The (so-called) *Creed of St Athanasius*: Waterland in his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, argues that Hilary of Arles was the author of this creed, but this remains only an ingenious conjecture. [20] ❖ Among other doubtful works of Hilary must be classed

	to return to Lerins, but the citizens of Arles compelled him to occupy the vacant see. ❖ He was a bishop who lived close to his people and had a special concern for the poor and the weak. ❖ Hilary has been accused of Semi-Pelagianism based upon letters sent to St Augustine in 429, one by Prosper and the other by Hilary a layman. Prosper after recounting dissent manifest in South Gaul from the Augustinian teaching on predestination, expressly names Hilary, bishop of Arles, among the recalcitrants. ❖ If on this evidence, and also from the respect shown by him to Faustus of Riez, we are compelled to class Hilary of Arles with the Semi-Pelagians, it must be recognized that he is a supporter of their views in their very mildest form. ❖ St Germian of Auxerre, who went twice over to Britain to contend against Pelagianism, was a companion of Hilary on at least one of his tours through Gaul. ❖ He presided over the councils of Riez (439), Orange (442), and kept up a bitter contest even with Pope Leo I, for the primacy of Arles. Hilary held a council at Vienne in 444 in which bishop Chelidonius, of Besançon, was deposed from the episcopate. He appealed to Rome in person. Leo I held a council attended by Hilary and found the charge of marriage with a widow not proven against Chelidonius; and formally pronounced him restored to his rank of bishop and to his see. ❖ Leo the Great forbade the bishop of Arles to intervene in the province of Vienne. In addition in 445 at Rome, Leo obtained an imperial decree issued by Valentinian III in the names of Valentinian and the eastern Emperor Theodosius II. This document harshly criticized Hilary as "contumacious" and vigorously supported the jurisdiction of the papacy over "Gallican bishops," as well as those of other provinces. [19]	certain poems on sacred subjects: • *Poema de septem fratribus Maccabaeis ab Antiocho Epiphane interfectis.* • *Carmen de Dei Providentia*: A poem more frequently attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine and generally included in his works. • *Carmen in Genesim:* This poem (which like the two preceding, is in hexameters) has been more often ascribed to the earlier Hilary, bishop of Poitiers. Despite theological, grammatical, and metrical faults, the poem is curious as a real attempt at the blending of the Christian and classic elements of literature. • *Epistola ad Eucherium Episcopum Lugdunensem.* ❖ We have the authority of Hilary's biographer for asserting that he did compose some poetry (*versus*), wrote many letters, and explanation of the Creed (*Symboli Exposition*—this is a main element in Waterland's argument). ❖ He also wrote sermons for all the Church's festivals (*Homiliae in totius Anni Festivitates*). These were apparently extant when Honoratus wrote. [21] ❖ The *Vita Hilarii* is a document of great value. The author gives his name as Reverentius, which is possibly a pseudonym for Honoratus of Marseilles, a disciple of Hilary.

14 **PROSPER** b. ca. 403	❖ A native of Aquitaine, not certainly known to have been in the priesthood. ❖ He attended Gallo-Roman schools which provided him with a solid classical education. ❖ About 426-429, he moved to Marseilles, where he lived as a monk until 440. ❖ He was at Marseilles when the Semi-Pelagian Controversy broke out ca. 426 and was an ardent defender of Augustine, to whom he wrote together with Hilary. ❖ Some time between 420 and 427 John Cassian put forth in his *Collationes,* a doctrine concerning grace and free will contrary to that taught by St Augustine. This doctrine was taken up warmly by many monks at Marseilles, and both Prosper and Hilary, afraid lest a doctrine they believed erroneous should become prevalent among the monks, were thinking of writing to Augustine to request him to explain some of his statements. In the meantime came out Augustine's *Correptione et Gratia*, by which Prosper hoped all doubts would be settled. Although Prosper had never seen Augustine, he had written to him. ❖ At the death of St Augustine in 430, and the opponents of his doctrine in Gaul professing willingness to abide by the decision of the Roman pontiff, Hilary and Prosper went to Rome and brought back a letter from Celestine I to the Gallic bishops. ❖ He returmed to Marseilles, rejoined the polemic, and, between 432 and 434, published his major works. ❖ In 440 when Leo I (Leo the Great) returned from his mission into Gaul to be made pope, he persuaded Propser to accompany him to Rome, and employed him as his secretary. ❖ Photius says that he confuted the Pelagians at Rome in the time of Leo. ❖ According to Gennadius, he assisted in the composition of the letters of Leo I, especially the *Tomus ad Flavianum*	**1. Works in Verse** ❖ The longest of Prosper's works in verse is the poem *De ingratis Carmen*, a term by which he describes those who teach erroneous doctrine about grace, namely the Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians. It was composed in 429-430, and is a passionate exposition on St Augustine's doctrine of grace. ❖ He wrote poems of an epigrammatic kind, which contributed notably to his literary success: *the Epigrammata in obtrectatorem Augustini*; the *Epigrammata ex sententiis*; and the *Epitaphium Nestoriane et Pelagianae haereson*. **2. Historical Works** ❖ (a) *The Chronicle*: Probably the best known of the works of Prosper, is attributed to him without hesitation. He worked on it until the end of his life. It extends from the earliest age to the capture of Rome by the Vandals; it ends in the year 455 and consists of three parts. ❖ (b) *Chronicle of Tiro Prosper*: Besides the *Chronicle* just described, another much shorter and relating to the latest period only, bearing the name of Prosper. **3. Theological Works** ❖ *Responsions pro Augustino ad Capitula Gallorum*: A statement under 15 heads of the objections of the Gallic bishops to the doctrines of St Augustine on Predestination, with answers to each. ❖ *Responsiones ad Capitula Objectionum Vincentiarum*: A similar work in 16 chapters. ❖ *Responsiones ad Excerpta Genuensium:* Some clergymen of Genoa had misunderstood various passages from the two treatises of St Augustine, Prosper addresses a courteous explanation. ❖ *Contra Collatorem:* John Cassian had written a book entitled *Spiritual Conferences (Collationes),* 17 in number, in the 13th of which, entitled *de Protectione*

	(PL 54, 755). ❖ Prosper dedicated the better part of his life to defending and disseminating the teachings of St Augustine in prose and verse. ❖ Although he respected St Augustine's thought, he also transformed and updated it. ❖ Prosper is considered responsible for transmitting Augustinianism to the Middle Ages, and assured its approval at the Council of Orange in 529. ❖ In the year 455 he took part in the Easter controversy, and must have died shortly after this. [22]	*Die,* he condemned severely St Augustine's doctrine on predestination. This is defended by Prosper. ❖ *An Exposition of Psalms* 100-150, taken substantially and often verbally, though much abridged, from St Augustine's *Enarrationes Psalmos.* ❖ *Book of Sentences* taken from the Works of St Augustine*:* An index to the opinions of St Augustine*;* 392 in number. **9. Doctrinal Works** ❖ The *De vocatione ominium gentium* is the first work of Christian literature dedicated to the question of salvation of the heathen. **4. Letters** [23]
15 **SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS** b. ca. 430/32 d. ca. 487	❖ Sidonius was born probably at Lyons. A political figure, writer, orator, and bishop of Clermont. ❖ A member of a wealthy Gallo-Roman aristocratic family and a friend of Claudianus Mamertus. His father and grandfather had been prefects of Gaul. ❖ At the age of twenty, ca. 450, Sidonius married Papianilla, daughter of the future Roman emperor Avitus, and entered on a public career. ❖ He was invited to Rome in 468 by the Emperor Anthemius, and there delivered a panegyric on the Emperor. Sidonius was rewarded by being appointed Prefect of Rome. ❖ When in 471 the bishop of Clermont died, the people united in a clamorous demand that Sidonius should succeed him. He was not a priest, but had shown himself without ostentation a devout Christian. ❖ Invested against his will, and without previous preparation, with the episcopate, he laboured hard to repair the deficiencies of which he was conscious. ❖ In 475, upon the occupation of the city by the Goths, he was exiled to Livia near Carcassonne. In 476/7 he was reinstated and authorized to return to Clermont, but not	❖ He addressed a panegyric (456) to his father-in-law, and others subsequently to the emperors Majorian (458) and Anthemius (468). ❖ He wrote twenty-four poems, modeled on such classical writers as Virgil, Ovid, Statius and Claudius Claudianus*;* the poems are dense with mythological references. ❖ Some of the shorter compositions, especially those in hendecasyllabic metre, are more successful, and touch scenes and characters with a light and discerning hand. ❖ Though he showed himself a sincere and devout Christian, both before and after he became bishop, it is as a man of letters that he will always be best known. ❖ He wrote 147 letters which are divided into nine books, in the manner of Pliny the Younger and Symmachus. ❖ Thirteen compositions in various meters are inserted among the letters, including epitaphs, inscriptions for churches, and eulogies of friends and their writings. ❖ His letters are an important source for the history and the life of southern Gaul in the 5th century. ❖ His writings are the best-furnished storehouse we possess of information as to the domestic life, the manners and

	before making an act of homage to the Visigothic king. ❖ He spent the remainder of his life in the cares of his episcopal office. ❖ He shrank from no duty, personal trouble, or responsibility, and in times of extreme difficulty showed courage, prudence, and discretion. His character and abilities commanded the respect of the best men of his time.	habits of public men, the situation of the empire, the aristocratic classes, the Church, the barbarians, and in some points, the public events of the period. [24] ❖ He translated Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* during his exile at Livia. [25]
16 **SEDULIUS** Early 5th century	❖ A 5th century poet, of whose life very few details are known. ❖ The only trustworthy information is given by his two letters devoted his early life, perhaps as a teacher of rhetoric, to heathen literature. ❖ Late in life he converted to Christianity, or, if a Christian before, began to take a serious view of his duties. ❖ Thenceforward he devoted his talents to the service of Christ, living amongst a small body of religious friends. ❖ Sedulius longed to strengthen his own spiritual life by exhorting others. He yearned to tell the heathen of the wonders of the Gospel, and wrote the *Carmen Pashale* to invite them to share the Gospel feast. ❖ He refers to St Jerome as a well-known student, and his work is praised in a decree of Pope Gelasius in 495 or 496. ❖ He flourished under Theodosius II and Valentinian II between 425 and 450.	❖ Sedulius was undoubtedly the best among the versifiers of the Bible, and was much esteemed as a poet in the Middle Ages. ❖ *Carmen Paschale*, "a poem in honor of Christ our Passover," consists of five books. ❖ *Opus Paschale*: This prose translation mainly follows the *Carmen* faithfully, but adds illustrations and fills up gaps. ❖ *Elegia*: An elegiac poem of 110 lines, it describes the effect of the Incarnation in contrast to the work of Adam, and Christ as the antitype of the types of the Old Testament. ❖ *A solis ortus cardine*: A hymn which may be called a lyrical expression of the *Carmen*. It is a call to praise Christ with a description of the chief facts of His birth, life, and death. ❖ *Cento Virgilianus* "*de Verbi Incarnatione*" is sometimes ascribed to Sedulius and there only follows the other poems without being ascribed to Sedulius. [26] ❖ Two letters to Macedonius.
17 **VINCENT OF LERINS** d. before 450	❖ A distinguished presbyter of Gaul in 5th century. ❖ He is the best known of the monastic writers of Lerins. ❖ A native of Gaul, possibly brother of Loup, bishop of Troyes. ❖ He began as a soldier and then retired to Lerins where he was ordained priest.	**1.** The ***Commonitorium*** (Memorial) in two books: ❖ This work by Vincent begins by stating that he thought it might be useful in accordance with scriptural precepts to write down certain principles he had received from holy Fathers. ❖ He goes on to say, those who would make accretions to

	❖ Little is known about his life except the information provided in Gennadius (*De vir. ill*. 65 [64]). [27] ❖ Together with Salvian, he was entrusted with the education of Salonis and Veranus, the sons of Eucherius. ❖ Gennadius emphasizes his proficiency in biblical studies and in the history of dogma. ❖ He retired into a monastery at Lerins near Antibes, now known as *L'Ile de St. Honorat*, from the founder of this celebrated institution. Here he wrote *Adversus Profanas Omnium Novitates Haereticorum Commonitorium*, almost 3 years after the Council of Ephesus, i.e. in 434. ❖ On the humanity of Christ, Vincent wrote in the *Commonitorium*: *But the Catholic faith teaches that the Word of God became Man in such a wise, that He took upon Him our nature, not fegnedly and in semblance, but in reality and truth, and performed human actions, not as though He were imitating the actions of another, but as performing His own, and as being in reality the person whose part He sustained. Just as we ourselves also, when we speak, reason, live, subsist, do not imitate men, but are men.* [28] ❖ In the *Commonitorium* he also wrote of St Mary: *God forbid that anyone should seek to defraud Holy Mary of her prerogative of divine grace and her special glory. For by the singular gift of Him who is our Lord and God, and withal, her own son, she is to be confessed most truly and most blessedly – The mother of God "Theotokos," but not in the sense in which it is imagined by a certain impious heresy which maintains, that she is to be called the Mother of God for no other reason than because she gave birth to that man who afterwards became God…Not thus, I say, was the holy Mary "Theotokos," the mother of God, but…because in her sacred womb was wrought that*	the faith stand thereby condemned for all time. The Pelagians are such. Valentinus, Photinus, Apollinaris, and other are similarly condemned by the warnings of Moses (Deut. xiii 1-11). **Even good gifts, such as those of Nestorius, or useful labours like those of Apollinaris against Porphyry, cannot be pleaded against their novelties**. He explains with some minuteness wherein consisted the heresies of Photinus, Apollinaris, and Nestorius, and the true doctrine of the Church as opposed to them. ❖ He says, the true and genuine Orthodox is he who loves Christ's body, the Church; who puts God's truth before all things, before any individual authority, affection, genius, eloquence, or philosophy. Additions to the faith or detractions from it are alike condemned by holy Scripture. ❖ He adduces his views from amongst the saintly doctors present in person, or whose works were cited as authoritative, were Sts Peter of Alexandria, Athanasius, Theophilus, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzus, Basil and his excellent brother Gregory of Nyssa. The West was represented by letters of Felix and Julius, bishops of Rome; the South by the evidence of Cyprian of Carthage; the North by that of Ambrose of Milan. The whole of the bishops for the most part metropolitans, acted upon the principles maintained in this treatise and censured Nestorius for his unhallowed presumption—that he was the first and only man who rightly understood the Scriptures. **2.** A ***disputatio*** written against heretics. **3.** ***Obiectiones Vincentianae***, the text of which has been lost but which is known from the work of Prosper. **4.** ***Excerpta sanctae memoriae Vincentii Lirinensis insulae presbyteri ex universio beatae recordationis Augustini episcopi unum collecto***:

	most sacred mystery whereby, on account of the singular and unique unity of Person, as the Word in flesh is flesh, so Man in God is God. [29]	❖ This work was announced in the *Commonitorium*. ❖ It contains a prologue and epilogue of Vincent with the remainder of the work consisting of a *Summa Augustiniana* against Nestorius in ten articles. [30]
18 **EUCHERIUS OF LYONS** bp. 434 d. ca. 450	❖ Bishop of Lyons, probably born late in the 4th century. ❖ He was born of a noble and apparently Christian family. He completed a brilliant career and was perhaps a senator. ❖ Apart from perhaps St Irenaeus, he was the most distinguished occupant of that see. ❖ He married Galla, and they had two sons, Salonius and Veranus. ❖ By mutual agreement, the couple disposed of their goods and withdrew to the island of Lerins. They entrusted their sons to the monastery of St Honoratus where Hilary, Salvian, and Vincent took charge of their education. Salonius was, at this time, only ten years old. ❖ In ca. 434 the Church of Lyons unanimously, unsought, elected him bishop. ❖ He was succeeded by his son Veranus, while Geneva became the see of his other son Salonius. ❖ He wished to go to Egypt to visit the monasteries, but since he was not able to do this, John Cassian dedicated the second part of his *Conferences* to him in order to compensate for this desire which could not be realized. ❖ He was an esteemed preacher and correspondent with such prominent figures as Paulinus of Nola and Sidonius Apollinaris. ❖ He took part in the Council of Orange in 441.[31]	**1. *Epistola, seu Libellis, de laude Eremi***: ❖ This short treatise, addressed to Hilary of Arles, is assigned, with probability to 428. ❖ The *Collationes* of Cassian, composed at the request of Eucherius, had given so vivid picture of the hermits of the Thebaid as to call forth this epistle. **2. *Epistola Paraenetica and Valerianum cognatum. "De contemptu mundi et saecularis philosophiae":*** its date is probably ca. 432. ❖ Eucherius evidently desires his highly placed and wealthy kinsman to follow him in retirement from the world. **3. *Liber formularum spiritalis intelligentiae*** [al. ***de. forma spiritalis intellectus***] ***ad Veranium filium***: ❖ This is a defense of the lawfulness of the allegorical sense of Scripture, pleading the testimony of Scripture itself. **4. *Instructionum Libri Duo ad Salonium filium***: ❖ Of this treatise, the former book discusses difficulties in the Old and New Testaments, such as the scriptural evidence of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. [32] **5. *Passio Acaunensium martyrum, S. Maricii et sociorum eius***: ❖ The oldest account of the martyrs of the Theban Legion.
19 **MARIUS MERCATOR** d. after 451	❖ A writer of whom, until the last quarter of the 17th century, nothing was known except indirectly through the writings of St Augustine. ❖ The letter of St Augustine, forwarded by Albinus in 418, expresses admiration of the learning of Marius and	❖ When Julian of Eclana was lecturing at Rome in 418 in favour of Pelagiansim, Mercator replied to him, and sent his reply to St Augustine, to whom not long afterwards Mercator forwarded a second treatise. ❖ Whether these two exist or not is doubtful, but a treatise

	discusses points submitted for consideration. ❖ Marius Mercator appears to have been a layman, but an able theologian. His learning, zeal, and ability entitle him to a respectable place among ecclesiastical writers. ❖ He was a convinced anti-Pelagian. He wrote two anti-Pelagian works, now lost, which are known to have existed because he sent them to St Augustine. ❖ He was born in Italy and was possibly from the same region as Julian, given the close relations with Julian's family which are mentioned in the *Commonitorium super nominee Coelestii*. ❖ In 429, he was at a Latin monastery in Thrace where he wrote the *Commonitoria*. ❖ After the condemnation of Caelestius and Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus there is no further mention of Marius Mercator, however he is thought to have outlived the Council of Chalcedon in 451. ❖ From the whole of Marius Mercator's literary activity, it seems that he wrote for ecclesiastical and imperial circles in Constantinople, then worried about the Pelagian and Nestorian question, leaving us precious Latin evidence especially of Nestorius' thought, as well as of the Pelagian movement. [33]	called *Hypognosticon*, in six books, included in vol. X. of St Augustine's works, has been thought to be the one in question. Five of the books treat of Pelagianism, and the sixth of Predestination. ❖ His works, being chiefly translations, some of them from his own writings in Greek, appear in Migne in the following order: **Part I** • *Commonitorium super nominee Coelestii*: A memorial against the doctrines of Caelestius and Julian, disciples of Pelagius, written in Greek, and presented by Mercator to the Emperor Theodosius II. • A treatise, to which the *Commonitorium* is a preface, against Julian, entitled *Subnotationes in verba Juliani*, written after the death of St Augustine. • Translations of various works relating to Pelagianism, including the creed of Theodore of Mopsuestia. **Part II** • Concerning the Nestorian heresy, including extracts from Theodore of Mopsuestia, with preface and refutations by Mercator. • Extracts from Theodoret bishop of Cyrus, against St Cyril, and from his letters, with remarks by Mercator. [34]
20 **GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES** d. 496	❖ Ecclesiastical historian. Presbyter of Marseilles. ❖ If we accept his *de Viris Illustribus* (Lives of Illustrious Men), we are warranted in classing Gennadius of Marseilles with the Semi-Pelagians, as he censures St Augustine and Prosper and praises Faustus. ❖ Moreover, the very laudatory account of St Jerome at the commencement of the book seems inconsistent with the hostile reference to that father under the art. [35] ❖ He was still living at the time of Pope Gelasius (492-496). ❖ He was the author of a great number of heresiological works.	❖ He continued Jerome's patristic biographies - the *de Viris Illustribus*. This work, in its most commonly accepted form, was probably published ca. 495, and contains short but accurate biographies of ecclesiastics between 392 and 495, in 101 chapters. ❖ A treatise, entitled *Epistola de Fide meâ*, or *de Ecceliasticis Dogmatibus Liber*, begins with a profession of faith in the three creeds, interwoven with the names of those who are considered by the writer to have impugned this or that article of belief. ❖ He wrote eight books *Against all the Heresies*, five

		Against Nestorius, ten *Against Eutyches*, and three *Against Pelagius*. ❖ Homilies on the Millenium and St John's Apocalypse.
21 **DRACONTIUS** b. ca.450-460 d. after 496.	❖ A Latin poet and advocate. ❖ Trained in classical rhetoric at Carthage at the School of Felicianus (the rhetor). ❖ Dracontius was imprisoned after the invasion of the Vandals for a poem he had composed in honor of the Roman emperor. ❖ After the death of Gunthamund, the Vandal king, he was freed, ca. 496, by his successor and resumed his legal work.	❖ He wrote numerous secular poems, epithalamia, and epyllia on mythological figures. ❖ He is the author of the *Satisfactio* (484-490), a confession of guilt and request for pardon addressed to the Vandal king. ❖ He wrote the *De laudibus Dei*, a verse in praise of God's goodness, the first book of which circulated separately in the Middle Ages as a *Hexaemeron*, or account of creation. [36]
22 **AVITUS** bp. 490 d. 523	❖ Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, archbishop of Vienne in Narbonian Gaul; born about the middle of the 5th century. ❖ His father belonged to a family of senatorial rank. His mother, Audentia, was, in all probability, a sister of M. Maecillius Avitus, emperor of the West, 456. ❖ A student's life attracted Avitus more than did wealth and rank, and at an early age he bestowed his patrimony upon the poor and retired into the seclusion of a monastery close to the walls of his native city. ❖ He gained so high a reputation for piety and learning that in 490, upon the death of his father, Isychius, he was elected to succeed him in the archbishopric. ❖ The fame of Avitus rests partly upon his poetry and partly upon the important part he was called to play in the controversies of his time. ❖ He was a strong contender against Arianism and ardently defended the primacy of Rome. ❖ In 499, Vienne was captured by Gundobald, the Arian king of the Burgandinians. He maintained good relations with the king, though he failed to convert him. ❖ However, he won King Sigismund, Gundobald's successor, from Arianism to Orthodoxy. ❖ In 517, he presided over the Council of Epaon, which	❖ The extant works of Avitus are as follows: **1. Poems** ❖ *De spiritalis historiae gestis*: Five Latin poems on subjects drawn from Genesis and Exodus, the first three of which are an early example of the theme of the creation, the original sin, the flood, and the crossing of the Red sea. ❖ *De Virginitate*: A poem in praise of virginity. **2. Letters** ❖ A collection of 91 letters, several of historical interest. ❖ The *Collatio Episcoporum contra Arianos coram Gundobaldo rege*: Contains arguments of anti-Arian Trinitarian theology. ❖ Many of his letters were linked to his pastoral responsibilities and reflected questions of organization, discipline, and doctrine. **3. Homilies** ❖ 72 short fragments of homilies and sermons. ❖ These remains contain much that is valuable with reference to the history of the Church in the 5th century. ❖ A homily, *de Festo Rogationum*. **4. Treatises** ❖ Avitus published treatises in confutation of the

	confirmed the Burgundinians' conversion to Orthodoxy. ❖ He died and was buried in the monastery of St Peter and St Paul at Vienne, where the greater part of his youth had been spent.	Nestorian, Eutychian, and Sabellian heresies; he also wrote against the Pelagian errors of Faustus of Riez, abbot of Lerins, and converted many Jews who had settled in his diocese. [37]
23 **VICTOR OF TUNUNUM/ TUNNUNA** d. ca. 566	❖ An African bishop and chronicler. ❖ He was a zealous supporter of Nestorianism. For his opposition to the condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, he was exiled to Egypt by Justinian in 555. ❖ He was recalled to Constantinople in 564/5 in order to subscribe the condemnation. ❖ Because he maintained his position, he was shut up in a monastery of that city until his death. ❖ His writings are a source for the history of the Nestorian and Pelagian controversies, chiefly because of the documents which he translated from the Greek, and has thus been preserved from destruction.	❖ He wrote, the *Chronicle* covering the period from the creation to the first year of the Emperor Justin II (566). However, only the part relating to 443-566 remains. ❖ The *Chronicle* deals almost exclusively with the history of the Eutychian heresy and the controversy about the *Three Chapters*. ❖ It also details about the Vandal persecutions, the memory of which must have been still fresh in his youth, and various stories telling against Arianism. ❖ It is very useful for illustrations of the social and religious life of the 5th and 6th centuries; as well information on the author's own life. [38]
24 **FACUNDUS OF HERMIANE** bp. 546-571	❖ Bishop and theologian in North Africa in the 6th century. ❖ A defender of the independence of the Church from civil authority. ❖ Facundus was active in the disputes of his time over Christology. ❖ When the *Three Chapters* were condemned by the Council of Constantinople (553), Pope Vigilius excommunicated him. ❖ He opposed both the edict condemning the *Three Chapters* published by Justinian in 554, and the position taken by Pope Vigilius. ❖ To defend Theodore of Mopsuestia, he erroneously maintains that error in good faith does not make a heretic. ❖ He was still active in 568.	❖ His great work, in twelve books, addressed *Ad Iustinianum* and commonly known as *Pro defensione trium capitlorum* is a defense of the *Three Chapters* based on documentation relating to the various phases of the Christological controversy starting from the 4th century (Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism). ❖ He wrote two later, shorter works: *Contra Mocianum Scholasticum* and *Epistola fidei catholicae in defensione trium capitulorum* in which supports schismatics who defended the Three Chapters, and considers as heretics all who condemned them. ❖ His writings supply important documentation for the events surrounding the Second Council of Constantinople (553). [39]
25 **LIBERATUS DIACONUS** 6th century	❖ Archdeacon of Carthage, a Latin writer on the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies. ❖ Liberatus was an ardent defender of the *Three Chapters*, and undertook many journeys in that cause.	❖ He wrote *Breviarium Causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* (ca. 560) which is a history of the Christological controversies up to 553. ❖ It is an account of Nestorianism and Eutychianism, but in which he also records some circumstances of his life. [40]

[1] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 4, Christian Classics, Maryland, p. 256.
[2] DD Wace & WC Piercy, eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1994, p. 150; FL Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church: 2nd edn*, Oxford University Press, London, 1974, p. 246.
[3] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 522.
[4] B Ramsey , trans., *Ancient Christian Writers no. 57: John Cassian: The Conferences*, Newman Press, 1997, New York, p. 562.
[5] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 637.
[6] ibid., p. 867-868; Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 281.
[7] *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers: Second Series*, vol. 11, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, p. 17.
[8] E Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1992, p. 873; Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 537-542.
[9] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 927.
[10] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 278-80.
[11] Wace & Piercy, op. cit. pp. 95-96.
[12] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 302.
[13] ibid., pp. 299-305; Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 810-813.
[14] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 528-29; Ferguson, op. cit. p. 826.
[15] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 362-363.
[16] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 249.
[17] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 307-308; Ferguson, op. cit., p. 214.
[18] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 436.
[19] ibid., p. 425.
[20] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 480.
[21] ibid., pp. 478-480.
[22] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 551-58.
[23] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 864-865.
[24] ibid., p. 897-900.
[25] A Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 778.
[26] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 887-888.
[27] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 546.
[28] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*, op. cit., vol. 11, pp. 141-42.
[29] ibid., pp. 142-43.
[30] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 1020-1022.
[31] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 504.
[32] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., pp. 305-306.
[33] Di Berardino, op. cit. p. 525.
[34] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 499-500; Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 701.
[35] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 384.
[36] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 280.
[37] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 96; Di Berardino, op. cit., p. 105.
[38] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 1010; Di Berardino, op. cit., p. 868.
[39] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 337.
[40] Wace & Piercy, op. cit. p. 664.

MAIN HERETICS AND HERESIES OF THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES

HERESIES	HERESY	REMARKS
1 **EBIONITES**	❖ One of the names applied to Jewish Christians by the Church Fathers. **Their Doctrines** • Rejection of St Paul as an apostate from the law. • Use only of Matthew's Gospel. • Veneration of Jerusalem. • Observance of circumcision, the law, and a Jewish way of life is needed for salvation. • Rejection of the virgin birth. • Unusual exposition of the prophets. • Possibly the use of water in the Eucharist. [1] • They looked toward imminent Millenium. ❖ "Ebionites" was just one appellation (among others, particularly "Nazoraeans") of Jewish Christians. ❖ Ebionism presents itself under two principal types: 1. An earlier, proper or pharisaic Ebionism. 2. The latter, Essence or Gnostic. ❖ Other types of Jewish Christianity are: Cerinthians, Symmachians, Elkesaites, Nazaoraeans, Hemerobaptists, and other baptizing sects inhabiting the Jordan and Transjordan areas. Certain of these groups existed until 4th and 5th centuries but disappeared in the Transjordan thereafter. ❖ The Ebionites were known by other names such as: "Homuncionites" (Greek "Anthropians" or	❖ Some say that Ebionites (or Poor Ones) were founded by the heretical leader Ebion (Ebion in Hebrew means 'beggar'). ❖ **St Jerome wrote to St Augustine**, Ep. CXII. A.D. 404: ❖ *The matter in debate, therefore, or I should rather say your opinion regarding it, is summed up in this: that since the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well in observing the precepts of the Law…If this be true, we fall into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who, though believing in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers for this one error that they mixed up the ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of Christ, and professed their faith in that which was new, without letting go what was old. Why do I speak of the Ebionites, who make pretension to the name of a Christian? In our own day there exists a sect among the Jews throughout all the synagogues of the East, which is called the sect of the Minei and even now condemned by the Pharisees. The adherents to this sect are known as **Nazarenes**. They believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary; they say that He who suffered*

	"Anthropolatrians") from their Christological view, "Peraticians" from their settlement at Peraea, and "Symmachians" from the one able literary man among them named Symmachus. Acquaintance with Hebrew was then confined to a few, and his Greek version of the Old Testament was produced (which in Origen's *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla* occupied the column next after that of Aquila) for the benefit of those who declined the LXX adopted by the Orthodox Christians or the Greek versions of Aquila and Theodotion accepted by the Jews. Many, if not most, of the improvements made by the Vulgate on the LXX are due to the Ebionite version. [2]	*under Pontius Pilate and rose again, is the same as the one in whom we believe. But while they desire to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither one nor the other…If, however, there is for us no alternative but to receive Jews into the Church, along with the usages prescribed by their Law; if in short, it shall be declared lawful for them to continue in the Churches of Christ was they have been accustomed to practice in the synagogues of Satan, I will tell my opinion of the matter; they will not become Christians, but they will make us Jews.* [3]
2 **GNOSTICS**	❖ See *Gnosticism and the Main Gnostic Sects*, p. 31 ff.	
3 **MILLENARIANS** **MILLENNIALISTS** **CHILIASTS** (See also Appendix 3: Arguments Against by Protestants)	❖ The words Millenarianism, Millennialism, and Chiliasm are derived from classical expressions for "thousand" (Greek *Chilias*, Latin *mille*). ❖ According to this belief, vastly diffused in the Christianity of the first centuries, before the final judgment and the end of the world there will be a first resurrection of the just alone, who for a thousand years will enjoy, with Christ, happiness and great abundance of every good in the heavenly Jerusalem come down to earth. ❖ Mostly this was connected with another belief which fixed the duration of the world at 7,000 years. ❖ Behind Millenarianism was the Jewish belief in the future Messianic kingdom understood as political and material rule, and in fact it spread initially in the Asiatic world, when Christianity was strongly influenced by Judaism and took on a distinctly materialistic coloring. ❖ The basic document of Millenarianism was Revelation 20-21.	**Arguments Against Millenarianism** ❖ The reign of Christ does not begin after the first resurrection for He now reigns at the right hand of the Father now in heaven (Heb 1:3; 2:7-8). ❖ While the Church benefits spiritually from the promises made to Israel, Israel and the Church are never specifically equated. A kingdom composed of both glorified saints and people still in the flesh seems too unreal to be possible. ❖ The kingdom is an overall teaching of the Bible. It now lives in the Church (Matt 12:28; Luke 17:20-21). ❖ The interpretation of Revelation 20:1-7 does not necessitate literalism. These verses can be understood symbolically, since the book of Revelation employs many symbols. [8] ❖ Jerome argued against Milleniarism (PL 24, 627ff).

Literal Millenium in the View of the Early Church [4]

- ❖ The Jews have their own materialist thinking. Therefore, they did not accept Christ as their Lord because of His refusal of the earthly reign.
- ❖ Unfortunately up to this day, they are still waiting for the Messiah who have an earthly reign, and will give them dominion over the world. This thinking was introduced into the Church in the beginning of its institutions through two ways:
- Firstly, by the conversion of the Jews to Christianity, and with them some of their materialistic imaginations were introduced.[5] They diffused some of these thoughts haphazardly among Church writings and sermons. We find in the writings of Papias examples of this trend. Eusebius says,[6] that Papias came to his materialistic way of thinking because of his misunderstanding of the apostolic writings, not being aware that their sayings were metaphoric (spiritual). And he drove many of the Church Fathers to embrace the same views, after him. Eusebius called the matter "superstition."
- Secondly, on reading the dialogue between Justin and Trypo the Jew,[7] we realize that Justin was so enthusiastic and full of zeal to assure that all what the Jews had, as promises and blessings, were totally and completely transferred to the Church of the New Testament. Thereby, he tried to confirm that what was written in Isaiah 65:17-25 and Micah. 4:1-7 will be realized only for Christians.
- After Papias, declined Ireneaus, Tertullian, Lactantius, Victorinos, Justin, Melito, and Methodius; and Augustine at the start, who later on realized he was mistaken.

- ❖ The Montanism movement was founded on the conviction that the millenarian age had already begun and that the heavenly Jerusalem had descended in the Phrygian town of Pepuza.
- ❖ The decisive reaction against Millenarianism came from

❖ **St Augustine wrote**:

- *There will be no coming of Jesus before His last appearance for judgment, for His coming is actually happening now in the Church and in her members. As for the first resurrection in the book of Revelation, it is metaphoric, and points to the interpretation of what happens to those who die in sin, then rise for a new life through repentance. So the millennium has indeed began, for Christ has conquered death and won on the cross, and now we His saints rule with Him, and through Him.*[9]
- *Is it then of this kingdom militant, in which conflict with the enemy is still maintained, and war carried on with warring lusts, or government laid upon them as they yield until we come to that most peaceful kingdom in which we shall reign without an enemy, and it is of this first resurrection in the present life that the Apocalypse speaks…For, after saying that the devil is bound a thousand years and is afterwards loosed for a short season, it goes on to give a sketch of what the Church does or of what is done in the Church in those days, in the words, "And I saw seats and them that sat upon them, and judgment was given." It is not supposed that this refers to the last judgment, but to the seats of the rulers and to the rulers themselves by whom the Church is now governed. And no better interpretation of judgment being given can be produced than that which we have in the words, "What ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (Matt 18:18).*

	the Alexandrians who propounded a much more spiritual conception of Christian eschatology. ❖ In the second half of the 3rd century, the spread of Alexandrian culture marked the end of millenarian ideas in the East: Dionysius of Alexandria had to argue hard against Egyptian communities with Millenarian convictions (in Euseb., HE VII, 24-25); but at the end of the century such convictions were still defended by Methodius (Symp. 9, 1.5), who reworked them in a spiritualistic sense. ❖ In the West: Commodian (mid 3rd century) took up the theme of the 7,000 years, the last of which is the millennium (Inst. II35, 8ff). ❖ Victorinus of Pettau too (late 3rd century) presents the theme of 7, 000 years in a millenarian sense. ❖ Lactantius describes the millennium in the colors of the golden age of pagan poetry (*Inst*. VII, 24). ❖ Ambrose no longer presents the division of world history into seven millennia. ❖ Augustine took up the theme of the seven ages of the world, but detached it from the length of 1,000 years per age and from any Millenarian influence. ❖ Today, people generally take one of three positions: 1. Amillenial: The thousand years symbolize Christ's present rule from heaven. 2. Postmillennial: The thousand years represent the spiritual victory of the Gospel over forces of evil in our world. Christ will come after that spiritual victory is won. i.e. those who put the Second Advent after the millennium. 3. Premillenial: Christ will appear again before the millennium when He will return to set up His kingdom for a literal 1,000-year period, during which Old Testament prophecies, such as Isa. 11:3-9, Jer. 33, and Zech. 14 will be fulfilled on earth.	• *"And the souls," says John, "of those who were slain for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God," – understanding what he afterwards says, "reigned with Christ a thousand years," (Rev 20:4) – that is, the souls of the martyrs not yet restored to their bodies. For the souls of the pious dead are not separated from the church, which even now is the kingdom of Christ…Therefore, while these thousand years run on, their souls reign with Him, though not yet in conjunction with their bodies…The Church, then, begins its reign with Christ now in the living and in the dead. For, as the apostle says, Christ died that He might be Lord of both of the living and of the dead." (Rom 14:9). But he mentioned the souls of the martyrs only, because they who have contended even to death for the truth, themselves principally reign after death; but, taking the part for the whole, we understand the words of all others who belong to the Church, which is the kingdom of Christ.* [10] ❖ Schaff summarized Augustine's understanding as follows: "*The apocalyptic millennium he understood to be the present reign of Christ in the Catholic* [universal] *Church, and the first resurrection, the translation of the martyrs and saints to heaven, where they participate in Christ's reign.*" [11] ❖ Millennialism was not a belief standing by itself, nor was given great attention, but quickly the School of Alexandria noticed the seriousness of the matter. She seemed to have looked with far sight at how this false belief would present itself in the 20th Century. [12]

4 **DOCETISTS**	❖ The word 'Docetist' comes from the Greek word *dokesis* meaning 'an apparition' or 'phantom.' ❖ The assertion that Christ's human body was a phantasm, and that his sufferings and death were mere appearance. "If He suffered He was not God; if He was God He did not suffer." ❖ The spiritual Christ was frequently said to have entered the human Jesus at his baptism and to have departed prior to the crucifixion. ❖ Docetists are mentioned in 1 John 4:2; 2 John 7: "denying that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh." ❖ Gnostic sects frequently maintained a Docetic view of Christ. ❖ Baur makes Docetism common to all the Gnostics. [13] ❖ Saturinus, Basilides, Valentius, Marcion, and the Manichaeans are the most considerable who maintained a Docetic theory. ❖ Redepening (l.c) also discusses how far Origen is chargeable with Docetism. [14] ❖ "*The Docetists say that the Son assumed thirty forms from thirty Aeons. For this reason, that eternal One existed for thirty years on earth*." [*Hippolytus* (c. 225, W), 5.120] [15] ❖ A misinterpretation of Paul's description of the risen Christ as possessing a "spiritual body" (1 Cor 15:42-50) was invoked to support the view that Christ was a spiritual and not a fleshly being. ❖ St Ignatius (*Ep. ad. Smyrn*. 6) wrote of the Docetists: "*They abstain from the Eucharist and prayer because they do not admit that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins…*" [16]	❖ Our earliest evidence for a group of Christians holding Docetic views of Christ concerns the opponents attacked in Ignatius of Antioch's letters (ca. 114) to the Smyrneans (2.1-8.2) and Trallians (10). ❖ **Against the Docetists, St Ignatius said**: *Turn a deaf ear therefore when any one speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the family of David, the child of Mary, who was truly born, who ate and drank, who was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and truly died…But if, as some godless men, that is, unbelievers, say, He suffered in mere appearance (being themselves mere appearances), why am I in bonds?* [*Ignatius, Ad trall. IX, X*]. [17] ❖ He said also that one can speak of the crucified one as "God" suffering (cf. Ignatius, Eph 1.1; Rom 6.6). ❖ Without the resurrection of the "fleshly" Christ, human nature would not have been transformed. (Trall. 9.2; Smyrn. 7.1) Hebrews 2:14. ❖ A variant of Luke 24:39 is cited to prove the fleshly reality of the risen Christ (Smyrn. 3.1). ❖ As a counter to the Eucharists celebrated by the Docetists, St Ignatius insists upon a realistic identification of the bread with the "flesh" of Jesus (Smyrn. 7.1). ❖ **St Polycarp** also attacks a group holding such a view (Phil. 7.1).
5 **MARCIONISTS**	❖ Marcion's (d. ca. 154) theology shows clearly the typical mixture of Christian and pagan ideas which is so characteristic of Gnosticism.	❖ Irenaeus reports that Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna on one occasion met Marcion and when Marcion asked him, "Do you recognize

	❖ Marcion was dualist, disdained god of the Jews and repudiated the Old Testament. He makes a real distinction between the good god who lives in the third heaven and the just god who is inferior to him. ❖ For him, God of Abraham, the God of the Jews, of the laws and of the prophets, is the second God who created the world and man, the Demiurge, was the real adversary. He did not create the world out of nothingness, but he formed it out of eternal matter, the seed of all evil. ❖ Yahweh of the Old Testament is a wild god, who can rage, make mistakes, and repent. He knows nothing of grace, but only strict justice. He is irate and revengeful, the author of all evil and the instigator of all wars. ❖ Christ is not the Messiah of the Old Testament, but He is the unknown God of love who came to save us from god of wrath. He was not born of the Virgin Mary, for He had neither birth nor growth. He manifested himself suddenly in his fifteenth year in the synagogue of Capernaum. By the shedding of his blood he redeemed all souls from the power of the demiurge whose reign he destroyed by his teaching and his miracles. ❖ Redemption is limited to the soul whereas the body remains subject to the power of the demiurge and is destined for destruction. ❖ Those who try to keep the Law are good, but they cannot be saved unless they are taken out of its domain through Christ. ❖ All Marcion's teachings are a result of the literal interpretation of the Old Testament. He couldn't interpret the verses that mention to God's anger, or God's face and hands, etc. ❖ The inconsistency and lack of logic in these doctrines is striking. ❖ He did not consider it incumbent on him to explain the origin of his god of justice, nor why the sacrifice on the	me?" he answered, "*Of course. I recognize you as the first-born of Satan.*" (*Adv. Haer*. 3,2,3) [19] ❖ Marcion differs from other Gnostics in these points: 1. He made no attempt to bridge the distance between the infinite and the finite by a whole series of aeons as the Gnostics did. 2. Neither had he troubled himself with speculations about the cause of disorder in the visible world. 3. He repudiated all allegorism in the interpretation of Scripture. ❖ There is another important difference between him and other Gnostics. While the other Gnostics founded only schools, Marcion after his separation from the Church of Rome founded **his own church** with a hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons. For this reason, he gained more adherents than any other Gnostic. ❖ In July 144 he was excommunicated. ❖ The Marcionite church expanded rapidly "to the uttermost bounds of the earth" (as Justin attested, ca. 150), and up to ca. 190, was a real danger to the Church. ❖ Marcionite communities persisted in the West until the end of the 3rd century, and in the East, especially in the peripheral Syriac-speaking areas, until ca. 450, and with greater vitality, as refutations and anti-heretical writings attest (Ephraem-Rabbula, etc.). ❖ "*By dividing God into two, declaring that one is "good" and the other is "just", Marcion actually puts an end to Deity all together*." Irenaeus (c. 180, E/W), 1.459. [20]

	cross had such value in his eyes when it was only that of phantom. ❖ It is interesting to note that Marcion had been excommunicated by his father (who was a bishop at Sinope in Pontus) previous to his coming to Rome. [18] **Marcion's Writings** ❖ An abridgement of the Gospel of St Luke. ❖ Ten abridged Pauline epistles known as the *Apostolicon* (excluding the Pastoral Epistles and Hebrews; Marcion also changed the title of the Epistle to the Ephesians to the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*). ❖ In his *Antitheses*, he justified his criticism of the Scriptures and his formation of canon.	❖ St Epiphanius wrote in the *Panarion*: *6.1. How will Marcion's theory of the three principles hold together?…3. But how will the demiurge be a judge between the other two? And whom can he judge? For if he sits in judgement over the possessions of the one above, he is more powerful than the one above, since he brings into his court what belongs to the one above, as Marcion teaches. 4. And if he is really a judge, he is just. Now we will show from the word "just" that "good" and "just" mean the same. 5. For whatever is just is also good.* [21]
6 **MONTANISTS**	❖ It was a spiritual movement that began in the latter part of the 2nd century. ❖ Montanus, the founder of Montanism, revealed himself as a prophet in Phrygia in the years 155-160. He maintained that he received direct revelation from the Holy Spirit. He considered himself the last great prophet who established the heavenly city. ❖ He claimed to be the mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit and that the Paraclete promised in John 14:26 and 16:7 was incarnate in him. ❖ Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla the prophetess (but not others) claimed to be the voice of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. They therefore spoke on the authority of this Spirit and demanded unconditional faith and absolute obedience to their orders. ❖ The aim of Montanism was, through the authority of the Paraclete, to revive and restore the Church's old situation: efficacy of the Spirit, speaking in tongues, expectation of the last days, and rigorous ethics. ❖ *"They also announced an eschatological vision of the heavenly Jerusalem, seen suspended over geographical*	❖ The Church usually called them Phrygians, Cataphrygians, or Montanists. The Montanists themselves referred to their movement as the New Prophecy. ❖ A series of synods of churches in Asia Minor were held, the first such regional synods in Christian history, in which the Montanists were excommunicated spread by 177 to Rome, when Montanists were excommunicated by Bishop Eleutherus. ❖ Just after 208, Montanism gained its most famous convert, Tertullian of Carthage. ❖ North African Montanism in Tertullian's day continued to emphasize long fasts, prohibited second marriages and flight to avoid martyrdom, and specified the exact length of veils to be worn by women. ❖ Montanus called believers to abstain from marriage, for the end of the age was at hand. They who dissolved marriages gather in an appropriate place, waiting the descent of the

	Jerusalem." (Tertullian, Marc. 3.24.4). ❖ The treatise of Tertullian (de Pudicitia) shows a controversy of Montanists with the Church concerning the power of church officers to give absolution. ❖ One authentic late Montanist inscription substantiates Epiphanius' charge (Haer. 49) that the **Montanists allowed female clergy**. ❖ Tertullian wrote: *We have among us now a sister who has been granted gifts of revelations, which she experienced in Church, during the Sunday services through ecstatic vision in the Spirit…And after the people have been dismissed it is her custom to relate to us what she has seen… "Among other things,"says she, "there was shown to me a soul in bodily form, and it appeared like a spirit; but it was no more something, void of qualities, but rather a thing which could be grasped, soft and translucent and of ethereal colour, in form at all points human."* [Tertullian, *De anima*, IX c. 210]. [22]	heavenly Jerusalem. ❖ **Against Montanism some of the Church authors wrote** [23]: • About Montanus, "*He was one of the recent converts, and **he became possessed of a spirit**, and suddenly began to rave in a kind of ecstatic trance, and to babble in a jargon, prophesying in a manner contrary to the custom of the Church*." (Euseb. H.E. V. XVI.7). • "*They magnify these females (Priscilla and Maximilla) above the Apostles and every gift of Grace, so that some of them go so far as to say that there is in them something more than Christ*." [Hippolytus, *Refutatio ominium haeresium*, VIII. 19]. ❖ There is a mention of Montanism until 250.
7 **ORIGENISTS**	**1. Subordinationism** **Arguments For** ❖ "*The Son is less than the Father, reaching only to rational beings, for He is second to the Father; and further, the Holy Spirit is less, and extends to the saints only*." [cf. *De Principiis*, I. III. 7 & I. II. 13]. ❖ "*And if then we call Him a 'second God'* [24] *it must be realized that by a 'second God' we mean just this: the virtue that includes all virtues, the reason [logos] that includes every kind of reason*." *Contra Celsum*, V. 39. [25] **2. Apokatastasis** ❖ Universal restoration of all things in their original, purely spiritual state. No eternal fire or punishment of hell. ❖ All sinners will be saved, even the demons and Satan himself. God will be all in all.	**1. Subordinationism** **Arguments Against** ❖ See *Arians*, p. 202. ❖ The Logos, the second God generated by the first god, is also called by Origen "demiurge" (C. Cels. VI, 47 [II, 119,2]) exactly as Numerius calls his second god "demiurge" and as Plotinus calls *nous*, the second hypostasis, "demiurge." ❖ See the section on *Origen*, p. 46. **2. Apokatastasis** ❖ There is nothing more typical of Origen's theological speculation than his doctrine of Apokatastasis.

	Arguments For [26]	Arguments Against [33]
	a. It is ridiculous to think that a living, all-powerful, and sovereign God could create a system whereby a portion of mankind would be condemned to everlasting punishment.	**a.** God will not do anything that contradicts any of His attributes. Hence in order to harmonize his perfect love and perfect justice, he devised the biblically explained system of redemption. We must accept the biblical record, not our own finite reasoning.
	b. To condemn the unsaved to everlasting punishment as a result of their relatively short life span on earth is unjust.	**b.** God is the final standard of justice, not man.
	c. If an all-powerful and sovereign God desires all people to be saved (1 Tim 2:3-4; 2 Peter 3:9), then surely all are saved.	**c.** Although God desires salvation for all mankind, a person must respond to God's offer of salvation and many do not (Jn 5:40).
	d. Christ's death has acquitted all mankind of their condemnation before God, just as Adam brought the entire human race into sin (Rom 5:18; 1 Cor 15:22).	**d.** The context of both verses clearly shows the benefits of Christ's death are for those in Christ, just as the penalties of Adam's sin are for those in Adam.
	e. The theme of the New Testament is that of God's sovereign love. If this love is sovereign, it must be completely victorious. To say that God's love is not adequate to secure the salvation of all mankind in the end presumes a finite God.	**e.** God has infinite love, but He also has justice and holiness. He has already devised a plan consistent with all his infinite attributes. It is up to man to accept God's plan, instead of devising his own plan and calling God unjust if he does not accept it.
	f. Christ paid the penalty of sin on behalf of all mankind (Heb 2:9), and legally, if such an adequate substitution is made and accepted, it is unjust for the creditor to require the original payment also.	**f.** The substitutionary death of Christ was sufficient for the salvation of all (2 Cor 5:19); however, each person must believe in order for it to be effectual on his behalf (v. 20).
	g. Warnings of "lostness" are merely hypothetical and constitute one of the ways in which God secures the universal salvation of all mankind.	**g.** Other New Testament Scriptures point to the destruction of the nonelect (Rom 9:22; 2 Thess 1:9; Rev 21:8).
	h. According to the Apokatastasis, the souls of those who have committed sins here on earth will be submitted to a purifying fire after death, whereas the good ones will enter paradise, i.e. a kind of school in which God will solve all problems of the world. When this has been achieved, Christ's second coming and the resurrection of all men,	**h.** The words of Jesus indicate clearly that some go to eternal life and others to eternal punishment. Further, in Mat 25:46, the word for eternal is *aionos*, meaning "relating to the final order of things which shall not pass away."

	not in material, but in spiritual bodies, will follow and God will be all in all. However, this universal restoration is not to be regarded as the end of the world, but as a passing phase. ❖ Another Platonic motif in Origen which has called attention is the idea of the value of punishments. These are not inflicted on the sinner by God in retaliation, but as a real cure and medicine (*De Principiis*, II. V. 3, pp. 135, 30 – 136,2); they lead to purification and are thus an important element of the divine *paideia* (C. Cels. V, 31 [II, 33, 9-10]). This idea goes back to Plato, as is proved by passages like *Phaedo* 113d and *Gorgias* 525b, it is also present in middle Platonism. ❖ **Origen wrote:** • *We suppose that the goodness of God will restore the whole creation to unity in the end, through his Christ, when His enemies have been subdued and overcame… The human race…will be restored to that unity promised by the Lord Jesus (John 27: 22, 23)…Whether and of those orders [viz. the opposing powers] who act under the devil's leadership…will be able in some future ages to be converted to goodness; inasmuch as they still have the power of free will; or whether a persistent and inveterate evil becomes from long habit their very nature… Meanwhile both in time and in eternity all these beings are dealt with in due order and proportion according to their deserts; so that some are restored in the first ages, some in later, some even in the last times; restored through greater and heavier punishments, and penalties of long duration which are endured perhaps through many ages.* [*De Principiis*, I. VI. 1-4]. [27] • *The restoration to unity must not be imagined as a sudden happening, rather it is to be thought of as gradually effected by stages during the passing of countless ages.*	**i.** Christ and the apostles were constantly warning people of God's wrath and judgment on sin and urgently calling them to repentance. Hence, if universalism is true, Christ and the apostles were (God forbid) either ignorant or grossly deceptive. ❖ **Against the heresy of Apokatastasis, some Church authors and Fathers wrote** [34]: • "*They despised all the torments of this world, redeeming themselves from eternal punishment by the sufferings of a single hour…For they kept before their view escape from that fire which is eternal and will never be quenched*." Martyrdom of Polycarp *(c. 135, E), 1.39*. • "*Christ foretold that Satan would be sent into the fire with his host, along with the men who follow him, and they will be punished for an endless duration*." Justin Martyr *(c. 160, E), 1.172).* • "*Some are sent to be punished unceasingly into judgment and condemnation of fire. Others will exist in immortality, with freedom from suffering, from corruption, and from grief."* Justin Martyr *(c. 160, E),1.217*. • "*The unrighteous, the idolaters, and the fornicators all perished. So is it also now. For …the Lord declares that such persons are sent into eternal fire*." Irenaeus *(c. 180, E/W), 1.500*. • "*He has prepared heaven, but He has also prepared Gehenna. He has prepared places of refreshment, but He has also prepared eternal punishment. He has prepared the light that no one can approach, but He has also prepared*

	Little by little and individually the correction and purification will be accomplished. Some will lead the way and climb to the heights with swifter progress, others following hard upon them; yet others will be far behind. Thus multitudes of individuals and countless orders will advance and reconcile themselves to God. [*De Principiis*, III. VI. 6]. [28]	*the vast and eternal gloom of perpetual night*." Cyprian (c. 250, W), 5.311. • "*Did He not previously ordain eternal punishments for those who deny Him, and saving rewards for those who confess Him*?" Cyprian *(c. 250, W), 5.439*.
	3. Pre-Existence of Souls ❖ Origen taught that pre-existent human souls are spirits who fell away from God and committed sins in the preceding world, and therefore as punishment are now enclosed in material bodies; see *De Principiis*, II, IX. 2. and many other passages. ❖ On the pre-existence of souls, St Epiphanius wrote of Origen: "*He proposes fables as well on the same subjects for he says that the soul receives its name from its having been cooled in coming down.*" (cf. psyche, "soul" and pyschoun, "cool"). [29]	**3. Pre-Existence of Souls** ❖ This is the influence of Plato (428-346 B.C) who held that the soul is immortal, pre-existent and post-existent. ❖ Origen's doctrine of the pre-existence of souls is intimately connected with his idea of a universal restoration. He held that the sins committed by the soul in the preceding world explain the different measure of the graces which God bestows on everyone and the diversity of men here on earth. ❖ Pope Peter (the Seal of Martyrs) wrote two books directed against the Origenistic doctrine of the soul's pre-existence and its imprisonment in the body for a sin formerly committed. [35]
	4. Christology ❖ He introduces the concept of the soul of Jesus and regards this pre-existent soul as the connecting link between the infinite Logos and the finite body of Christ. ❖ "*This substance of a soul, then, being intermediate between God and the flesh – it being impossible for the nature of God to intermingle with a body without an intermediate instrument – the God-man (Θεάνθρωπος) is born, as we have said, that substance being the intermediary to whose nature is not contrary to assume a body*." [*De Principiis*, II. VI. 3 ANF]. [30]	**4. Christology** ❖ Nestorius in the 5th century held that the Divine nature united with the man Jesus through his rational soul because Divinity does not unite with human nature directly but through a mediator (the soul). ❖ See also *Nestorians*, p. 210.

	5. Successive Worlds ❖ God created other worlds before and after our own. ❖ To the question, "What was God doing before this world began, if this world had a beginning in time?" We reply that God did not begin his activity with the creation of this visible world, but just as after the dissolution of this world there will be another world, so also before this world there were, we believe, other worlds. [*De Principiis,* III. V. 3]. ❖ Influenced by Plato, he taught unlimited succession of many worlds.	**5. Successive Worlds** Plato held a cycle of reincarnation through which one ascends by virtuous living and which one can ultimately escape to a blessed, everlasting existence. Origen derived the last conclusion from his concept of the created spirit whose free will enables it to apostasies from good and turn to evil whenever it wishes to do so. Such a relapse of the spirits makes a new corporeal world necessary and thus one world follows the other and the creation of the world becomes an eternal act.
	Arguments For [31] **a.** God's all-encompassing attribute is love. His judgment is only a temporary measure to reform unrepentant persons, and hence is itself motivated by love. Ultimately all people will be reformed, whether in this life or the after-life, and hence ultimately all will be saved. **b.** Ultimately all mankind will believe, whether in this life or the hereafter (Phil 2:10-11; 1 Pet 3:19,20. **c.** Many will not believe in this life, but the after-life offers a second chance.	**Arguments Against** [36] **a.** Scripture never refers to the abode of unbelievers after death as a place of reformation; it is always referred to as a place of destruction and punishment (Matt 25:46; Lk 16:19-31). The only reference to any encounter of Christ with unbelievers after their death is in 1 Pet 3:19. **b.** Christ's death made all people savable (2 Cor 5:19), but man must believe in order to be saved. **c.** Scripture clearly indicates that some will not believe (Jn 1:11-12; 3:18; 20:31).
	6. Reincarnation ❖ He was accused of teaching a Pythagorean metempsychosis – the transference of the soul to another human body, or to the body of an animal or vegetable. ❖ *At the end of De Principiis, I, he put forward the view that an angel or soul, or at any rate a demon, could become an animal in proportion to the magnitude of its insensibility and folly; and in view of the pain of punishment and the heat of the fire could rather chose to be a brute creature,*	**6. Reincarnation** ❖ **Against the heresy of Reincarnation, some of the Church Fathers and authors wrote** [37]: • "*Souls neither see God nor transmigrate into other bodies. For, if they did, they would know why they were punished, and they would be afraid to commit even the most trivial sin afterwards."* Justin Martyr (c. 160, E), 1.197. • "*We may subvert [the Gnostics'] doctrine as to*

	and live in the waters and the waves, and to take on the body of some beast or other. [Jerom, *Ep*. (cxxiv) ad Avitum]. [32] **7. Resurrection** ❖ Resurrection in new spiritual bodies, not with original earthly bodies. ❖ "*When all rational beings have been restored then the nature of this body of ours will be changed into the glory of the spiritual body*." [*De Principiis*, III. VI. 6]. ❖ "*By the command of God the body which was earthly and animal will be replaced by a spiritual body*." [*De Principiis*, II. X. 3]. ❖ The righteous people will turn to stars. ❖ The Platonic tradition left an indelible mark on the Origenian conception of the resurrection of the body. For his condemnation, see also the section on *Origen*, p. 47.	*transmigration from body to body by this fact: that souls remember nothing whatever of the events which took place in their [supposed] previous states of existence*." Irenaeus (c. 180, E/W), 1.409. **7. Resurrection** ❖ **Against the idea of new spiritual bodies, Methodius wrote**: *Man was appointed by the original order of things to inhabit the world and to rule over all that is in it. So when he is immortal, he will never be changed from being a man into the form either of angels or any other…For Christ at His coming did not proclaim that the human nature would be remolded or transformed into another nature once it is immortal…Why, then, did He make man instead of angels, if He wished men to be angels and not men?... He intended man to be man; that is why He originally made him so…For He did not say "they will be angels," but only that "they will be like angels."* (c. 290, E), 6.366, 367. [38]
8 **QUARTODECIMANS**	❖ Those Christians, who following the Johannine chronology of the Passion, **celebrated Easter on the 14th day of the first moon of Spring, i.e. the date of the Jewish Passover**, 14th Nisan in the Jewish calendar, and broke their penitential fast on that date. ❖ The Quartodeciman Easter was centered on the celebration of Christ immolated as the true Paschal lamb. ❖ At the end of the 2nd century, a presbyter named **Blastus** tried to establish the Quartodeciman practice at Rome, but Pope Victor entered into open conflict with the Eastern churches which observed this practice.	❖ Pope Victor threatened to excommunicate them. ❖ Quartodecimans are listed among the heretics by Hippolytus of Rome and recur among heretical groups cited by Epiphanius, Theodoret, and Filaster. ❖ The best known exponents were: Melito of Sardis, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, St Polycarp and Polycrates of Ephesus. ❖ After the Council of Nicaea's decision on the Sunday celebration of the Christian Easter, the Quartodeciman observance was restricted to marginal groups of Middle East Christians. [39]

9 **ARTEMONITES**	❖ Artemonites saw in **Christ a mere man**, but born of a virgin and filled with divine power, and superior in virtue to the prophets. ❖ Artemon declared the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to be an innovation dating from the time of Pope Zephyrinus, the successor of Victor, and a relapse into heathen polytheism. ❖ The Artemonites were charged with placing Euclid above Christ, and abandoning the Scriptures for dialectics and mathematics.	❖ Artemonites belong to the class of ante-Nicene Monarchians, or Antitrinitarians, at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century. ❖ The views of Artemon were afterwards more fully developed by Paul of Samosata, who is sometimes counted with the Artemonites. ❖ Artemon was excommunicated by Pope Zephyrinus (ca. 198/202 - 217) who favored the opposite error of Patripassianism. [40]
10 **MONARCHIANS** **a. Patripassians** **b. Sabellians**	❖ Monarchianism: the emphasis on the unity of God. **a. Patripassianism** ❖ Means the Son identified with the Father. ❖ They held that the Father Himself descended into the Virgin, was Himself born of her, Himself suffered; in fact that He Himself was Jesus Christ. ❖ "*It was Praxeas who first brought this kind of perversity from Asia to Rome…he put the Paraclete to flight and crucified the Father*." [this is according to Tertullian in his Adv. Praxean I] [41] **b. Sabellianism** ❖ One God in three temporary manifestations. ❖ The unity of God is ultra-simplex. ❖ He is qualitatively characterized in his essence by one nature and one person. ❖ This essence may be designated interchangeably as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. ❖ They are different names *for* but identical *with* the unified, simplex God. ❖ The three names are the three modes by which God reveals Himself. ❖ Sabellius was born in Africa; the scene of his activity was Rome. ❖ He was during the episcopate of Pope Zephyrinus, b. ca.	❖ **Against Monarchianism St Athanasius wrote in his *Expositio Fidei, 1***: • *We believe likewise in the Holy Spirit [1 Cor: II.10]. We do not think of a "Son-Father" (as do the Sabellians who call him "unessential" not "co-essential," thus destroying His sonship). Nor do we ascribe to the Father the passible body which the Son bore for the salvation of the whole world: nor may we suppose three 'hypostases' divided from each other, as three men are corporally separate: this would introduce the many gods of the heathen. Rather, as a river is generated from its source, and is not separated from it, although there are two forms and two names… As the source is not the river, nor the river the source, but each is one and the same water… so the Godhead flows from the Father to the Son without change of separation…Nor do we think of the Son of God, who is God the Creator of all things, as "created" or "made" or "coming from non-existence"; He is existent from the existent.* [42] ❖ Soon after his accession, Callistus (217)

	198/202 – d. 217. ❖ None of his works survive. ❖ Patripassianism and Sabellianism are now usually called **Modal Monarchianism**. ❖ **Dynamic** or **Adoptianist Monarchianism**, associated chiefly with Theodotus of Byzantium, took over the doctrine of the Ebionites (see p. 181ff) and held the Son to be a mere man endued with divine power.	excommunicated Sabellius. ❖ St Epiphanius, Hippolytus, and Tertullian also wrote against them. ❖ Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra (d. 374) is associated with Sabellianism. ❖ Sabellians were still active in ca. 375 at Rome and in Mesopotamia. They were finally condemned at the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381.
11 **MANICHAEANS**	❖ Mani's religious vision incorporated influences from the heterodox Jewish Christian baptismal sect in which he had been brought up, as well as from Zoroastranism and Buddhism. ❖ Mani believed he was the ambassador of light; he preached in Persia and Babylonia, as a prophet of the new religion which spread over the entire East and afterwards throughout the Roman Empire ❖ The Manichaeans taught two eternal and irreducible principles, *good* and *evil*, and advanced this as an explanation of all natural and supernatural mysteries. ❖ A through-going syncretism akin to Gnosticism, it carries dualism to its logical extreme. Light is the power of good; all matter is evil, the work of creation originated from a commingling of light and darkness. ❖ The powers of darkness invited man to partake of all the trees of Paradise, forbidding only the tree of knowledge. But an angel of light, or Christ Himself, the Spirit of the Sun, counteracted their artifices in the shape of the serpent, the parts of the biblical narration being thus reversed, God's share being ascribed to the devil and vice versa. ❖ They rejected the whole Old Testament as the work of the evil principle. ❖ They regarded the Incarnation as wholly Docetic. ❖ An elaborate procedure of redemption is required for the	❖ Mani (216 - ca. 276) was born in southern Mesopotamia. ❖ He was crucified by the order of the Sassanian monarchy in 276. ❖ As the so-called Paraclete promised by Christ, he, after Christ's example, chose twelve apostles and at their head there was a thirteenth, representing Mani and presiding over all; subordinate to them there were 72 bishops, under whom were presbyters, deacons, and traveling missionaries, a constitution which lasted to the 13th century and possibly may not be quite extinct. ❖ St Augustine is perhaps the most famous Manichaean "hearer" in western Christian tradition. But the teachings of Ambrose gave him a deeper understanding of Christianity. He came to see Manichaeism as crude mythologizing and found that its preachers were unable to answer the intellectual questions put to them. ❖ The life of Christian monks (eg. St Anthony the Great) provided a better expression of asceticism, he thought, than did that of the vagrant and unkempt Manichaean preachers. ❖ In his *Confessions* St Augustine wrote:

	particles of light that are trapped in this world to be liberated and returned to the heavenly world. ❖ The adepts of the sect, the elect, devoted their lives to freeing particles of light entrapped in matter. ❖ Meat-eating was forbidden. ❖ They abstained from marriage. ❖ They sought to avoid harm to living beings by any act of violence, including most forms of work. ❖ Consequently, their needs had to be supplied by the "hearers" of the movement. **Mani's Writings** ❖ *The Living Gospel* or *Great Gospel*. ❖ The *Treasure of Life*, or *of the Living*. ❖ The *Book of Secrets* or *Mysteries*. ❖ The *Pragmateia* or *Treatise*. ❖ The *Book of Giants*. ❖ The *Letters*. ❖ The *Book of psalms and prayer*. ❖ A translation of *Design of the two great Principles* or *Images*. ❖ The *Shabuhragan*, dedicated to Sapor I. ❖ Some hymns, and a collection of liturgical passages and formulae for the confession of the "elect" and of the "auditors or catechumens." ❖ A treatise on dogmatics.	*I expose to my God's sight that twenty-ninth year of my age. There arrived in Carthage one Faustus, a bishop of the Manichaeans. A great snare of the devil was he, and many were entangled in it by the bait of his smooth eloquence…When it became clear enough to me that the man was ignorant of those subjects in which I had assumed he excelled, I began to lose hope that he could expose and resolve those questions which weighed within me. Even …without being a Manichaean, a man could hold religious truth. In fact, their books were full of endless fables about the sky, the stars, the sun and the moon.* [43] ❖ Hundreds of fragments of Manichaean manuscripts were discovered in Chinese Turkestan in 1902/3. The majority in Turkish dialect, some in Persian and some in Chinese. ❖ A small Manichaean Library was discovered in 1931 in Egypt, near Lycopolis. It consists of 6 volumes in Coptic, containing hymns, letters, some historical accounts of the tragic deaths of Mani and his successor Sisinnius, and his lengthy work "*Chapters on First Principles*."
12 **NOVATIANS**	❖ Novatian was a distinguished member of the Roman clergy up to 251. ❖ During the vacancy of the Roman see, following the martyrdom of Fabian (20 January, 250), Novatian quickly took over the leadership of the clergy and intensified the penitential discipline. ❖ In 251, as a rigorist, he opposed Bishop Cornelius, and demanded that the *lapsi* of the Decian persecution be refused re-admittance to the Church.	❖ The members of this sect called themselves καθαροί meaning 'clean' or 'pure.' ❖ Novatian allowed himself to be ordained by three Italian bishops. He attracted a few bishops to his side, and installed rival bishops in some sees. ❖ He headed a schism, became anti-bishop, but did not withdraw, and his schism spread and lasted for many centuries (to the 6th).

	❖ He believed the holiness of the church was in danger through permitting apostates (the *lapsi*) to return to communion. ❖ He denied reconciliation to *lapsi* under any condition, proclaiming that no one but God had the power to pardon the *lapsi* their faults. ❖ Because of his incorrect doctrine of the Holy Spirit he was quoted by the Macedonians of the next century as supporting their view. **Novatian's Writings** ❖ *On the Trinity*: A piece unequalled in the west before 350. In it he never names the Holy Spirit, "God" or "Person." Salvation is not understood as atonement for sins. Because the Son of God has become man, he can lead humankind to eternal salvation.[44] Novatian intends to take the middle road between the two types of Monarchianism, the dynamistic or adoptianistic form and the patripassianistic form. He is stressing the unity of the Godhead that he does not even dare to use the term *trinitas* (τριάς). He makes the Son subordinate to the Father. And so the Holy Spirit is less than the Son. ❖ *On Public Shows*: Opposes Christians who would attempt to make the Christian and Roman cultures compatible. ❖ *On the Advantages of Chastity*: Written after Novatian's consecration as a bishop; it calls the members of the "virgin church" to remain pure as the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit. ❖ *On Jewish Meats*: Addressed to the Novatian community in Rome, it shows that certain foods were forbidden to the Jews but that Christians, apart from the precept of temperance, are bound only to avoid meats offered to idols. Occasional reminiscence of Seneca is noteworthy. ❖ He wrote two letters to Cyprian, after Bishop Fabian's death. His two letters testify to his superior ability as a rhetorician and a philosopher.	❖ Novatianism was the first great schism in the Church on a pure question of discipline, where in Montanism questions of discipline were involved as side issues. ❖ The principal extant controversial works against the sect, beside those of Cyprian, are the epistles of St Pacian of Barcelona, the *de Poenitentia of St Pacian of Barcelona*, and the *de Poenitentia of Ambrose.* ❖ St Cyprian depicts Novatian as a harsh, unyielding, unmerciful rigorist. ❖ In the latter part of 251, Novatian was formally excommunicated by a synod of 60 bishops at Rome. He then began to organize a distinct church, rebaptizing all who came over and dispatching letters and emissaries to the most distant parts of the East and West. ❖ We know nothing of his death. ❖ Similarities between Novatianism and other heresies: • The Montanists rejected the lapsed. • With Donatism, Novatianism is also allied, for the treatment of the lapsed underlay that schism too. ❖ Tertullian and Hippolytus held the same stern views. ❖ St Cyprian in his epistle XIX. 7 wrote: "*If anyone objects that Novatian observes the same rule as the Catholic [Universal] Church and baptize with the same creed as we do… let him know in the first place that the schismatics have not one and the same rule of the creed as ours, nor the same interrogation.*" [45]

13 **DONATISTS**	❖ Donatists led by Donatus of Carthage (313 – d. 355) affirmed the saints and the just form of the Church and taught that the validity of the sacraments depends on the holiness of the minister. ❖ Donatism is a schism rather than a heresy; it broke out in ca. 303-305 and, for a whole century divided the North African churches into two hostile camps. Like the schisms of the former period, it arose from the conflict of the more rigid and the more indulgent theories of discipline in reference to the restoration of the lapsed. But through the intervention of the Christianized state, it assumed at the same time an ecclesiastico-political character.[46] ❖ The immediate cause of the schism was the situation in North Africa resulting from the great persecution under Diocletian. Many clergy had lapsed and handed over the Scriptures to be burned at the demand of the authorities. These clergy were dubbed *traditores* ("betrayers") by those Christians who stood firm. Notable among the latter were a group of confessors from Abitina in western Tunisia who, while in prison, solemnly denounced *traditores* and declared that only those who followed their own steadfast example would share with the joys of paradise (*Acta Saturni* 18, PL 8.701). ❖ The Donatists believed they were the true continuators of the Church in North Africa as it had been before the Great Persecution, and in particular in the time of Cyprian. ❖ They emphasized the values of purity, holiness, and integrity. This led them to an exclusive view of the Church, following Tertullian (*Apol.* 39; *Spec*.1) and Cyprian (*Ep.* 69.2; 74.1), comparing the Church to a "sealed fountain" or "closed garden." As a result, they did not regard as valid any sacrament administered by a cleric in a state of sin (Caecilian, through his ordination by a *traditor*, was sinful by association), and hence baptism administered by any such must be renewed.	❖ They survived in North Africa until the advent of Islam. In opposition to this subjective and spiritualistic theory of the Church, St Augustine developed the objective, realistic theory, which has since been repeatedly reasserted, though with various modifications, against separatistic and schismatic sects. ❖ He lays chief stress on the catholicity of the Church, and derives the holiness of individual members and the validity of ecclesiastical functions from it. ❖ He finds the essence of the Church, not in the personal character of the several Christians, but in the union of the whole Church with Christ. Taking the historical point of view, he goes back to the founding of the Church, which may be seen in the New Testament, which has spread over all the world, and which is connected through the unbroken succession of bishops with the apostles and with Christ. This alone can be the true Church. It is impossible that she should all at once disappear from the earth, or should exist only in the African sect of the Donatists (Augustine *ed Catholicos Ep. contra Donatists*). ❖ From the objective character of the Church as a divine institution flows the efficacy of all her functions, the sacrament in particular. When Petilian, at the Collatio cum Donatists, said: "He who receives the faith from a faithless priest, receives not faith, but guilt," **St Augustine answered**: "*Christ is not unfaithful from whom I receive faith, not guilt. Christ, therefore, is properly the functionary, and the priest is simply his organ.*" "*My origin,*" *said*

- Donatists regarded themselves as the suffering people of God, destined to undergo persecution and martyrdom for the sake of maintaining the integrity of the Christian community. The point is made by one of their leading bishops, Petilian of Constantine, ca. 400: "*Therefore I say that He [Christ] ordained that we should undergo death for the faith, which each man should do for the communion of the church. For Christianity makes progress by the deaths of its followers*" (quoted by Augustine, *C. Litt. Petil.* 2.89.196).
- The Donatists were the one Christian movement that attempted to change the social conditions of the empire. Although not in itself a political movement, its more extreme adherents in Numidia and Mauretania took the law into their own hands from ca. 340 onward carried out attacks on landowners, forcing them to cancel debts and change places with their slaves (Optatus 3.4) or to perform slave labor (Augustine, *ep.* 184.4.15).
- The terrorism extended to attacks on clergy (Augustine, *C. Cresc.* 3.43.47; *Ep*. 108; 111). These Circumcellions, as they were known although armed with heavy clubs ("Israels"), regarded themselves primarily as men and women dedicated to holiness, and ultimately to martyrdom, and their war cry was *Deo Laudes* ("Praise to God"). (Augustine, *Ep.* 108.5.14; *In Ps*. 132.6).
- The Circumcellions were a sort of Donatist mendicant monks, who wandered about the country among the cottages of the peasantry, carried on plunder, arson, and murder, in conjunction with mutinous peasants and slaves, and in crazy zeal for the martyr's crown, as genuine soldiers of Christ, rushed into fire and water, and threw themselves down from rocks.[47]
- Between 399 and 415, St Augustine wrote a series of tracts attacking the Donatists as schismatics for being out of communion with the churches in the rest of the empire

Augustine on the same occasion, "is Christ, my root is Christ, my head is Christ. The seed, of which I was born, is the word of God, which I must obey even though the preacher himself practice not what he preaches. I believe not in the minister by whom I am baptized, but in Christ, who alone justifies the sinner and can forgive guilt" (*Contra literas Petiliani*, l.i.c.7 : Opera, tom. ix. p. 209). [48]

- In regard to church discipline, the opponents of the Donatists agreed with them in considering it wholesome and necessary, but would keep it within the limits fixed for it by the circumstances of the time and the fallibility of men. A perfect separation of sinners from saints is impracticable before the final judgement. "*Man", says St Augustine, "should punish in the spirit of love, until either the discipline and correction come from above, or the tares are pulled up in the universal harvest*" (*Aug. Contra Epitolam Parmeniani*, 1. iii. c.2, 10-15). [49]
- Augustine repelled the Donatists' charge of making two churches. In his view it is one and the same Church, which is now mixed with the ungodly, and will hereafter be pure, as it is the same Christ who once died, and now lives forever, and the same believers, who are now mortal and will one day put on immortality. (*Greviculus Collationis cum Donatists, Dies tertius,* cap. 10, 19 & 12).[50]
- It was in his campaign against the Donatists between 399-415 that St Augustine formulated his characteristic doctrines concerning the nature of the Church and its sacraments.[51]

	and heretics for insisting on repeating baptism for any convert. On historical grounds, also, their original break with Caecilian [bishop of Carthage] had been unjustified. ❖ At a council in 330 the Donatists numbered 270 bishops. ❖ Donatism declined after 411, when the imperial government declared its rival, led by St Augustine, to be the true Church in North Africa, but its continued existence can be traced until the Muslim invasion of the 7th century.	❖ Donatism was condemned at the Council of Arles in 314, and Donatus himself was condemned by the Emperor Constantine in 316. ❖ In 321 Constantine decreed that Donatist exiles could return, but in 346 an imperial commission was sent to North Africa to examine Donatus' case, and he and his chief supporters were then exiled. He died in 355.
14 **ARIANS**	❖ Arius (256 or 260-336) a native of Libya, a priest of Alexandria, and a disciple of Lucian of Antioch. ❖ This heresy is a typical product of theological rationalism. It satisfied superficial minds to a high degree because it gave a simple and easy answer to the very difficult question of the relationship existing between God the Father and God the Son. This is what attracted many to the heresy. ❖ In this understanding it is necessary that the Godhead should be not only uncreated but unbegotten. ❖ Arians believed: 1. The Logos was not eternal but created by God as an instrument for creation of the earth. 2. The Son of God the Logos can not be truly God. He is the first of God's creatures. 3. He like the others was brought out of nothingness, not from the divine essence. 4. He differs essentially from the Father; He is a secondary God. 5. There was a time when the Son of God was not. 6. He is the Son of God not in the metaphysical, but moral sense of the word. 7. The Logos holds a middle place between God and the world. 8. The Holy Spirit is the first of the creatures of the	❖ Alexander, Pope of Alexandria summoned nearly one hundred Egyptian hierarchy in a synod in the year 318 at Alexandria. Arius was condemned, and he and his adherents deposed. ❖ Arius objected the sentence and tried to gain associates among his former fellow-students at Antioch. Eusebius of Nicomedia gave him his full support, himself a disciple of Lucian of Antioch, Arius' teacher he shared all his ideas. Also Eusebius of Caesarea (semi-Arian) had a midway position between him and Alexander. ❖ Constantine called the first Ecumenical Council at Nicaea and about 318 bishops participated in the year 325. The sentence of Alexander was not only sustained but confirmed. The council drew up the celebrated Nicaean Creed. ❖ Arius was exiled at Illyria but recalled in 328. ❖ The bishops at the Synod of Tyre and Jerusalem in 335 decided to readmit him into the Church and reinstate him into the ranks of the clergy. Constantine ordered a solemn reconciliation by the Bishop of Constantinople, but on the eve of the appointed day, Arius died suddenly (336). See also p. 54. ❖ **Against Arianism in his First Letter to**

	Logos. He is still less God than the Word. 9. The Logos was made flesh in the sense that He fulfilled in Jesus Christ the function of a soul. ❖ In other words, Christ, though higher than humanity, was inferior to God, non-eternal, and with a definite beginning. He was created ex nihilo, from nothing, before the creation of the world, by nature distinct from the Father; he is the Son of God as all men are sons of God, by adoption. The second creature was the Holy Spirit. The Father alone is true God. **Arius' Writings** ❖ Letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia ❖ Letter of Alexander of Alexandria ❖ *The Banquet* (θάλεια - Thalia): In order to popularize his doctrine, Arius wrote song for the sea and for the mill and for the road and then set them to suitable music. The *Thalia* contained some of them and was most probably a mixture of verse and prose. ❖ Letter to Emperor Constantine. ❖ St Alexander of Alexandria traced the Arian heresy back to Lucian of Antioch and Paul of Samosata.	**Serapion St Athanasius wrote:** • "*The Father does all things through the Word in the Holy Spirit. Thus the unity of the Holy Triad is preserved. Thus one God is preached in the Church, 'who is over all (Ephes. 4,6), and through all, and in all' – 'over all' as Father, as beginning, as fountain, 'through all' through the Word; 'in all' in the Holy Spirit*." • "*For the Son is in the Father, as it is allowed us to know, because the whole Being of the Son is proper to the Father's essence, as radiance from light, and stream from fountain; so that whoso sees the Son, sees what is proper to the Father, and knows that the Son's being, became from the Father, is therefore in the Father*." (*Or. Arian*. 3,3). [52] • There remains no room for subordinationism in such a doctrine of the Logos. If the Son says: *"The Father is greater than I", this means: The Father is the origin, the Son the derivation (Or. Arian. 3,3;4 EP 760/776).* Eternally begotten, the Son is of the Father's essence, He is co-essential to the Father, **He is homoousios** ὁμοούσιος." • Sts Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa were the great Church representatives against Arianism.
15 **SEMI-ARIANS**	❖ Christ is of similar essence (*homoiousian*) with the Father, but is subordinate to Him.	❖ Eusebius of Caesaria, Basil of Ancyra, Gregory of Laodicea adopted this heresy.

16 **ANOMOEANS** **EUNOMIANS**	❖ The Anomoeans are the more radical followers of Arius, also known as: Aetians, Eunomians, or Exoukonians, who, while accepting that the Father and Son are united in will, asserted that they are unlike or dissimilar (anomoios) in essence. ❖ The Anomoeans thus rejected both the *homoousios* of the Nicene party ("of one essence") and the *homoiousios* of the followers of Basil of Ancyra ("of similar essence") and clung to what appears to have been the original teaching of Arius in this respect. They viewed any admission of similarity of essence between Father, Son, and Spirit as a Sabellian denial of their distinct identities. ❖ They remained a significant minority within the Arian movement until well after the triumph of Nicene Orthodoxy in 381. ❖ Later writers refer to them as "Troglodytes" or "cave-dwellers", and although still mentioned as late as the 6th century, they disappear entirely thereafter.	❖ Eunomius of Cyzicus (ca. 325 – ca. 395) was one of the principal leaders of the Anomoean party within Arianism. ❖ Eunomius became the disciple and the secretary of the Anomoean leader Aetius. ❖ Both of them were exiled after the Council of Ancyra (358). ❖ Eunomius was then vindicated at the Council of Constantinople (360) and made bishop of Cyzicus. He was deposed not long after and then exiled (ca. 369). ❖ He became the leader of the Anomoean party after Aetius' death; released and exiled again under Theodosius I. ❖ His opponents were St Basil the Great, St Gregory of Nyssa**,** Didymus the Blind, and Apollinaris of Laodicea.
17 **PNEUMATOMACHI** **MACEDONIANS**	❖ Pneumatomachi means 'those who fight against the Spirit.' The term was used initially in the 4th century by St Athanasius and others to describe those who did not accept the divinity of the Holy Spirit. ❖ Their heresy comes from Arianism and they are called Semi-Arians, Macedonians, or Marathonians (*Tropici*). [53] ❖ 5th century writers such as Sozomen, Socrates, St Jerome, and Rufinus, identify the Pneumatomachians as Macedonians, claiming that Macedonius, a Semi-Arian bishop of Constantinople (ca. 342-360) was the founder of the sect. ❖ It may be that his followers joined the Pneumatomachians after his deposition in 360. ❖ One group not only rejected the Holy Spirit's divinity, but also that of the Son (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or*. 31). Perhaps they had previously been Semi-Arian supporters	❖ St Gregory of Nazianzus does not hesitate, as St Basil of Caesarea did, to give a clear and formal expression of the divinity of the Holy Spirit. As early as 372, he calls the latter 'God' in a public sermon. And in the fifth of his Theological Orations, which is entirely devoted to the Holy Spirit, he derives co-essentiality of the latter from the fact that He is God: '*Is the Spirit God? Most certainly. Well, then, is He co-essential? Yes, if He is God*.' (*Or*. 31,10). ❖ In 374, Pope Damasus condemned the views of Macedonius. In 381, Pneumatomachians were condemned in an ecumenical council in Constantinople by about 150 bishops. ❖ **Against the Pneumatomachians St Athanasius wrote**:

	of the Council at Selucia. Yet Sozomen (*H.E*. 4. 27) notes that Macedonius rejected his former views and claimed the Son (not the Holy Spirit) was God. ❖ During the 370's, Eustathius of Sebaste, who had supported the homoousios position concerning the Son, denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit and became the leader of the Pneumatomachians. ❖ Although Pneumatomachians were branded an illegal sect and were deprived of their churches by the Theodosian court of 383. They did not again have bishops until the reign of Arcadius (395-408) (Sozomen, *H.E*. 8.1). ❖ Pneumatomachians seem to have lasted into the 5th century.	• "*In Scripture the Spirit is nowhere called Son [of God] nor the Son's son. But the Son is the Father's Son; the Spirit, the Father's Spirit; and thus there is one Godhead of the Holy Trinity, and one faith in the Holy Trinity…If the Spirit were a creature He would not be included in the trinity; for the whole Trinity is one God. Nothing alien is mingled in the Trinity, it is indivisible and of the same nature*." (*Ep. ad Serapionem*, I. 16-17). [54] • St Gregory of Nyssa also wrote against them in his *Sermo de Spiritu Sancto adversus Pneumatomachos Macedonianos*.
18 **MESSALIANS**	❖ Ascetic sect; also known as *Euchites* (Greek for "praying ones"). ❖ The Messalians (their Syriac name) originated shortly after the mid-fourth century. ❖ They held that only intense and ceaseless prayer could eliminate the passion and desire by which demons held power over a person, consequently, they refused work and lived on alms. ❖ Their monastic wing influenced Hesychasm and the whole of Greek, Russian and Oriental monasticism.	❖ Around 360 and 374, they were attacked by St Ephraem the Syrian, Flavian of Antioch, Amphilocius of Iconium, and St Epiphanius. ❖ They were condemned at Side (383), Antioch (ca. 385), Constantinople (426), and Ephesus (431). Possible connections with Eustathius of Sebaste, Diadochus, St Gregory of Nyssa, and Pseudo-Macarius have been debated. ❖ They are last heard of in the 7th century. [55]
19 **PRISCILLIANS**	❖ Priscillian (ca. 340-ca. 387) was a layman. In ca. 370-375 he began to preach in Spain a very rigid ascetic doctrine. ❖ He extended his activity to south Gaul where the rich lady Eucrotia joined his group. ❖ Pricillianism was a Gnostic heresy: **1.** Distinction between the God of the Old Testament and the God of the New Testament. **2.** Divine nature of the soul. **3.** Christ's humanity not real. **4.** Their rigid asceticism resulted directly from their idea of	❖ The four leaders of Priscillianism were bishops Instantius and Salvianus of south Spain and laymen Priscillian and Helpidus. ❖ In 380, a council at Saragossa condemned Priscillian's ideas, and the four leaders were excommunicated. ❖ An appeal was proposed by them to Damasus of Rome and Ambrose of Milan. ❖ Instantius, Salvianus, and Priscillian went to Rome to clear themselves and their party in the

	the innate evil of matter. Marriage was condemned and austerities of all sorts were required. **5.** Practice of magic and astrology. They believed in the 12 signs of the Zodiac to have a mysterious supremacy over members of the body. Perplexed by the insoluble problem of the original sin, they indulged in the most fantastic dreams and myths. **6.** Their wild cosmic speculations were based on the bold Gnostic and Manichean conceptions of a primeval dualism. The two opposite realms of light and darkness, in eternal antagonism, were their basis. **7.** Tendency to Monarchianism. **8.** Their adversaries accused them of Sabellianism and Arianism. **9.** They held an esoteric and exoteric doctrine, affirming falsehood allowable for a holy end; absolute veracity only binding between fellow-members. To the unenlightened they need not always and absolutely state the whole truth. This looseness of principle, they supported by Scripture, distorting, e.g. Eph 4:25 in support of their practice. [56]	papal court. They were unsuccessful. ❖ The Priscillianists found favor and protection for a short time under the reign of Gratian who issued a rescript restoring them to their churches and sees. ❖ Priscillian and his chief followers were condemned to death by the imperial consistery at Treves ca. 384. Several others, after confiscation of their goods, were banished to the Scilly Isles, others to Gaul. Priscillian is recorded as the first heretic condemned to death. With him died two presbyters, and Eucrotia the rich and noble matron of Bordeaux. ❖ The council of Toledo in 447 and the Council at Braga in Galicia 448 condemned Priscillianism. ❖ A last contemporary mention of the Priscillianists comes in combination with Arians in the Acts of the Council of Braga in 563.
20 **PELAGIANS**	❖ Pelagius taught that the free human will and the natural goodness of man were all powerful in the moral order, and denied the need of grace to move it. ❖ This heresy began shortly after 400 by a British monk, Pelagius. ❖ Its teaching rejected the doctrine of original sin, emphasized the natural over the supernatural to the extent that it was possible to attain salvation without grace. ❖ Pelagius, a severe moralist who denied original sin, declared that a soul created by God could not be tainted by sin that it has not committed. Hence, baptism was only for adults who had sinned, not infants. ❖ This in turn gave rise to *Semi-Pelagianism*, which scanned	❖ Some scholars believe that Donatism did not run through the Christian history, but Pelagianism as its extent appeared in history from time to time. ❖ The doctrine of Pelagius or Pelagianism (the Pelagian movement or concept of Christianity) must be divided into three periods: 1. Before 411; 2. Of the years 411-418; 3. After 418, also known as Semi-Pelagianism.[59] ❖ Pelagius had fled Rome when it was invaded in 410 and visited Sicily and North Africa briefly

the scene and declared that without original sin there need not be a redeemer, and since humans were sufficient unto themselves, they did not need prayer.

- The position taken by the Pelagians was one that did away with the grace and freedom of the human person. **Their chief error was in asserting that they could obtain salvation by themselves**.[57]
- The Pelagian controversy turns upon the mighty antithesis of sin and grace. It embraces the whole cycle of doctrine respecting the ethical and religious relation of man to God, and includes, therefore, the doctrines of human freedom, of the primitive state, of the fall, of regeneration and conversion, of the eternal purpose of redemption, and of the nature and operation of the grace of God.
- It comes at last to the question, whether redemption is chiefly a work of God or of man; whether man needs to be born anew, or merely improved. **The soul of the Pelagian system is human freedom; the soul of the Augustinian is divine grace**.
- Pelagius was a simple monk, born about the middle of the 4th century in Britain. He studied the Greek theology, especially that of the Antiochian school, and early showed great zeal for the improvement of himself and of the world. But his morality was not so much the rich, deep life of faith, as it was the external legalism, the ascetic self-discipline and self-righteousness.
- It was characteristic, that, even before the controversy, he took great offence at the well-known saying of St Augustine: "*Give what You command, and command what You will*." He could not conceive, that the power to obey the commandment must come from the same source as the commandment itself. Faith, with him, was hardly more than a theoretical belief; the main thing in religion was moral action, the keeping of the commandments of God by one's own strength.

before going on to Palestine. While in Palestine, Pelagius wrote, among other things, his treatise *De natura*, to which St Augustine responded with *On Nature and Grace*.

- Pelagius had already earned the enmity of St Jerome, and this increased when, in 415, St Augustine informed St Jerome of his differences with Pelagius. St Jerome, in turn, wrote his *Dialogues* against the Pelagians, interpreting their teaching on the possibility of sinlessness as the *apatheia* of Stoicism.
- The possibility of sinlessness was the focus of a synod held in 415 at Diospolis in Palestine to adjudicate charges against Pelagius and Celestius. Pelagius satisfied the synod of his Orthodoxy, and both he and Celestius were declared in communion with the Church.
- St Augustine and the African bishops launched a successful counter-appeal to Rome, which resulted in Innocent I's excommunication of Pelagius and Celestius (Jan 417). Innocent, however, died in March 417, and the letters the two accused had written in their own defense were received by the new Roman bishop, Zosimus.
- Less sympathetic to the African cause, Zosimus reinstated Pelagius and Celestius and rebuked those who had brought the charges against them. But before his decision reached North Africa, pressure had been brought to bear on the imperial court at Ravenna, and the pendulum swung again.
- In April 418, the Roman emperor, Honorius, issued a condemnatory rescript, to be followed two months later by the *Tractoria* of Zosimus,

❖ In 409, Pelagius was in Rome, and converted the advocate Celestius to his monastic life, and to his views. It was from this man, younger, more skilful in argument, more ready for controversy, and more rigorously consistent than his teacher, that the controversy took its rise. Pelagius was the moral author, Celestius the intellectual author, of the system represented by them.[58]

❖ There is little dispute about the course of the controversy once begun. Celestius was the first to clash publicly with the North Africans.

❖ His application for ordination was refused and the six following propositions, taken from his works, were condemned by a synod at Carthage in 411: (1) Adam was created mortal and would have died even if he had not sinned. (2) Adam's sin affected only himself, not the whole human race. (3) Children are born into the same state as that of Adam before he sinned. (4) The human race does not die in consequence with Adam or rise in consequence with Christ. (5) The law as well as the gospel offers entrance to the kingdom of heaven. (6) Even before the coming of Christ, there were persons without sin.

❖ Celestius appealed his condemnation to Rome, but left Africa and made his way to Ephesus, where he was ordained in 415.

❖ **In summary:**

- Pelagianism is against the grace of God and defends human freedom.
- Augustinianism is against human freedom and defends the grace of God.
- Semi-Pelagianism is the co-operation of divine grace and human free will (St John Cassian and teachers of Southern Gaul).
- Semi-Augustinianism emphasizes the priority of grace in salvation but does not accept all of St Augustine's views on predestination.

which not only condemned Pelagius and Celestius, but demanded that the Italian bishops endorse the decision.

❖ A second civil document banished both Pelagius and Celestius from the Italian peninsula. Pelagius escaped to a wandering life in the east. He is thought to have died in Egypt, but the date is unknown. Celestius became entangled in the controversy over Nestorianism and vanished from history ca. 431.

Condemnation

❖ Pelagianism was ably refuted by St Augustine.

❖ The movement and Celestius were first condemned in 411.

❖ Synod of Diospolis against Pelagius in 415.

❖ *Concilium africanum* of 417.

❖ Plenary Council of Carthage in 418.

❖ *Tractoria* of Pope Zosimus in 418.

❖ It died out after the condemnations given by the Council of Ephesus in 431.

❖ On 1 May 418, the Plenary Council of Carthage wrote a set of anathemas against Pelagianism. Excerpts are quoted below:

> *(1) If any man says that Adam, the first man, was created mortal, so that whether he sinned or not, he would have died, not as the wages of sin, but through the necessity or nature, let him be anathema.*
>
> *(7) If any man understands the words of the Apostle: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us," to mean that we must acknowledge ourselves to be sinners only out of humility, not because we are really such, let him be anathema.* [60]

21 **APOLLINARIANS**	❖ Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, Syria (315-392). He was born ca. 310-15, and died ca. 390-92. ❖ Apollinaris was one of the most fertile and versatile ecclesiastical writers of his days, he fought side by side with Sts Athanasius and Basil the Great against the Arians, only to be condemned in the end as a heretic himself. ❖ As an outstanding champion and vigorous advocate of the Nicene doctrine against the Arians, the received doctrine of the School of Antioch did not satisfy him and he wanted by a better solution to exclude any mistaken tendency to interpret the close union of the divinity and humanity in Christ as a double personality. ❖ In his zeal for the true deity of Christ, and fear of a double personality, he fell into the error of a partial denial of His true humanity. ❖ According to him, in Christ were to be found the human body and irrational soul but not the human spirit or rational soul, the latter being replaced by the Divine Logos. Thus He possessed perfect Godhead but **not complete manhood**. ❖ He said that Christ could not have a complete humanity for two reasons: 1. The metaphysical reason is that two beings already perfect, God and man, cannot produce unity, but only a hybrid. Two wholes cannot be in one whole, for Apollinaris the union of full Divinity and full humanity in one person is an absurdity. 2. The psychological reason is that the rational soul constitutes the seat and centre of the power of self-determination for good or evil, which would attribute the possibility of sin to Christ. But the Savior must be without sin, if redemption is to be accomplished. ❖ A complete "nature" was to him the same thing as a "person."	❖ Sts Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Philoxenus of Mabbug, and Severus of Antioch wrote refutations, and totally condemned this heresy. ❖ **Against Apollinarianism St Gregory of Nazianzus Archbishop of Constantinople (380/1) wrote in *Ep*. ci**: • *If any one has put his trust in Him as a man without a human mind (ἄνουν), he himself is devoid of mind and unworthy of salvation.* ***For what He has not assumed He has not healed; it is what is united to His Deity that is saved****…Let them not grudge us our entire salvation, or endue the Savior only with the bones and nerves and appearance of humanity. But, he urges, he could not contain two complete natures. Certainly not, if you are thinking of him physically. A bushel measure will not hold two bushels…But if you will consider the mental and the incorporeal, bear in mind that in my one personality I can contain soul, reason, mind, and Holy Spirit…If they rely on the text 'The Word was made flesh'…they do not realize that such expressions are used by synecdoche, whereby the part stands for the whole.* [62] • He also wrote in the same epistle: *But, says such an one, the Godhead took the place of the human intellect. How does this touch me? For Godhead joined to flesh (σάρξ) alone is not man, nor to soul (ψυχή) alone, nor to both apart from intellect (νοῦς), which is the most essential part of man. Keep then the whole man, and mingle Godhead therewith,*

	❖ He believed in one incarnate nature of the God-Word. ❖ He reached only a θεός σαρκοφόρος, as Nestorianism only an ἄνθρωπος θεοφόρος, instead of the proper θεάνθρωπος. He appealed to the fact that the Scripture says, "the Word was made *flesh*" – not *spirit*; "God was manifest in the *flesh*," etc. To which Gregory Nazianzus justly replied that in these passages the term σάρξ (flesh) was used by synecdoche for the whole human nature.[61] ❖ In denying to the person of Christ a human soul, the most important element in human nature, Apollinaris was depriving the Incarnation and Redemption of its meaning. ❖ The later Orthodox doctrine surmounted this difficulty by teaching the impersonality of the human nature of Christ, and by making the personality of Christ to reside wholly in the Logos. ❖ He was still alive when St Gregory of Nyssa wrote his *Antirrheticus* in 385 against him. ❖ About the life and writings of Apollinaris, see the section on **Apollinaris of Laodicea** under *Theologians of Antioch and Syria*, pp. 83ff.	*that you may benefit me in my completeness*.[63] ❖ **St Athanasius also wrote against Apollinarianism**: *The Savior had not a body without a soul, nor without perception, nor without a mind; for neither was it possible that, when the Lord became Man for us, his body should be without a mind; nor was it body only; but soul also that attained salvation in the Word Himself, and being truly Son of God, He, the same, became also firstborn among many brethren*. [From St Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenos* 362][64] **His Condemnation** ❖ Apollinaris' teaching was rejected at the Synod of Alexandria in 362. ❖ By 377 the Western Council of Rome under Bishop Damasus condemned him, followed by the eastern councils of Alexandria (378), Antioch (379), and Constantinople (381). ❖ Theodosian decrees (383-88) forbade Apollinarian worship and outlawed his adherents.[65]
22 **NESTORIANS**	❖ Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, 428-431, represents the extreme of the 'Antiochian' type of thought on this question. ❖ The theologians at Antioch tended to stress the reality of the manhood of Christ, in contrast with the more 'mystical' school of Alexandria, whose chief concern was to emphasize his full divinity. ❖ Nestorius seems to have learnt his doctrine from his master, Theodore of Mopsuestia, who illustrated the union (or conjunction, συνάφεια - synapheia) and this word represents more precisely the Nestorian view, and shows its unacceptability) by the union of husband and wife, who become 'one flesh' while remaining two separate	❖ **In *The Second Letter of St Cyril to Nestorius*, Feb. 430, St Cyril, Pope of Alexandria (412-44) wrote**: • *For we do not affirm that the nature of the Word underwent a change and became flesh, or that it was transformed into a whole or perfect man consisting of soul and body; but we say that the Word, having in an ineffable and inconceivable manner personally united to Himself flesh instinct with a living soul, became man and was called the Son of Man…For He was not first born an ordinary man of the holy virgin, and then the Word descended upon*

natures and persons. [66]

- ❖ He was a student of the Theological School of Antioch (see pp. 71ff)

- ❖ Nestorius in his Episcopal sermons asserted that:
  1. There are **two persons in Christ**, a divine person, the Logos, dwelling in a human person, the man Jesus.
  2. The Blessed Virgin Mary could not be called *Theotokos*; Mother of God.
  3. Nestorius was also accused of reviving the adoptianism of Paul of Samosata, in that he had conceived the union of man and God in Christ as solely external κατ' εὐδοκίαν - *kat' eudokian* meaning 'out of courtesy.'

- ❖ St Cyril refuted this doctrine in his Paschal letter in 429.
- ❖ From the time of his ordination (10 April, 428) Nestorius showed great fondness for the work of preaching, and much zeal against heretics.
- ❖ In his very first sermon he addressed the Emperor Theodosius the younger with the words: "*Give me, O Emperor, the earth cleansed from heretics, and I will for that give thee heaven; help me to make war against heretics, and I will help thee in the war against the Persians*." [67]

- ❖ Socrates relates that "the priest Anastasius, a friend of Nestorius, whom he brought to Constantinople with him, one day warned his hearers, in a sermon, that no one should call Mary the God-bearer (Θεοτόκος - Theotokos), for Mary was a human being and God could not be born of a human being" This attack on a hitherto accepted ecclesiastical term and ancient belief caused great disturbance among clergy and laity, and Nestorius himself came forward and defended the discourse of his friend in

Him, but having been made one with the flesh from the very womb itself, He is said to have submitted to a birth according to the flesh, as appropriating and making His own the birth of His own flesh. In like manner we say that He "suffered" and "rose again."
(Ep. IV) [Op. X.22-5; P.G. IXXVII. 44-50] [76]

- ❖ St Athanasius, Pope of Alexandria (328-73**)** lived before the time of Nestorianism, but we find in his theology and writings the Orthodox belief against Nestorianism.

- ❖ **St Athanasius wrote:**

- *He was the Word and nothing contained Him; rather He Himself contained all things. He is in the whole creation, yet in His essential being He is distinct from it all…So when He was in the human body He Himself gave that body life, and at the same time He was of course giving life to the whole universe, and was present in all things; and yet distinct from and outside the universe.* (*De Incarnatione*, 17) [77]
- ***He became man, and did not come into a man**. We must be clear about this, to avoid the notion…that the Word dwelt in a man, hallowing him and displaying Himself in him, as in earlier times the Word came to each of the saints…But in fact the Word of God, through whom all things came into being, endured to become also Son of man, and 'humbled Himself, taking the form of a servant' (Phil. II.7f); and for this reason the cross of Christ is 'a scandal to the Jews, but to us Christ is God's power and God's wisdom.'…For "The Word became flesh" as*

	several sermons. One party agreed with him, another opposed him. [68] ❖ The sermons he delivered on this subject, are still partially preserved for us, and are fully sufficient to disprove the inaccurate assertion of many, that Nestorius in fact taught nothing of a heterodox character. In his very first discourse he exclaims pathetically: *They ask whether Mary may be called God-bearer. But has God, then, a mother? In that case we must excuse heathenism, which spoke of mothers of the gods; but Paul is no liar when he said of the Godhead of Christ (Heb. vii. 3) that it is without father, without mother, and without genealogy. No, my friends, Mary did not bear God...the creature did not bear the Creator, but the Man, who is the Instrument of the Godhead. The Holy Ghost did not place the Logos, but He provided for Him, from the blessed Virgin, a temple which He might inhabit...This garment of which He makes use I honor for the sake of Him who is hidden within it, and is inseparable from it...I separate the natures and unite the reverence. Consider what this means. He who was formed in the womb of Mary was not God Himself, but God assumed Him, and because of Him who assumes, He who is assumed is also named God."* [69] ❖ It is easy to see that Nestorius occupied the point of view of his teacher Theodore of Mopsuestia. ❖ The fragment of another sermon[70] is directed entirely against the **communicatio idiomatum**, (inter-change between the divine and human titles of Christ the Lord when referring to His human and divine attributes) particularly against the expression "the Logos suffered."	*John says (John 1:14), and in Scripture "flesh" is commonly used for 'man'* [Cf. Joel II.28] (*Contra Arianos*, III. 30). [78] • *Though He was God He had a body for His own, and using it as an instrument He has become man for our sakes. Thus it is that the properties of the flesh are said to be His, since He was in that flesh; hunger, thirst, pain, weariness, and the like, to which the flesh is liable: while the works belonging to the Word Himself (raising the dead, restoring sight to the blind, curing the woman's hemorrhage) He Himself did through His own body…the body was God's. In the case of "the man born blind" (John IX. 6f) the spittle from His material body was human, but the opening of the eyes by means of the clay was a divine ac*t. (*Contra Arianos*, III. 31-32). [79] • *They all occurred inseparably conjoined, and the Lord, who marvelously performed those acts (he means Divine acts and human acts) by His grace,* ***was one***. (*Ep. ad Serap*. IV. 14). [80] ❖ **St Cyril also wrote in his *Second Letter to Nestorius*, Feb. 430:** • *Thus we confess one Christ and Lord, not as worshipping a man conjointly with the Word, that there may not through this phrase "conjointly" be insinuated the semblance of division (as though we were dividing the one Christ into two persons) – but as worshipping one and the same Person, because the body of the Lord is not alien from the Lord, with which body also He sits with the Father Himself: not again as though two sons do sit with the Father, but one united to his own flesh. But if*

❖ But his fourth discourse which was against Proclus [bishop of Cyzicus] is the most important, containing these words:

*The life-giving Godhead they call mortal, and dare to draw down the Logos to the level of the fables of the theatre, as though He (as a child) was wrapped in swaddling-clothes and afterwards died...Pilate did not kill the Godhead, but the garment of the Godhead; and it was not the Logos which was wrapped in a linen cloth by Joseph of Arimathea and buried...He did not die who gives life, for who would then raise Him who died?...In order to make satisfaction for men, Christ assumed the person of the guilty nature (of humanity)...And this man I worship along with the Godhead…as the instrumentum of the goodness of the Lord...as the living purple garment of the King...**That which was formed in the womb of Mary is not God Himself**...but because God dwells in **Him** whom **He** has assumed, therefore also He who is assumed is called God because of Him who assumes Him. And it is not God who has suffered, but God was **conjoined** with the crucified flesh...We will therefore call the holy Virgin θεοδόχος (theodokhos, the vessel of God), but not θεοτόκος (theotokos, God-bearer), for only God the Father is the θεοτόκος but we will honor that nature which is the garment of God along with Him who makes use of this garment, **we will separate the natures and unite the honor,** we will acknowledge a double person and worship it as one."*[71]

❖ From all this we see that Nestorius…instead of uniting the human nature with the divine person, he always assumes the union of a human person with the Godhead... He can never rise to the abstract idea, nor think of human nature without personality, nor gain an idea of the union of the

*we reject this **hypostatic union*** [see p. 74] *either as impossible or unmeet, we fall into the error of making two sons…We must not then divide one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. To hold this will nowise contribute to soundness of faith, even though some make a show of acknowledging a union of persons. For Scripture does not say that the Word united to Himself the person of a man, but that "He became flesh"…Thus shall we find the holy fathers to have held. So did they make bold to call the holy virgin "**the Mother of God**." Not as though the nature of the Word of 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 (i.e. the two substances* [essences] *united in one Person), on this account He is said to have been born after the flesh* (*Ep*. IV). [81]

❖ **Again St Cyril wrote**:

- *But I think we need to tell them what Christ Himself said to the Jewish teachers: "What do you think of Christ? Whose son is he?" (Mt 22:42). And if they should answer, "David's son," then we will tell them: "How then did David, in the Spirit, call him Lord, when he said: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand while I make your enemies a footstool for your feet? If David, therefore, in the Spirit, calls him Lord, then how can he be his son?" (Mt 22:43-45). Tell me, does one who is not truly and naturally the Son sit alongside God on the same throne as him who rules over all things? This is what our opponents are saying.*

merely human nature with the divine Person. Therefore he says quite decidedly, Christ has assumed the person of guilty humanity, and he can unite the Godhead and manhood in Christ only externally, **because he regards manhood in Christ as person,** as shown by all the figures and similes which he employs.

Nestorius' Writings

1. Treatises

❖ *Bazar of Heraclides of Damascus*:

- The only treatise extant in its entirety; it was composed in his last years.
- 'Heraclides of Damascus' is a pseudonym which the exiled and condemned Nestorius used as the only way of getting his book published.
- In the form of a dialogue with the Egyptian Sophronius, Nestorius gives a defense of his teaching and a history of his life.
- He severely criticizes the decisions of Ephesus and the teaching of St Cyril of Alexandria, claiming that his own belief was identical with that of Pope Leo I and Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople, so that it would be hard to charge him, on the basis of this treatise, with willful heresy.
- It seems that in this book he tried to exonerate himself, but ended up to the opposite, asserting his commonly known heresy through his conviction that the person of Jesus Christ is not the same person of the Son of God, the Logos; i.e., believing in the external conjoining of **two persons,** an external union only in image.
- This destructs the whole concept of redemption, as, accordingly, God the Word would not be, Himself, the crucified redeemer and savior of the world.
- This would make meaningless the everlasting words of John the Evangelist "*For God so loved the world, that He*

But, as the all-wise Paul says, the Father "Has never said to any of the angels: You are my Son (Heb 1:5), nor has he said: Sit on my right" (Heb1:13). How, then, can a man born of a woman be in these supreme honors, on the very throne of the Godhead, and "above every Principality, Dominion, Throne, and Authority, and every name that can be named" (Eph 1:21)? Notice how the Lord says: "If David, therefore, in the Spirit, calls him Lord, then how can he be his son?" This persuades all who want to search out the truth to maintain that the Word, even when he came to participate in flesh and blood, has even so remained one Son. He bears witness that he is God from a divine pre-eminence and dominion, and how well he indicates that he has become man by also being called the Son of David. [82]

- *We had become accursed through Adam's transgression and had fallen into the trap of death, abandoned by God. Yet all things were made new in Christ (2 Cor 5:17) and our condition was restored to what it was in the beginning. It was entirely necessary that the Second Adam, who is from heaven (1 Cor 15:45) and superior to all sin, that is Christ, the pure and immaculate first-fruits of our race, should free that nature of man from judgment, and once again call down upon it the heavenly graciousness of the Father. He would undo our abandonment by his obedience and complete submission: "For he did no sin" (1 Pet 2:22) but the nature of man was made rich in all blamelessness and innocence in Him, so that it could now cry out with boldness: "My*

	gave his Only-Begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John 3:16). How then would the words that the Lord said through his prophet Isaiah be fulfilled: "*I, even I, am the Lord; and beside Me there is no savior*" (Is. 43:11). ❖ Texts that were attributed to Nestorius in the book **'***Bazar of Heraclides'*: • "**Two are the prosopa**, the prosopon of He who has clothed and the prosopon of he who is clothed." [72] • "Therefore the image of God is the perfect expression of God to men. The image of God, understood in this sense, can be thought of as the divine Prosopon. God dwells in Christ and perfectly reveals Himself to men through him. Yet **the two prosopa** are really one image of God." [73] • "We must not forget that the two natures involve with him two distinct hypostases and two persons (prosopons) united together by simple loan and exchange." [74] ❖ *The Twelve Counter-Anathemas*: Written to answer the Twelve Anathemas of St Cyril; they are preserved in a Latin translation. ❖ *Tragedy*: A work in which Nestorius seems to have given a presentation of his case; it was probably written after the Council of Ephesus and before his exile to Egypt. ❖ *Theopaschites*: A refutation of St Cyril of Alexandria in the form of a dialogue. **2. Sermons** ❖ There must have been a considerable number of sermons extant before they were committed to flames in 435. **3. Letters** ❖ Of the 15 letters we are aware of, only ten survive.	*God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mt 27:46). Understand that in becoming man, the Only Begotten spoke these words as one of us and on behalf of all our nature. It was as if he were saying this: "The first man has transgresses. He slipped into disobedience… and then it was entirely right that he became subject to corruption and fell under judgment. But you Lord have made me a second beginning for all on the earth, and I am called the Second Adam. In me you see the nature of man made clean, its faults corrected, made holy and pure. Now give me the good things of your kindness, undo the abandonment, rebuke corruption and set a limit on your anger. I have conquered Satan himself who ruled of old, for he found in me absolutely nothing of what was his." In my opinion this is the sense of the Savior's words. He did not invoke the Father's graciousness upon himself, but rather upon us. The effects of God's anger passed into the whole of the human nature as from the original rootstock, that is Adam…In the same way, however, the effects of our new first-fruits, that is Christ, shall again pass into the entire human race…And again: "as all men die in Adam, so shall be made alive in Christ" (1 Cor 15:22).* [83] ❖ After a fruitless exchange of letters between Nestorius and St Cyril both appealed to Pope Celestine, who held a synod at Rome in 430 condemned Nestorius and approved of St Cyril's theology. Later on in 431, an ecumenical council was held at Ephesus, attended by about 200 bishops, in which

	❖ The Emperor Theodosius II exiled Nestorius to Egypt not far from the White Monastery of St Shenoute. Severus ibn al-Muqaffa, bishop of Al-Ashmunain (b. ca. 905-910-d. after 987) reports the following: *Here began a lengthy stay for Nestorius…There he became seriously ill…Naturally Nestorius must have learned that he was not far from [St] Shenoute and his monastery. He sends to the archimandrite and challenges him: 'Take my possessions and give them to the poor.' Remembering Ephesus, however, [St] Shenoute takes this offer as pretence and refuses to come. Nevertheless…he met with Nestorius. During the visit the discussion turns to the theopaschite question. It is determined that Nestorius has not changed his opinion: 'I will never say that God died.' Based on this information, [St] Shenute will have nothing to do with a turning over of the exile's possessions: 'You are anathema together with your possessions.' Then the archmandrite left him and returned to his monastery.*[75]	Nestorius was excommunicated. ❖ Before his trip into exile in Egypt, the bishops of Ephesus again sent a letter with the admonition, "*Confess that the Crucified is God Incarnate, and we will receive thee again and obtain the repeal of thy sentence of banishment*." [84] ❖ Severus ibn al-Muqaffa reproduces the dialogue between Nestorius and the imperial guard, who was sent to accompany him, now already on Egyptian soil: *And when he [Nestorius] said to the chamberlain: 'Let us rest here, for I am tired,' the chamberlain replied: 'Thy Lord was weary when he walked until the sixth hour [cf. Jn 4:6], and He is God. What sayest thou?' And Nestorius answered: 'Two hundred bishops assembled to make me confess that Jesus is God incarnate, but I would not do so. Shall I then say to thee that God suffered fatigue*? [85]
23 **EUTYCHIANS** **OR** **MONOPHYSITES**	❖ Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, began to attempt spreading the Nestorian teachings in the East and, in 447, he published his book *Eranistes*, a book intended to distort and ridicule the teaching of the Alexandrian fathers, and especially the great St Cyril. ❖ This aroused so much opposition, that on 18 April 448, an imperial edict was published, proscribing Nestorius, his writings, and his supporters, and Theodoret himself was ordered to remain confined to his see of Cyrus. Also Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, aroused a great deal of reaction because of his letter to Maris, Bishop of Ardaschir in Persia, against the teachings of Saint Cyril the Great. **The Heresy of Eutyches** ❖ In reaction to the Nestorian activity in the East, an	**The Standpoint of the Alexandrian Church** ❖ Pope Dioscorus sensed the danger of the spread of the ideas of Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, in the East; those ideas that attack the doctrines of Pope Cyril of Alexandria. He also feared the spread of the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorius, in many areas in the East. He knew that Eutyches complained that he had presented a profession of faith along with a writ of appeal to the Home Synod of Constantinople in 448, and it had not been received from him.[91] ❖ Pope Dioscorus feared that Eutyches might have been condemned for his adherence to the

extreme teaching emerged in defense of the belief in the 'one incarnate nature of God the Word,' which Saint Cyril the great had professed and taught, through Eutyches, the abbot of the Monastery of Job in Constantinople.

- Eutyches, a friend of Pope Cyril, claimed to have received from the great Alexandrian theologian a copy of the decisions of the Council of Ephesus 431 and to have cherished it ever since. He was an indefatigable supporter of the Alexandrian cause at the capital. As the abbot of the monastery of Job in the seventh quarter of the city, he had directed more than three hundred monks for over thirty years. Through his godson and nephew Chrysaphius, the grand chamberlain of the emperor, he had direct access to the court. At a time when the ecclesiastical atmosphere in the East had been vitiated by the rivalry between the Alexandrian and the Antiochian sides, Eutyches' undue zeal for the former may well have elicited opposition from the latter, and thus added to further tension.[86]
- Eutyches started defending the faith of the one nature but then fell into the heresy attributed to him, i.e. the humanity (of Christ) dissolved in the divinity as a drop of vinegar would dissolve in the ocean; or, in other words, that the two natures had been intermixed into one nature. From here came the appellation 'monophysites' (μονοφυσίτης) because the phrase 'moni physis' (μονή φύσις) means 'only nature' and not 'one nature,' which *is* 'mia physis' (μία φύσις). [87]
- Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum, visited Eutyches in his monastery at Constantinople many times and found out that the faith he maintains was unorthodox, for he believed that the two natures were intermixed into one.

The Home Synod of Constantinople (8-22 November, 448)

- It was presided over by Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, and attended by 32 bishops. In this synod teachings of the great St Cyril about the one incarnate nature of God the Word. The Home Synod of Constantinople (448) had demanded from Eutyches to anathematize all who do not say 'in two natures after the union,' but he refused and said, "*if I anathematize, woe unto me that I condemn my fathers* (as Saint Cyril the Great)." [92]
- Having Eutyches' (deceptive) written confession, that he rejected those who say '*that the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ had come down from heaven'*…'*For He who is the Word of God came down from heaven without flesh and was made flesh from the very flesh of the Virgin unchangeably and inconvertibly, in a way He Himself knew and willed. And He who is always perfect God before the ages was also made perfect man in the end of days for us and for our salvation*.' [93]
- Pope Dioscorus sensed that Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, had joined the Nestorian trend present in the East when Eutyches was demanded by the Home Synod of Constantinople (448) to anathematize all who do not confess two natures after the union. The truth was that Pope Dioscorus sought to fight Nestorianism by rejecting the phrase "**in** two natures after the union," and Bishop Eusebius was urging Patriarch Flavian to fight Eutychianism by asserting the phrase "**in** two natures after the union." Hence the misunderstanding occurred between the two sides, and had later developed into the Chalcedonian dispute.

	Eutyches was condemned, deposed and excommunicated upon a libel that Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaeum, presented against him and also the testimonies of Presbyter John and Deacon Andrew, whom the Synod had sent to summon **Eutyches**, because he **insisted that the flesh which our Lord Jesus Christ took from the Virgin Mary was not 'co-essential with us'** and he hesitated in clarifying his point of view when he attended the Synod, and submitted a written confession of faith which he refused to read himself.[88] ❖ The condemnation against Eutyches was signed by 30 bishops and 23 archimandrites. For the first time, the following statement was, affirmed: that Christ the Lord 'was *in* two natures after the union.' Many troubles and a very tense situation prevailed in Constantinople. Eutyches raised an appeal against the Home Synod to the emperor, who then wrote to Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria summoning him to preside over a council to be held on the first of August at Ephesus, and required of Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Thalassius, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, to be co-presidents with him. An imperial mandate was sent to Pope Dioscorus asking him to permit Barsaumas, an archimandrite from Syria on the Alexandrian side, to participate in the council. **The Second Council of Ephesus in 449** ❖ The first session was held on 8 August 449, attended by 150 bishops, presided by Pope Dioscorus, in the presence of Bishop Julius, the representative of the Pope of Rome, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch, and Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople. ❖ After examining the proceedings of the First Council of Ephesus in 431 and the Home Synod of Constantinople in 448, and reading a written confession of the Orthodox faith which Eutyches had (deceitfully) submitted to this	**The Council of Chalcedon** ❖ In the first session, Pope Dioscorus was questioned about the teaching of Eutyches whom the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 had exonerated. He said: '*If Eutyches holds notions disallowed by the doctrines of the Church, he deserves not only punishment but even fire. But my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith, not for any man whomsoever*.' [94] He also stated: "*I accept the phrase **from** two natures after the union*." Thus in his affirmation of the one incarnate nature of God the Word he wanted to prove the indivisibility of the two natures after the union, and in his acceptance of the phrase 'from two natures after the union' [95] he wanted to confirm what St Cyril had affirmed. i.e. the continuity of the existence of two natures in the union, without intermixture or confusion. ❖ Accurate research proves that Pope Dioscorus was not Eutychian, this is why the Council of Chalcedon did not condemn him for any erroneous belief on his part, as Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople and president of the Council at its meeting of the 22 October 451 had stated. Also, Patriarch Flavian and Bishop Eusebius were not Nestorian. [96] ❖ The Council of Chalcedon approved the synodical letters of the great St Cyril of Alexandria and *the Tome of Leo* after revising it on the twelve anathemas of St Cyril. ❖ The sentences resulting were: to excommunicate, condemn and depose Eutyches, to annul most of the decisions of the Second Council of Ephesus 449, to depose

	council, and after hearing deliberations from those who were present, the Council decreed its condemnation and deposition of Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaeum, acquitted Eutyches and restored him to his clerical post. The Council also condemned and deposed Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and others.[89] It proclaimed that Diodorus of Tarsus was a Nestorian. The letter of Pope Leo I to that Council, which is known as *the Tome of Leo*, was not read. [90]	Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria for administrative and legal reasons, and to restore Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, after they both agreed to anathematize Nestorius and his teachings. However, the Council did not judge the writings of Theodoret and Ibas which are against the teaching of the great St Cyril, neither did it judge Theodore of Mopsuestia, the theological master of Nestorius, or his teachings. [97]

[1] E Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, Garland Publishing, New York, 1992, p. 287.
[2] DD Wace & WC Piercy., eds, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1994, p.284.
[3] BJ Kidd, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, vol. 1, Macmillan, New York, 1932, pp. 265, 266.
[4] Fr TY Malaty, *The Book of Revelation*, trans., V &R Malaty, St George's Coptic Orthodox Church Sporting, Alexandria, 1996, pp. 223-225.
[5] St Justin: Dialogue with Trypho 80-81 quoted in Malaty, op. cit., p. 224.
[6] Fr Pishoy Kamel, *The Millenium, (Our Orthodox Church Faith, no. 3)* in Malaty, op. cit., p. 224.
[7] *Eusebius H.E, 3:39* in Malaty, op. cit., p. 224.
[8] H W House, *Charts of Christian Theology and Doctrine*, Zonderman Publishing House, 1992, Michigan, p. 133.
[9] The City of God, 20:6,7 in Malaty, op. cit., p.223.
[10] *De Civit. Dei, XX. 6-10* in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: First Series*, vol. 2, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1995, pp. 430-1.
[11] P Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan, 1910, p. 619.
[12] See Appendix 3: *Contemporary Influence of Millennianism Appearing in Some Current Protestant Denominations*, p. 271.
[13] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 271.
[14] ibid., p. 273.
[15] DW Bercot, ed., *A Dictionary of Early Christian Beliefs*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1998, p. 308.
[16] H Bettenson, ed., *Documents of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn, Oxford University Press, New York, 1963, p. 74.
[17] ibid., p. 35.
[18] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 1, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 268.
[19] ibid., p. 269; Bercot, op. cit., p. 419.
[20] Bercot, op. cit., 419.
[21] PR Amidon, trans., ed., *The Panarion of St Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis: Selected Passages*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990, p. 146.
[22] Bettenson op. cit., 1963, p. 78.
[23] ibid., pp. 77.
[24] Origen calls the Logos 'a second God' in two other places in *Contra Celsum*, VI. 61, and VII 57.
[25] H Bettenson, ed. trans., *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St Clement of Rome to St Athanasius*, Oxford University Press, London, 1956, p. 334.
[26] House, op. cit., pp. 109-10.
[27] Bettenson, op. cit., 1956, p. 354.
[28] ibid., pp. 355-356.

[29] Amidon, op. cit., p. 215.
[30] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2, Christian Classics, Maryland, 1950, p. 80.
[31] House, op. cit., p. 110.
[32] Bettenson, op. cit., 1956, p. 271.
[33] House, op. cit., pp. 109-10.
[34] Bercot, op. cit., pp. 242, 243, 248, 249.
[35] Quasten, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 115.
[36] House, op. cit., p. 110.
[37] Bercot, op. cit., p. 552-553.
[38] ibid., p. 249.
[39] A Di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 728.
[40] Wace & Piercy, op. cit. p. 52.
[41] Bettenson, op. cit., 1963, p. 38.
[42] Bettenson. op. cit., 1956, pp. 410, 411.
[43] EM Blaiklock, trans., *The Confessions of St Augustine*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1983, pp. 104, 110-11.
[44] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 654.
[45] Bettenson, op. cit., 1956, pp. 373-374.
[46] P Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 3, Eerdmans Publishing, Michigan, 1910, p. 360.
[47] ibid., pp. 362-363.
[48] ibid., p. 367.
[49] ibid., p. 368.
[50] ibid., p. 369.
[51] Ferguson, op. cit., p. 274.
[52] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, Christian Classics, Maryland, pp. 67, 68.
[53] St Athanasius so nicknames the party who were commonly called Pneumatomachi apparently because they explained away all passages of Scripture which did not suit their views as mere figures of speech, or 'tropes.' (Bettenson, op. cit., 1956, p. 405).
[54] Bettenson, op. cit., 1956, p. 406.
[55] Di Berardino, op. cit., p. 556; Ferguson, op. cit., p. 595.
[56] Wace & Piercy, op. cit., p. 860.
[57] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Revised and Updated Edition, Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1987, pp. 260, 446
[58] Schaff, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 785-792.
[59] J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 4, Christian Classics, Maryland, p. 476.
[60] BJ Kidd, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, vol. 2, Macmillan, New York, 1932, pp. 169-170.
[61] Wace & Piercy, op. cit. p. 34.
[62] From Gregory of Nazianzus 390 *Ep*. ci (Op. III, 85 sqq; P.G. XXXVII. 177. sqq) in Bettenson, op. cit., 1963, p. 45; Kidd, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 110.
[63] Kidd, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 111.
[64] (Op. II. 6-6-8; P.G. XXVI. 799-806) The Council of Alex, 362 in ibid., p. 79.
[65] JD Douglas, ed., *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, rev. edn, Zondervan Publishing House, Michigan, 1978, p. 55.
[66] Bettenson, op. cit., 1963, p.46.
[67] CJ Hefele, p. 10, quoting *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. vii. 29* quoted in Metropolitan Bishoy, *A Documentary on the Nestorian Assyrian Church of the East*, The Diocese of Damiette, Kafr El Sheikh, and Barray The Monastery of St Demiana, Cairo, 2004, p. 24.

[68] According to Cyril of Alexandria see *(Ep. vi. P.30, Ep. ix. P.37, Opp. t.v. ed. Aubert; and in Mansi, t.iv. p. 1014),* in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
[69] Hefele, pp. 12-13, quoting *Marius Mercator Ed. Gamier-Migne, p. 757 sqq* in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., pp. 25-26.
[70] Hefele, p. 15, quoting *Marius Merc. l.c. p. 787* in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 26.
[71] Hefele, pp. 15-16, quoting *Marius Merc. l.c. pp. 789-80* in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
[72] *Bazar of Heraclides* (LH 193), quoted by Bernard Dupuy, OP, 'The Christology of Nestorius' published in Pro Oriente, *Syriac Dialogue, First Non-Official Consultation on Dialogue within the Syriac Tradition*, Hofburg Marschallstiege II A-1010 Vienna, June 1994, p. 113 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 28.
[73] Rowan Greer: '*The Image of God and the Prosopic Union in Nestorius'* Bazar of Heracleides in Lux in Lumine, Essays to Honor W. Norman Pittenger, edited by R A Morris jr., New York, 1996, p. 50; quoted by Metropolitan Aprem G. Mooken in his paper "*Was Nestorius a Nestorian?*" published in Pro Oriente, *Syriac Dialogue*, *First Non-Official Consultation*, Vienna 1994, p. 223 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 28.
[74] R Nau, Paris 1910, ed. Letouzey et Ane, *Le Livre d'Heraclide de Damas* (L.H.); p. 28 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 28.
[75] A Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol 2: part 4, Mowbray, London, 1996, p. 177.
[76] Kidd, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 252, 253.
[77] Bettenson, op. cit. 1956, p. 397.
[78] ibid., p. 396.
[79] ibid., pp. 397-398.
[80] ibid., pp. 398-399.
[81] [Op. X.22-5; P.G. IXXVII] in Kidd, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 254-255.
[82] JA McGuckin, trans., *St Cyril of Alexandria on the Unity of Christ*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1995, pp. 82-83.
[83] ibid., pp. 105-106.
[84] Grillmeier, op. cit., p. 176.
[85] ibid.
[86] VC Samuel, pp. 14-15 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 79.
[87] See Chapter Ten: Monophysite Vs Miaphysite.
[88] Samuel, pp. 17-19 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 80.
[89] Samuel, pp. 29-35 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 82.
[90] JND Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 5 th rev. edn., A & C Black, London, 1977, p. 302 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit.,p. 82.
[91] Samuel, pp. 19, 20, 24 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
[92] Samuel, p. 22 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 81.
[93] Samuel, pp. 30, 31 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p.81.
[94] Samuel, p. 51 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 83.
[95] Samuel, p. 55 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 83.
[96] Samuel, p. 69 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., pp. 81-82.
[97] Hefele, p. 345 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 84.

MONOPHYSITES VS MIAPHYSITES

μονοφυσίτης VS μίαφυσίτης

INTRODUCTION

The Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria, one of the Apostolic Oriental Orthodox Churches, and the Syrian, Armenian, Ethiopian, Eritrean and the Malankara Indian Orthodox Churches have long time been stigmatized, disparaged, and falsely accused of holding the heretical Christological theology of Eutyches i.e. **Eutychianism otherwise known as *"monophysitism."***

ETYMOLOGY OF THE TERMS 'MONOPHYSITE' AND 'MIAPHYSITE'

- The Greek adjective of the term (μόνος, η, ον) means 'alone' (without a companion), 'only,' [1] 'without accompaniment, sole, **singly existent**.' [2]

- The Greek term (εἷς, μία, ἕν) means '**one virtually by union**,' 'one and the same,' 'one in respect of office and standing,' [3] 'one' in opposition to many, in opposition to division into parts, and in ethical matters to dissension: 'to be united most closely.' [4]

- The Greek term (φύσις) means 'the nature,' 'natural qualities,' 'powers,' 'constitution' or 'condition' of a person or thing.[5]

1. MONOPHYSITE

A compound of the Greek words *moni* and *physis* (μονή φύσις) used adjectively in English, the term 'monophysites' (μονοφυσίτης) means 'only nature' and not 'one nature' which is 'mia physis' (μία φύσις).'[6] The way in which this etymological meaning is understood concretely can be noted in the words of Walter F. Adeney. 'The Monophysites,' he writes, 'had contended that there was only one nature in Christ, the human and the Divine being fused together. Practically this meant that there was only the Divine nature, because the two did not meet on equal terms, and the overwhelming of the Finite left for our contemplation only the Infinite.[7] The understanding is still being propagated in the western world. Thus even the 1958 edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* describes *Monophysitism* as "*The doctrine that in the Person of the Incarnate Christ there was but a single, and that a Divine, Nature, as against the Orthodox teaching of a double Nature, Divine and Human, after the Incarnation*," [8] that is, the existence of both natures **in an unconfused union**. In the words of St Cyril the Pillar of Faith, "*The nature of the Word has not passed over into the nature of the flesh. Neither has the nature of the flesh passed over into the nature of the Word, but*

remaining and being considered in propriety according to the nature of ***each ineffably and inexplicably united****…this has shown forth for us the one physis of the Son; but as I said, incarnate*." [9] The fact therefore is that the use of the term cannot be admitted even as a convenient label with reference to the eastern churches which have refused to acknowledge the authority of Chalcedon, without showing on the strength of evidence that they held this view. [10]

2. MIAPHYSITE OF NON CHALCEDONIANS [11]

The term *mia* means 'one,' but not 'single one' or 'simple numerical one,' as some scholars believe.[12] There is a slight difference between *mono* and *mia*. While the former suggests one single (divine) nature, the latter refers to **one composite and united nature**, as reflected by the Cyrillian formula.[13] St Cyril maintained that the relationship between the divine and the human in Christ, as Meyendorff puts it, "*does not consist of a simple cooperation, or even interpenetration, but of a union; the incarnate Word is one, and there could be no duplication of the personality of the one redeemer God and man*." [14]

HOW DID IT ALL BEGIN

Eutyches[15] an archmandrite of the monastery of Job in Constantinople, in his keen opposition to Nestorianism was led into the heresy of confounding the natures in Jesus Christ. He denied that the humanity of Christ was like ours, claiming that it melted or dissolved in His divinity as a drop of vinegar would dissolve in the ocean; or, in other words, the two natures had been intermixed into one nature.[16] Eutyches had initially been accused by Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum for his heretical beliefs.[17] In 448, a Home Synod at Constantinople, was chaired by Flavian the bishop of Constantinople; at this synod Eutyches insisted that the flesh which our Lord Jesus Christ took from the Virgin Mary was not 'consubstantial [co-essential]with us' and he hesitated in clarifying his point of view and submitted a written confession of faith which he refused to read himself. The Home Synod demanded from Eutyches to anathematize all who do not say "in two natures after the union" but he refused and said, "*if I anathematize, woe unto me that I condemn my fathers* (as St Cyril the great).[18] He was condemned and appealed to the Emperor.

The Emperor convened the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 that was attended by about a hundred and fifty bishops, the second council of Ephesus had its first session on 8 August. As chief presiding officer Patriarch Dioscorus occupied the first place, after him in order were Julius of Puteoli representing the see of Rome, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch and Flavian of Constantinople. Having Eutyches' (deceptive) written confession, Pope Dioscorus sensed that Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Eusebius of Dorylaem, had joined the Nestorian trend present in the East when Eutyches was demanded by the Home Synod of Constantinople (448) to anathematize all who do not confess two natures after the union. The truth was that Pope Dioscorus sought to fight Nestorianism by rejecting the phrase "two natures after the union" and Bishop Eusebius was urging Patriarch Flavian to fight Eutychianism by asserting the phrase "two natures after the union." Hence the misunderstanding occurred between the two sides, and had later developed into the Chalcedonian dispute.[19]

After examining the proceedings of the First Council of Ephesus in 431, and the Home Synod of Constantinople in 448, and reading a written confession of the Orthodox faith which Eutyches had (deceitfully) submitted to this Council, the Second Council of Ephesus in 449 condemned and deposed Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaem, and acquitted Eutyches and restored him to his clerical post.[20]

CONDEMNATION OF POPE DIOSCORUS AT CHALCEDON IN 451

In 451 the Council of Chalcedon was convened. The Council of Chalcedon, which is believed to have condemned Eutyches, did not deal with him but with Pope Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria. Eutyches himself was not present at the council. Scholars state that Pope Dioscorus was deprived of his office on procedural grounds and not on account of erroneous belief.[21] At Chalcedon, Pope Dioscorus strongly declared, "*If Eutyches holds notions disallowed by the doctrines of the Church, he deserves not only punishment but even fire. But my concern is for the catholic and apostolic faith, not for any man whomsoever*." [22] The evidence is sufficient for us to look for other reasons for his condemnation. Rome was annoyed by the extraordinary vitality and activity of the Church of Alexandria and its patriarch.[23]

As soon as the members of the council had assembled, the legates of Rome demanded that Pope Dioscorus be banished on account of the order of the bishop of Rome, whom they called, "the head of all churches." [24] When the imperial authorities asked for a charge to justify the demand, one of the legates said that he "dared to conduct a council without the authorization of the apostolic see, a thing which has never happened and which ought not to happen." [25] As a matter of fact, the Ecumenical Council of 381 had been held without the participation, not to say the authorization, of the bishop of Rome, and the Council of 553 against his wishes. It is evident that the legates intended by the words, "the head of all churches," to assert the claim of Rome of ecumenical supremacy over the church. [26]

It was labeled the council of robbers by Leo Pope of Rome, as a council which ignored Rome's authority, robbing its claim of supremacy, was not for Leo a church council but a meeting of robbers! The Council of Chalcedon, without even examining the issue, denounced the Council of 449, putting the entire responsibility for its decrees exclusively on Pope Dioscorus. Only one hundred and four years later, the decision, not of Chalcedon, but of the so called *lactrocinium* (i.e. 'Robber Council') was justified. The Council of Constantinople in 553 anathematized Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, and condemned their *Three Chapters*. [27]

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ANTIOCHIAN AND ALEXANDRIAN TRADITIONS

Pope Dioscorus, then, was not a heretic. The majority of the bishops who attended the Council of Chalcedon, as scholars indicate, believed that the traditional formula of faith "one incarnate nature of God the Word" was received from St Athanasius [and confirmed by St Cyril and the Council of Ephesus 431]. This belief is totally different from the Eutychian concept of the "single nature." The Alexandrian theology, as scholars confirm, was by no means docetic (δοκέω)[28] neither Apollinarian, as stated clearly.[29] It seems that the main problem of the Christological formula was the divergent interpretation of the issue between the Alexandrian and Antiochian theology. At Chalcedon, Pope Dioscorus refused to affirm the "in two natures" or "two natures exist" after the union but insisted upon the "one incarnate nature of God the

Word" or to say "from two natures." Evidently the two conflicting traditions had not discovered an agreed theological standpoint between them.[30]

The point of the dispute between Dioscorus and the Council of Chalcedon, then, was this: was Chalcedon justified in ignoring the theological tradition built up by Alexandrian fathers like St Cyril on the strength of the council of 431 and sanctioning the Antiochian phrase 'two natures after the union' merely on the authority of Pope Leo of Rome [i.e. the *Tome of Leo*]. [31]

The Church of Alexandria considered as central the Christological *mia physis* formula of St Cyril: "one nature of God the Word the Incarnate."[32] The Cyrillian formula was accepted by the Council of Ephesus in 431. It was neither nullified by the Reunion of 433, nor condemned at Chalcedon. On the contrary, it continued to be considered an orthodox formula.[33]

It is a fact that the phrase 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' has been defended by all the leaders of the non-Chalcedonian side. It is also clear that in so doing, they did not ignore the manhood of Christ. Pope Dioscorus, for instance, affirmed that Christ was one incarnate nature of God the Word, but he insisted at the same time that he was composed of Godhead and manhood, and that **in the one Christ the two natures continued without confusion or mixture on the one hand, and without division or separation on the other**. In other words, the one incarnate nature of God the Word was itself the result of the union of the two natures, which were irreducibly and indivisibly real in the one Christ. Therefore, the question of either nature being dismissed or ignored did not arise with reference to Pope Dioscorus.[34]

CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF THE SITUATION [35]

The non-Chalcedonian side had wished to discard Nestorianism by confirming the doctrine of the one nature of God the Word incarnate, of two natures without intermixing or fusion or change. The expression 'the one nature' is the truest expression on 'the natural union' which St Cyril had taught in his *Third Letter to Nestorius*, and which was approved by both the Council of Ephesus and the Council of Chalcedon.

The Chalcedonian side wished to discard Eutychianism by confirming the doctrine and expression of the two natures, non-separated, or non-partitioned, in order to affirm the continuance of the existence of the two natures and that they were not annihilated in the union, and to affirm the non-annihilation of the distinction in the attributes of the two natures due to the union.

Perhaps each of the two sides was complementary to the other in its expression of the one truth. For those who professed one incarnate nature of two natures had added "without mixture or change" in order to refute Eutychianism. And those who professed two natures added "without separation or partition" in order to refute Nestorianism. Both sides spoke of one truth that the Lord Jesus Christ is one divine-human being, i.e. they spoke of one being of two essences united in the one Christ.

Those who used the expression 'one incarnate nature' had meant to express the *state of existence*; those who used the expression 'two natures' had meant to express the *reality of the continuance of the existence of the two natures*.

In other words, some have spoken about the *state* of existence, and some have spoken about the *reality* of the existence, and because they both used the same word 'nature,' they clashed.

Those who meant the '**state of existence**' said "**one nature,**" and those who meant the '**reality of existence**' said "**two natures**." The proof is that both sides have together accepted that there can be no distinction between the two natures except in thought alone (Τῇ Θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ). This means that there can be no actual distinction between them in reality, but rather in imagination and contemplation. This does not mean abolishing the reality of their existence, but abolishing the state of their existence not in union. Unity is the truest expression of the 'natural union' (ἕνωσις φυσικη,) *enosis physiki*.

THE TERM 'MONOPHYSITES': A MODERN SCHOLARY APPELLATION

In his book *The Council of Chalcedon Re-examined*, VC Samuel quotes from WHC Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge, 1972, "*that the term 'monophysite' is a modern one, and that he uses it for the sake of convenience*." [36]

Since the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Chalcedonians have tried to make out that the rejection of the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome of Leo* with the phrase 'in two natures' by the non-Chalcedon side was the result of their adherence to the Monophysite heresy, and the west has considered their defense of the phrase 'one incarnate nature' as sufficient basis for characterizing them all along as Monophysite.[37]

'Eutychianism' or 'Monophysitism' is a distorted vision of the Alexandrian Christology. It should be stressed at the same time that neither St Cyril of Alexandria nor any of the recognized theologians and Church Fathers of the non-Chalcedonian side including St Dioscorus of Alexandria has ever been guilty of asserting it.[38]

Although the term 'monophysite' had not come to the knowledge of 6th century non-Chalcedonian theologians as having been applied to their theological tradition, St Severus had forestalled the possibility of its application to his section of the Church. This he does by reproducing time and again two passages from the writings of St Cyril of Alexandria. One of them as follows:

> *While affirming that the nature of the Word is one, had we satisfied ourselves by saying only that, without adding the 'incarnate' thereby keeping the dispensation as something unimportant, they would probably have had a basis, not without justification, to raise the question concerning the perfection of the manhood or how the fullness of the humanity and the signification of our ousia have been conserved? Since we have confessed the Word 'incarnate,' let them put away the cudgel which they have raised against us.* [39]

The phrase 'one nature' (μία φύσις), then is not to be used with reference to Christ without the 'incarnate.'[40] Therefore, the 'one' in the phrase is not a simple one; it is the one which includes the fullness of Godhead and manhood. Jesus Christ is not a 'single nature', but He is one '**composite nature**.' See *Hypostatic Union*, p. 71.

This idea is stated in unmistakable terms by St Cyril, whom St Severus quotes again and again: "*It is not merely with reference to those that are simple by nature that the word 'one' is employed, but it is used also with reference to those that have come into being in composition, for which man is a good example*." **The term 'one' in the 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' cannot legitimately be rendered as the *monos* of the *Monophysites***.[41]

ST CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA'S MIAPHYSIS

What then is the correct meaning of the formula of our common Father St Cyril, the Pillar of Faith? It is "*One incarnate nature of God the Logos (Word)* – μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ λογοῦ σεσαρκωμένη."

St Cyril writes in his letter to Succensus, Letter 46, paragraphs 6 and 7:

> *Those who pervert what is right" have not known that **there is in truth one incarnate nature of the Word**. For if there is one Son, who by nature and in truth is the Word of God the Father, the ineffably begotten of Him, who then according to an assumption of flesh, not without a soul but endowed with a rational soul, came forth a man from a woman, **he shall not be for this reason divided into two persons and two sons but he has remained one, yet not without flesh nor outside union**. He who says this does not in any way or in any manner signify confusion, or a blending, or anything else of such a kind, nor indeed will this follow as it from some necessary reasoning or other. **For even if it is stated by us that the Only-Begotten Son of God is one, incarnate and made man, He is not mixed together because of this, as it seems to them. The nature of the Word has not passed over into the nature of the flesh**. **Neither has the nature of the flesh passed over into the nature of the Word, but remaining and being considered in the propriety (ἰδιότης) according to the nature of each ineffably and inexplicably united**, in accordance with the reasoning just given by us, **this has shown forth for us the one phusis of the Son; but as I said, incarnate**.*
>
> *For not only in the case of those which are simple by nature is the term 'one' truly used, but also in respect to what has been brought together according to a synthesis, as man is one being, who is of soul and body. For soul and body are of different species and are not consubstantial to each other, but when united they produce one phusis (φύσις) of man, even though in considerations of the synthesis the difference exists according to the nature of those which have been brought together into unity. Accordingly they are speaking in vain who say that, if there should be one incarnate phusis of the Word, in every way and in every manner it would follow that a mixture and a confusion occurred as if lessening and taking away the nature of man. For neither has it been lessened, nor is it taken away, as the question says. For to say that He has been made flesh is sufficient for the most complete statement of His becoming man. For if there had been silence about this on part there would have been some room for their calumny. But since the statement that He was made flesh has been necessarily adduced, where is there a way of lessening or subtraction?*[42]

EFFORTS IN BRIDGING THE GAP DURING THE PAPACY OF POPE SHENOUDA III BY THE COPTIC ORTHODOX CHURCH AFTER CHALCEDON

DIALOGUES WITH THE CHALCEDONIAN CHURCHES

- In 1964, during the papacy of H.H Pope Cyril VI, a fresh dialogue began between the Chalcedonian and non Chalcedonian Orthodox Churches at Aarhus in Denmark. This was followed by meetings at Bristol in 1967, Geneva in 1970 and Addis Ababa in 1971. These were a series of non-official consultations which served as steps towards mutual understanding.

- The official consultation in which concrete steps were taken began in 1985 at Chambesy in Geneva. The second official consultation was held at the monastery of Saint Bishoy in Wadi-El-Natroun, in Egypt in June 1989. The outcome of this latter meeting was of historical dimensions, since in this meeting the two families of Orthodoxy were able to agree on a Christological formula, thus ending the controversy regarding Christology which has lasted more than fifteen centuries (see below).

- The Chalcedon and non-Chalcedonian sides in the Orthodox dialogue at St Bishoy's Monastery in Egypt in June 1989 reached an agreement. Both sides accepted the theological phraseology of the other, professing its orthodoxy. Both sides agreed that the Word of God, Himself, became perfect man, through incarnation, is co-essential to the Father according to His divinity, and co-essential to us according to His humanity – without sin. Also, that the union of natures in Christ is a natural, hypostatic, real and perfect union without fusion or intermixing or change or separation. That it is not possible to distinguish between the natures except in thought alone. That the Virgin Mary is 'Theotokos' (Θεοτόκος) with **anathematizing the teachings of both Nestorius and Eutyches and also the crypto-Nestorianism of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus**.[43]

- In September 1990, the two families of Orthodoxy signed an agreement on Christology, and recommendations were presented to the different Orthodox Churches, to lift the anathemas and enmity of the past, after revising the results of the dialogues. If both agreements are accepted by the various Orthodox Churches, the restoration of communion will be very easy at all levels, even as far as sharing one table in the Eucharist.[44]

WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

- In May 1978, H.H. Pope Shenouda III of Alexandria visited Pope Paul VI of Rome.[45] They signed a Common Declaration saying: "*We confess that our Lord and God and Savior and King of us all, Jesus Christ, is perfect God with respect to His divinity, perfect man with*

respect to His humanity. In Him His divinity is united with His humanity in a real, perfect union without mingling, without commixtion, without confusion, without alteration, without division, without separation." [46]

❖ At the Monastery of Saint Bishoy, February 12th, 1988 the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church signed an Agreed Statement on Christology: "*We believe that our Lord, God and Savior Jesus Christ, the Incarnate—Logos is perfect in His divinity and perfect in His humanity. He made His humanity One with His divinity without Mixture, nor Mingling, nor Confusion. His divinity was not separated from His humanity even for a moment or a twinkling of an eye. At the same time,* ***we anathematize the doctrines of both Nestorius and Eutyches***."

WITH THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN THE NETHERLANDS

❖ On September 13, 1994 the Oriental Orthodox signed an 'Agreed Statement on Christology' with the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. Quoted are selected parts of the agreement stating that, "*We confess our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God, perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity, consisting of a rational soul and a body, begotten of the Father before the ages according to His divinity, the Same, in the fullness of time, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, according to His humanity; the Same co-essential with the Father according to His divinity and co-essential with us according to His humanity. For a union has been made of two natures. 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 Theotokos, because God the Word became incarnate and was made human and from the very conception united to Himself the temple taken from her*." Also, "*Both sides agree in rejecting the teaching which separates or divides the human nature, both soul and body in Christ, from His divine nature or reduces the union of the natures to the level of conjoining. Both sides also agree in rejecting the teaching which confuses the human nature in Christ with the divine nature so that the former is absorbed in the latter and thus ceases to exist.*" [47]

WITH THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

❖ At the Anglican-Oriental Orthodox International Commission, Holy Etchmiadzin, Armenia, November 19, 2002, the Oriental Orthodox Churches in their 'Agreed Statement on Christology' with the Anglican Church states:

"*Both sides agree in rejecting the teaching which separates or divides the human nature, both soul and body in Christ, from his divine nature, or reduces the union of the natures to the level of conjoining and limiting the union to the union of persons thereby denying that the person of Jesus Christ is a single person of God the Word. "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever" (Hebrews 13:8 NRSV)* ***. Both sides also agree in rejecting the teaching which confuses the human nature in Christ with the divine nature so that the former is absorbed in the latter and thus ceases to exist. Consequently, we reject both the Nestorian and the Eutychian heresies***." [48]

[1] Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts 1996, p.186.
[2] WJ Perschbacher, ed., *The New Analytical Greek Lexicon*, Hendrickson Publishers, Massachusetts, 1996, p. 279.
[3] ibid., p.121.
[4] Thayer's, op. cit., p. 418.
[5] Liddel and Scott's, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, London, 1996, p.876.
[6] Metropolitan Bishoy, *A Documentary on the Nestorian Assyrian Church of the East*, The Diocese of Damiette, Kafr El Sheikh, and Barray The Monastery of St Demiana, Cairo, 2004, p. 79.
[7] WF Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh, T.&T. Clark, 1908, p. 124 quoted in VC Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*: *A Historical and Theological Survey*, The Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1977, p. xxi.
[8] Samuel, op. cit., p. xxi, states in footnote 21 that the writer of this particular section in the *Oxford Dictionary*, if he means the eastern churches which opposed the council of 451 held this view, does not seem to be right.
[9] JI Mc Enerny, trans., *The Fathers of the Church: vol 76: St Cyril of Alexandria: Letters 1-50*, CUA Press, Washington DC., 1987, pp.200-201.
[10] Samuel, op. cit., p.xxi.
[11] Fr MF Wahba, *Monophysitism: Reconsidered*: *A Speech Given at the 12th International Conference of Patristic Studies Oxford, England, August 25, 1995*, St Mary's Coptic Orthodox Church of Sacramento, California, 1995, p.13.
[12] Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, p. 17 quoted in Wahba, op. cit., p. 13.
[13] Malaty, *Christology*, p. 6 in Wahba, p. 13.
[14] ibid.
[15] See details on p. 216.
[16] Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 79.
[17] Samuel, op. cit., p. 16.
[18] Samuel, p. 22 in Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
[19] Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 81.
[20] ibid., p. 82.
[21] RV Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey*, SPCK., London, 1953, p. 30 in Wahba, op. cit., p. 9.
[22] *Acta Conciliorum Oecumeniocorum (A.C.O.)*, edited by E Schwartz, Strassburg, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1933, Tom. II, vol. I, p. 62 in Wahba, op. cit., p. 9.
[23] Metropolitan Methodios of Aksum, "Inter-Orthodox Theological Commission for the Dialogue with the Non-Chalcedonian Churches" in *Theological and Historical Studies: A Collection of Minor Works*, edited by Methodios Fouyas, Athens, 1985, p. 15; Fr. T.Y. Malaty, Christology, p. 10 in Wahba, op. cit., p. 9.
[24] *A.C.O.*, op. cit., p. 95 in Wahba, op. cit., p. 10.
[25] ibid.
[26] Wahba, op. cit., p 10.
[27] ibid, p. 11.
[28] From the Greek (δοκέω) meaning to think, suppose, imagine, expect, to seem, as opp. to reality (Liddel and Scott's, op. cit., p.207-208); a tendency which considered the humanity and sufferings of Christ as apparent, rather than real (Wahba, op. cit., p.12).
[29] Young, "A Reconsideration", p. 106, 114; "Christological Ideas in the Greek Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews," *Journal Theological Studies*, new series 20, (1069), p. 153).in Wahba, op. cit., p. 12.
[30] Samuel, op. cit., pp. 55, 79; Young, "Christological Ideas", pp. 150-163 in Wahba, op. cit., p. 12.
[31] Samuel, op. cit., p.186.
[32] J Lebon, *La Monophysisme Severien*, Louvain, 1909 for the dependence of the non-Chalcedonians on St Cyril in Wahba, op. cit., p. 12.
[33] Wahba, op. cit., pp.12-13.
[34] Samuel, op. cit., p.237.

[35] Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p. 88.
[36] Samuel, op. cit., p. xxi, 22f.
[37] ibid, p.236.
[38] ibid, p.293.
[39] *Contra Grammatictum*, II, pp. 110f in Samuel, op. cit., p. 242.
[40] See St Cyril's letter to Succensus, Letter 46, quoted on p. 226 of this chapter.
[41] Samuel, op. cit., p. 243.
[42] McEnerney, op. cit., pp.200-201.
[43] Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., pp. 89-90.
[44] Wahba, op. cit., p.15
[45]Commemorating 16 centuries of the departure of St Athanasius the Apostolic. On this occasion, Pope Paul VI gave Pope Shenouda III the relics of St Athanasius.
[46] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 65 (1973), p. 300; also Pope Shenouda III, *The Nature of Christ*, Cairo, 1985 in Wahba, op. cit., p. 5.
[47] *Al-Qararrat Al-Magm 'eya fee 'Aahd Qadasat Al-Baba Shenouda Al-Thaleth* (Synodal Decisions in the Era of His Holiness Pope Shenouda III), (Arabic), Secretariat of the Holy Synod of the Coptic Orthodox Church, Cairo, 2001, pp.202, 203.
[48] Metropolitan Bishoy, op. cit., p.123.

MAIN WRITERS AND WRITINGS OF EGYPTIAN MONASTICISM

The work of St Athanasius "*Vita Antonii*," the writings of pilgrimages, such as St John Cassian, Palladius and St Jerome; the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (the Sayings of the Fathers), the writings of some leaders of the monks, such as that of St Isaac of Nineveh, uncover the ascetic life in the early Church, as an evangelical life which touches the heart of the believer to enjoy the inner kingdom of God and to prepare his soul as a heavenly bride. They elevate his mind and soul to experience the pledge of the eschatological life.

FATHER	BIOGRAPHY	WRITINGS AND THOUGHTS
1 **ST ANTHONY** THE PATRIARCH (FATHER) OF THE MONASTIC FAMILY b. ca. 251 d. 356	❖ He was born in Coma (Kemn-el-Arouse) in Middle Egypt. ❖ He was about eighteen years of age when his parents died, leaving him guardian of his sister, Dious. About six months later (in ca. 269) when he entered the church he was struck by the reading of the Gospel, "If you would be perfect, go sell all you have, give to the poor and come, follow me" (Matt. 19:21). ❖ He sold about 300 acres of fertile land, gave most of it to the poor keeping back only a little for his sister. Placing his sister in the charge of a community of virgins, he was now free to devote his life to asceticism under the guidance of a holy man living near Coma. ❖ In ca. 285, St Anthony left to strike out on his own in the Western Desert, and took shelter in an abandoned tomb carved in the side of a mountain. An obliging friend locked him in an empty vault and brought him bread from time to time. In his solitude he was fighting off the temptations of the flesh and the attacks of demons. ❖ He was about thirty when he left this retreat to move to the east bank of the Nile to the "Outer Mountain" at Pispir, where he lived in complete solitude. ❖ After about twenty years (ca. 305), his reputation attracted followers who settled near him, and wished to copy his holy life. They broke down the door of his retreat and St Anthony	**Among the Philosophers** ❖ Once two philosophers came to him, thinking they could test him. When he met them, he said through an interpreter: "Why, philosophers, have you gone to so much trouble to come to a foolish man?" When they said that he was not foolish, but very wise, he said to them: "*If you come to a foolish man, your trouble is to no purpose: and if you think that I am wise, make yourselves what I am, for one ought to imitate the good...I am a Christian.*" ❖ A philosopher asked him: "Father, how do you hold up deprived as you are of the solace of books?" "*My book, philosopher, is nature and thus, I can read God's language at will*." **Writings** **1. Letters** He carried on a correspondence with monks as well as with emperors and high officials. a. St Athanasius states that the fame of St Anthony reached emperors, for when Constantine and his sons Constantius and Constans heard about these things, they wrote frequently to him as to a father

	became their leader, teaching them constantly by word and example the ascetic life. Five years later, he again retired into solitude in the Inner Mountain (Mount Qolzum). ❖ Anchoritism did not make St Anthony a contemplative unconcerned with the fate of his brothers; it made him a spiritual father beyond all others. Thus he was obliged to visit Alexandria during the persecution against Christians, engineered by Maximin Daja in 316, ministering to the confessors in the prisons. ❖ Again he visited Alexandria to support Pope Athananius against Arianism in 352. Pagans and Christians alike rushed out to greet the holy old man. ❖ From many parts of the world people came to him, seeking cures of the body, mind and soul. ❖ He died at the age of 105. ❖ According to St Athanasius, St Anthony was a man of "divine wisdom" of grace and urbanity, although he never learned to read or write. ❖ Saint Anthony said, "*Always have the fear of God before your eyes. Remember him who gives death and life. Hate the world and all that is in it. Hate all peace that comes from the flesh. Renounce this life, so that you may be alive to God, for it will be required of you on the day of judgment*." [1] ❖ He also said to Abba Poemen, "*This is the great work of a man: always to take blame of his own sins before God and to expect temptation to his last breath*." [2]	and begged him to write back. However, he did not make much of the documents nor did he rejoice over the letters. b. He also wrote a letter to Balakius, an imperial officer, who bitterly persecuted Christians because of his zeal on behalf of the detestable Arians. And since he was so barbaric as to beat virgins and strip and flog monks. St Anthony wrote: "*I see wrath coming upon you. Cease, therefore, persecuting Christians, lest the wrath overtake you, for it is even so imminent*." c. Seven other letters addressed to various monasteries in Egypt survive in versions. d. A short but interesting letter addressed to the archimandrite Theodore and his monks reports of a private revelation regarding the forgiveness of sins committed after Baptism. It is reproduced by bishop Amoun, a contemporary of St Athanasius. **2. Sermons** ❖ There is a collection of twenty Sermons *ad fillios suos monachos* and one *Sermo de vanitate mundi et resurrectione mortuorunl* extant in Latin. None of these seem to be genuine. The only discourse of St Anthony which we possess is found in his biography.
2 ST AMOUN (AMMONAS) b. ca. 275	❖ He was the first of the monks to settle in Nitria. ❖ He established a monastery in the village of *Nitria*, where thousands of his disciples lived under the communal order, which was close to the coenobitic order. Hundreds of them - after a period of training in this monastery - passed to *Cellia* to live as hermits. In other words he embraced two orders of	❖ Palladius as an eye-witness gives us a brief description of Amoun's order in Nitria and Cellia, saying: "On the mountain live some 5000 men with different modes of life each living in accordance with his own powers and wishes, so that it is allowed to live alone, or with another, or

	monasticism the communal or coenobitic and the anchoretic. This is in marked contrast with the ideal of St Pachomius, or St Basil, for whom coenobitism is a lifelong vocation. ❖ He was of noble birth, and because his parents were exceedingly rich, they constrained him to marry when he was a young man of about 22 years (297). But in the wedding chamber he persuaded the maiden who was now his bride to keep her virginity, and promised to do likewise. A few days later, he went out and settled in the inner part of the mountain of *Nitria*, where he built himself two domed cells**,** coming back to visit his blessed wife twice a year. The maiden herself, exhorted all of her household to live in virginity and converted her house into a nunnery. ❖ Disciples joined him and he became their leader. ❖ Amoun's settlement was on the edge of the Western Desert where it forms a low promontory northward into the Delta near the village of Pernoud or ***Nitria***, and about nine miles south-west of the town of Damanhour (Hermopolis Parva). ❖ According to St Anthony's advice, the second Nitrian settlement of the ***Cells*** or ***Cellia*** was founded for those who wanted more complete solitude, where some six hundred anchorites had their own priest and church. ❖ He died aged 62.	with a number of others…There are eight priests who serve the church so long as the senior priest lives, no one else celebrates, or preaches, or hears confessions, but they all just sit quietly by his side." ❖ In spite of the thousands of monks who abode in Nitria under St Amoun's guidance, he did not gain the same fame of St Anthony Perhaps because his monastic rule was between anchorism and cenobitism. ❖ Abba Ammonas was asked, "What is the narrow and hard way?" (Matt 7:14). He replied, "*The "narrow and hard way" is this, to control your thoughts, and to strip yourself of your own will, for the sake of God*." ❖ He also said, "*Go make your thoughts like those of the evildoers who are in prison. For they are always asking when the magistrate will come, awaiting him in anxiety. Even so the monk ought to give himself at all times to accusing his own soul saying, "Unhappy wretch that I am. How shall I stand before the judgment seat of Christ? What shall I say to him in my defense?" If you give yourself continually to this, you may be saved.*" [3]
3 ST PACHOMIUS Born: ca. 290 Died: 346	❖ St Pachomius was born in Upper Egypt, of pagan parents, but he hated paganism from his boyhood. ❖ The Roman Emperor, Maximin, ordered the prefect of Egypt to send some of the troops based in Egypt to put an end to a revolt in Ethiopia. The troops were selected, among them was Pachomius. On their way, they had to stop at Latopolis (Esna) in Upper Egypt. There, Pachomius was impressed by the love	**Pachomian Rules** Palladius refers to the rules that were inscribed upon a brass tablet: ❖ Each man to eat and drink according to his strength. ❖ Let three dwell in each cell. ❖ Let them wear at night linen" lebitons (a

	of the natives, and he was told that Christians were merciful to all men, even to their enemies. Before reaching Ethiopia, the revolt was quelled. Back in "Chenoboskion" he was baptized (about 307) after spending some time as a catechumen. ❖ St Pachomius spent three years moving among villages, helping the needy and the afflicted. ❖ He became a disciple of St Palaemon, the hermit, who lived in Kasr-El-Sayad. Under his guidance, St Pachomius practiced a severe order of asceticism. He was sad as many believers longed for this way of life but could not practice it. ❖ One day while he had wandered far in search of wood, an angel appeared to him and gave him the rules of the cenobitic order inscribed upon a brass tablet. These rules could be observed even by ordinary Christians. ❖ St Palaemon who was very pleased, saying that it was God's will that a monastery would be established with this order, blessed him, helped him to build a little lodge then went back to his own place, declaring his sincere desire to help him in establishing this new order. ❖ By 315 St Pachomius had a small group of disciples, who would eventually number in the thousands. When Tabennesis proved too small for the growing number of monks, St Pachomius found it necessary to start other communities, beginning at nearby Phbow. ❖ St Pachomius preferred to invite priests of the neighboring churches to celebrate the liturgies of Eucharist so that no monk would seek ordination. Even if a priest wished to be a monk he did not perform the priestly duties. ❖ As a military man, St Pachomius was firm, but he obeyed the rules more than he gave orders to others. ❖ St Pachomius was granted by grace to heal the sick, exorcise evil spirits, prophesy, see visions, know the secrets of the monks, and see the souls of the departed rising to Paradise.	sleeveless garment) and a girdle. ❖ The whole community was to be divided into 24 sections, each of which was to be distinguished by one of the letters of the Greek alphabet, so that each might have a cognomen fitting to the grade of his conduct and habit. ❖ A stranger of another monastery which has a different rule is not to eat with them, nor drink, nor enter into the monastery, unless he happens to be on a (genuine) journey. **Other Pachomian Rules** ❖ The neophyte remained for a probationary period from one to three years, in which he had to prove the seriousness of his intention before acceptance. ❖ Food was offered twice a day, at noon and at night. ❖ Work was compulsory even for the abbots of the monasteries. ❖ They prayed together thrice a day: in the morning, at noon, and at night. ❖ Monks lived in common with no private property and avoided contact with women. ❖ St Pachomius stressed obedience as essential to the cenobitic life. ❖ Every monastery had its local administration subjected to the local abbot, who had an assistant, store-man and librarian. Also foreigners had their own supervisor of their own nationality. ❖ Every three or four monasteries lying near to one another were united in a clan, with a president elected from among their abbots, and the monks met periodically to discuss their local problems. The clans were united under a superior-general, who was head of the principal monastery.

	St Pachomius' Rule in the World ❖ St Pachomius' Rule was the prototype of eastern and western monastic rules. Originally in Coptic, it was translated into Greek, then Latin, by St Jerome in 404-5. St Basil used it. It influenced the "*Regula Vigilli* (Gaul 5th century) and the "*Regula Tarnatensis*" (6th or 7th century). Benedict and Caesarius of Arles knew it. ❖ It played a large part in the spread of coenobitism in Ethiopia, Rome, Palestine, Asia Minor and Gaul. ❖ St Pachomius said, *Let us weep for ourselves whilst we still have the time, so that when our departure cometh nigh we may not be found asking God for more time wherein to repent. A wretched thing is that soul, and greatly to be blamed, which hath left the world, but which had not dedicated itself to God, and which had not lived worthily of its promise. Let us not then, O my brethren, allow this world, which is a small and contemptible thing, and which resembleth a fleeting shadow, to steal away from us blessed and immortal life.* [4]	❖ The central administration was held in the chief monastery in Tabennesi, and then transferred to Phbow. ❖ Supervision of other monasteries took two forms: a. The visit of the superior-general to the monasteries. b. Two general assembles were held yearly in the chief monastery. ❖ Sick monks and visitors were subject to certain rules. ❖ Monks were to keep away from contact with the world, although they were allowed to visit a sick parent or attend a funeral if accompanied by a companion. Some monks were allowed to sell the products of the monastery in the town and sometimes went all the way to Alexandria by boat.
4 **HORSIESIOS**	❖ Before St Pachomius died he appointed Petronios to be his successor. The latter lived only two months. Under Horsiesios (ca. 380) who then assumed the leadership, the monastic corporation greatly increased. ❖ In 350, when difficulties arose within the organization he resigned and appointed St Theodore in his place to reestablish peace and order. ❖ After St Theodore's death in April 368, St Athanasius wrote to Horsiesios saying: *Theodore is not dead but asleep in a good repose in the Lord. I am writing this to all of you in common, and especially to you, my dear and beloved Abba Horsiesios, so that now that he is asleep, you may accept the whole*	❖ St Jerome's version of the Rule of Pachomius remains as an appendix to a treatise by Horsiesios entitled *Doctrina de institutione monachorum*, which testifies to his high religious and monastic ideals. In 56 chapters he instructs his monks on their duties so thoroughly, that this document gives more insight into the spirit the Pachomian creation than the Rule of the founder. The final section indicates that Horsiesios composed it shortly before his death. For this reason Gennadius (*De vir. ill*. 9) refers to it as his testament. ❖ Horsiesios said, "*I think that if a man does not guard his heart well he will forget all those things*

	care and take his place among the beloved [brothers]. For when Theodore was alive, you two were as one man. [7] ❖ Horsiesios once again became the father of the *Koinonia*. ❖ W. E. Crum and A. Ehrhard published a letter of St Theophilus of Alexandria to Horsiesios with very interesting details about the liturgy of Holy Week at Alexandria and a report about Horsiesios' participation in the celebration of the Feast of the Christian Pasch at the Egyptian metropolis. ❖ W. Hengstenberg does not agree with A. Ehrhard in thinking the letter to Horsiesios is genuine.	*he heard. Then, because if his negligence, the enemy will overpower him and cast him down.*" [5] ❖ He also said to the brethren, "*When you pray, accuse yourself frequently, saying, 'Lord, blessed God, why have I lived all this time in ignorance of You? From childhood, I have not known that it is You who fashioned me in my mother's womb, and that my life- breath was in Your hands without my knowing it. Then you will ask him straightway what his whole will is, that He may grant that you may fulfill it.*" [6]
5 **ST** **THEODORE** d. 368	❖ St Horsiesios' successor St Theodore, was a person of outstanding achievements that won him the admiration of his contemporaries. ❖ He was born into a prominent family. ❖ When he was twelve he gave himself up to great abstinence eating no other food than that which is customary for monks to take; he used to fast until evening every day, and at times, only ate every second day. ❖ At the age of fourteen, he left his home and city and went to a monastery and led the anchoritic life with some pious old monks. ❖ He remained there for six years, and then at the age of twenty he went north with Abba Pecos to St Pachomius. ❖ He succeeded in settling the revolt which threatened to ruin the Pachomian organization. ❖ Several new monasteries were founded by him. ❖ He died after having ruled for eighteen years. On that occasion St Athanasius addressed a letter to Horsiesios begging him to reassume full leadership. It testifies to the high esteem which St Theodore enjoyed.	❖ St Evagrius of Pontus wrote of St Theodore: One of the monks asked St Theodore, "Holy father, why do I get angry as soon as a harsh word is spoken to me?" He replied, "*The man of God may be thought of as a vine. When someone picks its fruit and presses it, it yields nothing but sweet wine. That is, if one of the faithful is seized by a thought, he produces only the sweetness of the word of God written in the scriptures. A carnal and angry man, on the other hand, produces only bitterness and words which are unprofitable for the faithful men who submit patiently to everything which comes upon them from God.*" [8] St Theodore wrote: "*We know then for certain that His Spirit will dwell in us and will give us power. Let us not become discouraged, neither let us think that any human image will provide us with consolation…only God's bounty endures… Let us therefore, lean upon the Lord.*" [9]

6 **ST MACARIUS** **THE ALEXANDRIAN** b. ca. 295 d. ca. 394	❖ A contemporary of the St Macarius the Egyptian. ❖ Although he seems to have possessed the gifts of prophecy and healing and power over the demons in a still higher degree, posterity has paid less attention to him than to his namesake as is evident from the few *Apophthegmata* or *'Sayings of the Fathers'* dealing with him. ❖ About the year 335 he established himself in the desert of Cellia τὰ κέλλια not far from Nitria, where he was priest and superior. ❖ It was at Cellia that Palladius, the author of the Lausiac History, who admits that he never saw Macarius the Egyptian, met the Alexandrian three years before his death. He tells of his heroic asceticism and that he was a priest. ❖ For a time he must have been in charge of a monastic colony in Nitria. ❖ He died, almost a hundred years old. ❖ St Evagrius wrote: "Once I visited St Macarius at noon… Then, as I was telling him of my difficulties in practicing self-restraint, he said: '*Take heart my son; for during the whole of twenty years I have never had my fill of bread, water or sleep; but I have carefully measured my bread and water, and snatched some sleep by leaning a little against the wall.*' " [11]	❖ Palladius does not mention any of his works, and it seems that he wrote nothing. ❖ At any rate, the three sayings (MG 34, 261-263), the *Sermo S. Macarii Alexandrini de exitu statuque animarum post hanc vitae* (MG 34, 385-392) and the two monastic rules *S. Macarii Alexandrini ablates Nitrienais regula ad monachos* (MG 34, 967-970) and *S. Serapionis, Macarii, Paphnatii et altering Macarii regula ad monachos'* (MG 34, 971-978) are not authentic. ❖ St Macarius the Alexandrian strove with his soul and with Satan saying to himself, "*What dost thou wish for, O thou wicked old man? Behold thou hast eaten oil, and thou hast drunk wine, what more dost thou wish for?*…And he was reviling himself. And he said unto Satan, "*I cannot conquer thee in any wise, and thou art not able to do anything unto me; get thee gone from me*." And again he said to himself, "*How long shall I be with thee?*" [10]
7 **ST MACARIUS** **THE GREAT** b. ca. 330 – d. ca. 390	❖ The founder of monasticism in the desert of Scetis. ❖ He was loved by the priests and the people of his village, was ordained a Reader. ❖ His parents obliged him to marry, as they hoped that he would be ordained a priest. After the wedding ceremony had been performed he feigned illness, asking his father to accompany the camel-drivers who used to bring *natron* from Wadi el-Natroun. God sent him a Cherub, who accompanied him almost all his life. On his return to his village he found his virgin wife had a fever, and then she died.	❖ Neither Palladius nor Rufinus know of any literary works of St Macarius but later manuscripts attribute quite a number of writings to him, such as sayings, letters, prayers, homilies and treatises. ❖ Some scholars say that St Macarius is not the real author of the famous fifty-seven *Spiritual Homilies* attributed to him. The homilies of St Macarius the Egyptian, is preserved in the Syriac MS and *12175* in the British Museum.

	❖ He started his ascetic career in a village, and then moved to another village to escape ordination into the clergy. There he was falsely blamed for the pregnancy of a girl and he did not defend himself. When he was cleared, he fled and came to Scetis. ❖ He was greatly influenced by St Anthony the Great and visited him at least twice. ❖ His original settlement is thought to have been somewhere in the region of the surviving *DeirEl Baramous* (Monastery of the Roman Brothers) towards the western end of the valley. As numbers increased, he seemed to have moved to slightly higher ground beyond a low ridge at the eastern end, near the monastery that now bears his name. ❖ By Cassian's time there were four congregations in Scetis of which the third is now represented by the twin monasteries of Abbot Pishoy and of the 'Syrians' (Monastery of the Virgin Mary) while the fourth, that of St John the Short, has been deserted for a number of centuries, though its site is known. ❖ Even in the desert of Scetis, St Macarius used to flee from the crowd of people. Palladius tells us that he made a tunnel running under the ground from his cell for half a stade and finished it off at the end with a cave. ❖ He was said to be in a continual ecstasy and to spend a far longer time with God than with things earthly. ❖ At an advanced age he was exiled to an island in the Nile by the Arian Bishop Lucius, who felt authorized to do so by an edict of Emperor Valens.	❖ These homilies have a pre-eminent position in the history of early Christian mysticism and have proved a source of inspiration to modern mystics. ❖ Some of his sayings are preserved in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. ❖ Abba Macarius said to the brothers at Scetis when he dismissed the assembly, "*Flee, my brothers*." One of the old men asked him, "Where could we flee to beyond this desert?" He put his finger in his lips and said, "*Flee that,*" and he went into his cell, shut the door and sat down. [12] ❖ Abba Macarius also said, "*If slander has become to you the same as praise, poverty as riches, deprivation as abundance, you will not die. Indeed it is impossible for anyone who firmly believes, who labors with devotion, to fall into the impurity of the passions and be led astray by the demons*." [13]
8 EVAGRIUS OF PONTUS	❖ A disciple of the two Macarii was Evagrius (Socrates, *Hist. eccl*. 4, 23), surnamed Ponticus, because he was born at lbora in Pontus. ❖ He was ordained reader by St Basil the Great and deacon by St Gregory of Nazianzus. He accompanied the latter at the	❖ Evagrius is one of the first monks to have written numerous and comprehensive works that were of great influence in the history of Christian piety. ❖ He is in fact the founder of monastic mysticism and one of the most fertile and interesting

b. 345-6 d. 399	Council of Constantinople (381) and "*since he was skilled in argument against all heresies*" (*Hist. Laus*. 38, 2) he remained with Nectarius, the patriarch of that city, in which he soon "*flourished, speaking with youthful zeal against every heresy*." ❖ When dangers threatened his soul and temptations his virtue, he left the capital and went to Jerusalem where he was received by Melania, the Roman lady, and shortly afterwards in about 382, to Egypt. ❖ He exiled himself for two years in the mountains of Nitria and then entered the desert to live for fourteen years in Cellia. It was here that he became acquainted with the Macarii so that he emulated their course of conduct. ❖ He earned his livelihood by writing, "*since he wrote the Oxyrhynchus characters excellently,*" according to Palladius (*Hist. Laus*. 38, 10), who was one of his disciples. ❖ When St Theophilus of Alexandria wished to make him a bishop, he refused. ❖ Abba Evagrius said, "*Restrain yourself from affection towards many people, for fear lest your spirit be distracted, so that your interior peace may not be disturbed*." He also said: "*Always keep your death in mind and do not forget the eternal judgment, then there will be no fault in your soul*." [14] ❖ In his *Chapters On Prayer* Evagrius wrote: *Prayer is the flower of gentleness and of freedom from anger. Prayer is the fruit of joy and thankfulness. Prayer is the remedy for gloom and despondency. Go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and take up your cross so that you can pray without distraction. If you wish to pray worthily, deny yourself every hour. Playing the part of a wise man, study and work very hard to learn to endure much for the sake of prayer…Prayer is an ascent of the spirit to God. If you long for prayer, renounce all to gain all.* [15]	spiritual author of the Egyptian desert. ❖ The monks of East and West alike studied his writings as classical documents and invaluable textbooks. ❖ Recent investigations have shown that his ideas live on not only in Palladius but also in the Byzantine writers John Climacus, Hesychius, Maximus Confessor, Nicetas Stethatos down to the Hesychasts, in the Syrian authors Philoxenus of Mabbug, Isaac of Ninevah, John Bar Caldun up to Barhebraeus, and in the West in John Cassian. In fact, the great Oriental School of Evagrian mysticism reaches from to the 15th to the 20th century. ❖ Except for small fragments, the original Greek text of his treatises has been lost: owing to the fact that the 5th (553) and the following councils condemned him as an Origenist. ❖ Some of his works are extant in Latin translations prepared by Rufinus (Jerome, Ep. 133, 3) and Gennadius (*De vir. ill.* I I), and others in Syriac and Armenian, Arabic and Ethiopian versions. ❖ Some, too, have been found among the publications of others, like St Basil the Great and Nilus of Ancyra. ❖ His most famous works are the *Praktikos* and the 153 *Chapters on Prayer.* ❖ He wrote an *Outline Teaching on Asceticism and Stillness in the Solitary Life*, as well as *Texts On Discrimination*, and *On Watchfulness*.

9 **ST** **PAPHNUTIUS**	❖ St Paphnutius was born early in the 4th century. ❖ He was influenced by St Anthony the great and became a disciple of Isidore and of St Macarius. ❖ He was trained first in a cenobitic monastery, then became a solitary. ❖ He was nicknamed 'Bubalus' or 'Bubalis,' the 'wild ox' or 'buffalo' for his love of solitude. ❖ ca. 373 he succeeded Isidore as priest of the primary community of Scetis, and after the death of St Macarius ca. 390 became 'father of Scetis.' ❖ When St John Cassian visited Egypt, Paphnutius was the head of the four monasteries of the desert. [17]	❖ Abba Paphnutius said, "*When I was walking along the road, I happened to lose my way and found myself near a village and I saw some people who were talking about evil things. So I stood still, praying for my sins. Then behold an angel came, holding a sword and he said to me, 'Paphnutius, all those who judge their brothers perish by the sword, but because you have not judged, but have humbled yourself before God, saying that you have sinned, your name is written in the book of the living!' "* [16]
10 **PALLADIUS** b. ca. 365 d. ca. 425	❖ The most outstanding historian of Egyptian monasticism and a pupil of Evagrius Ponticus. ❖ Born in Galatia, he received a thorough education in the classics. ❖ In 388 he went to Egypt to become acquainted with the hermits. After a year at Alexandria the priest Isidore who gave him the first introduction to the ascetic life, handed him over to the Theban hermit Dorotheus in the so-called Solitudes five miles away from the city in order to complete there a kind of novitiate. ❖ Being unable to finish the three years owing to a breakdown in health, he went on in 390 to Nitria and then to Cellia, where he spent nine years, first with Macarius and then with Evagrius. The latter had a lasting influence on him. ❖ When he fell ill again, the doctors advised him to betake himself to Palestine in search of a better climate. ❖ About 400 he was consecrated bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia and soon became involved in the Origenistic controversies. ❖ In 405 he traveled to Rome to plead the cause of St John	**1. Historia Lausiaca** His greatest work is entitled the *Lausiac History* after Lausus, chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II, to whom he dedicated it. Composed in 419/420, it gives a description of the monastic movement in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor in the 4th century and therefore represents an extremely important source for the history of early monasticism. **2. Dialogus de vita S. Joannis** About the year 408, while in exile at Syene, Palladius composed his famous *Dialogue on the Life of St John Chrysostom*, which is the most important biographical source for the later years of the Saint. For him Theophilus, the pope of Alexandria, was his worst enemy he disfigured his biography. **3. On the People of India and the Brahmins** A small treatise preserved under the name of Palladius, consists of four parts, of which only the

	Chrysostom. The following year the Emperor Arcadius exiled him to Upper Egypt. When in 412-413 he was permitted to leave Egypt, he became bishop of Aspuna in Galatia. ❖ Palladius said, "*those who imagine that they have no need of teachers , and who will not be convinced by those who teach them things of good, are sick with the want of the knowledge which is the mother and producer of pride*." [18]	first seems to be from his pen. It gives an account of the experiences of an Egyptian scholar on his journey to India. The second and third parts are perhaps by the historian Arian; the fourth by an unknown Christian author. The second and fourth contain an address delivered by Dadamis, the third a report of a meeting between Alexander the Great and the Brahmins.
11 ST ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM d. ca. 435	❖ Born at Alexandria and commonly believed to have been an abbot of a mountain monastery near Pelusium in Egypt. St Severus of Antioch calls him "a priest, correct in faith, full of divine wisdom and biblical knowledge." ❖ His letters prove that he led a monastic life and enjoyed a great reputation among the ascetics so that he might be called a father of the monks, but hardly a head of a cenobium. ❖ He defends the ecclesiastical Christology against the different heresies on many occasions. St Isidore maintains first of all the divinity of Christ against the Arians and refutes them by a careful, literal interpretation of Holy Scripture. Also he defends the true humanity of Christ against the Manichaeans. He rejects a mixture as well as a separation of the two natures in Christ. ❖ Abba Isidore said, "*To live without speaking is better than to speak without living. For the former who lives rightly does good even by his silence but the latter does no good even when he speaks*." [20]	**1. Letters** ❖ St Isidore's correspondence reveals indeed an outstanding personality with a classical education and excellent theological training. ❖ His main source is Holy Bible, but he knows the early Christian writers too. ❖ Some of his letters are taken almost word for word from St Clement of Alexandria. ❖ The two thousand epistles which have been preserved are enough to make St lsidore's correspondence unique in the patristic period. **2. Lost Writings** ❖ He mentions occasionally in his letters two treatises he composed. ❖ Twice he refers to a tract *Against the Greeks* and once to a work *On the non-existence of Fate*. ❖ **He also said, "*Prize the virtues and do not be the slave of glory; for the former are immortal, while the latter soon fades*." [19]**
12 ST SHENOUTE	❖ St Shenoute, next to St Pachomius, was the most important representative of Egyptian cenobitism. ❖ He was an Abbot of the famous White Monastery of Atripe in the desert of Thebes for more than 65 years (383-451 or 466).	❖ St Shenoute is the most outstanding Christian writer in Coptic. ❖ According to Besa, he left a great number of letters and sermons, most of the former -

OF ATRIPE	He governed over 2200 monks and 1800 nuns, as St Besa his disciple and successor informs us. ❖ He is called "Archimandrite," i.e. "the Head of Anchorites," for he used to practice the eremitic life from time to time, and encouraged some of his monks to withdraw to the desert after a few years of cenobitic life, without completely severing connections with the monastery. ❖ St Shenoute was born in Shenlala, a village near Akhmim in Upper Egypt. Before he was ten years old, his righteous parents asked their shepherds to teach him how to take care of the sheep and sent him back home before nightfall. The boy used to give his food to some shepherds and spend all his day in fasting, then he returned with one of the shepherds halfway home. Then his father discovered that he left with the shepherds early everyday but he returned late at night, he followed him secretly to see him standing near a well in the road praying for a long time. The next day he accompanied his son not to the shepherds but to his uncle Pegol, founder of the White Monastery. ❖ In the White Monastery, St Shenoute's father asked Abbot Pegol to bless the boy, but the abbot held the boy's hand, put it on his head, saying, "I am in need of this boy's blessing for he is a chosen vessel of Christ who will serve Him faithfully all his life." ❖ In 371, St Shenoute entered the monastery and in 383, he succeeded his uncle Pegol as abbot of the White Monastery, setting out a very firm order of monasticism. ❖ St Shenoute lived in one of the most critical times in Egyptian history, when a great gulf was created between the Egyptian and Byzantine people. The Egyptian peasants lived almost as slaves, worked hard to the advantage of the Byzantine tyrant rulers or the aristocratic class. ❖ In spite of his great zeal to practice the eremitic life he had taken himself over to plead for the oppressed in the courts, and	addressed to monks and nuns - deal with monastic questions, others combat the practices of pagans and heretics. ❖ His sermons are spirited and predominantly eschatological in character. ❖ In addition, several apocalypses and visions are attributed to him. ❖ He is considered the father of Coptic literature. Everything that he wrote, which is still available today, was copied in the White Monastery but is now divided among more than twenty libraries throughout the world. ❖ St Shenoute wrote: *Brethren if we want to escape God's punishment and find mercy in his eyes, let us sit every evening alone by ourselves and search our souls for what we presented our guardian angel to offer to the Lord…Not that God is unaware of what we have done, heavens forbid. He is more knowledgeable about it, as is written; the eyes of the Lord are watching those who commit evil and good at all times. Rather, the angels are servants installed by the Creator of the universe for those who will inherit the salvation.* [21] ❖ To explain that the One (God) who could form humankind at all out of earth could not be incapable of building His temple, the holy body, as he wanted it, in the womb of the one (St Mary) he praised more than all women on earth, St Shenoute wrote: *Where could the earth [without the power of the Creator] find hand, foot, bodily shape,*

if he failed he would write to the emperor himself.

- When some thousand people were captured by the Blemye invaders of Upper Egypt, he met the leaders of those invaders and convinced them to take the spoils and leave the captured people. He opened his monastery to those captured people to settle there for three months.
- He used to explain to them the Holy Scriptures giving special interest in uprooting heathen custom.

- In 431, St Cyril of Alexandria called St Shenoute to accompany him at the ecumenical Council of Ephesus. St Shenoute supported the Alexandrian Christological position and rejected the teachings of Nestorius.
- St Shenoute did not die before 451, since he is supposed to have reached 118 years of age; he could have lived until 466.

- Nevertheless, his name is absent from European literature of the time concerning the "Fathers of the Desert," because of the following reasons:
  1. He started a deliberate movement to purge Coptic literature of every element of the Hellenic culture. Nobody was permitted to speak Greek in his monasteries; and in his preaching and writings he used only the Sahidic Coptic language. For many centuries no western father wished to translate any of his works.
  2. Contrary to other Egyptian monastic orders all his monks were of purely Coptic origin. No foreign person could be admitted to his communities.

corporeality, head, shining hair, bright eyes, hearing ears, speaking mouth and tongue, sniffing nose, bones, flesh, nerves and all other marvelous members? All the more is this also the case for that One whom He loves, for that One whom He let become reality in Mary's womb. 'According to an economy' she is His mother, but according to the highest divinity [i.e., in regard to Christ as God] she is His maid. [22]

- St Shenoute's disciple, Abba Besa, wrote of him:

He was always so zealous in his labors, he was a teacher of all…He bore Christ, persevering in the recitation of the Scriptures and, as a consequence, his renown and his teachings were sweet in everyone's mouth, like honey to the heart of those who seek to love eternal life. He would deliver many expositions and discourses full of holy precepts; he established rules for the monks and [wrote] letters, and brought both fear and comfort to the souls of men…He adorned his life gloriously with the perfection of monastic labors, great asceticism, and a multitude of [ascetic] practices…Of those who came to him he used to know all that they had thought and done. He would therefore pray for them all, so that they might be saved and find mercy at the tribunal of Christ. [23]

13 **ABBESS** **ST SARAH**	❖ Many abbesses were bestowed with the grace of true leadership and spiritual discernment. They guided many nuns and sometimes gave counsel to them as well as to monks. Some of their sayings were treasured by the desert fathers. One of those abbesses was St Sarah, she lived in Pelusium, and her sayings were mentioned in the "***Apophthegmata***," from which are quoted the following texts: ❖ It was said about Abbess Sarah that for thirteen years she was fiercely attacked by the demon of lust; and she never prayed deeply that the battle should cease, but all that she used to ask of God was, "*O God, grant me strength!*" ❖ Once the same spirit of lust attacked her more insistently, reminding her of the vanities of the world. But she gave herself up to the fear of God and maintained the rigor of her fasting and went up to the roof to pray. Then the spirit of lust appeared to her in a bodily form and said to her, "Sarah, you have overcome me." She replied, "*It is not I who have overcome you, but my Lord Christ!*" ❖ It was mentioned that for 60 years she lived beside a river and never lifted her eyes to look at it.	❖ Among her other sayings mentioned in the *Apophthegmata:* • "*When I put out my foot to ascend the ladder, I place death before my eyes before lifting up the other foot.*" • "*It is good to give alms for men's sake; even if it is only done to please men; through this one can begin to seek to please God.*" • "*If I asked God that all men should approve of my conduct, I should be doing penance at the door of everyone. But I shall rather pray that my heart may be pure towards all, while I am far from all of them.*" • She said to some brothers, "*It is I who am a man* (struggling violently against sin), *you who are women* (brides of Christ)." ❖ Once some monks of Scetis came to visit Abbess Sarah. As she offered them a small basket of fruit, they ate the bad fruit and left the good. So she said to them, "*You are true monks of Scetis.*"
14 ***The Apophthegmata Patrum***	❖ There is hardly any work which gives a better idea of the spirit of Egyptian monarchism than the anonymous collection of spiritual maxims called *Apophthegmata Patrum* or Sayings of the Fathers. ❖ Before it was written down in Greek, there must have been an oral tradition in Coptic.	❖ Compiled perhaps about the end of the 5th century, it contains pronouncements of the most famous abbots and solitaries of the Egyptian desert and anecdotes about their miracles and virtues**.**

[1] B Ward, trans., *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, Mowbray, 1975, p.8.
[2] ibid., p. 2.
[3] ibid., pp. 28, 26.
[4] EAW Budge, trans., *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, vol. 1, Chatto & Windus, London, 1907, p. 296.
[5] A Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, Cistercian Publications, 1980, Michigan, p. 263.
[6] A Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 3, Cistercian Publications, 1980, Michigan, p. 145.
[7] Veilleux, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 265.
[8] ibid., p. 228.
[9] Veilleux, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 112, 113.
[10] Budge, op. cit., p. 124.
[11] GEH Palmer, P Sherrard, K Ware, trans., eds., *The Philokalia*, vol. 1, Faber and Faber, London, 1979, p. 53.
[12] Ward, op. cit., p 131.
[13] ibid., p 131.
[14] ibid., p. 64.
[15] JE Bamberger, trans., Evagrius Ponticus: *The Praktikos and Chapters On Prayer*, Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1981, pp. 57, 58, 59, 60; Palmer, Sherrard & Ware, op. cit.., pp. 58, 60.
[16] Ward, op. cit., p. 202.
[17] ibid., p. 202; T Vivian, trans., Paphnutius*: Histories of the Monks of Upper Egypt and The Life of Onnophrius*, *rev. edn*, Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 2000, p. 47.
[18] Budge, op. cit., p. 77.
[19] Ward, op. cit., p. 98.
[20] ibid., p. 98
[21] *The Holy Pascha*, 4th edn., The Holy Virgin Mary Coptic Orthodox Church of Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 60-61.
[22] A Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol 2: part 4, Mowbray, London, 1996, p. 215.
[23] DN Bell, trans., *The Life of Shenoute by Besa*, Cistercian Publications, Michigan, 1983, pp. 45, 46.

SELECTED COPTIC ORTHODOX FATHERS AND AUTHORS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

1
ST SAWIRUS (SEVERUS)
IBN AL-MOQAFAA
b. c. 905-10 - d. after 987

BIOGRAPHY

- He was the earliest great writer in the Arabic language. He was born to a pious Christian family.
- He started his career as a scribe in the Arab administration, where he remained for a few years until he resigned all worldly positions and enter the monastic life.
- He spent most of the years in his monastery studying and reading the lives of the great fathers. Undoubtedly, this period was long enough for him to complete his religious education and biblical scholarship.
- So profound had his knowledge of Coptic tradition, exegetic science, and even Greek philosophy become, that he was destined to become the official champion of the Coptic faith during the remaining years of his life.
- He was selected to be the bishop of al-Ashmunayn which is the ancient Hermopolis Magna in the district of Antinopolis.
- He may have been consecrated during the patriarchate of Pope Macarius I (932-952) the 59th Alexandrian patriarch.
- Sawirus was the first signatory of a synodal letter of the 63rd Coptic patriarch, Philotheus (979-1003) addressed to Athanasius V, patriarch of Antioch (987-1003) defining the answer to certain theological problems. The letter was dated 987 or 988, and Sawirus was the foremost exponent among the bishops in the patriarchal reply.
- He was the contemporary of three Alexandrian popes after Macarius I; one of them being Pope Abraam ibn Zaraa the Syrian who was pope at the time of the miracle of the moving of the Mokatam Mountain.
- During the early Fatimid period, Sawirus seems to have been popular with Caliph al–Mu'iz (972-975), during whose reign he participated in a number of religious discussions with Muslim imams and Jewish rabbis. These were conducted in the presence of the calpih who was greatly affected by Sawirus' defense of the Coptic faith and tradition.
- He was one of prominent personalities not only in the Fatimids' era but also in the history of the Coptic Church.
- He departed in the Lord at the age of 90, without finishing his book, *The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, but many people, such as Michael of Tanis, helped in completing this interesting work after him.
- His religious discussions with the Jews, Muslims and the Chalcedonians, even before rulers, showed his courage and wisdom, and encouraged him to write theology. His writings on the Oneness of God and the Holy Trinity are considered as principal sources for the Christian Arab writers, because he wrote them in a style that suited the era and the atmosphere surrounding him. He applied expressions that were appropriate to the culture of his epoch.

WRITINGS

- He wrote many books and essays, mastered the Greek, Coptic and Arabic languages, had a vast knowledge in the Holy Bible, Church laws and rites.
- He wrote many saints' biographies.
- Michael of Tanis and Coptic encyclopedist Abu al-Barakat ibn Kabar (14th century) said Sawirus composed a total of 26 books, all in the classical Arabic of his period. More recently Kamel Salih Nakhlah (20th century) listed 38 works, some of which had been declared lost until they were found in manuscripts.
- Sawirus' writings fall into six categories:

1. Works on theological science in which he discussed all manner of problems from the Coptic viewpoint.
2. A number of items on Coptic traditions and liturgical practices (including topics such as fasting, praying, marriage, etc.).
3. Exegetical and biblical works, in which he displayed an extraordinary knowledge of the Bible (in one of his works he quoted 1,161 written sources in support of his arguments: 307 to the New Testament and 854 to the Old Testament).
4. Works defending Coptic Christianity and its doctrines.
5. A miscellaneous body of treatises encompassing varied subjects from moralistic works to child guidance, and disputations comprising answers to problems.
6. Historical Works.

Works:

- *The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*:
  This is his most well known book. For it, he extracted material from Greek and Coptic records which were preserved in the Monastery of St Macarius and the Monastery of Nahya, and then translated the work into Arabic. It includes the biographies of the Fathers from St Mark to Anba Shenouda V.
- *Al-durr al-thamin fi idah al-din*: One of Sawirus' most popular works which is an explication of the Christian Nicaean Creed and principal doctrines of the Christian religion. Published in Cairo 1925 by Markos Girgis.
- *Al-durr al-thamin fi idah al-itiqd fi al-din* (*idah al-itihad*): A number of excerpted Patristic writings on the Incarnation in an Arabic translation. This book also explains the doctrines of the Coptic Church on Trinitarianism and Monotheism.
- *History of the Councils*: In 950, he composed his book on the councils in reply to an abusive treatise by Eutyches, the Melchite patriarch.
- *Al-Tawhid*
- *Al-Itihad*
- *Al-Baher*: A book containing a collection of answers in response to questions by Jews.
- *Al-Tabligh*: An apologetical work in response to accusations by Jews.
- A book containing a response to Sa'id ibn al-Bitriq, the Melchite patriarch known as ibn al Farash the historian.
- *Al-sharh wa tafsil*, against Nestorius and his heresies.
- A letter on the faith to Al-Yamin Cosman the son of Mina, the scribe of the governor of Egypt.

- *Nazm al-gawahir fi al-rud 'alqawl bel qada' wal qadar*: A book written to argue against the idea of fate.
- *Al-Magalis*
- *Teb al-gham wa shifa'al-hozn* (Affliction's Physic and the Cure of Sorrow): A book which deals with philosophical issues on a greater level than his other theological works.
- *Al-Magamaa*: Two volumes.
- *Tafsir al-amana al-muqaddasah*: An explanation of the Creed of Faith.
- A letter about the case of believing children and unbelieving children; and about the situation of souls in the Last Judgment.
- *Misbah al-Aql* – (The Lamp of Intellect); a Reflection on the Tenets of the Christians. A work of about 20 pages which is extant in three manuscripts and was published by Samir Khalil in 1978.
- *Tartib al-kahanout*: A book about rites.
- *Al-Ahkam*: A book about the rules of the Church.
- An Explanation of the Holy Gospels
- Answer to the questions of a scribe named Bushaar ibn Garoud.
- An explanation on the faith and the order of service, incense, the signing of the Cross, and the genealogy of the Virgin Mary.
- *Al-baiyan al-mokhtasar fi al-iman*
- *Al-mithalat wa al-roumouz*.
- *Al-ta'leem fi al-e'teraf*: A book outlining how to confess.
- *Misbah al-nafs fi al ta'aleem al-rouheya*.
- *Al-aqwal al-nafissa*. [1]

2

ANBA BULUS
AL-BUSHI

Bishop of Babylon 1240 - b.ca. 1170

BIOGRAPHY

- He is considered one of the most eminent Coptic thinkers in the 13th century.
- He was born in Bush (north of Beni-Suef in Middle Egypt) and became a monk in St Samuel's Monastery or in one of the other monasteries of Faiyum, along with Dawoud ibn Loqloq who later became Pope Cyril III (75th Pope of Alexandria).
- The Dutch Fr. Jacques Muyser stated that Anba Bulus had self-control, loved his people, was far from impartiality, and had no aim except the Church's edification.
- He was a dignified scholar who had deep knowledge in religious affairs. A priest whose heart was inflamed with the zeal of the apostle Paul, and a mighty interpreter of the word of God, who explained the obscure, and clarified any ambiguity with regard to the Bible's teaching.
- He was nominated for the papal candidacy, along with Archdeacon abu-Shaker Butrus and Dawoud ibn-Loqloq, but he was self-denying and not eager to take this position.

- ❖ The election battle was warm and the Church was divided into many parties. As a result, the patriarchal chair remained vacant for nineteen and-a-half years. By this stage all but three bishops in the See of St Mark had died. The battle ended with the election of Dawoud ibn Loqloq as Pope Cyril III in 1235.
- ❖ Anba Bulus remained the close friend of Pope Cyril III, helped him during his troubles. He often calmed the people who were agitated against him and gave wise advice to the Pope.
- ❖ He gave much attention to teaching the people, with a spirit of true humility, thus he attracted many to the Kingdom of God.
- ❖ When the mistakes of Pope Cyril ibn-Loqloq increased, the Holy Synod assembled and appointed two bishops - including Anba Bulus to help him in running the affairs of the Patriarchate. He was ordained bishop on 8 September, 1240.
- ❖ His writings had a deep influence on great Christian Coptic thinkers such as Pope Cyril III ibn Loqloq, Abu al-Barakat ibn Kabar, ibn katib Qaysar, Abu al-Farag hibat Allah ibn al-Assaal, and Abu Ishaq ibn al-Assaal. There are three pieces of evidence for this fact.
  1. The spread of manuscripts containing his writings among different Christian denominations, and in Arab countries.
  2. Great thinkers in eras which followed cited his works.
  3. Some writers re-wrote his works and passed them off as their own.

WRITINGS

- ❖ He was a successful preacher who lifted the hearts of believers towards the highest and inflamed them. Being an excellent apologist, he had a brilliant mind. His arguments are like the five smooth stones from David's brook used against Goliath.
- ❖ His writings still exist, but have not been published until now, except some sermons (mimars) on the feasts of the Lord.
- ❖ He wrote on the mystery of Incarnation and about spirituality.

Works

1. *The Principals of Religion and in Arguing Against Those Who Renounced Their Faith:* He wrote this book with his close friend Dawoud ibn-Loqloq during the storm of election.
2. A commentary on the book of Revelation. A copy exists in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (Rites 36).
3. An exposition on the Epistle of St Paul to the Hebrews.
4. A treatise explaining *al-omr wal rizk* – Life and Livelihood: Discusses the age of man and his provision, whether these are prearranged and fixed by providence or dependent on the will of free agents.
5. A book on *al-'oloom al-rouhaneiah* – Spiritual Sciences: A copy transcribed in 1860 is preserved in the Syrian Monastery.
6. A book on theological science.
7. A book titled *Al-E'teraf* (*The Confession*; known as *al-mo'allem wal telmiz* (The Teacher and the Disciple) written together with Dawoud ibn-Loqloq.
8. A compilation of the sayings of the fathers on numerous theological dicta.
9. *Al-adella al-aqlia allati twassel ila ma'refet al-illah al-Mota'anis* (Intellectual Proofs Leading To the Knowledge of the Incarnate God).
- A treatise on the unity of the Godhead, the Trinity, and the Incarnation of the Logos
- It teaches how to come to know the One God and the Trinity.
- A copy is preserved in The Udillian Library at Oxford (no. 5/38).

10. Records of meetings between Christians and Muslims which took place in the presence of Sultan al-Kamel ibn Ayyub (1218-1238) in a spirit of love and respect.
11. Eight *mimars* (homilies) on the Feasts of the Lord which were published by a priest, Father Mankarius Awadallah. [2]

3
IBN AL-MAKIN
b. 1205 – d. 1273

BIOGRAPHY

- He was one of the prominent thinkers of the 13th century.
- His full name is Abu al-Taiyeb Girgis ibn al-Amid, but he was called ibn al-Makin. His brother was al-ass'ad Ibrahim, the scribe of armies during the rule of King al-A'del (the Just).
- We do not know much about his biography; however, in his love to God he abstained from the world's glory and dedicated his life to worship, asceticism and study in the monastery of Abbot Yoannis al-Qasir (the Short; known as *Dair al-Baghl*) in Torah, south of Old Cairo.
- He was a pious monk and remained in his monastery devoting his time to contemplation, prayer, research, study and writing on ecclesiastical sciences.
- He became proficient in Coptic, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac, as well as rhetoric, philosophy, logic, astronomy, and history.
- The Coptic language was obliterated in 706 when Abdullah the brother of al-walid ibn abd al-Malek ibn Marawan from Bani Omaya replaced Coptic with Arabic as the official language of Egypt; Coptic was forbidden in government offices. Ibn al-Makin was one of the first Coptic Orthodox writers to use the Arabic language in his works.
- There is no clear evidence that he was priest, but we can make this conclusion from some references. He died in Damascus.
- *Sidio*, mentions in his book '*The History of the Arabs*' that, "*Girgis, the Christian who died in 1273, known as ibn al-Makin, summarized and completed the history of Abi Gaafar ibn Garrir al-Tabari*."

WRITINGS

- He wrote dogmas (doctrines) and civic history.
- Of his works, 4 books are renowned:

1. *Mokhtassar al-baiyan fi tahkik al-iman* known as *Al-Hawi*:
- It was one of the largest works on theology, doctrine, history, spirituality, and philosophy written in the 13th century.
- It is an apologetical work consisting of two volumes covering Church doctrine, and including interpretation of difficult passages of scripture.

2. *Al-mostafad le zawi al-egtehad*: This book was written against the heretics of his time. It is unpublished.
3. *Al-Magmu al-Mubarak* (Civic history; unpublished):
- Some parts of this work are based on the writings of the prominent historian, al-Tabari.

- ❖ It consists of two volumes; it is believed they were written between 1262 and 1268. They focus on the chronology of kings and the rise and fall of kingdoms.
- ❖ Volume 1 covers the period from creation to Pre-Islam; Volume II covers from the Islamic period to 1260.
- ❖ The history of ibn al-Makin has been translated into French, English and Latin.
- ❖ It also was the main source of information for the book of the historian Al-Maqrizi (1364-1442) in the sections on Christians.

4. Completed the history work of *al-Tabari*:

- ❖ After the death of al-Tabri, ibn al-Makin completed his book.
- ❖ A manuscript of this book is preserved in Dar al-Kottob al-Masreya.
- ❖ Extracts have been translated into French and Latin.

4
ST BOUTRUS (PETER) AL-SEDMANTI

BIOGRAPHY

- ❖ He was a monk in the monastery of St George in Jebel Sedmant in the province of Faiyum.
- ❖ He was one of the most famous Copts in the era of the Ayyubids state in the 13th century and one of the great theologians of his time; but nothing else is known about his life.
- ❖ He is referred to as one of the doctors of the Church.

The Jesuit monk Van Akberg was interested in his writings.

WRITINGS

- ❖ He left to us as a legacy of about 14 books of great religious and theological value, most of them are in the National Library of Paris, the Vatican Library, and libraries of some monasteries in Lebanon.
- ❖ He was primarily a biblical scholar, and his exegetic work on the gospel stands out among miscellaneous writings in Arabic, including some biographies of saints and religious treatises.
- ❖ One of his books is called *Al-Tashih fi alam al-Masih* (Exposition on the Passion of Christ). It reveals and interprets religious truths, and contains much wisdom. It is based on verses from the Bible and provides many logical, intellectual and philosophical proofs on difficult questions in scripture.
- ❖ He wrote many letters, of which *Spiritual Contemplations* is the most important.

5

IBN KATIB QAYSAR (CAESAR)

ca. 1260

BIOGRAPHY

- He lived in the 13th century and came from a respected and influential family.
- He was known as Al-Ra'is al-awhad alam al-riasa Abu-Ishak Ibrahim ibn al-Sheikh al-Ra'is abi al-Thanaa ibn-al-Sheikh Safi al-dawla katib al-Amir alam al din Qaysar.
- He was a Coptic philologist and scriptural commentator.

WRITINGS

- He wrote an introduction to the Coptic language, called *Al-Tabsirah* - Source of Insight on Coptic Grammar. A copy is in the National Library of Paris (Bibliotheque Nationale).
- He also wrote a commentary the Gospel according to St Matthew, the Acts, the Epistles of St Paul, some of the Catholic Epistles (Peter, James, Jude, and 2 Peter), and Revelation.

6

AWLAD (SONS OF) AL-ASSAAL

a. AL-MUTAMAN ABU ISHAQ IBRAHIM IBN AL-ASSAAL

b. AL-AS 'AD ABU AL-FARAG HIBAT-ALLAH

c. AL-SAFIY ABU AL-FADAIL

- They were eminent Coptic Orthodox scholars in the 13th century.
- Apparently they were from Sedmant in Upper Egypt, migrated to Cairo and settled there.
- Some of them worked in government services and other dedicated their lives to serving God.
- They had high ranking status during the Ayyubids era.
- They were well-educated in science, arts and languages, and were well known for their beautiful Arabic writings and to them is attributed the "Asaadi Arabic writing."
- They excelled in Coptic, Arabic, Greek and Syriac languages.
- They wrote Arabic poems at a high level, were highly skilled in mathematics; and possessed a strong knowledge of Law and Canons, photography, chemistry and many different sciences.

a.
AL-MUTAMAN
ABU ISHAQ IBRAHIM
IBN AL-ASSAAL

BIOGRAPHY

- He was an ascetic, a true worshiper, and a lover of studying and searching for knowledge.
- After the death of his pious wife his brother, Al-Safi, sent him a letter urging him to continue his ascetic life after the loss of his helpmate. This letter was well accepted and he became a disciple of St Boutrus (Peter) the Confined.
- His contemporary Bishop of Damietta, ibn al-Dahiry, called him: "The elder, the ascetic chief, the worshiper, and the faithful (Al-Mutaman) One."
- He was ordained priest, then protopriest, and remained in the patriarchate as a secretary of Pope Cyril III ibn-Loqloq. As secretary, he often wrote to the bishops on behalf of the Pope.
- Abu Is-haq accompanied the Ayyubids to Syria.

WRITINGS

- He wrote more than 10 books on theology, Coptic language, sermons. Of these are:

1. *Magmu Osul al-Din wa-Masmu Mahsol al-Yaqin* – Records of Foundations of Religion: One of the largest theological books. Copies are present in the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate Library , libraries in Paris and London, and the Eastern Library of the Jesuits.
2. *Al-Tabsira al-Mokhtasarah fi al-'Aqayed Al-Nosraneya* in 16 chapters – Abridged Contemplation: It is extant in the Eastern Library and the Library of Chori Boulus Sabat.
3. *Adaab Al-Kenisa* – Ecclesiastical Usages.
4. *Khutab al-A'yad al-Sayyidiyyah* (Sermons on the Feasts of the Lord).
5. *Al-Sullam al-Muqaffaa wa-al-Zahab al-Musaffa*: A Coptic–Arabic Dictionary.
6. Introduction to the Epistles of St Paul.
7. *Teryaq Al-Oqoul fi ilm Al-Usul wa-al-Assrar al-Khafiya fi ilm al-Masshiya*. A copy is present in the Patriarchate Library.
8. *Tafsir al-Amana al-Muqaddasah* – Exposition on the Creed.
9. Exposition on what the scriptures say about the passion or our Lord Jesus Christ until His ascension; including an introduction on the principals and methods of exposition on scripture. An old copy is present in the Eastern Library, the Roman Catholic Library in Aleppo, and the Library of Chori Bulus Sabat.
10. Clarification of the explanation on the economy of Jesus Christ from His Incarnation until His Ascension. It was printed in Egypt by Youseff al-Habashy the Hegomen under the title of *The Life of Jesus Christ*.

b.
AL-ASAAD
ABU AL-FARAG HIBAT-ALLAH

BIOGRAPHY

- His full name was Abu al-Farag Hibat-Allah ibn Abi al-Fadail Asaad ibn Abi Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Abi Sahl Jirjis ibn Abi al-Bishr Youhanna ibn al-Assaal.
- He enjoyed the title of Fakhr al Dawlah (pride of the state) signifying that he occupied an important position in the Ayyubid government of Egypt.
- He wrote a valuable introduction in the book *The Teacher and the Disciple* (which was written by Anba Boulus al-Bushi and Dawoud ibn Loqloq).

WRITINGS

- Eight books are known from his works in the Coptic language.
- Amongst his works are:

1. Introduction to the Coptic language:
- A grammar of the Coptic language in Arabic
- Two Copies are present - one in Oxford and one in London.

2. Letter on the Introduction to the *Epistles of St Paul* which was written by his brother Al-Mutaman:
- It consists of eight sections divided into various and preceded by a historical life of St Paul.
- A copy is present in the Leeden Library in Holland.

3. A comparative study of the Greek, Coptic, and Syriac translations of the gospels:
- Copies of his translation dated between 1259 and 1280 are to be found in manuscripts in London, Rome, the Vatican, Leiden, Oxford, and other places.

4. Summary of St John Chrysostom's Commentary on the Gospel of St Matthew:
- A copy is present in the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate Library and the Hanging Church in Old Cairo.

5. A book about "*Al-Abaqti*" system of calculations:
- It contains astronomical and historical principals, and a chronological table of patriarchs.
- A copy exists in the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate Library in Cairo.

6. Notes on Al-Abaqti which were further explained by Pope Youannis XVIII (the 107th Pope of Alexandria) in 1796 and appended it with a table containing dates of Church feasts until the year 2000 of martyrs (A.M).

7. Summary of John Climacus of the Ladder's book on monasticism:
- It was printed by Archdeacon Habib Girgis in 1946.

c.
AL-SAFIE
ABU AL-FADAIL
b. ca. 1205 – d. ca. 1265

BIOGRAPHY

- Al-Safi Abu al-Fadail Magid was the greatest Coptic apologist of the Middle Ages, and one of the greatest Christian apologists in the Arabic language.
- He played an important role in the intellectual renaissance of the Coptic Orthodox Church in the 13th century.
- He was chosen to act as the "First Secretary" for the Holy Synod which was assembled to solve a church dispute during the patriarchate of Pope Cyril III ibn-Loqloq (75th Pope).
- The synod entrusted him with collecting Church canons, organizing them and comparing them with the Greek originals. He also added new canons. This work is a comprehensive book on the laws of the Church known as the *Great Nomocannon* or *The Canons of ibn al-Assaal*.

WRITINGS

- He wrote in defense of the Gospel, on Church canons, on the Holy Trinity, on Church history, sermons, etc.

NONAPOLOGETIC WORKS

1. Epitomes (Mukhtasarat) of Spiritual Patristic Works

The six works in this category were probably written before 1232.

- Epitome of the Arabic collection of 52 hymns of Saint Ephraem the Syrian.
- Epitome of a monastic ascetic compendium.
- Epitome of 100 chapters of Diadocus of Pholticea.
- Epitome of the *Ladder of Virtues* of John Climacus.
- Epitome of the 35 chapters on monastic life by Isaac of Ninevah.
- Epitome of the Spiritual Paradise in twelve chapters.

2. Epitomes of Homilies of St John Chrysostom

- In 1232, he summarized and revised the 88 homilies of St John Chrysostom on the Gospel of John. A copy is preserved in the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate Library, Cairo.
- In 1237-1238, he wrote a summary and revision of the 90 homilies on St Matthew.

3. Liturgical Homilies in Rhymed Prose

This collection is written in Arabic, and is divided into six parts.

- The unity and trinity of God.
- Christology (covering eight feasts of the Lord)
- Morals (commandments of God and purification of the heart).

- Homilies on fasting (seven have been published).
- Spirituality (prayers to God, intercession to the Virgin and saints).
- Homilies for various circumstances (advice to newlyweds, letters of investiture of bishops, spiritual letters).
- To this collection may also be added: A letter in honour of the election of Cyril III (June 1235); A homily on the death of Cyril III (1243); and a letter to his brother Al-mutaman Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn al-Assaal consoling him upon the death of his wife.

4. Works on Canon Law

- His great *Nomocanon* remains today as the basis of ecclesiastical law for the Coptic Orthodox Church. There are four works:
- A small canonical collection of 12 sections, regulating jurisdictional nature between bishops (September 1238).
- A canonical collection of five chapters and 19 sections on baptism, marriage, wills, inheritance, and ordination (13 September, 1238).
- A compendium of the abstract laws or *Nomocanon* - his renowned work known as *al-magmu al-safawi* (September 1238). It was published in Egypt in 1908 by Girgis Philotheos Awad, and reprinted in 1927 by Bishop Isidorus.
- An abridgement of the canonical compendium known as *Al-Kitab al-awsat*, containing short decisions pertaining to ecclesiastical persons and matters, and to questions of morals and discipline.

5. Epitomes of Arabic Apologetical Works

- *Book of Questions and Answers* by Ammar al-Basri.
- *Book of the Proof* by Ammar al-Basri.
- Forty-One opuscules of the great philosopher from Bagdad, Yaha ibn Adi
- The great refutation of Abu Isa al-Warraq by Yaha ibn Adi.
- The great Christological controversy between Yaha and al-Misri
- *Al-Osul al-Shar 'iyyah* - The Fundamentals of Law or *al*-Hidayah - The Book of Guidance by Ibn al-Athradi
- The Christological controversy among Quwayri, Ibn al-Tayyib, and others.
- Conversations (*al-Magalis*) of Elias of Nisibis with the Vizier of Maghribi
- *Book on the Virtue of Chastity* by Elias of Nisibis
- Opuscules on chastity by various spiritual authors.

6. Miscellaneous Works

- *Khottab ibn-al-asasal* - Homilies of Ibn-Al-Assaal; printed in Egypt in 1887.
- *Kifayit al-moptadieen fi ilm al-qawanin*: This work has been lost.
- *The History of the Church and its Application with Astronomy* (also called *Magmu al-tawarikh le olamaa al-qibt*). Copies are preserved in the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate Library and monastery libraries.
- ***Al-saha'eh fi al-rad ala al-nassa'eh***
- *The Book of Paradise*: Printed in Egypt 1912 under the title of *Al ferdoos al-aqli* (intellectual paradise).

APOLOGETIC WORKS

1. Brief Chapters on the Trinity and the Union

- This theological essay was completed in Cairo in 1242.
- It consists of one part on the Trinity (chaps. 1-16), another part on the Incarnation (chaps. 7-11), and one chapter on the science of

theology (chap. 12).

2. Concise Chapters on Trinitarianism and Monotheism

❖ Written in 1274. Two copies exist; one in the Paris National Library, the other in the Vatican Library.

3. Reply to Abdullah Al-Nashi al-Akbar

❖ Al-Nashi was an Iraqi grammarian and poet who authored a book of Opinions (*al-Maqalat*) in which he refuted theological opinions of Christians. Al-Safi, in turn, refuted the section on Christianity, basing his arguments on Holy Scriptures.

4. Reply to Fakhr al-Din al-Razi on God's Inhabitation in Christ

5. Reply to the *Refutation of the Christians* by Razi

6. Three Christological Apologies No Longer Extant

❖ Treatise on the Incarnation of Christ by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.

❖ The second apology describes Christ with divine attributes

❖ The third is an answer to an objection concerning Christ made by Muslims.

7. Reply to Ali ibn Rabban al-Tabari

❖ Al-Tabari (ca. 785-790) (not to be confused with Al-Tabari the historian) was a Christian who became Muslim after more than 70 years of age. Upon his conversion he wrote his *Refutation of the Christians* which quickly became famous.

❖ Al-Safi wrote a reply to it in 18 lengthy chapters covering topics such as proofs of the divinity of Christ, the humanity and divinity of Christ, the agony of Christ, the meaning of the word 'faith,' Paul and the Council of Nicaea, veneration of the cross, how Christ destroyed sin and death.

8. Treatise of the Ten Fundamentals

❖ This treatise was presented as a long introduction to the *Reply to Al-Tabari*.

❖ Thereafter, Al-Safi constantly used these 10 fundamentals and believed that they formed the indispensable bases for ever discussion with the Muslims.

9. Reply to Al-Ja'fari

❖ Al-Jafari was a contemporary of Al-Safi who died after 1239. He wrote a refutation of the Christians entitled *Takhgil Muharrifi al-Ingil* (The Corrupting Shame of the Gospel of Falsification of the Bible) filled with repetitions and based upon Tabari's work.

❖ Pope Cyril III asked Al-Safi to write a reply without repeating anything he had said in his *Reply to Tabari*.

❖ Al-Safi's lengthy reply consists of five chapters: (1) defense of the hypostatic union in Christ; (2) defense of the creed; (3) Christ is more than a prophet; (4) upon the real death, and the Resurrection of Christ; and (5) Muhammad was not announced by the Holy Scriptures (Old and New Testament), contrary to what the Muslims proclaim.

10. Reply to Dimyati

❖ This is a reply to the *Refutations of the Christians* written by Abu al-Mansur ibn Fath al Dimyati.

11. Biblical Revelation and Qur'anic Revelation

❖ This work is divided into two major parts, the first proving the truth of the Gospels and of the Holy Scriptures (chaps. 1-7), and the second showing the needlessness for any new Holy Scripture or prophet (chaps. 8-10). [3]

7

IBN KABAR

d. ca. 1323

BIOGRAPHY

- Al-Shaykh al-Mu'taman Shams al-Riyasah ibn al-Shaykh al-As'ad Abu al-Barakat, known as ibn Kabar.
- He was a scholar at the end of the golden age of Coptic literary accomplishment.
- He was born to a wealthy Coptic family towards the end of the 13th century.
- He learned classical languages such as Greek, Hebrew, and probably Syriac.
- He was the scribe of Sultan Baybars (1260-77). He was loyal to him and helped him in writing a valuable book still present as a manuscript: *Zubdat al-Fikrah fi Tarikh al-Higra* - The Precious Thinking in the History of Immigration.
- He left the Sultan's service and was ordained a priest in St Mary's Church (*al Mu'allaqah* - suspended). He gave much attention to the spiritual pastoral care of his people.
- He wrote many books which prove that he is an honorable scholar, deep theologian, and a church historian.
- He died on 15 Bashans, A.M. 1040.

WRITINGS

Amongst his works are:

1. *On Holy Chrism (Mayroun):* It outlines the ingredients required to make the Holy Chrism and the method of making it.

2. *Gala' al-Uqul fi ilm al-Usul: A critical analysis of Christian doctrines*:

- It contains 18 chapters on the oneness of God and the Holy Trinity and on the Incarnation.
- A copy is preserved in the Vatican Library and another in Damascus.

3. *Misbah Al-Zulmah fi idah al-Khidmah* (The Lamp of Darkness and an Elucidation on Service):

- The most comprehensive, and still unsurpassed, encyclopedia of religious knowledge in 24 sections.
- Several manuscripts of this work have been found; the most ancient is the Vatican manuscript dated A.M. 1049 (A.D. 1333). Another manuscript dated A.M 1059 (A.D. 1343) was published in Cairo in 1930.
- Copies are also preserved in the Berlin, and Paris (National) Libraries.

4. *Al-Sullam al-Kabir* - The Great Ladder*;* better known to western scholarship as *Scala Magna*:

- It is one of the most important Coptic Dictionaries left to us, and is considered one of the most valuable Coptic books.
- Ibn Kabar included in it all available Coptic terms with their Arabic equivalents in ten sections and thirty-two chapters.
- It was published in Rome in ca. 1648, in Coptic, Latin and Arabic.

5. *Against Predestinarianism.*

6. Sermons on feasts and occasions.

7. Miscellaneous orations, epistles, and obituaries of which 51 have been preserved in elaborate classical Arabic style. [4]

8
ANBA YUSAB
AL-ABAHH
Bishop of Fuah
b. 1735 – 3. 1826

BIOGRAPHY

- He was born in Al-Nekhela, South of Abu-Teeg in Upper Egypt; and was educated in the "kottab" annex to the church.
- He was inflamed by divine love and earnestly desired the celibate life. At the age of 25 he went to the city of Bush (in 1760) where the abbot of St Anthony's monastery lived.
- He was admitted to the monastery and he devoted his life to worship along with continuous reading and study, and a sincere desire of serving his brothers. He focused his attention on the study of manuscripts, research into the teachings of the Church, and theology.
- He was ordained priest, then protopriest without changing his name "Yussef." He was filled with divine grace and news of his good reputation reached Pope Youannis XVIII (the 107th Pope of Alexandria). The Pope chose him to assist in the running of some of the affairs of the Church and the patriarchate; and to educate believers and confirm them in the Orthodox faith. For this purpose, Anba Yusab visited many dioceses throughout Egypt.
- Pope Youannis admired him for his spiritual virtues, deep theological sense, zeal for the Orthodox faith, and his rich knowledge.
- When the chair of the bishopric of Akhmin and Girga became vacant, the Pope ordained him against his will under the name of "Anba Yusab" in 1791.
- His predecessor was Anba Antonius who sided with Catholicism and the people revolted against him. The ruler became doubtful and ordered his imprisonment until the French Consul intervened on his behalf and he was released. However, he could not bear the fact that his people neglected him and denounced his actions, and he left to Rome.
- As the new bishop of Akhmim and Girga, Anba Yusab discovered that the Copts had many close dealings with heretics and Roman Catholic missionaries; and so he worked tirelessly to restore his flock to the Coptic Orthodox faith.
- Anba Yusab visited his people and explained to them the Orthodox dogmas and erased the confusion caused by Anba Antonius.
- He participated in the election of Pope Mark VIII, who succeeded Pope Youannis as Pope of Alexandria on 2 October, 1796.
- He took part in the election of Pope Butrus VII, who was well known as *El Gawli*. He attended Pope Butrus' enthronement on 24 December, 1809.
- Anba Yusab was extremely merciful towards the poor; he did not own anything except the clothing on his body and kept in his possession only what he required for each day.
- He built a large church in his diocese and ordained a great number of priests for the pastoral care of his people.
- When the Pope of Rome sent a letter to the Alexandrian Pope (Youannis XVIII) to join under the former's authority, the Pope of Alexandria asked Anba Yusab to explain to Rome the Orthodox dogmas. He wrote a very powerful reply discussing the most important points of conflict on dogma.
- Anba Yusab shepherded his people with the best spiritual and pastoral care, and when God willed that he depart from this world, he fell

ill for a short time and then returned to his monastery where he died. The monks performed his funeral prayers on 24 January, 1826.

- ❖ He lived for 91 years and was the contemporary of five popes in the See of Saint Mark the Apostle. These popes were: Youannis XVII (the 105th Pope of Alexandria), Mark VII (106th), Youannis XVIII (107th), Mark VIII (108th), and Butrus VII (109th).
- ❖ The Church has honored this great father and teacher of theology by commemorating him in the Synaxarium.

WRITINGS

- ❖ Many books, letters and articles were written by this bishop, although he related some of them to Pope Youannis XVIII as a kind of humility and self-denial.
- ❖ Anba Yusab was the author of over thirty brief treatises on exegesis, moral theology, pastoral theology, and liturgy.
  - They were collected, and usually appear in manuscripts with the title *Silah al-Mu'minin* (The Weapon of the Faithful).
  - No particular system is evident in the order of these collections, and they may be purely chronological. This means that Anba Yusab may have added his treatises to a manuscript gradually, as he wrote them.
- ❖ There are four manuscripts in the Coptic Patriarchate Library, Cairo (Theology 137 - the most complete manuscript, Theology 138, Theology 226, and Theology 316). Two manuscripts are in the National Library, Paris (Arabe 4711 – the oldest manuscript of all; and Arabe 4790).
- ❖ Amongst Anba Yusab's works are:

1. *Silah Al-Mu'minin* (The Weapon of the Faithful): These are treatises, sayings and solutions to remedy problems in the faith. It also includes information on the faith of the Coptic Orthodox Church and her teachings.
2. *Al-Darrag*: Anba Yusab wrote this book, but attributed the work to Pope Youannis.
3. A treatise on the existence of God, and the Trinity, and His attributes.
4. Treatises on the Incarnation of the Lord Christ: They clarify difficult points in the faith and provide an interpretation of verses from the Bible.
5. Individual commentaries on many verses from the Old and New Testaments, especially from Matthew.
6. A treatise on the Last Judgment.
7. A treatise against heretics who deny the resurrection.
8. A treatise on the sins of pride, slander, and attachment to wealth.
9. An emotional panegyric of Pope Youannis XVIII (1769-1796) for the day of his death, which occurred on 7 June, 1796.
10. Panegyric of the honorable lay leader Ibrahim El Gohari for the day of his death.
11. Panegyric of Pope Mark VIII for his funeral on 21 December, 1809.
12. A treatise on the sins that result from pride and on the benefits of humility.
13. A treatise on Confession.
14. A treatise on the fall of Satan.
15. A treatise on patience and perseverance in time of trials and tribulations. [5]

- ❖ Among his sayings are:

- *Brethren, if we break the fast when the Church is fasting, we ostracize ourselves, become a stumbling block for others, and cause the weak to deteriorate.*
- *Do not fast with bread and salt while you are eating the flesh of people through judging and slander. Do not say, 'I am fasting a pure fast' while you are unclean with all types of sin.*

9

MUALLEM RIZK (RIZK AGHA)

BIOGRAPHY

- He was one of the prominent Coptic personalities of the 18th century.
- He had knowledge in ecclesiology, mathematics and astronomy.
- Ali-Bey Al-Kabir, the ruler at that time depended on him and appointed him as his vizier (minister).
- He was the source of great comfort to the Copts
- In spite of his loyalty to the ruler, he was assassinated by Abu Al-Dahab and his body was kept hanging at Zewela's gate for two days and nobody dared to bring him down for burial.
- When Bruce, an English traveler, visited Egypt on his way to Ethiopia in 1768, the Port authorities thought that what he was carrying of astronomical and geographical instruments were military equipments, thus they confiscated them. However, Muallem Rizk released the materials and learnt how to use them. The traveler tried to reward the vizier but he refused his gifts. Moreover the vizier honored the traveler as his own guest.

[1] AS Atiya, ed., *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, Macmillan, 1991, New York, pp. 2100-2102; S Khalil, ed. *Misbah al-Aql* (*The Lamp of Intellect*), (Arabic) Cairo, 1978.
[2] Atiya, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 423-424.
[3] Atiya, op. cit., vol. 7, pp. 2075–2079.
[4] Atiya, op. cit., vol 4, p. 1267.
[5] Atiya, op. cit., vol 7, pp. 2360-2361.

A CONCISE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF HERESIES APPEARING IN THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES

VIEWS OF	CHARACTERISTIC TEACHINGS	TIME	LEADING TEACHERS AND PROPONENTS	MAJOR OPPONENTS	CONDEMNED
1 Ebionites (Elkesaites, Mandaeans)	❶ The universality of Mosiac law needed for salvation. ❷ Jesus as the Messiah, but only as a man on whom the Spirit came at His baptism. Denied the Divine Nature in Christ. ❸ Rejection of the virgin birth. ❹ Rejection of St Paul as an apostate from the Law. ❺ Use only of the Gospel of Matthew (in Hebrew). ❻ Looked toward imminent Millenium.	Late C.1st until C.5th	• Judaizers • Ebion	• Irenaeus • Hippolytus • Origen • Eusebius	No official condemnation
2 Gnostics	❶ Considered themselves possessors of unique higher insight (gnosis). ❷ Considered themselves of spirit, and others of soul or body. ❸ Taught matter as evil. ❹ Held to a hierarchy of aeons. ❺ Produced either sensuality or asceticism. ❻ Were dualistic. ❼ Generally rejected the Old Testament and Judaism. ❽ Said that the world was created by Demiurge. ❾ Believed Christ's body was an illusion.	1st to early 2nd century	• Simon Magus • Cerinthus • Basilides • Saturninus • Marcion • Valentinus • Tatian	• Irenaeus, • Hippolytus • Epiphanius • Clement of Alexandria	No official condemnation
3 Millenarians or Chiliasts	❶ Before the final judgement there will be a first resurrection of the just alone, who for a 1,000 years will enjoy, with Christ, happiness and great abundance in the heavenly Jerusalem come down to earth. ❷ Behind the Millenarianism was the Jewish belief in the future Messianic kingdom understood as a political rule.	From 1st to 4th century	• Papias, • Commodian • Lactantius • Justin the Martyr • Irenaeus • Methodius	• Dionysius of Alexandria • St Augustine	No official condemnation

4 Docetists	❶ That Christ's human body was a phantasm, and that his sufferings and death were mere appearance. ❷ Denied the Human Nature in Christ. ❸ Associated evil of the material world and oussian divinity of man as taught by Marcion and Gnostics.	Late 1st century	• Basilides, • Valentinus, • Patripassians • Sabellians	• Irenaeus • Hippolytus	No official condemnation
5 Marcionists	❶ The God of the Old Testament is the second God who created the world and man. The deimurge, was the real adversary. He did not create the world out of nothingness, but formed it out of eternal matter, the seed of all evil. ❷ Christ is not the Messiah of the Old Testament. He was not born of the Virgin Mary, for He had neither birth nor growth. He manifested himself suddenly in his 15th year in the synagogue of Capernaum. He redeemed all souls from the power of the demiurge whose reign he destroyed by his teaching and miracles. ❸ Redemption is limited to the soul whereas the body remains subject to the power of the demiurge and is destined for destruction.	2nd century	• Marcion	• Polycarp of Smyrna • Irenaeus • Tertullian • Dionysius of Corinth	Excommunicated July (144)
6 Montanists	❶ They were ascetic and chiliastic. ❷ Expected an imminent start of the Millennium. ❸ Considered themselves spiritual and others carnal. ❹ Continued prophetic revelation. ❺ Held to universal priesthood of believers. ❻ Opposed art of any kind. ❼ Demanded absolute obedience of their followers. ❽ Sought martyrdom. ❾ Encouraged abstinence from marriage.	2nd century	• Montanus • Priscilla • Maximilla • Tertullian	• Hippolytus • Pope Soter • Eleutherus • Serapion of Antioch	Excommunicated: • By a series of synods held in the 2nd century in Asia Minor • By Bishop Eleutherus when they spread to Rome (177)

7 Origenists	❶ **Subordination** – the Son is less than the Father reaching only to rational beings. The Holy Spirit is less, and extends to the saints only. ❷ **Apokatastasis** – universal restoration of all things in their original, purely spiritual state. There is no eternal fire or punishment. All sinners will be saved, even demons and Satan. ❸ **Pre-Existence of Souls** – pre-existent human souls are spirits who fell away from God in the preceding world. ❹**Christology** – the pre-existing soul of Jesus is a link between the infinite Logos and the finite body of Christ. ❺ **Successive Worlds** – God created other worlds before and after our own. Influenced by Plato, he taught unlimited succession of many worlds. ❻ **Reincarnation** – rational beings that sin fall from their state and in proportion to their particular sin are enveloped in bodies as punishment; and when purified they rise again to the state in which they formerly were, completely putting away their evil and their bodies. Then again a second or a third or many more times they are enveloped in different bodies for punishment. (*On Principles*) ❼ **Resurrection** – in new spiritual bodies, not with original earthly bodies. The righteous people will turn to stars. Platonic tradition left an indelible mark on the Origen's conception of the resurrection of the body.	Late 2nd to 4th century	• Origen ca. 185-ca. 254 • Rufinus	• Pope Demetrius • Methodius of Olympus • Pope Theophilus • Epiphanius of Salamis • St Jerome • St Augustine	• Council of Alexandria (400) • Council of Rome (400) • Council of Antioch (540) • Emperor Justinian anathematised on First Principles (543) • 2nd Council of Constantinople (543)
8 Quartodecimans	Celebrated Easter on the 14th day of the first moon of Spring, i.e. the date of the Jewish Passover, 14th Nisan in the Jewish calendar, and broke their penitential fast on that date.	2nd century	• Melito of Sardis • Apollinaris of Hierapolis • Polycarp	• Pope Victor	• Listed among the heresies by Hippolytus of Rome. • Cited by Epiphanius, Theodoret, and Filaster as a heresy.

9 Artemonites	❶ Views Christ as a mere man, but born of a virgin and filled with divine power, and superior in virtue to the prophets. ❷ Declared the doctrine of the divinity of Christ to be an innovation dating from the time of Pope Zephyrinus.	End of C. 2nd, beg. of C. 3rd	• Artemon • Paul of Samosata	• Pope Zephyrinus	Artemon was excommunicated by Pope Zephyrinus (202-217)
10 Monarchians Patripassians, Sabellians	❶ Emphasis on the unity of God. ❷ Patripassianism – the Father Himself descended into the Virgin. ❸ Sabellianism – One God in three temporary manifestations.	3rd century	• Praxeas • Sabellius • Marcellus of Ancrya	• St Athanasius • St Epiphanius • Hippolytus • Tertullian	• Excommunicated by Pope Callistus (220) • Council of Constantinople (381)
11 Manichaeans	❶ Said that the apostles corrupted Christ's teaching, Mani revealed it in a pure form. ❷ That Christ's body was illusory. ❸ Their followers were severely ascetic.	3rd century	• Mani	• St Augustine	No official condemnation
12 Novatians	❶ Demanded that apostates *(the lapsi)* of the Decian persecution be refused re-admittance to the Church or reconciliation under any circumstance. ❷ Incorrect doctrine of the Holy Spirit	250	• Novatian • Tertullian • Hippolytus	• St Cyprian	Synod of 60 bishops at Rome (251)
13 Donatists	❶ Donatism was a schism rather than a heresy. ❷ The validity of the sacraments depends on the holiness of the minister. ❸ Rigid discipline in reference to the restoration of the lapsed. ❹ They believed themselves to be the true continuators of the Church in North Africa as it had been before the Great Persecution.	313 to 7th century	• Donatus	• St Augustine • Caecilian	Council of Arles 314
14 Arians	❶ Only God the Father is eternal. ❷ The Son had a beginning as the first and highest created being. ❸ The Son is not one in essence with the Father. ❹ Christ is subordinate to the Father.	4th century	• Arius • Origen • Eusebius of Nicomedia	• St Alexander of Alexandria • St Athanasius • St Hilary of	• Synod of 100 Egyptian hierarcy in Alexandria

	❺ Christ is called God as an honorific title.		• Eudoxius • Eunomius	Poitiers	(318) • Council of Nicaea (325)
15 Semi-Arians	Christ is of similar essence with the Father but is subordinate to Him.	4th century	• Eusebius of Caesaria • Basil of Ancyra • Gregory of Laodicea	As above	As above
16 Anomoeans Eunomians	❶ Radical followers of Arius. While accepting that the Father and Son are united in will, asserted that they are unlike or dissimilar (anomoios) in essence. ❷ They viewed any similarity of essence between the Trinity as a Sabellian denial of their distinct identities.	ca. Mid-4th century	• Eunomius of Cyzicus • Aetius	• St Basil • St Gregory of Nyssa	• Both exiled after Council of Ancyra (358) • Eunomius deposed after Constantinople (360)
17 Macedonians (Pneumato-machi)	❶ The Holy Spirit is a created being. ❷ Denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. ❸ The heresy comes from Arianism	4th century	• Macedonius • Eustathius of Sebaste	• St Athanasius • St Gregory of Nyssa • St Basil of Caesarea	• Condemned by Pope Damasus (374) • 2nd Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381)
18 Messalians	❶ Ascetic sect held that only intense and ceaseless prayer eliminates passion and desire by which demons held power over a person. ❷ They refused work and lived on alms.	Shortly after Mid-4th century	• Eustathius of Sebaste • Pseudo-Macarius • Diadochus	• St Ephraem • Flavian • St Epiphanius	Councils of : • Side (383) • Antioch (385) • Constantinople (426) • Ephesus (431)

19 Priscillians	❶ A Gnostic heresy. ❷ Distinction between God of the Old and New Testaments. ❸ Divine nature of the soul ❹ Christ's humanity not real. ❺ Rigid asceticism. ❻ Practise of magic and astrology. ❼ Marriage was condemned.	4th century 370	• Priscillian • Instantius • Salvianus • Helpidius	• Adyginus bishop of Cordova • Pope Leo I	Councils: • At Saragossa (380) • Of Toledo (447) • At Braga in (448, 563)
20 Pelagians	**Pelagianism**: ❶ Man is essentially good and capable of doing what is necessary for salvation. ❷ Adam's sin affected him only, not the whole human race. **Semi-Pelagianism**: ❶ The grace of God and the will of man work together in salvation, in which man must take the initiative. **Augustinianism**: ❶ Man is dead in sin. ❷ Salvation is totally by the grace of God which is given only to the elect. **Semi-Augustinianism**: ❶ The grace of God comes to all, enabling a person to choose and perform what is necessary for salvation and to overcome his innate sinfulness.	Shortly after 400	• Pelagius • Coelestius • Julian of Eclanum • John Cassian (Semi-Pelagian) • Caesarius of Arles (Semi-Augustinian)	• St Augustine • St Jerome • Pope Innocent I • Zosimus	• Condemnation of Coelestius (411) • Council of Carthage (418) • Council of Ephesus (431) • Council of Orange (529)
21 Apollinarians	❶ Jesus Christ had no human spirit or rational soul, the divine Logos replaced it. ❷ Jesus Christ could not have complete humanity because two beings already perfect, God and man, cannot product unity, but only a hybrid. ❸ That the rational soul constitutes the seat and centre of power of self-determination for good or evil, which would attribute the possibility of sin to Christ. ❹ A complete "nature" means the same thing as a "person".	4th century	• Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea	• St Severus of Antioch • St Philoxenus of Mabbug • Vitalis • Pope Damasus • St Athanasius • St Basil • St Gregory of Nazianzus • St Gregory of Nyssa	• At Rome under Pope Damasus (377, 382) • Council of Antioch (378, 379) • Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381)

22 Nestorians	❶ There are two persons in Christ, a divine person (the Logos) dwelling in a human person (the man Jesus). ❷ That which was formed in the womb of Mary is not God Himself, but because God dwells in him whom He assumed, He is called God. ❸ It is not God who has suffered, but God was **conjoined** with the crucified flesh. ❹ The holy Virgin is called θεοδόχος (*theodokhos*–the vessel of God) not θεοτόκος (*theotokos*–God-bearer and Mother of God). Also χριστοτόκος (*Christotokos*–Mother of Christ not Mother of God) ❺ Taught separation of the natures and unity of reverence. ❻ Denied the union of the Natures in Christ.	5th century	• Nestorius bishop of Constantinople	• St Cyril of Alexandria • Pope Celestine of Rome	3rd Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431)
23 Eutychians or Monophysites	❶ The humanity of Christ dissolved into His Divinity as a drop of vinegar would dissolve in the ocean i.e. the two natures in Christ had been intermixed into one nature. ❷ Denied the distinction of the natures in Christ.	5th century	• Eutyches	• Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria • Eusebius of Dorylaeum • Flavian of Constantinople • Pope Leo	• Home Synod at Constantinople (448) • Council of Chalcedon (451)

MAIN FEATURES OF THE THEOLOGY OF THE EARLY EASTERN AND WESTERN FATHERS AND THEOLOGIANS

FATHER OR THEOLOGIAN	FEATURES	THE CAUSE
1 ALEXANDRIANS	❖ Reconciliation with Philosophy (St Clement) for gaining every person to the true faith, even the philosophers. ❖ Allegorical interpretation of the Bible (Origen) to enjoy our journey from earth to heaven in fellowship with Christ under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to dwell in the bosom of the Father. ❖ Theological disputes (St Athanasius; St Cyril) to witness to the true faith for the salvation of mankind. ❖ Soteriological attitude (St Athanasius). ❖ Eschatological attitude (spiritual philosophy). ❖ Ascetical attitude (St Anthony the Great) as a joyful atmosphere.	❖ The Church was born in philosophical atmosphere. ❖ The starting of all kinds of monastic movements, to practice the angelic life. ❖ Responsibility for facing heresies, especially in the ecumenical councils, for attaining the new life in Christ and realizing the work of the Holy Trinity in our life.
2 ANTIOCHIANS AND SYRIANS	❖ Historico – Grammatical interpretation of the Bible. ❖ Practical theology (St John Chrysostom). ❖ Struggling between Orthodoxy and Nestorianism. ❖ Hymns (St Ephraem the Syrian).	❖ Opposing the Alexandrian School. ❖ Man and his behavior in Jesus Christ as the center of Christianity. ❖ The struggle between the Roman Empire and the Persian Kingdom. ❖ The Syriac language and its sweet pronunciation.
3 CAPPADOCIANS	❖ Theological terminology as an extension of Alexandrian theology.	❖ Struggling with the Arians and the Semi-Arians.
4 WESTERN	❖ Church order and canons. ❖ Practical theology.	❖ Rome is the capital of the empire. Need of the coordination between the Church and the State.

CONTEMPORARY INFLUENCE OF MILLENARIANISM APPEARING IN SOME CURRENT PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS

This dangerous idea has appeared in some Protestant denominations such as the Adventists, making of it a principal belief. Denominations began fixing dates for the coming of Christ to reign a millennium and proclaimed their thoughts on the following basis.

ARGUMENTS FOR BY PROTESTANT TEACHERS	ARGUMENTS AGAINST BY PROTESTANT TEACHERS
❶ The Lord Jesus comes to reign over His saints before the coming of the "man of sin," and the occurrence of the great tribulation. Then He comes back once more to destroy the Antichrist. ❷ Israel repents, but she remains a distinct body from the Church[1] and Jerusalem gets wider, embellishes herself, and becomes a center for the Jewish people who will rule the world. ❸ The rebuilding of the temple and the offering of animal sacrifices.	**Erdeman:** ❖ This principal on which the idea of the materialistic millennium is based, are contradictory to each other and is far from the spirit of the Bible. **Ray Sumers:**[2] ❖ It is not appropriate to build a general skeleton comprising the last events, the divinity and the philosophy of history upon three verses (Rev. 20:4,5,6), in a literal insatiable interpretation. **H. Monod:**[3] ❖ The spiritual and symbolic interpretation agrees with the line of the prophets in general, and especially in the book of Revelation, in which we find the Church as a candlestand, and the ministers stars, and we do not accept it literally. ❖ Saint John speaks only about "souls" v. 4 who came to life and reigned with Jesus, and did not say "souls and bodies." ❖ The literal interpretation does not agree with the other verses of the Holy Bible, which speaks about the general resurrection. It never came in the Bible that the resurrection happens twice, or in two different periods. But it appears already in Is. 12:23, John 5:5, 8:28, 1 Thess. 4:16-17, that the resurrection of the dead concerning the righteous and the wicked is followed immediately by Judgment and eternal life.

	❖ It is impossible for us to think that the return to earth gives happiness to the righteous, who died in faith, and are settled joyfully in Paradise as God's own. The Jews' mistake is represented in their desire that the Messiah rules an earthly kingdom, and the millenarians have a different view. ❖ If we consider the literal interpretation, what would be the case of those who are born during the millennium rule? Now, we say that through (bodily) death, the believers are saved; as they die in peace leaving trails and misery, to depart to the Lord, but this will not happen to those who will be born in the millennium reign. They assume it is a materialistic earthly rule where they marry. How can those who are born during the millennium be rightly judged when they do not carry the cross with the Lord Jesus, neither walk in the narrow way. ❖ This test is the only verse in the Holy Bible which says that the first resurrection comes before the end of the world, while great numbers of prophesies speak about the resurrection without talking about the resurrection of the bodies in a literal and materialistic way. Which is more correct? To explain the entire book and especially these prophesies in light of this obscure text, or to explain the obscure text in light of the many and clear prophesies of the Book? **J. Gible**:[4] ❖ Refuses the idea of the earthly millennium, by refuting the idea of the resurrection of the bodies to rule a visual bodily kingdom. ❖ The souls of the martyrs are alive, and they exercise a kind of resurrection as they taste a sort of rest, and a state of power and vitality. And somehow they practice authority with the Lord, for the amount of pain and trouble they bore at the time of their struggle for the Lord. ❖ The saints of the Lord reign with Him in a glorious immaterial way, beyond understanding. ❖ It is better for man to claim everything for Christ, to gain Christ, to be found in Him and to benefit of the kingdom of heaven, knowing that the cross is the way to the crown. Not to ask for material things. ❖ By not accepting the earthly millenary rule revives consolation in the believers, when they take off their earthly tent. They know that their souls do not sleep in a state of darkness, without feelings, when their bodies are in the dust, but death becomes for them a gain.

[1] Erdeman's interpretation of the Book of Revelation, p. 156 quoted in TY Malaty, *The Book of Revelation*, trans., V and R Malaty, St George's Coptic Orthodox Church Sporting, Alexandria, 1996, p. 225.
[2] R Sumers, *Worthy is the* Lamb, Baptist's Publications in Malaty, op. cit., p. 226.
[3] Rev. JS Exell, *The Biblical Illustrator* in Malaty, op. cit., pp. 226-227.
[4] Exell, op. cit., p. 275-276 in Malaty, op. cit., pp. 227-228.

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