

SYLLOGISMI ET TESTIMONIA

Prologus subiacentium sacrorum testimoniorum

Testimonia sacra et diuinitus inspirata, per quae liquidius
dis[s]cimus, duas per unionem inconfusam et indiuisam
sicut naturas, ita etiam et duas uoluntates, ac duas
5 operationes aptas et congruentes naturis, id est diuinam et
humanam, non incoeptam et incoeptam, ut Dei simul et
hominis unius et eiusdem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, *corde*
credere ad iustitiam, ore confiteri ad salutem; non autem
sicut nothi, qui notha nunc ecclesias docentes et
10 perturbantes, unam et nec unam, nec duas, et iterum unam
et duas uoluntates et operationes in eodem dogmatizant. Hoc
enim super instabilitatem et absurditatem sensus eorum qui
huiusmodi dogmata exponunt, impium omnino et alienum
immaculatae fidei nostrae Christianorum consistit. Eos enim,
15 qui unam uoluntatem et operationem, uel etiam naturam
unam deitatis et humanitatis eius dogmatizant, inclyti
institutores nostri et praeceptores repellunt et detestantur.
Hereticorum quippe est huiuscemodi dogma qui in
confusione et phantasia et diuisione oberrant. Ergo et hi, qui
20 nunc unam tantum duarum saluatoris nostri Christi
natura <ru>m, uoluntatem et operationem dogmatizant,
nonne cum illis, et secundum illos, supersubstantialis
theologiae, ac in carne factae dispensationis subuertunt et
diffitentur mysterium, quaternitatem quidem personarum
25 Trinitatem astruentes, ipsum uero unum eiusdem, id est
Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum uerum Deum, iuxta quod
secundum nos «factus est homo», inanimalem simul et
irrationalem atque sine intellectu subscribentes, et
coniecturam, et phantasiam, confusionemque ac diuisionem
30 utriusque naturae ipsius introducentes. Hi uero qui nec

3/8 cf. *Conc. Lateranense*, ACO ser. II, i, p. 365, 35 - 367, 5 et
Disp. 368/369 7/8 Rom. 10, 10 27 ex *definitione Nicaena*; uide
Conc. Lateranense, ACO ser. II, i, p. 219, 10

6 incoeptam¹] inceptam *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* incoeptam²]
inceptam *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 12 et absurditatem] *add. in mg.*
manus sec. eorum] et absurditatem sensus eorum *exp. p. corr.*
manus sec. 16 dogmatizant] dogmatizent *a. corr. cod.* 17 post
praeceptores *exp. nostri ut uid. e corr. manu sec.* 19 phantasia *cod.*
a. corr. manu sec. 20 Christi *add. in mg.* 21 naturarum]
correxerunt, naturam cod.

Prologue to the adjoining holy Testimonia

(These are) the holy and divinely inspired testimonia, through which we learn more clearly to believe *in the heart for justice* (and) to confess *with our mouths for salvation*, two natures through an unmixed and undivided union, (and) in the same way also both two wills and two activities fitting and appropriate to the natures, that is the divine and the human, the without-beginning and the begun, as belonging to God and man at the same time, one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ; but not as those false people confess, who now cause confusion for the churches by their false doctrines, teaching one and not one, nor two, and again one and two wills and activities in the same (person). For this, as well as establishing the unreliability and absurdity of the understanding of the exponents of this kind of teaching, also stands as altogether unholy and foreign to our unstained faith as Christians. For our renowned founders and teachers reject and loathe those who teach one will and activity, or even a single nature of his divinity and his humanity. Clearly this kind of teaching belongs to heretics who stray in confusion and imagining and division. Therefore those people too, who now teach only one will and activity of the two natures of our Saviour Christ, surely suppress and deny – along with them and following them – the mystery of supersubstantial theology and of the dispensation made in flesh. They construe the Trinity as four persons, but claim that that very one of the same, i.e. our Lord Jesus Christ the true God, according to the fact that "he was made man", as we believe, (is) at the same time inanimate and irrational and without intellect, and they introduce conjecture and imaginings and confusion and division of each of his natures. But these people who do not want to

uoluntatem aut operationem in eo confiteri uolunt,
inessentialem et inexistentialem secundum utranque naturam
eius denuntiant, et iam dictis hereticis magis impios ipsi
seipsos esse per propria dogmata monstrant.

35 Porro, hi qui | unam et duas uoluntates et operationes in
incarnata eius dispensatione super nouam fabulam et
figmentum huiusmodi dogmatis dogmatizant, non solum
orthodoxae ac paternae confessioni hereticam opinionem,
40 ueluti aquam uino secundum illud quod dicitur, miscentes
simul praedicare uolunt, sed et tres uoluntates, et tres
operationes, et totidem ex necessitate etiam naturas, id est
essentias, habentem eum inducunt, cum nec naturam esse
sine operatione, nec rursus operationem sine natura possibile
sit. Habent enim se praedicta testimonia quemadmodum
45 subinfertur.

f. 48

Sancti Hyppoliti episcopi Portus Romani et martyr
ueritatis, ex sermone qui est per elementum de theologia
et incarnatione contra Beronem et Heliconem hereticos,
cuius initium est, «Ἁγίος, ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἅγιος, Dominus
50 Sabahoth» incessanti uoce clamantes seraphim Deum
glorif<ic>ant.

Immensae quippe uirtutis uoluntate Dei, et facta sunt omnia
et saluantur quae facta sunt, secundum suas ipsius oportune
singula conseruata rationes, ei qui est secundum naturam
55 immensae uirtutis Deus et factor uniuersorum, diuina
uoluntate, quae omnia fecit ac mouet, suis unaquaeque
naturalibus producta legibus, immobili permanente. Quod
enim immensum est, nulla ratione uel modo recipit motum,
non habens quo et circa quod moueatur. Vertibilitas enim
60 eius qui est inexpers motionis, motus est. Propter quod
secundum nos ueraciter factum homo *absque peccato* Dei

39 cf. Is. 1, 22 49/50 Is. 6, 3 61 Heb. 4, 15

38 orthodoxae] horthodoxae cod. a. corr. manu sec. 46 Hyppoliti]
sic cod. 50 incessati a. corr. cod. 51 glorificant] scripsi,
glorifant cod. 53 ipsius] an corrigendum ipsorum? oportune] sic
cod. 60 inexpers] an corrigendum immensus et addendum
secundum naturam? Vide 58 et gr. κατὰ φύσιν ἀπέριον.

confess either will or activity in him, pronounce (that he is) without existence or essence according to each of his natures, and show themselves even more unholy than the said heretics through their own teachings.

Furthermore, those who teach one and two wills and activities in his incarnate dispensation, as well as the new version and figment of this kind of teaching, not only wish to teach heretical views at the same time as the orthodox confession of the Fathers, as if mixing water with wine, as it is said, but also represent him as having three wills, and three activities, and even as many natures, i.e. essences, by necessity, since it is not possible for there to be a nature without an activity, nor again an activity without a nature. For the testimonia which I mentioned speak as follows.

From the sermon of the holy Hippolytus, bishop of the Port of Rome and martyr of the truth,¹ which concerns theology and incarnation, against the heretics Beron and Helicon,² which begins according to the verse:³ "*Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts*" the seraphim glorify God with ceaseless voice.

By the will of God which is of unlimited power, all things were made, and all things made are saved, each thing conserved appropriately according to its internal designs,⁴ while the divine will which made and moves all things, each produced according to its own natural laws, remains unchanged for him who is according to nature God of unlimited power, and the maker of all. For what is unlimited accepts movement by no reason or manner, not having the space in which or that around which it may be

¹ Or "witness to the truth": the Latin *martyr ueritatis* can mean both.

² These two opponents are only known from this work. The editor of PL129, 665 notes in (a) that two manuscripts give the latter's name as Πλυτώνος. On the claims made by Beron, the heir of Valentinus the Apollinarist, about the single activity of Christ, see Extracts V (p.67), VI (p. 68) and VIII (p. 70).

³ The Latin *per elementum* does not capture the sense of Greek κατά στοιχείον λόγου, which I have translated here.

⁴ Λόγοι in Greek are the internal designs or rational principles of each intellectual being.

65 uerbum, operatumque ac patiens humanitus quaecunque
 naturae sunt sine peccato, et naturalis carnis
 circumscriptionem propter nos sustinens, nullam omnino
 propter exinanitionem uicissitudinem pertulit cui id ipsum est
 Patri, factum id ipsum carni. Sed sicut erat sine carne, omni
 etiam excepta circumscriptione permansit, et per carnem
 deifice operans quae deitatis sunt, utraque ostendens se per
 70 quae dupliciter, diuine scilicet et humane, operatum est
 secundum eandem, quae ueraciter uera est et naturalis
 substantia, Deum immensum simul et circumscriptum
 hominem existentem et intellectum, <substantiam>
 utriusque perfecte perfectam habentem, cum eadem
 operatione, id est naturali proprietate, ex quibus manentem
 75 semper secundum naturam sine conuertibilitate earum
 differentiam scimus, sed non (sicut quidam aiunt) secundum
 comparationem, ne eundem sibi secundum ipsum praeter
 quod oportet maiorem ac minorem dicamus. |
 Connaturalium quippe, et non eorum quae alterius sunt
 80 naturae, comparationes existunt. Deo enim factori omnium
 fact[or]um, infinitoque finituum, et infinitati finis, secundum
 nullam comparatur rationem, cum semper et per omnia
 naturaliter abinuicem, sed non comparatiue differantur,
 quanquam ineffabilis quaedam et indirumpibilis in unam
 85 subsistentiam utriusque facta sit unitas, omnem penitus omnis
 facti scientiam fugiens. Diuinitas enim, ut erat ante
 incarnationem, est et post incarnationem, secundum naturam
 infinita, incomprehensibilis, impa<s>sibilis,
 incomparabilis, inconuertibilis, per se potens, et, ut totum
 90 dicamus, subsistens substantialis solum infinitae uirtutis
 bonum.

f. 48^v

63 cf. Heb. 4, 15 68/69 cf. *Conc. Lateranense*, ACO ser. II, i p.
 367, 5 76/77 cf. *Max. Disp. cum Pyrr.*, PG 91, 349 C 12-14

65/66 pertulit - carni] pertulit. Cui...Patri factum, id ipsum carni
 punctauit cod. 72 substantiam] *suppleui*, nisa 282 73 perfectam]
*correx*i, nisa 283, perfectionem cod. 81 factum] *correx*i nisa gr.,
 factorum cod. 83 differantur] *an corrigendum* differant? 88
 impasibilis cod. 89 incomparabilis] *post hanc vocem forsan*
immutabilis supplendum est, cf. gr. ἀνἀλλώτῳ

II Eiusdem ex eodem sermone

95 Factus ergo ueraciter secundum Scripturas, non conuersus
uniuersorum Deus homo sine peccato, ut nouit ipse solus,
cum sit artifex naturalis eorum quae sunt supra sensum, in
ipsa simul saluari incarnatione deitatis suae coaptans carni
operationem, non circumscriptam ea propter euacuationem,
nec sicut ex deitate sua, ita et ex ipsa naturaliter cognatam,
100 sed in quibuscunque incarnatus sit deifice operatus est per
ipsam declaratam. Non enim caro facta est per naturam
deitas, translata natura, facta uidelicet secundum naturam
deitatis caro, sed quod erat etiam deitati coaptata mansit, id
est *caro infirma* et passibilis natura et operatione,
105 quemadmodum saluator ait: *Spiritus quidem promptus, caro
autem infirma*. In qua operatus et passus quae erant carnis
absque peccato, exinanitionem pro nobis indicauit diuinitatis,
miraculis et carnis passionibus naturaliter roboratam. Propter
hoc enim factus est homo uniuersorum Deus, ut carne
quidem passibili patiens, totum nostrum morti uenditum
110 redimeret genus, impassibili uero deitate per carnem
mirabiliter operans, ad immortalem illud et beatam reduceret
uitam, de qua ceciderat diabolo parens, atque sanctos
intellectualium substantiarum caeli ordines ad
inconuertibilitatem mysterio suae stabiliret incorporationis,
115 cuius opus omnium est in eum recapitulatio. Mansit ergo
etiam incarnatus secundum naturam Deus superimmensus,
sibi cognatam et conuenientem habens operationem, ex
deitate quidem substantialiter natam, per sanctissimam uero
carnem in miraculis dispensatorie declaratam, ut credatur
120 Deus esse, per infirmam natura carnem per se operans
uniuersitatis salutem.

94 cf. Heb. 4, 15 103/105 Matth. 26, 41; Marc. 14, 38 105/107
cf. Ep. Leonis ad Flavianum, ACO i, i, pp. 14, 28 - 15, 1 106
Heb. 4, 15 115 cf. Eph. 1, 10

96 coaptans] e corr. manu sec. 98 cognatam] correxi e gr.
ἐκφρομένην, cognitam cod.

Extract II from the same sermon

Therefore according to Scripture, the God of the universe truly became man without sin, not through conversion, as he himself alone knows, since he is the natural fashioner of those things which are above understanding, fitting the activity of his divinity to the flesh simultaneously in the saving incarnation, (an activity) which was not limited by it⁸ because of the emptying, and not springing from the flesh naturally as it did from his divinity, but manifested through it in whatever he performed divinely as the incarnate one. For the flesh was not made deity through nature, with the nature changed over, that is, it was (not) made flesh according to the nature of deity, but what it was, the flesh remained even when fitted to the deity, that is, weak and passible in nature and activity, as the Saviour said: *For the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak*. Acting and suffering in the flesh those things of the flesh *without sin*, he revealed the emptying of the divinity on our account, confirmed according to its nature by miracles and in the sufferings of the flesh. For on this account the God of all was made man, so that by suffering indeed in passible flesh, he might ransom all our race which had been sold to death; but by his impassible divinity working miracles through the flesh, (so that) he might lead it⁹ back to the immortal and blessed life, from which it had fallen by obeying the devil; and so that he might establish the holy heavenly orders of intellectual substances in unchangeability by the mystery of his enfleshment, whose task is the recapitulation of all to him. Therefore even when he was incarnate, he remained the supremely unlimited God by nature, possessing an activity related and appropriate to himself, which in fact was produced from the deity in substance, but which was revealed through (his) most holy flesh in miracles through the economy, so that he might be believed to be God, bringing about through his agency the salvation of all through the flesh which is by nature weak.

Extract III from the same sermon

For if I may explain what was said about the Saviour by an example, my natural speech is related and appropriate to me, since I am a rational and intellectual soul.

⁸ Sc. the flesh.

⁹ Sc. human kind.

III Eiusdem ex eodem sermone

125 Etenim et mihi, ut paradiquate quod de saluatore dictum
est exprimam, naturalis sermo meus cognatus est et
competens, cum sim rationalis | et intellectualis anima. f. 49
Cuius secundum naturam est a se mobilis operatio ac prima
uirtus, semper mobilis sermo naturaliter ex ea profluens,
quem uerbis prolatus et lineis exaratus lingua quidem
130 organice cum oportet produco, et litteris artificiose + per
indissimilia non existentem, et dissimilibus non fugientem +
ostendens eum subauditum. Non enim linguae ac litterarum
naturalis sermo meus est, licet per eas ipsius faciamus
pronuntiationem, sed meus, qui secundum naturam loquor,
135 et per utrasque illum ut meum pronuntio, ab intellectuali
quidem anima mea semper naturaliter diriuatum, per
corporalem uero linguam meam organice, ut dixi, cum
oportet productum. Sicut ergo in nobis, quantum aestimare
possumus quod modis omnibus est inaestimabile, per
corporalem linguam nostram inconuertibiliter, quae
140 secundum naturam est animae rationabilis producitur uirtus,
ita et in gloriosa Dei incarnatione, per sanctissimam carnem
suam, in quibuscunque diuine operaretur, sine
conuertibilitate omnipotentia et cunctorum factiua totius
deitatis operatio monstrabatur, absque omni secundum
145 naturam circumscriptione permanens, licet per carnem
fulgeret natura circumfinita < m > . Non enim circumscribitur
facticia natura, quod secundum naturam factum non est, licet
cooriatur ei per conceptionem omnem sensum
circumscribentem; nec etiam in eodem ipso sibi natura
150 differtur aliquando et naturalis operatio, donec utrumque intra

128 *linga cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 132 *ipsius] supra l. manu sec.*
134 *intellectuli a. corr. cod.* 140 *rationalis cod. a. corr. manu*
sec. 146 *circumfinitam] correxi nisa gr., circumfinita cod.*
149/151 *Anastasius non bene intellexit*

My soul has, according to nature, a self-moving activity and primary power, the ever-moving speech flowing forth from it naturally, which I produce when necessary, and is carried forth in words and inscribed in lines¹⁰ by the tongue indeed as an organ, and skilfully by letters. I show that it has been understood, since it does not exist¹¹ through (media) which are not unlike, and does not escape because of the differing (media). For my natural speech does not belong to the tongue and letters, although through them we articulate it, but belongs to me. I speak according to nature, and through both of them I articulate it as mine, always indeed by nature arising from the understanding of my mind, but produced through my bodily tongue as an organ, as I said, when it is fitting. Therefore, just as what is a rational power of the soul according to nature is produced in us through our physical tongue without change – as far as we can guess at what is altogether unable to be guessed –, in the same way also in the glorious incarnation of God, in the things he performed divinely through his most holy flesh, the activity of the whole deity – omnipotent and creative of all – was revealed, without the capacity for change, remaining without any limitation according to nature, although it shone through the flesh which was encompassed by nature. For what is according to nature without generation is not limited by a generated nature, although it arises in it through conception which limits it in every sense; nor indeed does the nature and natural activity at any stage differ from itself in the very same one,¹² as long as each¹³ remains within its own natural unchangeability. For the movement of beings of the same nature alone is self-moving, revealing the substance of which it is the natural power, which is not in any way able to be or to become of the substance of a different-natured property without

¹⁰ Cf. Diekamp, p. 323, 10: ῥηματίσας τε καὶ γραμμαῖς εὖ χαράξας "both speaking and writing well in lines".

¹¹ Cf. Diekamp, p. 323, 12: μὴ τροπέντα "not changed" for Latin *non existentem*. The next clause "and does not escape because of the differing (media)" would seem to be a scholiast's comment on the text of this clause, which may itself be corrupt.

¹² Latin *in eodem ipso sibi...differtur* is a poor translation of εἰς ταὐτὸν αὐτῷ φέρεσθαι (I have adopted Diekamp's emendation of αὐτὸν, (p. 323, 26). The Greek means: "nor indeed can it (sc. what is according to nature not created) ever be reduced to this (sc. what is a created nature) in itself, in terms of nature or natural activity."

¹³ Latin *utrumque* is neuter singular, and presumably refers to each of "the created and the uncreated."

propriam manet naturalem inconuertibilitatem.
Connaturalium enim tantum per se operans est motus,
manifestans substantiam cuius naturalem constat esse
uirtutem, diuersae naturae proprietatis substantia <e> nulla
ratione esse uel fieri sine conuertibilitate ualente <m>.

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III Eiusdem ex eodem sermone

Mysterium nanque diuinae incarnationis apostolis et
prophetis atque doctoribus duplam ac diuersam in omnibus
habere naturalem theoriam dinoscitur, cum sit perfectae
deitatis et plenae demonstratiuum humanitatis. Quarum
donec unum secundum substantiam non cognitum fuerit
uerbum, unius operationis, cum utriusque sit, nunquam
aliquando cognoscetur motus. Cum enim semper secundum
naturam existat Deus, superinfinita[m] uirtute[m] factus,
sicut uoluit, homo sine peccato, quod erat est, cum quantis
cognoscitur Deus; et quod factus est, est cum quantis esse
cognoscitur homo, secundum utrumque suum semper
permanens sine casu, quibus diuine pariter et humane
operatus est, perfectionem per omnem utriusque rationem
sibi naturaliter incommutabilem saluans.

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f. 49^v

V Eiusdem ex eodem sermone

Bero enim quidam nuper, et alii quidam, Valentini
phantasia deserta, deteriori irretiti sunt prauitati, dicentes
assumptam a uerbo carnem fuisse eadem quae diuinitas
operata est operatam <propter assumptionem>, diuinitatem
uero compassibilem carni propter exinanitionem,
conuertibilitatem simul et commixtionem, seu
co<n>fusionem, atque utriusque in inuicem mutationem
dogmatizantes. Si enim assumpta caro facta est cooperatrix
diuinitati, liquet quod et natura Deus cum quotquot est

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165 cf. Heb. 4, 15 168/170 cf. Deusdedit, *Conc. Lateranense*,
ACO ser. II, i, p. 59, 21-23

154 substantiae] *correx*i e gr. et nisa 316, substantia cod. 155
ualentem] *correx*i e gr., ualente cod. 164 superinfinita uirtute]
*correx*i nisa gr., superinfinitam uirtutem cod. 173 deserta] e corr.
cod. 175 propter assumptionem] *restitu*i ex gr. διὰ τὴν πρόσληψιν
178 cofusionem cod.

changeability.¹⁴

Extract IV from the same sermon

For the mystery of the divine incarnation is recognised by the apostles and prophets and teachers to have a double and diverse natural basis for consideration in all respects, since it demonstrates perfect deity and full humanity. The movement of these¹⁵ will never be understood, since it belongs to both, until the Word is recognised as not being one according to substance, having one activity. For since God always exists according to nature, and was made man, as he wished, without sin by superinfinite power, what he was he is, with whatever makes him recognised as God; and what he was made, he is, with whatever makes him recognised as man.¹⁶ He remains always without fail according to each of his (natures), in which he acted equally as God and as a human being, preserving in himself the naturally incommutable perfection through the whole internal design¹⁷ of each (nature).

Extract V from the same sermon

For a certain Beron lately, and certain others who had abandoned the notion of Valentinus,¹⁸ have been entangled in a worse depravity, in saying that the flesh assumed by the Word performed the same things which the divinity performed [on account of the assumption],¹⁹ but that the divinity suffered with the flesh on account of the emptying; and in teaching at the same time changeability and the mixing together, or confusion, and the changing of each into the other. For if the assumed

¹⁴ I have translated the emended text. The original Latin looks like an ablative-absolute phrase qualifying *substantiam* but omits the second occurrence of the noun *substantiae* (οὐσίας). Cf. the citation of this passage at 316/318.

¹⁵ Sc. deity and humanity.

¹⁶ For "man", the Greek, in Diekamp, p. 324, 6 reads: Θεὸς καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος: "God, and is able to be known as man".

¹⁷ On the meaning of *ratio*, (Greek λόγος), see n.2 above.

¹⁸ Valentinus the Apollinarist wrote an *Apologia* "against those who say that we maintain that Christ's body is consubstantial with God". Some chapters of this are preserved in Leontius of Byzantium, *Adversus Fraudes Apollinistarum*, 104ff. (CPG 6817). See A. Di Berardino, *EEC*, p. 859, and A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2, part 1, Eng. trans. by P. Allen and J. Cawte (London-New York, 1987), p. 59, section (d).

¹⁹ This is supplied from the Greek, Diekamp, p. 324, 13-14: διὰ τὴν πρόσληψιν.

185 <naturaliter> intelligatur Deus, et si facta est exinanita
 compa <s> sibilis carni diuinitas, liquet quod et natura caro
 cum quotquot est naturaliter esse intelligatur caro. Ea quippe
 190 quae mutuo sunt cooperantia et eadem operantia et eiusdem
 originis, profecto et compassibilia naturae non suscipientia
 differentiam, et naturis sibi confusis erit dualitas Christus,
 et, personis separatis, fiet quaternitas, quod est nimium
 fugiendum. Et quomodo illis unus et idem ipse erit Deus
 natura simul et homo Christus? Quam etiam secundum ipsos
 195 habebit essentiam mutatione diuinitatis factus homo, et carnis
 translatione Deus? Casus enim in alterutras, omnimoda est
 utrarumque peremptio. Inspiciatur itaque a nobis aliter
 sermo.

VI Eiusdem ex eodem sermone

195 Pium Christianis constitutum est dogma credentibus,
 secundum eandem naturam ac operationem, et omne aliud
 sibi conueniens, aequalem sibi et eundem ipsum esse Deum,
 nihil omnino eorum quae sua sunt inaequale habentem et
 inconueniens. Si igitur secundum Beronem assumpta sibi
 200 caro eiusdem operationis effecta est, haud dubium quin et
 eiusdem facta est sibi naturae, cum quotquot est natura, id
 est inprincipalitate, infactione, infinitate, sempiternitate,
 incom <prae> hensibilitate, et quaecunque horum secundum
 205 magnitudinem theologia amplissime in deitate ratio
 contemplatur, et uicissitudinem utraque passa sunt, neutro
 naturae suae substantialem rationem ultra saluandam habente.
 Qui enim ea quae alterius sunt naturae sentit eandem
 operationem, [non] confusionem simul naturalem, et
 diuisionem eius personalem introducit, incognita prorsus
 210 idiomatum commutatione naturali eorum facta existentia.

181 naturaliter] restitui ex gr. φυσικῶς 182 compasibilis cod.
 184/185 sic punctauit cod. et in 319/321 192 peremptio] e corr.
 cod. 198 post omnino forsan supplendum sibi (uide gr.) 202
 (infini)t(ate)] post corr. cod. 203 incomhensibilitate cod. 207 ea]
 uidetur corrigendum eorum (cf. 333) 208 non] secludendum (cf.
 334) 209 eius] an corrigendum eorum? cf. 335 210 exsistentia
 a. corr. cod.

flesh was made a co-operator with the divinity, it is clear also that God is God in nature with however many (properties) he is understood to have [by nature],²⁰ and if the emptied divinity was made able to suffer with the flesh, it is clear also that the flesh is flesh by nature with however many (properties) it is understood to have by nature. In fact those things which work together, and have the same scope of activity, and are of the same origin, and of course are able to suffer together, do not accept a difference of nature, and Christ will be a duality if his natures are confused with each other, and he will become a quaternity if the persons are separated, which must be utterly avoided. And how will there be one and the very same Christ from these, at the same time God and man by nature? And what essence will he have, according to them, when he is made man by mutation of the divinity, and God by change of the flesh? For [a change]²¹ into each other entails the total destruction of each one. Therefore let us examine the argument in another way.

Extract VI from the same sermon

The right teaching is established among Christians who believe that God is equal to himself and the very same, according to the same nature and activity, and everything else belonging to him, and that he has nothing at all unequal or unfitting in his characteristics. If, therefore, as Beron claims, the flesh assumed by him has been made to have the same activity, there is no doubt that his flesh has been made to have the same nature as he, with whatever the nature has, i.e. being without beginning, without being made, without end, everlasting, incomprehensible, and whatever attributes of magnitude theological reasoning contemplates most fully in the deity, and each has undergone change, with neither having the substantial internal design of its nature still intact. For whoever thinks that those things of another nature (have)²² the same activity, introduces at the same time a confusion of natures, and a division with respect to his person, with their natural existence made altogether unrecognisable by the exchange of the personal properties.

²⁰ This is supplied from the Greek, Diekamp, p. 324, 18: φυσικῶς.

²¹ Greek μετόππωσις can mean "a grammatical inflexion", like the Latin *casus* which Anastasius has used in his translation, but which fails to give the right sense.

²² A verb needs to be supplied to the Latin noun phrase (*eandem operationem*), to render the sense of the Greek noun ταντουργίαν. The negative (*non*), missing from the Greek, has not been translated.

VII Eiusdem ex eodem sermone

215 Si uero eiusdem sibi non fuit naturae, nec eiusdem sibi aliquando fiet naturalis operationis, ne appareat secundum naturam operationem inae|qualem habere et inconuenientem, et suae ipsius, per omnia eorum quae sua sunt, naturalis extraneus factus aequalitatis et identitatis, quod est penitus impium.

f. 50

VIII Eiusdem ex eodem sermone

220 In hunc autem errorem illati sunt male credentes propriam carnis effectam diuinam operationem, quae per ipsam in miraculis manifestata est, qua totum Christus substantians secundum quod intelligitur Deus, tenet retentum. *Non enim cognouerunt*, impo<s>sibile[m] esse diuinae operationem naturae, alterius naturae substantiae idioma fieri absque conuertibilitate; *neque intellexerunt*, quod non utique proprium sit carnis, quod per eam quidem ostensum est, non ex ea naturaliter ortum, praesertim cum clarae sit eis et manifestae probationis. Ego enim lingua loquens et manu scribens, unam et eandem per utramque intellectualis animae meae profero cogitationem, operationem eius existentem naturalem, nulla ratione ostendens eam lingua uel manu naturaliter ortam, sed nec effectam earum uel dictam cogitationem propter eius ex utraque manifestationem. Linguam enim uel manum cogitatuam sapienter nouit nemo; sicut nec sanctissimam Dei carnem, pro eo quod assumpta sit, et per eam diuina sit operatio clara effecta, secundum <***> natura conditricem. Sed pie confitetur credens, quia «**propter salutem nostram**», et ut ad inco<n>uersibilitatem ligaret uniuersitatem, uniuersorum conditor ex sanctissima semper uirgine Maria per

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222/225 Ps. 81, 5 238 ex definitione Nicaena, in Conc. Lateranense, ACO ser. II, i, p. 219, 9-10

223 impossibile] scripsi, impossibilem cod. (uide autem 345) operationem] an legendum operationes cum gr.? 226 carnis] car*is e corr. cod. ut uid. 237 aliqua ceciderunt; an eum supplendum sit? cf. gr. κατ'αὐτὸν 239 incouersibilitatem cod. 240 conditor] correxi nisa gr. δημιουργός, cognitor cod.

Extract VII from the same sermon

But if he²³ was not of the same nature as himself, nor will he ever become of the same natural activity as himself, lest he should appear to have an activity which is unequal and unfitting to his nature, and to have become estranged from his own natural equality and identity through all the properties which belong to him: this is completely impious.

Extract VIII from the same sermon

But into this error have been drawn those who wrongly believe that the divine activity, which has been revealed through (the flesh) itself in miracles, was made proper to the flesh, by which (activity) Christ, who gave the universe substance, in so far as he is understood as God, holds it together in his power. For *they did not know* that it is impossible for an activity²⁴ of the divine nature to become a property of a substance of another nature without changeability; *nor did they understand* that what has indeed been shown through it, but has not arisen from it by nature, is not indeed proper to the flesh, especially since it is a clear and obvious proof to them. For I, by speaking with my tongue and writing with my hand, bring forth one and the same thought from the understanding of my mind through each, (a thought) which exists as its natural activity, in no way indicating that it has arisen from the tongue or the hand by nature, nor that it is a deliberation which they have brought about by speaking,²⁵ simply because it is manifested through both. For no-one who reasons sensibly thinks that the tongue or the hand is capable of thought; so too neither (does anyone reason) that the most holy flesh of God is according to (him)²⁶ by nature capable of creation, by virtue of the fact that it has been assumed, and the divine activity has been made clear through it. But he confesses correctly, believing that the

²³ Sc. Christ.

²⁴ Cf. Greek ἐνεργείας "activities".

²⁵ Sc. the tongue's and the hand's.

²⁶ There is a problem with the Latin (*secundum natura conditricem*) and the Greek text here. I have translated my suggested emendation (*eum*), following the Greek, but it is not really clear to whom or what this pronoun (αὐτόν) refers: perhaps it should be neuter rather than masculine, referring to the neuter accusative verbal noun clause "through the assumption", in which case the Latin should read *secundum id natura conditricem*.

conceptionem inuiolabilem sine conuersibilitate substantians
 sibimet animam intellectualem cum sensiuo corpore, natura
 «factus est homo» malitiae alienus, totus Deus ipse, totus
 245 homo idem ipse, deitate quidem diuina per suam ipsius
 sanctissimam carnem, non existentia natura carnis, operans,
 humanitate uero humana, non existentia natura deitatis, nil
 diuinum nudum corpore operatur, nil humanum idem ipse
 priuatum diuinitate gerens, seruans sibimet modum secundum
 250 utrunque immutabilem, per quem operatus est utraque
 decenti more, ad approbationem perfectae ac uerae nihilque
 habentis prauitatis inhumanationis suae. Itaque Bero quidem
 sic se habens, ut dixi, operationis monade deitatem Christi
 et humanitatem naturaliter simul confundens, et partiens
 personaliter, dissoluit uitam, ignorans solius
 255 con[tra]naturalium personarum connaturalis identitatis
 eandem ipsam operationem esse significatiuam.

**Syllogismi de suppositis diuinitus sapientibus testimoniis,
 | et aliis, eiusdem Sancti Anastasii**

f. 50^v

260 Ecce nunc et sacratissimus hic et magnus doctor,
 ueritatisque testis fidelis, concorditer cum aliis omnibus
 sanctis catholicae Dei ac apostolicae institutoribus ecclesiae,
 'duas secundum unionem inconfusam et impartibilem
 quemadmodum naturas, ita etiam duas uoluntates et duas
 265 operationes congruentes et conuenientes naturis, diuinam ut
 dictum est et humanam, increatam et creatam, non incoeptam
 et coeptam, tanquam Dei simul et hominis unius et eiusdem
 Domini nostri Iesu Christi,' magna uoce confitetur ac
 praedicat, et confiteri nobis sine praeuaricatione iubet.

270 Difficillimum autem esse, ac modis omnibus impossibile
 diffinit, ut unam uoluntatem et operationem aut naturam

243 ex definitione Nicaena, in *Conc. Lateranense*, ACO ser. II, i,
 p. 219, 10 243/244 cf. *Max. Disp. cum Pyrr.*, PG 91, 305 C 10-
 12 262/267 cf. super, 3/7

246 post deitatis an ceciderunt aliqua? Vide gr. ὀνοχῆ πάσχω
 θεότητος 250 decenti more] an corrigendum recenti more? cf. gr.
 καινοπρεπῆ 255 connaturalium] correxi nisa 354, contranaturalium
 cod. 262 incofusam cod. a. corr. manu sec.

Scholion 244 ipse] totus Deus pariter natura, et homo idem ipse

founder of everything, "for our salvation", and so that he might bind everything to unchangeability, established in himself – from the most holy, ever-virgin Mary through the inviolable conception –, without changeability, an intellectual mind with a sentient body (and) "became man" by nature, a stranger to wrongdoing, wholly God and the very same one wholly man, (equally by nature wholly God and the very same one wholly man);²⁷ with the deity, indeed, performing divine acts through his most holy flesh, not existing by nature in the flesh, but with the humanity accomplishing human acts, not existing by nature in the divinity, [enduring (human things) by suspension of divinity];²⁸ and that he performed nothing divine stripped of the body, and the very same one accomplished nothing human that was deprived of divinity, (and) kept in himself an immutable mode (of existence) according to each, through which he performed both (kinds of act) in a fitting way, to prove his perfect and true incarnation, which contained no wickedness. And so Beron, who believes thus, as I said, in the monad of activity, confused together the deity and humanity of Christ in respect of nature; and by dividing him in respect of person, destroyed (his) life, not knowing that the very same activity indicates the single connatural identity of persons of the same nature.

Syllogisms on the attached divinely wise decrees and others, of the same holy Anastasius

Look now, this most holy and great teacher and faithful witness to the truth, in agreement with all other holy founders of the catholic and apostolic church of God, confesses and preaches in a loud voice, and orders us to confess without equivocation, "in the same way as two natures according to the unmixed and indivisible union, so also two wills and two activities which are appropriate and fitting to the natures, the divine – as has been said – and human, uncreated and created, without beginning and begun, as of God and man at the same time, and of one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ."

But he describes it as most difficult, and in every way impossible, for those

²⁷ This is supplied from the marginal gloss.

²⁸ This is supplied from the Greek, Diekamp, p. 326, 5: ἀνοχῇ πάσων θεότητος.

275 unam deitatis et humanitatis eius confiteantur hi qui pie
uiuere uolunt. Propter quod et tale quid in eo dogmatizantes,
tanquam impios et alienos immaculatae nostrae
Christianorum fidei abicit et condemnat, nosque hoc facere
protestatur.

280 De duabus enim saluatoris nostri Christi naturis et
operationibus, ut breuiter pauca ex sacris illius eloquiis
expediam, haec euidenter affatur: 'Vtraque ostendens se per
quae dupliciter, diuine scilicet et humane, operatum est
secundum eandem, quae ueraciter uera est et naturalis
substantia, Deum immensum simul et circumscriptum
hominem existentem et intellectum, substantiam utriusque
perfect[a]e perfectam habentem cum operatione sua, id est
naturali proprietate.'

285 Et rursus: 'Non enim facta est natura deitas, transmutata
natura, caro, facta natura diuinitatis caro, sed quod erat
etiam deitati coaptata mansit, *caro infirma* et passibilis natura
et operatione, sicut ait saluator: *Spiritus quidem promptus,
caro autem infirma.*'

290 Et iterum: 'Per quam operatus et patiens quae erant carnis
sine peccato, pro nobis indicauit exinanitionem deitatis,
miraculis et carnis passionibus naturaliter roboratam.'

295 Et iterum: 'Mysterium diuinae incarnationis apostolis et
prophetis atque doctoribus duplam et diuersam habere
dinoscitur naturalem in omnibus theoriam, indiminutae
deitatis existens et plenae demonstratiuum humanitatis.'

Et iterum: 'Quibus diuine pariter et humane operatus est,
perfectionem per omnem utriusque rationem sibi naturaliter
incommutabilem saluans.'

278/284 Excerpt. I, 68/74 285/289 Excerpt. II, 100/105
287/289 Matth. 26, 41; Marc. 14, 38 290/292 Excerpt. II,
105/107 293/296 Excerpt. III, 157/160 291 cf. Heb. 4, 15
297/299 Excerpt. III, 168/170

278 se per] super *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 279 diuinae *cod. a.*
corr. humanae cod. a. corr. 283 perfecte] *correx*i, perfectae *cod.*
283 cum operatione] *correx*i nisa 73/74, cooperatione *cod.* 285
deitatis *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 291 iudicauit *cod. a. corr. manu*
sec. 297 diuinae...et humanae *cod. a. corr.*

who wish to live piously to confess one will and activity, or one nature of his divinity and humanity. On account of this and of similar (doctrines) that they are teaching in his²⁹ regard, he rejects and condemns (them) as impious and foreign to our unstained faith as Christians, and calls us to do the same.

For concerning the two natures and activities of our Saviour Christ, to relate briefly a few passages from his holy sayings, he states this clearly: "...Showing himself to be both, through (the actions) which he performed in a twofold manner – that is, as God and as a human being –, according to the same substance which is truly real and natural, at once being and understood to be the unlimited God and the limited human being, and having the perfected substance of each perfectly, with its own activity, i.e. natural property."

And again, "For flesh was not made deity in nature, with the nature changed over, (i.e.) flesh made with the nature of divinity, but what it was the flesh remained even after it was fitted to the deity, weak and passible in nature and activity, as the Saviour said: *For the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.*"

And again, "Through (the flesh), by acting and suffering the things of the flesh without sin, he revealed the emptying of the divinity for our sake, confirmed according to its natures in miracles and sufferings of the flesh."

And again, "The mystery of the divine incarnation is recognised by the apostles and prophets and teachers to have a double and different natural basis for consideration in all respects, since it existed as undiminished deity and demonstrated full humanity."

And again, "In which (sc. natures) he acted equally as God and as a human being, preserving in himself the naturally incommutable perfection through the whole internal design of each (nature)."

²⁹ Sc. Christ's.

300 Et iterum: 'Nil diuinum nudum corpore operatus, nil
humanum | idem ipse priuatum diuinitate gerens, seruans
sibimet modum secundum utrumque immutabilem, per quem
operatus est utraque decenti more, ad approbationem
perfectae ac uerae nihilque habentis prauitatis inhumanationis
305 suae.'

De his uero qui unam deitatis et humanitatis eius
operationem et naturam unam dogmatizant, dicit: 'Non enim
circumscribitur facticia natura, id quod per naturam factum
non est, licet cooriatur ei per conceptionem omnem
310 circumscribentem sensum; nec etiam in eodem ipso sibi
natura differtur aliquando et naturalis operatio, donec
utrumque intra propriam manet naturalem
inconuersibilitatem.'

Et item: 'Connaturalium quippe tantum est eadem ipsa
315 operans motus, essentiam indicans cuius naturalem constat
esse uirtutem, alterius naturae proprietate substantiae
secundum nullam rationem esse uel fieri sine conuersibilitate
ualente < m >.'

Item: 'Ea quippe quae mutuo sunt cooperantia et eadem
320 operantia et eiusdem originis, profecto et compassibilia
naturae non suscipientia differentiam, et naturis sibi confusis
erit dualitas Christus, et personis separatis, fiet quaternitas,
quod est nimium fugiendum.'

Et iterum: 'Si igitur secundum Beronem assumpta sibi caro
325 eiusdem operationis effecta est, haud dubium quin et eiusdem
facta est sibi naturae, cum quotquot est natura, id est
inprincipalitate, infactione, infinitate, sempiternitate,
incompraehensibilitate, et quaecunque horum secundum
magnitudinem theologica amplissime in deitate ratio
330 contemplatur, et uicissitudinem utraque passa sunt, neutro

300/305 Excerpt. VIII, 246/251 307/313 Excerpt. III, 146/151
314/318 Excerpt. III, 152/155 319/323 Excerpt. V, 183/188
324/332 Excerpt. VI, 199/206

302 immotabilem *cod.* 313 inconuersibilitatem *a. corr. cod.* 314
Connaturalium] *correx* *nisa* 152; cum naturalium *cod.* 316
proprietate] *cf.* 154 proprietatis 318 ualentem] *correx* *nisa* 155,
ualente *cod.* 320 compassibilia *a. corr. cod.*

And again, "He performed nothing divine stripped of the body, and the very same one achieved nothing human that was deprived of divinity, (and) kept in himself an immutable mode (of existence) according to each, through which he performed both (kinds of act) in a fitting way, to prove his perfect and true human incarnation, which contained no wickedness."

But concerning those who teach one activity and one nature of his divinity and humanity, he says: "For what is according to nature without generation, is not limited by a generated nature, although it arises in it through conception which limits it in every sense, nor indeed does the nature and natural activity at any stage differ from itself in the very same one, as long as each remains within its own natural unchangeability."

And likewise, "In fact only the movement of beings of the same nature is self-moving, revealing the essence of which it is the natural power, which is in no way able to be, or to become, <with> the property of a substance of another nature,³⁰ without changeability."

Similarly, "In fact those things which work together and have the same scope of activity, and are of the same origin, and of course are able to suffer together, do not accept a difference of nature, and Christ will be a duality if his natures are confused with each other, and he will become a quaternity if the persons are separated, which must be utterly avoided."

And again, "If therefore, as Beron claims, the flesh assumed by him has been made to have the same activity, there is no doubt that his flesh has been made to have the same nature as he, with whatever the nature has, that is, being without beginning, without being made, without end, everlasting, incomprehensible, and whatever attributes of magnitude theological reasoning contemplates most fully in the deity, and each has undergone change, with neither having the substantial internal design of

³⁰ Cf. Extract 3: "of the substance of a property of a different nature..."

naturae suae substantialem rationem ultra saluandam habente.'

335 Et rursus: 'Qui enim eorum quae alterius sunt naturae eandem ipsam sentit operationem, confusionem pariter naturalem et diuisionem eorum inducit personalem, incognita prorsus idiomatum translatione naturali eorum facta essentia.'

Item: 'Si uero eiusdem sibi non fuit naturae, neque eiusdem sibi fiet naturalis operationis.'

340 Et iterum: 'In eundem autem errorem illati sunt, male credentes propriam factam carnis diuinam operationem, quae in miraculis per ipsam apparuit, qua totum Christus substantians secundum quod intelligitur Deus, continet retentum.'

345 Et iterum: '*Non enim cognouerunt* impossibile esse diuinae operationem naturae <alterius naturae> idioma fieri sine co <n> uer|tibilitate.'

f. 51^v

350 Et iterum: 'Quarum donec unum secundum substantiam cognoscatur uerbum, unius operationis, nunquam aliquando, eo quod utriusque sit, cognoscetur motus.'

355 Et iterum: 'Itaque Bero quidem sic se habens, ut dixi, operationis unalitate deitatem Christi et humanitatem simul confundens naturaliter, et partiens personaliter, dissoluit uitam, ignorans solius connaturalium personarum connaturalis identitatis eandem ipsam operationem esse significati[u]uam.'

360 His igitur ita et ab hoc quoque sacratissimo et magno doctore ac martyre ueritatis, (id ipsum autem est si dicamus a sanctissimo, qui in eo loquitur, Spiritu) manifestius dictis, diligenter intendant qui uolunt, et maxime qui communicant

333/337 Excerpt. VI, 207/210 338/339 Excerpt. VII, 212/213
340/344 Excerpt. VIII, 219/222 345/347 Excerpt. VIII, 222/225
345 Ps. 81, 5 348/350 Excerpt. IIII, 160/163 351/356 Excerpt.
VIII, 251/256

346 alterius naturae] *suppleui (uide 224)* 347 couertibilitate *cod.*
352 unalitate] *cf. 252 monade* 356 significatiuuam *cod.*

its nature still intact."

And again, "For whoever thinks that those things of another nature (have) the same activity, introduces at the same time a confusion of natures, and a division of their persons, with their natural existence made altogether unrecognisable by the exchange of the personal properties."

Likewise, "But if he was not of the same nature as himself, nor will he become of the same natural activity as himself."

And again, "But they have been drawn into the same error, believing wrongly that the divine activity, which was revealed through (the flesh) itself in miracles, was made proper to the flesh, by which (activity) Christ, who gave the universe substance, in so far as he is understood as God, holds it together in his power."

And again, "For *they did not know* that it is impossible for an activity of the divine nature to become the property of another nature without changeability."

And again, "While the Word is understood as being one according to substance of these,³¹ having one activity, movement will never be understood, since it belongs to both."

And again, "And so Beron, who believes thus, as I said, in the single activity, confused together the divinity and humanity of Christ in respect of nature; and by dividing him in respect of person, destroyed (his) life, not knowing that the very same activity indicates the single connatural identity of persons of the same nature."

So, therefore, let those who wish to do so attend diligently to these words, and to the clearer words spoken by this most holy and great teacher and martyr for the truth – but it is the same as if we should say "by the most Holy Spirit who speaks in him" – and especially those who enter into communion with the people who have

³¹ Sc. deity and humanity.

his, qui nouitates nunc operati sunt, et sciant certissime quia
 qui duas saluatoris nostri Christi uoluntates naturales, et
 operationes denegant et abiciunt, et impiam ac alienam
 365 Christianici dogmatis tam sacram et orthodoxam
 confessionem appellant, unamque deitatis et humanitatis eius
 uoluntatem et operationem dogmatizant, eos qui taliter sibi
 consone non confitentur anathematizantes, liquido, et absque
 ullo tegente uelamine sanctos prophetas et apostolos atque
 370 doctores; uel etiam ut uerius dicatur sanctissimum Spiritum
 qui in illis locutus est, quin immo et loquitur,
 anathematizant, et ab eo per illos traditam nobis sacram et
 orthodoxam confessionem abnegant et abiciunt, atque impiam
 et alienam a Christianico dogmate esse asseuerant; et aequae
 375 ut praedictus hereticus, quin potius ut omnes simul profani
 heretici, qui in confusione ac phantasia et diuisione decepti
 sunt, solum supersubstantialis theologiae ac incarnatae
 dispensationis non abnegant et subuertunt mysterium,
 quaternitatem quidem personarum sanctam confitentes
 Trinitatem, at uero unum huius, id est Dominum nostrum
 380 Iesum Christum, inanimatum et sine intellectu ac sine
 ratione, secundum quod propter nos «factus est homo»,
 introducentes, et conuertibilitatem simul et conspersionem ac
 mutabilitatem, confusionemque ac phantasiam et diuisionem
 utriusque naturae ipsius pronuntiantes, et puri per hoc
 385 hominis uel prodigii cuiusdam matrem sanctam semper
 uirginem ac Dei genitricem Mariam scribentes.

Deinde uero hanc, quae uidelicet in eo ab illis dogmatizata
 est, unam uoluntatem et unam operationem respuentes, et
 390 neque unam, neque duas, id est diuinam et humanam
 uoluntatem uel operationem in eo, uel quandam ex omnibus

375/384 cf. 18/30 381 cf. 27

364 horthodoxam *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 372 horthodoxam *cod.*
a. corr. manu sec. 376 persubstantialis *a. corr. cod.*

now brought about innovations. Let them know with the utmost certitude that those who reject and deny two natural wills and activities of our Saviour Christ, and those who call such a holy and orthodox confession "impious" and "foreign to Christian teaching", and teach one will and activity of his divinity and his humanity, anathematising those who do not confess in like manner in agreement with them, clearly and without any covering veil (anathematising) the holy prophets and apostles and teachers; or even, as may be said more truly, they anathematise the most Holy Spirit who spoke in them, or rather who **speaks** in them, and they reject and deny the holy and orthodox confession handed down to us by the Spirit through them,³² and maintain that it is impious and foreign to Christian dogma. And just like the heretic whom I mentioned,³³ or rather like all wicked heretics together, who have been deceived in confusion and fantasy and division, they not only deny and subvert the mystery of supersubstantial theology and the incarnate dispensation, by actually confessing the holy Trinity as four persons, but they (also) introduce one of the Trinity, that is our Lord Jesus Christ, as inanimate and without intellect and without reason, according to the fact that "he was made man" on our account; and they profess at the same time the changeability and fragmentation and mutability, and confusion and fantasy and division of each of his natures, and through this (reasoning) they write that the holy ever-virgin and bearer of God, Mary, is the mother of a mere man or a kind of monster.

But then, by rejecting this one will and one activity which they in fact teach in him, and refusing to confess either one, or two, that is a divine and human will or activity in him, or any (will and activity) at all, they not only reveal themselves as

³² Sc. the holy prophets, apostles and teachers.

³³ Sc. Beron.

confiteri uolentes, non solum instabiles | et tergiuersatores,
 sed et hereticis qui in confusione ac phantasia et diuisione
 errauerunt, magis impios ipsi seipsos propriis uerbis et
 dogmatibus monstrant. Nam illi quidem uel unam, isti uero
 395 nec unam uoluntatem uel operationem eum habere uolunt, ac
 per hoc insubstantialem illum et inessentialem, minus enim
 <non> est dicere sine uoluntate ac impotem, secundum
 utrasque naturas pronuntiant, cum iuxta sacras diffinitiones
 et rationes corruptio, id est interemptio et inexistencia
 400 naturae, naturalium habitudinum et operationum atque
 uirtutum infirmitas et defectus existat, et quod uniuersaliter
 uoluntate naturali ac substantiali operatione priuatur, neque
 est, neque aliquid est, neque est quaeuis eius essentia.

Et non ipsum tantum, sed et Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum
 405 insubstantium astruunt et in-existentem. Eiusdem enim
 utrisque illis substantiae, id est deitatis, et uoluntatis ac
 operationis saluator existit, secundum quod est et dicitur
 natura Deus, ita ut subsequenter et Dominam nostram uere
 sanctissimam super omnes sanctos uenerandam scilicet et
 410 laudandam, ut proprie ac non fallaciter, sed ueraciter Dei
 genitricem semperque uirginem, non proprie ac ueraciter
 matrem Dei describant, sed eius qui nullomodo secundum
 ipsos existit. Et isti quidem talibus ac tantis impietatibus
 capti, per sua ipsius dogmata propalantur. Hi uero qui simul
 415 cum duabus uoluntatibus et operationibus, quae a sanctis
 catholicae institutoribus ecclesiae pie in saluatore nostro
 Christo dicuntur, aliam unam nescio unde fingentes confiteri
 uolunt, et anathematizant eos, qui non consone sibi unam et
 duas, id est tres uoluntates et operationes in eo confitentur,
 420 nihilominus et isti sanctos prophetas et apostolos ac doctores,

393/394 cf. 33/34 399/400 cf. *Disp.* 516/517 415 cf. *Concilium
 Lateranense*, ACO ser. II, i, p. 367, 1-2 418/419 cf. *Ekthesis*,
Conc. Lateranense, ACO ser. II, i, pp. 157-163

391 uoluntates a. corr. cod. 393 ipios cod. a. corr. manu sec.
 397 non] scripsi sensus gratia 408 uere] ue cod. a. corr. manu
 sec.

inconstant turncoats, but by their own words and teachings, they also show themselves more impious than heretics who have strayed in confusion and fantasy and division. For the latter indeed at least wish him to have at one (will and activity), but the former wish him to have not even one will or activity, and through this they profess him to be without substance and without essence. For this is tantamount to saying³⁴ without will and without power, according to both natures, since according to the holy definitions and principles, corruption – that is, death and non-existence of nature – is a failing and defect of natural states and activities and powers, and what is entirely deprived of natural will and substantial activity neither is, nor is anything, nor has any essence whatsoever.

And they declare that not only he, but also the Father and the Holy Spirit, lack substance and existence. For the Saviour is of the same substance as each of them, that is, of divinity, and of (the same) will and activity, according to which he is in nature, and is called, God, in such a way that as a result they also describe our Lady not properly and truly as the mother of God, – that is, as truly most holy above all the saints, worthy of veneration and praise as the bearer of God, properly and without any deception and in truth, and ever-virgin –, but as the mother of him who, according to them, in no way exists. And these who have been seized by impieties of such a nature and magnitude are revealed through their own teachings about him. But those who wish to confess, together with the two wills and activities which are piously said to be in our Saviour Christ by the holy founders of the catholic church, another one dreamed up from who-knows-where, and anathematise those who do not confess in agreement with them one **and** two, that is, three wills and activities in him, no less do these people anathematise also the holy prophets and apostles and teachers, and over and above them, the most

³⁴ I have translated the emended text.

425 quin et super hos, qui in ipsis locutus est, immo et nunc per
 eos affatur sanctissimum Spiritum anathematizant, et traditam
 per eos nobis ab illo sanctam et immaculatam fidem nouis
 adulterantes adinventionibus abnegant, et aliam in saluatore
 Christo naturam praeter diuinam et humanam, extraneam
 quandam et omnium alienam existentium fingunt, cuius esse
 uolunt a se fictam in illo unam uoluntatem et operationem,
 quoniam omnis uoluntas naturalis et substantialis operatio,
 430 naturae profecto uoluntatiuae ac operatiuae idiomatica sunt. Et
 omnis operatio naturalis substantiam indicat, ex qua procedit
 et inest, et indicatium uniuscuiusque naturae operatio, et
 est, et cognoscitur naturalis; et omnis natura propriae
 operationis | substantiali ratione cognoscitur, et omnis natura
 435 conuenientem sibi seque significantem habet operationem
 hanc ab aliis discernentem, diffinitionesque substantiarum,
 naturales earum operationes uera ratio nouit. Et ut
 compendiose dicatur, nec naturam sine operatione, quae
 illam substantialiter caracterizet, nec rursus uoluntatem uel
 operationem constat esse sine quadam substantia, id est
 440 possibile, quemadmodum diuina concionantur eloquia, et ipsa
 rerum natura clamat.

f. 52^v

445 Igitur uoluntatem et operationem unam praeter duas circa
 saluatorem Christum fingentes, ex necessitate etiam aliam
 naturam praeter diuinam, ut dictum est, et humanam,
 extraneam quandam existentium omnium alienam plasmantes
 applicant ei, cuius esse iam dictam a se unam uoluntatem,
 quae inane figmentum fictae cogitationis est, et germen quod
 ab idolatria nil penitus differt. Deus enim simul et homo
 saluator existens, duas tantum co < n > gruenter sibi naturas
 450 et uoluntates et operationes, id est diuinam et humanam

437/440 cf. RM 291/294 448/450 cf. Concilium Lateranense,
 ACO ser. II, i, pp. 365, 35 - 367, 2

422 eos] eo cod. a. corr. manu sec. 431 indicatium cod. a.
 corr. manu sec. 433 ratione] e corr. cod. 436 operationes]
 correxi, operationes cod. 438 caracterizet] sic cod. et semper e.g.
 RM 294 449 congruentes] correxi, congruentes cod.

Holy Spirit who spoke in them, or rather, who even now speaks through them. And they reject the holy and immaculate faith handed down by him through them to us, polluting it with new innovations, and they dream up another nature in Christ the Saviour, apart from the divine and the human, an extra one which is foreign to all existing ones. They wish there to be one will and activity of this (nature) in him, dreamed up by themselves, since every natural will and substantial activity are in fact the characteristics of a voluntary and active nature. And every natural activity reveals substance, from which it proceeds and in which it dwells, and the activity which is an indicator of any one nature both is, and is recognised as, natural. And every nature is recognised by the internal design of its own activity according to its substance, and every nature has an activity which suits it and signifies it (and) distinguishes this (nature) from others, and true reason knows the definitions of substances, their natural activities. But to put it briefly, it is neither possible for a nature to be without activity, which characterises it according to its substance, nor again is it accepted for a will or activity to be without a certain substance, as the divine teachings make known and the very nature of things proclaims.

Therefore, in dreaming up one will and activity in respect to Christ the Saviour above the two (he has), by necessity they even attach to him another nature apart from the divine and human ones, as has been said: by fashioning a certain extra one, foreign to all existing beings, whom they claim, as I have mentioned, to have one will, which is an empty figment of a dreamed-up speculation, and a seed which is not at all different from idolatry. For the Saviour exists as God and man at the same time, having only two natures and wills and activities fitting to himself, that is

habet, quemadmodum incliti praeceptores nostri ac doctores
affirmant, non unam ac duas, id est tres, ut aduersarii
dogmatizant, quo illud euidentissime gerant quod olim a Deo
per Aesaiam prophetam in calumniam dicitur, id est:
455 *Caupones tui uinum aqua miscent.* Vt enim apparet, et isti
uerbum ueritatis cauponum more adulterando, naturalem
dualitatem uoluntatum et operationum saluatoris nostri
Christi una uoluntate ac operatione, quae in ipso ab hereticis,
460 qui in confusione ac diuisione seu phantasia decepti sunt,
impie dogmatizata est, ueluti *uinum aqua miscentes*, utraque
sectas pariter confiteri compellunt, quod impium ueraciter est
et alienum immaculatae fidei nostrae Christianorum, qui ex
diametro, similiter ut praecessores sui, etiam per hunc a
ueritate decidunt modum. Aequale quippe ex diametro et
465 simile malum est cum heretica opinione, paternam proicere
ac reprobare orthodoxiam, et e diuerso cum hac pariter et
illam confiteri et approbare. *Quae enim participatio iustitiae
et iniquitati? Aut quae societas luci ad tenebras? Aut quae
conuentio Christi ad Belial? Aut quae pars fidei cum*
470 *infidele? Qui autem consensus templo Dei cum idolis?*
diuinus ait apostolus. Inquam uero et ipse: *Quae participatio,*
uel communicatio, *aut conuentio, aut pars, aut consensus*
paternae orthodoxiae ad nequam hereticorum opinionem, ut
cum altera | altera praedicetur uel etiam respuatur?

f. 53

475 Et hoc quoque diligenter intendant, quia si quemadmodum
magnus ab immortalitate cognominatus, immo uero cunctus
sanctorum chorus affirmat quod pene fides saluatoris nostri
non admittat, cum hoc instabile quiddam secundum suam
ipsius rationem existat. Quod si hoc fuerit passa, et quod
480 huic est contrarium proculdubio sustinebit, additamentum

452 cf. *Ep. Cal.* 86 455 Is. 1, 22 460 Is. 1, 22 467/470 II
Cor. 6, 14-16 471/472 II Cor. 6, 14-16

451 doctores] doctores nostri *cod. a. corr. manu sec. cf. 17* 459
confessione *cod. a. corr. ut uid.* 466 horthodoxiam *cod. a. corr.*
manu sec. 473 horthodoxiae *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 476 cunctus
cod. a. corr. manu sec. 477 pene] *sic cod. et Ep. Cal. 92.*

Scholion 476 cognominatus] id est sanctus Athanasius, athanasia
quippe immortalitas interpretatur.

the divine and the human, just as our renowned instructors and teachers affirm; not one and two, that is, three, as the opponents teach, by which they perform most clearly what God once said through the prophet Isaiah as a calumny, namely: *Your innkeepers mix wine with water*. For as it appears, these people too, by adulterating the word of truth in the manner of innkeepers and *mixing wine with water*, compel their sects to confess equally both, (i.e.) the natural duality of wills and activities of our Saviour Christ, along with one will and operation, which was impiously taught in him by heretics who were deceived in confusion and division or fantasy. This is truly impious and foreign to our immaculate Christian faith. They, like their predecessors, fall in the opposite direction³⁵ from the truth even through this measure. It is obviously a similar evil – diametrically-opposed³⁶ and equal – to abandon and condemn the orthodoxy of the Fathers, along with heretical views, and on the other hand to confess and approve orthodoxy equally with heresy. *For what partnership is there between righteousness and lawlessness? Or what fellowship is there between light and darkness? Or what agreement does Christ have with Belial? Or what does a believer share with an unbeliever? But what agreement has the temple of God with idols?* asks the divine apostle. But for my part I say: *What partnership or fellowship or agreement or commonality or consensus* does the Fathers' orthodoxy have with the wicked thinking of heretics, so that one should be preached with the other, or even rejected?

And let them also attend carefully to this, because if, as a great man whose name is synonymous with "immortality",³⁷ or rather the whole company of saints, affirms: something that the faith of our Saviour would hardly allow, since this is something unreliable according to its own rationale. But if the faith allows this, it will beyond doubt sustain what is contrary to it, that is, the addition, and how will the faith remain unchanged by further defects and innovations?

³⁵ Latin *ex diametro*.

³⁶ Again, *ex diametro* in the Latin.

³⁷ I.e. Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria, as noted by the Latin scholiast.

scilicet, et quomodo manebit ulterius fides defectibus et
profectibus immutata? Dicant, inquit, nobis qui per singulos
dies fides creant, immo deos sibi diuersos fingunt,
quoniam cum fidei uerbo mutatur atque multiplicatur a
talibus id quod creditur.

485

Ergo et aduersarii fides sibi condentes diuersas, absque
omni contradictione secundum qualitatem et quantitatem
atque immutationem dogmatum suorum, immutant simul et
multiplicant id quod creditur, et quinque Christos eatenus
plasmasse monstrantur, hunc quidem unam operationem,
illum uero nec unam operationem, et alium unam
uoluntatem, et alterum nec unam uoluntatem, porro quintum
unam et duas, atque unam et duas, id est tres operationes et
tres uoluntates, ut aiunt, habentem.

490

Et dicant, si uolunt, illi ipsi qui talia exponunt dogmata et
qui communicant eis, in quem talium ac tot Christorum a se
fictorum credentes baptizati sunt uel baptizantur, aut cuius
eorum corpus et sanguinem sumunt atque distribuunt, utrum
eius qui unam, an qui nec unam operationem; eius qui unam
uoluntatem, an eius qui unam et duas, et unam et duas, id
est tres operationes et tres uoluntates, et propterea iam ex
necessitate tres etiam naturas habet? Sed *Non erat uox et non
erat auditio*, quemadmodum ait propheta magnus Helias
scelestos sacerdotes et pseudoprophetas confusionis
redarguens. Nam quicquid horum dixerint, illinc cum
impietate etiam redargutionem sermo eorum circumferet,
quoniam non in uerum et ueraciter existentem Christum
credunt atque baptizant, nec illius corpus et sanguinem
accipiunt et distribuunt.

495

500

505

482/485 cf. Athanasius, *de synod. Seleucia et Arim.*, ed. Opitz, pp.
234, 20; 241, 31; 275, 27 502/503 III Reg. 18, 26

481 fides defectibus] fide defectibus *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 482
nobis] *supra l. manu sec.* 484 cum] *supra l. manu sec.* 487
qualitem *cod. a. corr. manu sec.*

"Let them tell us," he says, "those who invent faiths every day, or rather dream up various gods for themselves, since what is believed is changed and multiplied by such people, along with the word of faith."

Therefore also our opponents establish various faiths for themselves, without any (notion of) contradiction according to the quality and quantity and alteration of their teachings, at once changing and multiplying what is believed. And they are shown to have fashioned five Christs so far: this one has one activity, but that one does not even have one activity, and one has one will, and another does not even have one will, and in addition the fifth has one and two activities, and one and two wills, that is three activities and three wills, as they say.

And let those who expound such teachings, and those who are in communion with them, state, if they are willing, in which one of the Christs of this kind and number that have been invented by themselves, they believed when they were baptised or are baptised; or (let them say) which one's body and blood they take and give out, whether it belongs to the one who has one activity or to the one who does not even have one activity; to the one who has one will, or to the one who has one and two activities, and one and two wills, that is three activities and three wills, and therefore now also has by necessity three natures? But *there was no voice and there was no hearing*, just as the great prophet Elias said, in accusing the wicked priests and the false prophets of (causing) confusion. For whichever of these they say, their words will proclaim thereby the reproof along with impiety, since they do not believe in, and baptise into, the true and truly existing Christ, nor do they take and give out his body and blood.

510 Illum enim uerum scilicet, et qui uere consistit, Christum
Deum simul et hominem, incliti magistri nostri ac
praeceptores scientes, duas et tantum quemadmodum naturas,
sic etiam et duas uoluntates, et totidem operationes
515 congruentes sibi, diuinam scilicet ut iam dictum et
comprobatum est, et humanam, increatam et creatam, sine
incoptione et cum incoptione, in ipso confitentur et
confiteri nobis praecipiunt. Non autem ut hi nunc nouitates
fecerunt, | unam et nec unam, nec duas, et rursus unam et
520 duas, id est tres uoluntates et operationes habere illum
fatentur. Super haec autem omnia quae dicta sunt, et illud
quoque certissime nouerint, quoniam unam nec unam, neque
duas, et iterum unam et duas uoluntates et operationes, et
525 omnia cum anathematibus et depositionibus ac
excommunicatione dogmatizantes, aperte sibi et alterutris
repugnare probantur, et ipsi per seipsos et inuicem
subuertunt ac destruunt, alterna uerba et dogmata, seque
ipsos et alterutros, et eos qui sibi communicant,
anathematizant, et ab omni sacra dignitate ac ministerio
530 pellunt atque deponunt. Necnon et a perceptione illibatae
communione uiuifici corporis et sanguinis magni Dei et
saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi sequestrant. Et haec liquido nos
et nullo intuentes et scientes obstante uelamine, non solum
propter multiformem errorem, uerum etiam et propter
535 instabilitatem et absurditatem ac reciprocationem talium
uirorum et dogmatum, omni custodia nosmetipsos ab illorum
impietate et communione seruemus, quotquot in ueritate esse
ac dici Christiani uolumus. Alienum quippe a Christianis est,
cum orthodoxia etiam impietatem suscipere, aut confiteri
540 quidem orthodoxam fidem, communicare uero his, qui hanc
per nouas adinventiones abnegant et adulterant.

f. 53^v

512/517 cf. 3/8, 262/267 518/520 cf. *Ep. Cal.* 11/13 531/532
cf. I Cor. 13, 12

514 dictum] dictum est *a. corr. cod.* 516 incoptione¹] incoptione
cod. a. corr. manu sec. cf. 6 incoptione²] incoptione *cod. a. corr.*
manu sec. cf. 6 534 reciprocationem *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 538
horthodoxia *cod. a. corr. manu sec.* 539 horthodoxam *cod. a.*
corr. manu sec.

For our renowned teachers and instructors, knowing him (to be) the true and truly existing Christ, God and man at the same time, confess in him, and teach us to confess, just as (we confess) two natures – and only that many –, so also two wills, and the same number of activities which are fitting to himself, (which are) divine and human, as has been said and proven already; uncreated and created; without beginning and with beginning. But they³⁸ do not confess a Christ that has one and not one, nor two, and again one and two, that is three wills and activities, like those who have now made innovations. But over and above all these points that I have made, let them know this too with utmost certainty: that (by teaching) one and not one, nor two, and again one and two wills and activities, and teaching everything with anathemas and depositions and excommunication, they are plainly proven to fight against themselves and each other, and they subvert and destroy each other's words and teachings by their own agency, and they anathematise themselves and each other, and those who are in communion with them, and they drive them out and depose them from every holy office and service. And they also separate themselves from receiving the pure communion of the life-giving body and blood of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ. And since we see and know these things clearly, without any obscuring veil, let all of us who wish in truth to be, and to be called, Christians, keep ourselves completely safeguarded against their impiety and communion (with them): not only on account of their manifold error, but also too because of the inconstancy and absurdity and alternation of such men and their teachings. Indeed it is foreign to Christians to accept impiety with orthodoxy, or even to confess the orthodox faith, but to be in communion with those who deny it and pollute it through new inventions.

³⁸ Sc. our teachers and Fathers.

Propter quod, diuina nobis lex simul et apostolica iubet,
eos qui aliud praeter quod a Christiferis uiris accepimus,
docere ac introducere conati fuerint, auertere et
anathematizare, non tantum si homines fuerint, sed et licet
545 angeli fortassis e caelo descendentes extiterint. Et si hoc
fecerimus, et diuinam sine praeuaricatione adimpleuerimus
praeceptionem, sacramque ac orthodoxam fidem absque
adulteratione simul et innouatione possiderimus et confessi
550 fuerimus, ad uitam salui efficiemur aeternam in Christo Iesu
Domino nostro, cum quo Deo et Patri, una cum sanctissimo
et bono ac uiuifico Spiritu, gloria, honor, imperium et
adoratio nunc et semper, et in omnia nunquamque finienda
saecula saeculorum, amen.

542/545 cf. Gal. 1, 8-9 542/543 cf. Ep. Cal. 104/106 551/553
cf. Iud. 25

547 horthodoxam *cod. a. corr. manu sec.*

On account of this, the divine and apostolic law simultaneously admonishes us to avoid and anathematise those who attempt to teach and introduce anything other than what we have received from Christ-bearing men, not only if they are men, but even if they are perhaps angels descending from heaven. And if we do this, and fulfil the divine command without equivocation, and if we adhere to and confess the holy and orthodox faith without adulteration and also without innovation, we will be saved for eternal life in our Lord Christ Jesus, with whom also to God the Father, together with the most holy and good and life-giving Spirit, be glory, honour, power and worship now and forever, and for all the never-ending ages of ages, amen.

HYPOMNESTICON

Scholion siue Ypomnesticum his qui desiderio ac zelo diuino legere uoluerint breuiter declarans, quae paucis sunt agnita, id est una cum athleticis certaminibus quot exilia et in quibus
 5 Deum profectionis et exhibitionis sanctorum et deiferorum patrum nostrorum | ac magistrorum, nouorum reuera confessorum et magnorum martyrum, praecipue illius qui positam hic epistolam digito Dei scripsit, eo quod ipse quidem eorum qui ante se defuncti sunt, Maximi scilicet et
 10 Anastasii discipuli eius significauerit diem ut praelatum est, de se autem et germanis fratribus eius, Theodoro scilicet ac Euprepio, nemo, insuper et Martini sanctissimi et summi apostolici papae ac martyris, qui omni quae sub sole est praecellit hieraticae dignitati, atque quorundam aliorum,
 15 quorum praesens epistola mentionem non facit, nec quaecunque ut reor alia charta uel homo.

f. 54

Oportet eos qui haec legerint exemplaria praesentis sacrae illius sacri epistolae, Deo parentibus qui *scrutatur renes et corda* firmissime credere, quia in ea, Deo teste ueritatis, ex
 20 ipsa epistola quae propria manu eius, immo ut uerius propter miraculi dicamus insigne, digito Dei scripta est, sancti uidelicet patris et magistri nostri domni abbatis Anastasii presbyteri et apocrisarii senioris et opinatissimae urbis Romae, multumque certantis magni et noui reuera martyris
 25 ueritatis, transscripta sunt, scripta ab eo (postquam passus est quemadmodum dictum est in Byzantio una cum concertatore suo et uere philosopho, immo deosopho magnoque commartyre Christi ueri Dei et saluatoris nostri Maximo, id est cum abintus abscisae fuerint praetiosae ipsorum ac sacrae
 30 diuinitusque ueraciter mouiles linguae ac manus cum

18/19 Ps. 7,10

1/16 Scholion - homo] *non inueniuntur in cod. gr.; uerumtamen plane ab auctore, Theodoro Spudaeo, scripta sunt* 1 Ypomnesticum *cod. e corr. m. sec.* diuno *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 14 praecelli *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 16 carta *cod. e corr. m. sec.* 18 parentibus] *expectaueris parentes; uide autem gr.*

Hypomnesticon

The scholion or hypomnesticon for those who wished with longing and godly zeal to read a brief narration of things known to few, that is how many exiles, together with rigorous trials, and where and when our holy and God-bearing Fathers and teachers, that is, the new confessors and great martyrs, achieved martyrdom, and the day of their sure departure to God and of their being revealed; especially (the trials) of him¹ who wrote, by the finger of God, the letter attached here, where he indicated the day of those who died before him, that is Maximus and his disciple Anastasius, as it was predicted, but concerning himself and his brothers Theodore and Euprepus, blood brothers, no-one (has written). And above all (the trials) of Martin, the most holy and highest apostolic pope and martyr, who has precedence to every priestly rank under the sun, and of certain others not mentioned by the present letter, nor any other document or person, as far as I know.

It befits those who have read copies of the attached holy letter of that holy man, to trust with utmost certainty those obeying God *who examines minds and hearts*, because those things were transcribed in it,² with God as witness to the truth, from the very letter which was written by his own hand (or rather, as we may say more truly, was written through an amazing miracle by the finger of God). I mean, by our holy father and teacher, our lord father Anastasius, the priest and apocrisiarius of the older and most esteemed city of Rome, a great striver, and in fact a great new martyr for the truth. It was written by him³ (after he suffered, as was said, in Byzantium together with his fellow striver Maximus, truly a philosopher or rather a theosopher, and great fellow martyr for Christ our true God and Saviour, that is, when their precious and holy tongues, divinely and truly eloquent, were cut away from the inside, and their hands were cut off and they were beaten and tortured most cruelly, from which they endured the flow of their blood during a procession through

¹ Sc. Anastasius Apocrisiarius.

² Sc. the letter. There is a problem with the syntax of this sentence in the Latin, which is lacking a subject, as in the Greek: Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 67, 23.

³ The following long parenthesis is signalled by a marginal gloss which notes the hyperbaton from the words "written by him" to "with his holy right hand".

35 uerberibus et tormentis amarissimis, ex quibus sanguinis
 fluorem et pompam per totam urbem perpassi sunt, quod nec
 malae unquam uitae reuera quisquam sustinuit; et nisi solus
 Deus, qui ex nihilo ut essent cuncta produxit et mortuos
 40 suscitatur, ex huiusmodi crudelitate ipsorum et tanto
 sanguinis fluxu, cauterio nullomodo illis indulto uel
 constipatorio aliquo abscisionibus manuum atque linguarum
 ad cessationem sanguinis iuxta morem apposito, hos
 45 conseruasset ad uerecundiam aduersariorum, tradidissent
 extunc desiderato a se Deo suas ipsius sanctas reuera et
 beatas proculdubio animas; haec autem omnia ob nihil aliud
 in eos gesserunt uere profanissimi et miserrimi apostatae
 ueritatis, nisi propter pessimam ueraciter et solam inuidiam
 50 quam antiquus hostis daemon in eis seminauit quemadmodum
 et in similibus suis Iudaeis, cum non potuissent saltem ad
 modicum quid resistere sapientiae quae illis merito fuerat a
 Deo donata pro uera scilicet ueritate, et solum pro eo quod
 noluisse illi communicare | cum his in tam publica et sine
 55 Deo impietate ipsorum) cum ipsa sancta dextera manu sua
 quae abscisa fuerat, cuiusque truncus tantum remanserat, id
 est sine planta et digitis, inopinato argumento, cum uidelicet
 duo sibimet paruissima ligna et tenua colligauerit, immo ut
 uerius dicatur uirtute ac gratia diuina, quemadmodum et
 60 lingua reuera diuina et inuisibili expedite penitus et sine
 prohibitione loquebatur quanquam abintus ex ipso fuerit
 fundo recisa, sicut Lebarncius patricius Lazicae cum
 iuramentis terribilibus enarrauit nobis, dispensatione Dei in
 hoc ipso per semet inspector effectus, diffidens super hoc
 glorioso et ingenti miraculo. Quin et Theodorus,
 protosecretarius praetorii praefecti Constantinopolitani, ante

f. 54^v

34/35 cf. Rom. 4,17

37 lingaurum *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 39 tradidisset *cod. a. corr. m. sec.*

Scholion 49 cum] Aduerte hyperbaton, a loco ubi scriptum est «scripta ab eo» usque huc. Est enim ordo: «scripta ab eo cum ipsa sancta dextera.»

the whole city, which in fact not even any miscreant ever sustained.⁴ And unless God alone, who created everything as it is from nothing, and who raises the dead, had not saved them for the shame of their enemies, from such cruelty at their hand and from such a flow of blood, with no kind of cautery allowed to them or any bandaging⁵ applied to the place where their hands and tongues had been severed in order to stop the blood, as is usually done, they would at that moment have handed over their holy and certainly blessed souls to God whom they longed for. But those most profane and wretched apostates of the truth did all this to them for no other reason than out of envy alone, truly most wicked, which the old enemy⁶ the Devil sowed in them as in the Jews whom they resemble, since they⁷ could not to the slightest degree resist the wisdom which had been given to them deservedly by God on behalf of the truth, and only because they did not want to be in communion with them in their so public and godless impiety.) (It was written) by him with unforeseen ingenuity, with his holy right hand which had been cut off, only its stump remaining, that is without palm and fingers, when he had fastened to the stump⁸ two very small and slender twigs, or rather, as we may say more truly by divine power and grace, just as he also spoke with a divine and invisible tongue quite without hindrance or constraint, although it had been cut off from the very root from inside, as Lebarnicus the patrician of Lazica recounted to us with terrible oaths, who had been a witness to this very activity by God's arrangement, and who had been distrustful of this glorious and mighty miracle. Moreover Theodore, protosecretary of the praetorian

⁴ This refers to the trial of Maximus, Anastasius the Disciple and Anastasius the Monk in Constantinople in 662, at which they were condemned to exile. The amputation of the right hand and tongue of Maximus and the Apocrisiarius is also described in a passage called the "Third Sentence" which is found at the end of the *Disputatio* in the Greek version.

⁵ Latin *constipatorio*.

⁶ This is a misunderstanding of the Greek ἀρχέκακος "author of evil" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 68, 12).

⁷ Sc. the martyrs.

⁸ Literally "to himself".

hunc enarrauit mihi et ipse cum horribilibus iuramentis, cum
consciis fuisset sanctarum passionum ipsorum tanquam
dominus et magister huiusmodi rerum, glorificans et
65 laudans ac gratias agens Deo super tali miraculo et tam
fiduciali uirtute ipsorum, quoniam sicut canis uel ceruus ex
cursu multo et siti uel caumate, ita laxauerunt et tradiderunt
linguas suas ut etiam manus, quanquam breui ualde statura
sanctus et infirmus esset corpore Maximus, sicuti cunctis est
70 manifestum; quocirca et abundantius aduersarii sauciantes
sensus suos super tanta et tali alacritate sanctorum,
intrinsicus nequissimi et ueraciter inhumani, ut reuera ferae
agrestes has absceiebant.

Non solum ista sic ab eo epistola scripta, sed et aliis multis
75 libris ac tomis studiorum ipsius, quorum ipsi non solum
inspectores diuina prouidentia facti sumus, sed et partim in
sortem gratia Dei ex eis accipere illius praeceptione
meruimus, et ipsis quoque simili argumento et manu, immo
ut uerius dictum est digito scriptis Dei sicut magni Moysi
80 tempore legitur factum, prouidentia uidelicet et cooperatione
solius omnipotentis Dei, qui cum sit amator bonitatis et
hominum *facit mirabilia magna in sanctis suis*, et *glorificat*
uere *glorificantes* se tam indeclinabili opere quam uerbo et
ueritate, cum adhuc degeret in ultimo, id est tertio, exilio
suo Lazicae in castro Thusumes nuncupato sito supra uillam
85 Mochoes climatis Apsiliae termini ad Orientem Pontici maris
apud ipsum pedem Caucasiarum montium, iuxta Christi
amicorum regionem Abasgorum et gentem Alanorum, quasi
signis quinque a praedio Zichachorio, id est prima domo
Gregorii ueri amici Christi | patricii et magistratus eiusdem
90 regionis Alanorum, cuius et optimam memoriam merito facit

f. 55

78 cf. Ex. 31,18 81 Ps. 135,4 et 67,36 81/82 I Reg. 2,30

78 dei scriptis a. corr. cod. 81 magna] additum est supra l. m. sec.
87 abasgorum a. corr. cod. 90 Alanorum] an corrigendum Lazorum
(cf. graec.)?

prefect of Constantinople,⁹ told me this earlier, and he also swore terrible oaths since he was aware of the holy sufferings of those men, as he was the director and superintendent of such matters. He was glorifying and praising and thanking God for such a miracle and for their confident courage, since, like a dog or a hind as a result of running a distance, or from thirst or the heat, so they gave in and handed over their tongues, as also their hands, although the holy Maximus was very small in stature and weak in body, as is obvious to everyone. On this account the enemies, being intrinsically most evil and truly inhuman like wild beasts, mutilated them, even more amazed by the extent and nature of the readiness of the holy men.

As well as that letter written by him in this way, we ourselves not only became eye-witnesses, by divine providence, of many others of his books and tomes containing his own [works],¹⁰ but we were also honoured to receive a share of them in accordance with his instructions by the grace of God, and those written by the same manual method. Rather, they were written, as is said more truly, by the finger of God, as is said to have happened in the time of the great Moses, with the providence and facilitation of the sole omnipotent God, who, out of his love for goodness and human beings, *does great miracles among his saints*, and *glorifies* those truly *glorifying* him with unswerving effort and with word and truth. (He wrote them) when he was still living in the last, that is the third, exile in Lazica. He was in the fort called Thusumes, sited above the estate Mochoes in the border region of Apsilia, to the east of the Pontic sea, at the very foot of the Caucasus mountains, next to the region of the Abasgi, friends of Christ, and the Alani people, almost five mile-posts from the Zichachorian estate, that is the first home of Gregory the true friend of Christ, the patrician and *magistros* of the same region of the Alani. Anastasius makes a very positive mention of Gregory deservedly in the letter on this subject,¹¹ having been moved against his will by the order of the wretched leaders who were

⁹ The protosecretary was the head secretary of the praetorian prefect, or eparch of Constantinople. The eparch of the city was the supreme judge in Constantinople and its vicinity, and chief of police, with jurisdiction over prisons (*ODB*, p. 705.) The praetorian prefect's importance declined in the seventh century and the last known by name, Alexander, dates to 626 (*ODB*, p. 1710).

¹⁰ Cf. Latin *studiorum*, i.e. the Testimonia and Syllogisms translated *supra*.

¹¹ Literally "of this kind", i.e. the letter of Anastasius to Theodosius of Gangra, translated *supra*.

in huiusmodi epistola, translati uidelicet ui et praeceptione
 miserorum principum qui illic ante se usque ad se
 praefuerunt, in eodem tertio exilio septies, in difficilioribus
 locis et tribulatione multa, in praedicto castro Thusumes
 95 dormiuit in Domino, cum et ipse *certamine bono certasset*,
orthodoxam reuera fidem seruasset, et *cursum* martyrii
consummasset, mensis Octimbrii die undecima, feria prima,
 hora tertia, cum diceretur inter sancta officia «Sancta
 100 sanctis», indictione decima, cum praedixisset et ipse diem
 sanctae depositionis suae quibusdam qui sibi aderant ante
 menses tres, et aliis quoque pluribus miraculis, sanctissimi
 et omnia efficientis Spiritus cooperatione, tam ibidem quam
 in duobus exiliis suis Trapezunti uidelicet et Mesembria
 patrat, plurimisque conuersis ad ueritatem et illuminatis.
 105 Qui cum conuersati fuissent et perdurassent in hoc sancto
 et beatissimo et multorum sudorum certamine, id est
 coronam ferente confessione ac testimonio, praedictus
 quidem sanctus Anastasius presbyter et apocrisiarius
 110 Romanus a sexta indictione praeteriti cycli usque ad
 decimam indictionem in omnibus praedictis tribus exiliis
 suis, traductionibus diuersis affectus tribulationibusque ac
 necessitatibus et angustiis non mediocribus nec modicis,
 permansit annis uiginti. Discipulis uero eius Theodoro et
 115 Euprepio, germanis et sanctis fratribus, filiis Plutini
 beatissimi imperatorii pistoris (id est qui super omnes
 pistores publici est, eorum uidelicet qui annonas scholarum
 omnium soluunt, quod appellatur tetransiton), diuitiis
 pretiosis et dignitatibus diuersis, diuinisque uirtutibus et
 120 uirginitate quae his omnibus maior est adornatis, per quam
 scilicet ut opinor etiam tantis pro Christo agonibus et coronis

95/97 II Tim. 4,7 98/99 uide Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 538, n. 17; cf. *Ep. Anas. Scholion*; et *Relatio Motionis* 180

96 horthodoxam *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 103 Mesembria] *an corr. sit.*
 Mesembriae? 109 ad] *a cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 116 eorum]
expectaueris eos

in charge there before him up to his time, seven times in the same third exile, in more difficult places and in great tribulation. In the fort Thusumes, which I have mentioned, he went to rest in the Lord, since he himself *had fought in the good fight*, and *preserved the truly orthodox faith*, and *completed the course* of martyrdom, on the eleventh day of October, on the first day of the week,¹² in the third hour, when "Holy things for the holy" was being said during the holy office, in the tenth indiction, when he himself had predicted the day of his own holy passing to certain people who had been with him three months earlier. With the cooperation of the most holy and efficacious Holy Spirit in many other miracles also, both there and in his two exiles spent in Trebizond and Mesembria, very many were turned to the truth and illuminated.

[They continued]¹³ and endured in this holy and most blessed struggle of many exertions, that is, the crown-bearing confession and witness. The holy Anastasius, priest and Roman apocrisiarius, whom I mentioned, survived twenty years, from the sixth indiction of the past cycle up to the tenth indiction¹⁴ in all his three exiles, as I said, (and was) affected by various removals, and by tribulations and neediness and deprivations which were neither moderate nor few. But his disciples Theodore and Euprepus, true and holy brothers, sons of Plutinus, the most blessed miller of the emperor – that is, the one who is placed above all the millers of the public treasury who distribute the grain supplies of all the schools,¹⁵ which is called Tetrastion –, who were adorned with precious riches and various offices, and divine virtues and virginity which is greater than all these – for which I believe they deserved to be honoured with so many trials and crowns on behalf of Christ, as they were chaste and *pure of heart, since they themselves will see God* –, wanted to flee to Rome after the first exile of their teacher and ours in Trebizond, having made

¹² I.e. Sunday 11 October, 666.

¹³ Latin *conuersati fuissent*. Anastasius, attempting to rescue something syntactically from the hanging participles in Greek, has put this verb and the following (*perdurassent*) into a *cum* clause. The translation of ἐνδιατρίψαντες by *conuersati* seems to have been influenced by ἐπιστρέψας in the previous line (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 70, 17).

¹⁴ I.e. from 647/648, the time of the publication of the *Typus*, to 666.

¹⁵ I.e. imperial guards and civil bureaux (Lampe, p. 1361).

honorari meruerunt ut casti et *mundo corde*, *quoniam ipsi*
Deum uidebunt, post primum magistri sui et nostri apud
 Trapezunti exilium, multis elemosynis et oblationibus factis,
 uolentibus Romam confugere, protinus et ipsis in eadem
 125 persecutione prope Abydum compraeensis, propter eandem
 et solam causam, et pro eo quod nolissent cum eis
 contaminari tam euidente impietate in profano et penitus sine
 Deo imperatorio Typo, qui ex summissione factus est eorum
 130 qui erant ecclesiae Constantinopoleos, et publicatis, id est
 denudatis omni substantia quae inerat sibi et dignitatibus |
 quas habebant, flagellaque mortalia a praefecto suscipientibus
 et Chersonem in exilium missis, et illic ui saepius ab
 inuicem separatis, et in castris gentium ibidem adiacentium
 135 deputatis, iunior quidem frater, qui ut uere in cunctis
 pheronymus E<u>prepes nominatus est, completo in
 huiusmodi Dei amico agone anno nono, ad Dominum abiit
 mense Octobrio die uicesima sexta, indictione quarta decima,
 alter uero, qui et prior frater quique Dei donum merito a
 140 Domino est uocatus, perdurans ab eadem sexta indictione
 usque ad iam dictam decimam indictionem instantis cycli, id
 est usque ad sanctissimi patris et magistri eorum ac nostri
 Anastasii presbyteri (qui reuera miserrimi et orphani propter
 ta<nta>m raritatem et inopiam uerbi ueritatis et omnis
 145 spiritualis escae, ita ut nunc etiam adimpletum sit quod a
 Domino de malis nouissimorum temporum dicitur, *non*
famem panis mittendam, neque sitim aquae, sed famem
audiendi uerbum Domini) sicuti dictum est sanctam in
 Domino requietionem, annum uicesimum agit adhuc
 150 perseuerans in athleticis sudoribus et agonibus in eodem
 Chersonis exilio, iam memoratus uidelicet frater Theodorus,

f. 55^v

121/122 Matth. 5,8 145 cf. II Tim. 3,1; Iac. 5,3 etc. 145/147 Am. 8,11

122/123 apud Trapezunti] *sic cod.* 123 helemosynis *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 135 Euprepes] *scripsi nisa* 114, eprepes *cod.* 142 presbyter *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* miserrimi] *correxī e gr., miserrimus cod.* orphani *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 143 tantam] *scripsi, tam cod.* 144 ita] *it a. corr. cod.*

Scholia 135 pheronymus] Pheronymum una est ex speciebus appellatiuorum nominum apud Grecos ut est omonymum uel synonymum; est autem pheronymus cui cum nomine res concordat, sicut hic: Euprepus enim bene decorus interpretatur; pheronymus autem dicitur quasi ferens nomen boni decoris, propter morum scilicet ornamenta.

138 Dei donum] Id est Theodorus, qui uidelicet Dei donum interpretatur

many alms and offerings. They too were immediately seized in the same persecution near Abydos,¹⁶ on account of the same sole reason, that is, because they did not want to be contaminated with them by such obvious impiety in the profane and absolutely godless imperial *Typus*, which was made by the submission of those who belonged to the Constantinopolitan church. And when their property had been confiscated, that is, when they were stripped of every resource that they had, and of the offices which they used to hold, they received a deadly whipping from the prefect and were sent into exile in Cherson.¹⁷ There, more often (than not) separated from each other by force, they were put in the forts of neighbouring peoples. The younger brother who was fittingly named¹⁸ Euprepus¹⁹ – how truly, in all respects – when he had completed the ninth year of such a trial out of love for God, went to the Lord in the month of October, on the twenty-sixth day, in the fourteenth indiction.²⁰ But the other brother who was older and who was rightly called "a gift of God" by the Lord, persevering from the same sixth indiction up to the tenth indiction of the present cycle which I have already mentioned, that is up to the holy rest in the Lord of their most holy father and teacher and our priest Anastasius – they²¹ were most wretched and deprived, on account of the considerable rarity and lack of the word of truth, and of all spiritual food, in such a way that even now, that which was said by our Lord is fulfilled, concerning the evils of the last days, *not sending²² hunger for bread, or thirst for water, but hunger for hearing the word of the Lord* –, as was

¹⁶ Abydos, the ancient town of Mysia, on the Hellespont, the site of the town north-east of modern Çannakale, and a toll station until late Byzantine times (*Webster's New Geographical Dictionary* [Springfield, MA, 1988], p. 4).

¹⁷ A Greek colony in the Chersonese near mod. Sebastopol (*ODB*, p. 418).

¹⁸ See the marginal gloss on *pheronymous*: "A pheronym is one of the types of names used by the Greeks, like a homonyms or synonym; but it is a pheronym when the fact concurs with the name, as here: for Euprepus means 'well-adorned', but it is called a pheronym as if he bore the name of 'adorned with goodness', on account of the decency of his mores."

¹⁹ So in Greek, Εὐρέπιος (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 71, 21); cf. Latin *Euprepes*.

²⁰ 26 October, 655.

²¹ Sc. Theodore and Euprepus. This anacoluthon is the start of another parenthesis.

²² The equivalent for *mittendam* is not in the Greek (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 71, 32).

qui et propria manu multa sanctorum opuscula dignatus est
exhibere nobis qui pergebamus illuc ad uisitationem et
adorationem eius et pretiosae memoriae Martini summi et
uere uniuersalis papae et magni martyris ueritatis.

155 Cuius et miracula nobis copiosa quae ibidem facta sunt cum
illatis quoque illis importabilibus tribulationibus retulit,
donata etiam particula sancti orarii, id est facialis quae sibi
160 fuerat ab eo dimissa, et uno ex campagis eius, id est caligis
(quos nullus alius inter homines portat, nisi sanctus papa
Romanus), eo quod et ipse illic fuerit exilio religatus
postquam omnia dira passus est cum abduceretur ab urbe
Roma; qui se ipsum tradiderat, gestiens atque desiderans
admodum pro Christo subire martyrium, ut imitator et
165 successor sancti et apostolorum principis Petri, tam in
nauigio, quam in ipso Byzantio, ita ut palam alapis
c<a>ederetur ab inimicis Dei, dignum autem patre suo
diabolo perpetrantes opus in eum. Tam ueste illum sua
exuerunt, quam ferreorum grauamina uinculorum et
catenarum sancto eius collo et pretiosis reliquis membris
170 imposuerunt. Deinde cum eisdem ferreis compedibus
pompantes, per totam plateam traxerunt a palatio usque ad
praetorium praefecti, cum uigiliae magistro, id est primo
carnificum, colligatum; et cum gladio praecedebat eum
quidam | ut membratim concideret, deliberante ac
175 praecipiente Bucoleonte, detestabili sacellario et digne
sanguinem deuorantis bestiae cognomento, tanquam qui et
opera bestiali furore referta possideret, scientia et consilio
Constantini imperatoris, qui et praedictum obscenum et
pessimum Typum condidit, Gregorio eunucho et praefecto
180 miserae illius urbis. Quod utique iam et factum fuisset

f. 56

166/167 cf. Ioh. 8,44

160 religatus] *sic cod.; intellige relegatus* 166 caederetur] *scripsi,*
cederetur cod. 176 cognomento] *cognominato cod. p. corr. m. sec.*

Scholion 159 portat] In partibus dumtaxat illis in quibus haec gesta sunt

said, his brother Theodore, whom I have just mentioned, is spending his twentieth year still persevering in the rigorous labours and trials in the same exile in Cherson. He was kind enough to show us with his own hand many small written works of the saints, when we went there to visit and venerate him and Martin of precious memory, the highest and truly universal pope and great martyr for truth.

Theodore recounted to us the abundant miracles of Martin which happened there, as well as the unbearable tribulations that they suffered, and also gave us as a gift a piece of a holy handkerchief, that is a face cloth, which had been left to him by Martin, and one of his boots, that is, the half-boots which no other man wears except the holy Roman pope, because he himself²³ had been sent into exile there after he suffered all manner of dreadful things when he was conveyed from Rome, and had handed himself over, eagerly desiring and longing passionately to undergo martyrdom for Christ, as an imitator and successor of the holy Peter, chief of the apostles, both in the sea voyage and in Byzantium itself, in such a way that he was publicly beaten with blows by the enemies of God, performing a deed worthy of their father the devil against him. They stripped him of his clothes, and burdened his holy neck and the rest of his precious limbs with iron bonds and chains. Then leading him in procession bound in the same iron fetters, they dragged him along the whole road from the palace to the praetorian prefecture, chained to the officer of the guard, that is to say, the chief executioner, and a man walked in front of him with a sword to cut him up limb from limb. The detestable sacellarius²⁴ Bucoleo – (who was) worthily named after a beast devouring blood – decided and directed it, as one who also was the author of works filled with bestial fury, all with the knowledge and advice of the emperor Constantine, who established the aforesaid offensive and wicked *Typus*,²⁵ with Gregory the Eunuch and prefect of that wretched city. Indeed, this would already have happened as far as his²⁶ bold readiness and purpose was concerned, if

²³ Sc. Pope Martin.

²⁴ This is clear evidence that the duties of the *sacellarius* had passed beyond those of imperial treasurer, cf. *RM* n. 5.

²⁵ The Greek adds: "on the advice of Paul, the wretched former president of Constantinople..." (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 72, 30/31).

²⁶ This possessive pronoun refers to Martin.

quantum ad temerariam eius alacritatem et propositum
 pertineret, nisi misericordissimi et benignissimi Dei
 praesidium hos in<hi>buisset, et non huius
 robusti<ssi>mam fortitudinem hostes erubuissent (nouerunt
 185 enim hoc pati frequenter etiam tyranni truces et inhumani,
 licet nimis immisericordes sint et crudeles secundum eum qui
 operatur in illis Satan, martyrio eius forsitan inuidentes
 secundum similem sibi apostatam et idolorum uesaniae
 190 deditum Iulianum illum famosum et uere sapientem in
 malis), aut certe Deo meliori quadam et sibi soli nota qui
 omnia nimirum ad utilitatem dispensat, immensa hunc et
 ineffabili prouidentia conseruante. Cum fecisset in duobus
 195 carceribus, in excubitu scilicet et custodia praefecti, in
 tribulatione multa et infirmitate grauissima dies centum
 octoginta, omnem uero tribulationis suae agonem in annis
 tribus et ultra, sicuti ex his quae de ipso conscripta sunt, et
 a Romanis militibus et propriis eius hominibus qui cum eo
 multis tormentis affecti per diuersa loca exilium pertulere
 scire potuimus, porro dormiuit et ipse in Domino (cum unam
 200 semper et solam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam
 gloriosam Dei nostri ecclesiam sacratissimis et ueracibus
 dogmatibus synodice illustrasset, et tam sanctarum ac
 uniuersalium quinque synodorum, Nicaenae uidelicet,
 205 Constantinopolitanae, Ephesinae prioris, Chalcedonensis, et
 rursus Constantinopolitanae sub Iustiniano imperatore, quam
 omnium sanctorum diuinitus sapientium et probabilium
 patrum nostrorum ac ueracium magistrorum sacra et piissima
 dogmata roborasset, quemadmodum hi qui amore pio legere
 uoluerint, in sacris gestis sanctae ac apostolicae piissimaeque
 210 synodi quae ab eo Rom<a> celebrata est inuenient, cum

183 inhibuisset] *correxī e gr.*, imbuisset *cod.* 184 robustimam *cod.*
 188 similem] *correxī*, similes *cod.* 204 ephesenae *a. corr. cod.* 210
 rome *cod.*

the protection of the most merciful and kindly God had not prevented them, and the enemies had not grown ashamed of Martin's stalwart bravery. For even savage and inhuman tyrants are sometimes able to experience this, even though they are excessively merciless and cruel, following the example of Satan who operates in them. Perhaps they begrudged his martyrdom, according to one similar to themselves, an apostate, devoted to the madness of idols: that infamous Julian,²⁷ truly wise in evil things; or at least, preserved by a certain great and ineffable providence, (which is) something better and known to God alone, who arranges all things for the good. He himself²⁸ went to rest in the Lord when he had spent 180 days in great suffering and most severe weakness in confinement in two prisons, that is, in the watch-house and in the prison of the prefect,²⁹ although every agony of his tribulation (lasted) for three years and more,³⁰ as we are able to know, both from those things which were written about him, and also from the Roman soldiers and his own men who were affected by many torments with him, and endured exile in various places. (He died) after he had brought illumination to the one and only, always holy, apostolic and glorious catholic church of our God, by most sacred and truthful synodic teachings, and he had confirmed the holy and most pious teachings of the five holy and universal synods - namely Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus I, Chalcedon and Constantinople II under Emperor Justinian³¹ - and equally those of all our holy, divinely wise and most approved Fathers and truthful teachers. He had made plain and preached the truth with great effort, and revealed the crimes of the enemy, and made them known more clearly. This will be found, by those wishing with pious love to read (about it), in the sacred acts of the holy and apostolic and most righteous

²⁷ A suggestion that Julian the Apostate (361-363) also begrudged saints the martyrdom they longed for. The author of the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ch. 42, ed. A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden, 1984), p. 117, noted that "Julian, hated of God, burned many Christians (in a furnace in the Hippodrome) on the pretext of their being criminals."

²⁸ Sc. Martin.

²⁹ Martin spent 178 days in two prisons in Constantinople, according to the author of the *Commemoratio* (PL 129, 598C): 93 days in the Prandiaria (PL 129, 593A), and 85 days in the Diomedes prison (PL 129, 596A).

³⁰ His tribulation only lasted for three years if we count the years 653-655 inclusively.

³¹ The Ecumenical Councils of 325, 381, 431, 451 and 553 respectively.

215 in omnem locum et omnem regionem transmissa sint, et
 ardue ueritatem manifestasset ac praedicasset, et flagitia
 hostium reuelasset atque liquidius publicasset), *bono*
 multumque sibi amabili *agone agonizans*, et ad desideratum
 220 Dominum, pro quo et proprium sanguinem quantum ipse fuit
 effudit, in laetitia copiosa profectus | mense Septembrio die
 sexta decima, indictione quarta decima, qua et custodientis
 pietatem copiosaeque certatricis et castae uirginis ac martyris
 Euphemiae honoranda memoria per annos singulos
 225 celebratur, reconditus inter tumulos sanctorum, in domo
 percolenda sanctissimae intemeratae ac semper laudandae
 gratiosae uereque supergloriosae dominae nostrae utpote quae
 proprie natura et absque mendacio ac ueraciter est Dei
 genitrix et semper uirgo Maria quae appellatur Blachernes,
 extra muros a stadio uno ipsius de cetero benedictae urbis
 Chersonis. In qua sancta domo etiam iam memoratus sanctus
 Euprepus requiescit iuxta eundem perornatum <pastorem>
 ac uere magistrum, qui euangelicam uocem opere adimpleuit
 230 qua dicitur: *Pastor bonus animam suam ponit pro ouibus*
suis.

f. 56^v

Porro sanctus et memorabilis ac optimus et per omnia
 sapiens, immo diuinitus sapiens, magnusque ueritatis
 propugnator et commartyr eorum megistus qui et Maximus
 235 (hoc enim ut antea indicauimus dictione Latina *maximi*
 nomen insinuat), cuius et sanctum monumentum per singulas
 noctes lampades exhibet a die qua dormisse dinoscitur usque
 in praesens et in perpetuum omnibus illucescens et
 patefaciens confidentiam suam quam optinet apud Deum,
 sicuti praeposita commendat epistola, et nos ipsi per nosmet
 240 auditores a multis illius loci principibus et habitatoribus, qui

213/214 II Tim. 4,7 222 cf. Luc. 1,28 229/230 Ioh. 10,11 239
 cf. Ep. Anas. 103/105

216 septimbrio cod. e corr. m. sec. 218 pietatim cod. a. corr. m. sec.
 222 supergloriosae] semper gloriosae cod. a. corr. m. sec. 227
 pastorem] restitui e gr., om. cod.

synod which was celebrated by him at Rome,³² since the acts have been transmitted to every place and each region. He *fought the good fight* much loved by him, and was carried forth in abundant happiness, to the Lord he longed for, for whom he poured out so much of his own blood, on the sixteenth of September, in the fourteenth indiction,³³ on which day the honourable memory of Euphemia,³⁴ guardian of orthodoxy and valiant striver and chaste virgin and martyr, is celebrated every year. He was buried among the tombs of the saints in the venerable house of Our Lady, the all-holy, inviolate and ever to be praised, gracious and truly superglorious, who is properly by nature and without deception and truly the bearer of God, and the ever-virgin Mary. (The church), which is called Blachernes,³⁵ (is) one stadium outside the walls of that city of Cherson, blessed as to the rest.³⁶ In this sacred house, holy Euprepus whom I have just mentioned, also is laid to rest near the same much-adorned³⁷ [shepherd] and true teacher, who by his work fulfilled the gospel saying: *The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep*.

Moreover the holy and memorable and most excellent and wise in everything, or rather divinely wise, and great fighter for truth and fellow martyr of those, Megistus who is also Maximus – for this name means "greatest" in Latin, as we indicated earlier –, whose holy tomb displays lights each night, from the day when he is known to have gone to rest, up to the present and perpetually, giving light to all and making clear the confidence which he enjoys with God, just as the preceding letter commends – and we ourselves have been in a position to hear (of those things)

³² I.e. the Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649.

³³ I.e. 16 September 655; cf. the Greek *Vita Martini* (BHG 2259), ed. P. Peeters, *AB* 51 (1933), p. 261 (chap. 12), dates Martin's death to 13 April 656. Peeters, in the same article, p. 249, states that it is impossible to choose between the two dates.

³⁴ The Council of Chalcedon was held in the Church of St Euphemia, who was hence venerated as the protector of orthodoxy by the pro-Chalcedonians.

³⁵ The Greek *Vita Martini*, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-262, also mentions Martin's burial in the church of St Maria of Blachernes, named after the Blachernae in Constantinople.

³⁶ The Latin *de cetero* is an inadequate translation of Greek τὸ λοιπὸν "as a result" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 74, 20).

³⁷ The Latin *perornatum* is an inadequate rendition of the Greek παγκοσμίον "common to the world" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 74, 22).

cum iuramentis huiusmodi mirabile uere miraculum
 fiducialiter praedicabant, effecti sumus, eorum uero qui
 obtutu proprio uiderant has (unus etiam ipse comes eiusdem
 <S>chemareos castri nomine Mistrianus existit, qui et
 245 uigilans cum militibus has non semel nec bis, sed et
 multotiens contemplatus est, et primus patenter de his
 omnibus praedicauit), nobis illuc pergere non ualentibus
 propter montis illius ascensus, id est uerticis Caucasiorum,
 250 quo excelsior mons super terram non est, difficultatem, et
 tempus hiemis, insuper et confusionem gentium quae fit in
 partibus illis, pariter et Anastasius discipulus eius, ab
 undecima indictione praeteriti cycli, per tria exilia, Bizyes
 scilicet et Perberei Thracensium regionis atque praedictum
 255 Lazicum, in multis contritionibus et intolerabilibus
 necessitatibus atque huiuscemodi athleticis certaminibus annis
 decem peractis, ad regnum migrauerunt supernum, sanctus
 quidem Maximus, sicut dictum est, mense Augusto die tertia
 decima, indictione quinta, cum praedixisset ex diuina
 reuelatione | suam in Domino ante dies quindecim
 260 dormitionem futuram sicuti iam praemissum est, sanctum
 uero suum pro ueritate in Christo Deo nostro martyrium ante
 non paucos annos, discipulus uero eius Anastasius mense
 Iulio die uicesima quarta indictionis eiusdem.

f. 57

265 Igitur missa nobis est huiusmodi sacratissima et praeposita
 propriae manus, immo diuinitus exarata epistola una cum
 suppositis sibi deiloquis testimoniis et syllogismis, ab eodem
 ipsorum exilio, id est Lazico; quam et habemus et
 conseruamus cum eodem quo scribebat tradito sibi diuinitus
 270 argumento, id est praedictis duobus exilibus fusticulis, et
 aliis benedictionibus ac muneribus eius sanctisque ac

243 ipse] *supra l. m. sec.* 244 Schemareos] *restitui e gr.*, chemareos
cod. existit] *extitit cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 248 ascensus] *correx*
ascensum cod. 263 die] *iterauit a. corr. cod.* 266 sylogismis *cod.*
e corr. m. sec.

from many leaders and inhabitants of that place, who were telling confidently with oaths of such a truly incredible miracle, and who had seen these (lights) with their own eyes. There is one, Mistrrianus by name, a *comes*³⁸ in the same fort of Schemaris, who saw them not once or twice but many times on night-watch with the soldiers, and first talked about all these things openly to us; although we were not able to go there because of the difficulty of the steep ascent of that mountain - that is, the peak of the Caucasus, than which there is no loftier mountain on earth - and the winter season, and above all the confusion of people which exists in those parts.³⁹ (Maximus) departed⁴⁰ to the heavenly kingdom at the same time as Anastasius his disciple, who spent ten years in three periods of exile, from the eleventh indiction of the past cycle through three exiles in great grief and under intolerable deprivation and strenuous struggles of this kind, namely in Bizya and Perberis in the region of Thrace, and Lazica, which I have already mentioned; indeed, holy Maximus, as was said, (departed) on the thirteenth of August, in the fifth indiction, when he had foretold his future rest in the Lord by divine revelation fifteen days earlier, as can be found in the previous account, whereas (he foretold) his holy martyrdom for the truth in Christ our God, some years before; and his disciple Anastasius (departed) on the twenty-fourth of July in the same indiction.⁴¹

Therefore the most holy letter on this subject,⁴² set forth (here) by his own hand, or rather, divinely issued, was sent to us from the same exile, that is in Lazica, together with the attached testimonies and syllogisms which speak of God. We possess and keep it, together with the same device with which he used to write, handed down to him by divine inspiration, that is the aforesaid two slender twigs, [and similarly his other hand-written books and tomes from after the suffering, but

³⁸ The Greek form of this term (*komes*) was used in later times to refer to subaltern officers of the army (as here) and navy units (*ODB*, p. 485); later, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the *κόμης τῆς κόρτης* was an official on the staff of a *strategos*, probably with judicial and police duties (*ODB*, p. 1139).

³⁹ Note the anacoluthon: the sentence resumes here from the point "just as the preceding letter commends" on the previous page.

⁴⁰ The plural verb *migrauerē* has as its subject both Maximus and Anastasius his disciple.

⁴¹ On the date of Anastasius the Disciple's death, see *Ep. Anas.*, p. 54, n. 12.

⁴² Literally "of this kind".

uenerabilibus, necnon et omnibus post Deum bonis librorum
 uidelicet eius studiis, et propriae manus compositionibus
 tanquam reuera sacrosanctis laudibus et reliquiis. Data uero
 275 est nobis uere minimis, Theodosio scilicet et Theodoro
 germanis et sine dolo fratribus, humilibus et peccatoribus
 monachis, per Gregorium monachum et abbatem monasterii
 sancti Iohannis Baptistae regionis Albanorum quod appellatur
 280 Batararu, mensis Augusti die uicesima indictionis undecimae;
 quae praeteriit nos qui reuertebamur a regione saepe dicta
 Lazorum. Illuc enim profecti fueraus, licet ualde infirmi et
 pauperes et indigni essemus, secundum consuetudinem ad
 uisitationem eorum, non solum propter iam dictum creditum
 nobis pondus conscriptum, id est praeceptionem saepe
 285 memorati sancti ac summi apostolici papae Romani Martini,
 personaliter ad eum in eadem magni nominis urbe
 aduenientibus, et certitudinem propriae manus de his quae ab
 eo synodice confirmata sunt ex ipso sumentibus et
 audientibus papa et alio ex his qui simul aderant, sed et
 quoniam ore proprio mandauerat nobis de hoc postquam
 290 passi sunt cum adhuc essent Byzantii in custodia praetorii
 praefecti quae appellatur Diomedis, ex qua et praemisimus
 eos in iam saepe dictum tertium eorum exilium Lazicae,
 merentes illis et in reliquis eorum exiliis et custodiis,
 laboribus et sollicitudinibus angustisque non mediocribus,
 295 secundum quod nobis possibile fuit (per Deo acceptas eorum
 preces nobis cooperante ipso qui eripuit nos saepius de
 iniquis manibus impiorum, marisque periculis ac diuersis
 tempestatibus) ministrare de paupercula quae inerat nobis ex
 parentum benedictione sicut in Domino, ut autem uerius
 300 dicamus, Dei munere et non ex alienis, sed et reliquis nil

271/272 omnibus - studiis] *translatio uidetur corrupta* 277 quod]
expectaueris quae 278 Batararu] *sic cod.; uide autem gr. βεταραρούως*
 286 aduenientibus *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 287 sunt] *cod. a. corr. inc.*
 sa 291 praefecti] *supra l. m. sec.*

also many works from before his suffering, and his hand-written compositions, in that they are both treasures and relics that are truly holy and sacred as well.]⁴³ But [the sacred letter on this subject]⁴⁴ was given to us, the truly lowly germane⁴⁵ and genuine brothers, namely Theodosius and Theodore, humble monks and sinners, through Gregory, monk and abbot⁴⁶ of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist, of the Albanian region which is called Batararu,⁴⁷ on the twentieth of August of the eleventh indiction, which passed⁴⁸ when we were returning from the region of Lazica, which I have often mentioned. For we had set out there, although we were very weak and poor and unworthy, to visit them according to custom, not only on account of the burden⁴⁹ entrusted to us in writing, which has already been mentioned, that is, the command of the often-remembered, holy and highest apostolic Roman pope, Martin, to those coming to him personally in the same city of great name,⁵⁰ and taking from him [an assurance in his own hand concerning those truly pious teachings, synodically ratified by him, first conveyed by us];⁵¹ but also because he had given us an order concerning this with his own mouth,⁵² after they

⁴³ Latin reads less clearly than the Greek: "with his other blessings and holy and venerable gifts, and with all his good studies after God, namely of his books, and compositions of his own hand as truly sacrosanct praises and relics." (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 76, 2-5).

⁴⁴ The subject of the verb is omitted in the Latin.

⁴⁵ Latin *germanis* may be a deliberate pun, meaning both "brothers" and "true" i.e. without guile.

⁴⁶ Here Anastasius has preserved the distinction between ἀββᾶ and ἡγουμένου (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 76, 8).

⁴⁷ The Greek adds: "in the holy church of the Resurrection of Christ our God" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 76, 10).

⁴⁸ Latin *praeteriit nos* "passed by us".

⁴⁹ The Greek adds: "of the service of the Word" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 76, 15).

⁵⁰ I.e. Rome.

⁵¹ Latin reads less clearly than the Greek: "an assurance in his own hand concerning those matters which were confirmed by him at the synod, and hearing from the pope and another of those who were there at the same time." (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 7, 19-21). The reference is to the Acts of the Lateran Synod.

⁵² Cf. Greek ἀνταῖς ὄψεσιν "face to face" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 76, 21).

minus eorum concertatoribus | et commartyribus, et ut
 fieremus inspectores stigmatum ipsorum et passionum, quae
 propter Christum uerum Deum nostrum pertulerunt, quin
 immo et auditores per nos effecti, diuinitus quoque sapientis
 305 atque saluantis expertes eorum constitueremur doctrinae, et
 Deo persuadibilibus et bene acceptis ipsorum orationibus
 frueremur, et quaedam uestimentorum quae in passione sibi
 scissa sunt, propriis manibus ab eis accepta, deferremus, una
 310 cum sanctificatis pannis pretiosoque sanguine rubricatis qui
 circumpositi fuerant sanctis eorum quae abscisae fuerant
 manibus, causa sanguinem medicinaliter restringendi.
 Vtrosque autem complecti ac memorari non sine
 consideratione, ut reor, perpendimus, pro eo quod unum et
 315 idem ipsum in certamine sanctae reuera et orthodoxae fidei
 et *in uinculo pacis* et caritatis dinoscantur effecti. De cetero
 infinita multitudo eorum qui in praedicta non ferenda et
 intolerabili persecutione, diuersis uerberibus et
 tribulationibus palam et occulte martyrium inferebant, astuto
 ac uersuto molimine has illi[u]s aliter atque aliter, quasi non
 320 pro fide sed sub praetextu aliarum ingerebant occasionum
 atque damnorum, adeo ut haec simplicioribus quibusque qui
 facile decipiuntur ignorantibus, soli Deo qui occultorum est
 cognitor et his qui studiosiores erant, hos et quamobrem
 passi sint, proculdubio deserentes.

325 Pro quibus omnibus <uos> uniuersos qui in ueritate quae
 reuera sunt ueritatis relegitis, ac si praesentes et procidentes,
 tam cordis genu cum corporalibus genibus, quam cordis
 sensu cum lacrimis inclinati et ante uestigia omnium uestrum
 330 prouoluti, deprecamur et exoramus quo p r i m u m quidem
 ueniam in omnibus tribuatis exiguitati ac indisciplinationi

315 Eph. 4,3

303 pertulerant *cod. a. corr. ut uid.* 312 utroque *cod. a. corr. m. sec.*
 314 horthodoxae *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 317/322 *Anastasioi textus*
uidetur esse siue erroneus siue corruptus 319 illis] *correx*i, illius *cod.*
 325 uos] *suppleui e gr.*

had suffered, while they were still in Byzantium,⁵³ in the prison of the praetorian prefect which is called Diomedes, from which we set out before them⁵⁴ to their third place of exile in Lazica, which I have often mentioned. We were considered worthy⁵⁵ to minister to them in their remaining exiles and confinements, labours and troubles and considerable deprivations, to the best of our ability – because their prayers were received by God, who helped us, snatching us on many occasions from the wicked hands of the impious, and from dangerous seas and various storms –, as it were, in the Lord, from the modest gift which came to us from our parents, or as we may say more truly, by the gift of God and not of strangers. But (we were considered worthy to minister) no less also to their remaining fellow strugglers and martyrs, both so that we might become observers of their stigmata and sufferings which they endured on account of Christ our true God; but also that we too, having become hearers with our own ears, might be strengthened by the experience of their divinely wise and saving teaching; and that we might benefit from their welcome prayers which are able to prevail upon God, and so that we might bring back certain items of their clothing which were torn in their suffering, received with our own hands from them,⁵⁶ together with the bandages which were sanctified and reddened by (their) precious blood, which were wrapped around their holy hands after the amputation, to stem the flow of blood for medical purposes. But we have considered (it right) to commemorate jointly and remember both Maximus and Anastasius Apocrisiarius, not without deliberation, in my opinion, because they are recognised as having been made one and the same in the struggle of the truly holy and orthodox faith and *in the bond of peace* and love. As for the rest, the infinite number⁵⁷ of those who in the unbearable and intolerable persecution, which I've mentioned, were

⁵³ I.e. in 653/654.

⁵⁴ The Greek reads "we escorted them".

⁵⁵ Latin *merentes*; cf. Greek ἀξιοθέντες (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 77, 2).

⁵⁶ Or "from their own hands".

⁵⁷ The Greek reads τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπειρον πλῆθος "the remaining infinite number" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 77, 23).

335 nostrae qui ad certitudinem et satisfactionem tanquam uere
 fideles fideliter talia prorsus recipimus, et ne obliuio uelet
 tantos et tales sacros agones eo quod ualde a paucis et raris
 haec cum diligentia cognoscantur (nos autem, ut dictum est,
 cum uoluntate Dei horum ipsis uisibus conscii ex parte
 maxima facti fuissetus, et discrimen quod ex desidia
 generatur metui <s>semus, et non ob aliud, ut coram Deo
 340 dico, nisi propter hoc quoquomodo haec scribere
 praesumpsi <s>semus, et uitam uel laudes depromere
 minime ualuissetus talium et tot pro pietate certaminum ac
 sudorum uere mirabilium et magnorum illorum in Domino
 sacratissimorum uirorum, | propter collactaneam scilicet et
 rudem rusticitatem nostram et omnimodam
 345 indisciplineationem, per quas nobis et sermonis inest inopia
 super omnes, quibus sufficere arbitramur pro magnae uitae
 actibus et praeconiis, si qui, ueritatis et studii amore, legere
 uoluerint diuina illorum et ueraciter sine fastidio contra
 impietatem et pro p[r]ietate labores plurimos et conscripta,
 quae et cum omni sollertia et diligentia una cum his etiam
 350 quae sunt ex aduersariorum execrabilibus scriptis, licet
 humiles et ueraciter uiles super omnes et in omnibus simus,
 iuxta uirtutem tamen quae inest nobis, in diuersis libris ac
 tomis conscripsimus, et amatoribus ueritatis tradidimus, in
 gloriam et indesinentem laudem et gratiarum actionem
 355 omnipotentis Dei et uere *mirabilis in sanctis suis*, ac zelum
 et alacritatem eorum qui pro pietate certare uoluerint,
 confusionemque ac ineuitabile opprobrium inimicorum
 ueritatis et ipsius Dei uniuersorum, instantiasque ac
 oppositiones illatarum sibi falsarum calumniarum et
 360 decretorum inanium ac instabilium, et absolute omnes eorum

f. 58

355 Ps. 67,36

335 conscii cod. a. corr. 336 fuissetus a. corr. cod. 337
 metuissemus] scripsi, metuissemus cod. 339 praesumpsissemus] scripsi,
 praesumpsissemus cod. 348 pro pietate] correxi e gr., proprietate cod.

publicly and privately bearing witness,⁵⁸ in various beatings and torments, [inflicted upon them] with shrewdness and cunning in one way or another, as if not for the faith but under the guise of other pretexts for condemnation, for this purpose, that those who are simpler and more ignorant are easily deceived,⁵⁹ we have without a doubt left to God who alone knows secret things and to those who were more diligent, (who know) who suffered and for what reason.

On behalf of these, we pray and entreat all [you] who read through, in the truth, all things which are truly of the truth – as if we were present and prostrate, so much bending with the knee of the heart together with our physical knees, as much as with the feeling of our hearts, in tears and prostrated before the feet⁶⁰ of all of you. First, indeed, (we pray and entreat)⁶¹ that you grant a comprehensive pardon for our lowliness and our lack of instruction, [in order to confirm and reassure those who are really faithful and who]⁶² faithfully receive such things exactly, and (we pray) that oblivion should not veil the magnitude and nature of the sacred struggles, because these things are recognised with diligence by a very rare few. But since we, as has been said, by the will of God, have been made sharers of most of these things with our own eyes, and because we feared the danger which is generated by idleness, and not for any other (reason), as I say before God, except this, have we somehow dared to record these things in writing. We have barely been able to draw forth the life and praises of such numerous struggles on behalf of orthodoxy, and of the truly marvellous exertions of those great men, most holy in the Lord, on account of our unpolished and boorish lack of refinement and complete lack of instruction, which has

⁵⁸ Latin *martyrium inferebant*. The Greek construction is in active voice here but changes to the passive in προσφερομένων (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 77, 25-27). Anastasius has misunderstood, and maintained an active construction with *ingerebant*.

⁵⁹ The Greek is less cumbersome: διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπλουστέρων εὐάλωτον "because simpler-minded people are easy to deceive..." (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 77, 27-28).

⁶⁰ Latin *vestigia*, literally "footprints".

⁶¹ These two verbs (*deprecamur et exoramus*) must be understood with each of the adverbs introducing each of his three requests: "we pray and entreat first that..., second... and third...". I have created a new paragraph for each point, although this is one continual sentence in the Latin.

⁶² Anastasius Bibliothecarius has made several mistakes in the Latin, which translates as: "we who, for the certainty and satisfaction, as though truly faithful, (faithfully receive such things exactly)..."

365 sacratissimos ac pios agones atque sudores qui ab eis qui ex
 aduerso erant diuerso modo sunt acti, id est a subintroduc-
 noua et heretica omnia recipiente adinuentione
 Heraclianokyrosergiopyrrhopaulopetratarum et inuoluntatiuo-
 inoperatistarum, uel ut uerius dicamus nouorum
 Epicuriorum, id est penitus carentium Deo, ut ipsa rerum
 <experientia> et ipsa contrariorum <impia> conscripta
 370 demonstrant his qui huiuscemodi discernere norunt, quatinus
 hi qui post nos studiosi et in uerbo potentes fuerint, et his
 inuentis ex his occasionem acceperint, Deo ac sanctis eius
 gratiarum actiones debitas reddant; *da enim sapienti*
occasionem et sapientior, inquit, erit; s e c u n d o uero
 indesinentibus orationibus et supplicationibus cum operibus
 375 bonis ac lacrimis benignissimum natura et misericordissimum
 placetis Deum, ut compatiatur infirmitatibus nostris,
 sedetqu[a]e de cetero instantem adhuc dolosam et uersutam
 et penitus argumentosam atque grauissimam super omnes
 praecedentes paganas et hereticas persecutiones, quippe cum
 380 sciat pulueris nostri fragilitatem et facilem lapsum propter
 nimiam fraudem eorum atque nequitiam, et finis seditionis
 fiat, et terminus huiusmodi atrocissimi mali pretiosum
 scilicet illorum sanguinem effundentium, ueluti sub impiis et
 Dei exsortibus Arrianis profuso sanguine sancti Petri
 Alexandrini patriarchae ac martyris | gestum est (propter
 385 quod et praedicti sancti patres nostri et ueraciter pietatis
 doctores, praecipueque apostolicus et uerticialis papa noster
 Martinus similiter semetipsum in sacrificium pro fidei
 populo tradidit, in omnibus agonithetam Christum Deum
 nostrum et uerticem apostolorum Petrum imitatus et in
 390 cunctis secutus, cuius et successor ut reuera dignus effectus

f. 58^v

371/372 Prou. 9,9

367 experientia] *suppleui e gr.* impia] *suppleui e gr.* 368 demonstant
a. corr. cod. 376 sedetque] *correxī e gr.*, sed et quae *cod.* 380
fradem cod. a. corr. m. sec. atque] *at cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 383
 profuso] *correxī e gr.*, pro roseo *cod.* 385 patres] *correxī*, patris *cod.*

left us, more than others, with a poverty of expression. If anyone with a love of truth and learning wishes (to do so), we think it is sufficient, instead of the acts of a great life and eulogies, to read their very many divine works and writings, truly unrestrained against impiety and on behalf of piety. Although we are humble and truly and in all respects more base than anyone, we have however written these down, according to the strength which we possess, with all care and diligence in various books and tomes, together with even the accursed writings of their enemies. And we have passed down to those who love the truth, for the glory and unceasing praise and thanksgiving of the omnipotent God, truly *wonderful in his saints*, and for the zeal and enthusiasm of those who wish to struggle for piety, and the confusion and inevitable condemnation of the enemies of the truth and of the God of all himself, both the threats and oppositions of the false slanders brought against them, and of the meaningless and wavering decrees, and absolutely all their most holy and pious trials and labours, which were inflicted on them in various ways by those who were against them. (They were inflicted), that is, by the newly introduced and heretical all-embracing innovation of the Heraclius-Cyrus-Sergius-Pyrrhus-Paul-Petrines and the no-will no-operationists,⁶³ or as we may say more truly, the new Epicureans,⁶⁴ that is of those altogether lacking God, as the very [proof] of the matter and the [impious] writings themselves of the opposition demonstrate to those who know how to discern matters of this kind. (We have passed them down) in order that those coming after us, who are studious and skilled in words, and can take the opportunity from these when they are discovered, may render to God and to his saints the thanksgiving that is owed; for *give an opportunity to the wise man and he will be wiser*, it is said.

But **second**, (we pray and entreat) that you please God who is most kind and merciful in nature, with (your) unceasing prayers and supplications, with good works and tears, so that he may have compassion on our weaknesses, and he may, for the

⁶³ These two strings of names have been invented to describe those of the monothelite party, the first being followers of the patriarchs Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter; the second group being those who forbade the mention of will or activity with respect to Christ.

⁶⁴ The Epicureans were much maligned by Christians, as they did not believe in a providential God or in human immortality. It is not clear why they have been singled out for particular opprobrium here.

est), pacemque firmam et indissolubilem unitatem ubique
sanctis suis donet ecclesiis, nec permittat de reliquo usque in
finem haeresim quamlibet suscitari, tam propter *multitudinem*
395 *miserationum* suarum, quam ob infirmitatem et mobilitatem
naturae nostrae, quae super omnes praeteritas generationes
excreuit; t e r t i o autem ut immobiles usque in finem
conseruemur, non solum nos, sed et omnes pii in sancta
reuera et orthodoxa atque immaculata nostra Christianorum
400 sola catholica et uera fide, remi < s > sionemque peccatorum
et salutem percipiamus, qui ueraciter peccatores sumus et
serui omnium qui uere orthodoxi et proprii adoratores sunt
Christi ueri Dei et saluatoris nostri, qui reuera *glorificantes*
se magnifice in ueritate *glorificat*, cuique decora est omnis
405 gloria, honor, imperium, magnificentia in caelo et in terra,
adoratio et gratiarum actio in sensu cordis et ipsa ueritate,
timoreque ac tremore pariter et exultatione secundum
propheticum eloquium, una cum immortalis et miserationum
amatore compatiens ac misericordissimo super
410 naturam Patre, atque sanctissimo et consubstantiali
uiuificoque ac omnipotente diuino Spiritu, nunc et semper et
in uniuersa et infinita saecula saeculorum, amen.

393/394 Ps. 50,3 et 68,17 402/403 I Reg. 2,30 406/407 cf. Ps.
2,11; cf. etiam I Cor. 2,3; II Cor. 7,15; Eph. 6,5 etc.

398 horthodoxa cod. a. corr. m. sec. 399 remissionemque] scripsi,
remisionemque cod. 401 horthodoxi cod. a. corr. m. sec.

rest,⁶⁵ stop the persecution which still threatens, cunning and crafty, completely [devious]⁶⁶ and more serious than all preceding pagan and heretical persecutions, since he surely knows that we are fragile dust, and how easy it is to lapse because of their exceeding deception and wickedness. And (we pray and entreat) that there be an end to sedition, and a close to the most atrocious evil of this kind, that is of those pouring out precious blood, as was done under the impious Arians,⁶⁷ deprived of God, with the outpouring of the blood of holy Peter of Alexandria, patriarch and martyr. On account of this, our aforesaid holy Fathers, the true teachers of piety, and especially our apostolic and highest Pope Martin, similarly handed himself over as a sacrifice on behalf of the faithful, imitating the arranger of combat, Christ our God and the head of apostles Peter, and following them in all ways, whose successor he also became, as indeed he was worthy. May God give lasting peace and indissoluble unity everywhere to his holy churches, and may he not permit any heresy to rise up as for what remains⁶⁸ to the end of time, as much because of *the great number of his mercies*, as because of the weakness and fickleness of our nature, which surpasses all past generations.

But **third**, (we pray and entreat) that we may be preserved unwavering up to the end, not only us, but also all the pious in our truly holy and orthodox and unstained faith of Christians, the sole catholic and true faith, and that we may attain the remission of sins and salvation, we who are truly sinners and servants of all, who are truly orthodox and proper worshippers of Christ the true God and our Saviour, who truly *glorifies those glorifying him* magnificently in truth, and who is worthy of

⁶⁵ The sense of λοιπὸν "therefore" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 79, 14) was missed here, as elsewhere, by Anastasius, who translated it as *de cetero*.

⁶⁶ Cf. Latin *penitus argumentosam* "very rich in proof".

⁶⁷ Peter II of Alexandria was nominated by Athanasius as his successor in 373, but was usurped by an Arian candidate, by the command of the emperor Valens. Peter found refuge with Pope Damasus in Rome, and returned to Alexandria c. 379. He died before the Council of Constantinople opened in 381 (M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 678). There seems to be some confusion in the author's mind between this Peter, and Peter I, Patriarch of Alexandria in the early fourth century, who was martyred in 311 (M. Simonetti, *EEC*, p. 677). Peter II was not a patriarch or a martyr, as he is described in our text, but Peter I was not persecuted by Arians.

⁶⁸ The Greek τοῦ λοιποῦ "in the future" (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 79, 29) would have been better translated by *in reliquo*, rather than *de reliquo*.

all glory, honour, power, magnificence in heaven and on earth, adoration, and thanksgiving in the feeling of the heart and in truth itself, and with equal fear and trembling and rejoicing according to the prophetic saying,⁶⁹ together with the Father – (who is) immortal and loving of mercies and most compassionate and most merciful in nature –, and with the most holy and consubstantial and life-giving and omnipotent divine Spirit, now and forever until the entire and never-ending ages of ages. Amen.

Here end the commemorations of the saints Pope Martin, and Maximus the monk, and his disciples Anastasius and Anastasius, and the brothers Euprepus and Theodore.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ The following is added here in the Greek, and is probably original: "moreover with a perfect faith, too, which exceeds all things, in as much as it is the chief and perfecter of all virtues, and the only guide to salvation..." (Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 80, 8-10).

⁷⁰ This scholion is not found in the Greek.

Expliciunt commemorationes de sanctis papa Martino et
Maximo monacho, seu Anastasio itemque Anastasio
discipulis eius, atque Euprepio et Theodoro germanis.

412/414 Expliciunt - germanis] *non leguntur in cod. gr.*