

PART II

THE TEXTS

Preface to the Translation

In translating this section of the *Collectanea* of Anastasius, I have tried to live up to Théry's dictum: "Le vrai rôle du critique, qui suppose ce long commerce de sympathie avec l'objet de son étude, est de percevoir ces paroles intérieures et de les rendre sensibles à ceux qu'un labeur trop précipité empêcherait d'entendre."¹ This requires that the critical translator find the delicate balance between a rendition of the text that is so pedestrian that it makes insufficient allowance for English idiom, and a version so free that accuracy is sacrificed. The task is made even more difficult by the fact that we are dealing with the translation of a translation, and that the original Greek itself was often less than clear in its expression. This is particularly the case in the final three documents, *Ep. Anas.*, *Syll.* and *Hypo.* The letter of Anastasius the Apocrisiarius, in spite of its author's official status, bears no evidence of literary flair. Its turgid style and frequent anacolutha have resulted in extremely long sentences which sometimes run for up to half a page. We have attempted to break these up where possible, but have often been forced to retain the unwieldy syntactic structures of the original in order to preserve the sense. The *Syllogisms and Testimonia* presented the greatest challenge of all, with their difficult theological content made even more obscure by the author's infelicity of phrase, and not helped at all by Anastasius' ignorance of the subject matter. The author of the *Hypo.*, Theodore Spudaeus, apologises for his roughness of language and complete lack of instruction, and our translation can be no more refined than the original, whose interminable sentences are, as Devreesse put it, "enchevêtrées sans aucun souci d'élégance ou même de correction."² As Devreesse rightly notes, these faults have been aggravated by the manuscript tradition.³ Anastasius has not attempted to correct his model, and for this reason, I have often reverted to the Greek text (where that is available) when that makes better sense than Anastasius' Latin. The primary objective of this translation was to provide a readable text. That being said, the limitations of both the Greek and the Latin have left their mark on the English version, and for that, I ask for the reader's forbearance.

¹ Théry, 'Scot Érigène', p. 185.

² Devreesse, *Hypomnesticon*, p. 65.

I have not considered it necessary to duplicate in the translation the notes on biblical and other sources which are found in the *apparatus biblicus et fontium* of the edition. Where I have referred to the Greek text, I mean that of the edition of Pauline Allen (forthcoming in CCSG). This unfortunately leaves the reader with no other Greek source than the Migne text (PG 90, 110-202), and for the *Hypo.* and *Ep. Anas.* the editions of Devreesse, from which the new edition sometimes deviates. For this inconvenience, I apologise, but in most places the existing editions will serve as a sufficient basis for comparison with the Latin. For the *Testimonia*, the Greek text consulted is that of the *Doctrina Patrum*. The following conventions have been used in the English translation: words that have been added for the sake of clarity are marked with round brackets (...). Words supplied from the Greek are in square brackets [...]. Words that need to be rejected in the translation are marked by pointed brackets <...>. In the Latin text itself, square brackets mark a word or letter that should be deleted. Pointed brackets signal an insertion. Crosses (+...+) mark passages where the Latin translation is unclear and cannot be restored from the Greek. Lacunae in the text are marked by asterisks in pointed brackets <***>.

³ *Ibid.*

Record of the trial of lord¹ Maximus, the monk, and his companion before the leaders in the council chamber.

On the day on which lord Maximus and the man with him² anchored in this royal city, around sunset, two imperial officials,³ together with ten palace guards,⁴ took them from the boat, naked and unshod, and imprisoned them in separate cells, separated from each other. And after several days, they brought them to the palace, and led the old man to the place where the senate was gathered, and a great crowd besides, and presented him in the midst of the seated leaders. And the sacellarius⁵ said to him with great rage and fury: "Are you a Christian?"

And Maximus said, "By the grace of Christ, God of all, I am a Christian."

And he said, "It is not true."

The servant of God answered, "You say [I am not], but God says that I am, [and remain] a Christian."

"And how is it," he said, "that you hate the emperor, if you are a Christian?"

In answer the servant of God said, "And how is this made clear? Indeed, hatred is a secret disposition of the mind, just as affection is."

And he said to him, "From your actions it has become obvious to all that you hate the emperor and his state. For you single-handedly betrayed Egypt and Alexandria and Pentapolis [and Tripoli] and Africa to the Saracens."

"And what is the proof of this?" he said.

And they led in the false witness John, who had been the sacellarius of Peter, the

¹ Latin *domnus* is an honorific title with no real significance. Here and elsewhere it has been translated as "lord."

² The Greek reads: οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ "the men with him" (PG 90, 109C), and in the Greek title: τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ "those with him" for "his companion" (PG 90, 109/110B).

³ *Mandatores* or subaltern officials employed for special missions. Imperial *mandatores* appear on seals from the seventh to the ninth centuries (ODB, p. 1281).

⁴ *Excubitores* were the imperial guards, a select corps created by Leo I under the command of a *comes excubitorum*, later known as the δομέστικος τῶν ἑξκουβίτων, first mentioned in the sources in 765 (ODB, p. 646).

⁵ The sacellarius' role had by this time passed from the role of imperial treasurer to general controller of imperial affairs (J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les Offikia de l'Eglise byzantine*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien 11 [Paris, 1970], p. 310).

- contra Saracenos, et scripsit tibi tanquam ad seruum Dei loquens, certitudinem habens in te utpote in homine sancto, si des ei consilium abire. Et rescripsisti ei dicens, nil tale facere, quoniam non bene placitum est coram Deo ut imperio
- 35 Heraclii et generis eius cooperetur res publica Romanorum.» Dicit seruus Dei: «Si ueritatem loquitur, utique habet et Petri ad me et meam ad ipsum epistolam, quae deferantur, et subiaceo poenis a legibus constitutis.»
- 40 Et dicit: «Ego non habeo epistolam, sed nec noui si omnino scripserit tibi. Verum haec in castris per illud tempus omnes loquebantur.»
- Et dicit ad eum Dei seruus: «Si exercitus totus hoc fatebatur, quomodo tu solus super hoc me accusas? Vidisti me aliquando, uel ego te?»
- 45 At ille: «Nunquam.»
- Tunc Dei seruus ad senatum conuersus dixit: «Si iustum est tales adducere calumniatores uel testes, iudicate. *In quo enim iudicio iudicaueritis, iudicabimini; et in qua mensura metimini, metietur de uobis*, ait omnium Deus.»
- 50 Et post hunc adducunt Sergium Magudan, dicentem: «Ante annos nouem beatus abba Thomas ueniens Roma dicit mihi: Papa Theodorus misit me ad Gregorium patricium ut dicerem ei ne quisquam timeret. Seruus enim Dei | abba Maximus uidit uisionem quod in caelis ad orientem et occidentem
- 55 chori essent angelorum. <Et hi qui erant in oriente clamabant: Constantine Auguste, tu uincas!> Hi uero qui erant in occidente uocem emittebant dicentes: Gregori Auguste, tu uincas! et magis sonuit uox occidentalium quam orientalium uoces.»
- 60 Et tunc clamabat sacellarius: «Misit te Deus ut incendaris in

47/49 Matth. 7,2

50 Magudan] *sed post u unam litteram erasit, forsitan n* 55/56
Et - uincas!] *suppleui e gr.*

former prefect of the African province of Numidia, who said: "Twenty-two years ago, the grandfather of the emperor ordered Peter of blessed memory to raise an army and lead it into Egypt against the Saracens, and he wrote to you as to a servant of God, having confidence in you as a holy man, asking if you would advise him to depart. And you wrote back to him saying, "Do no such thing, because it is does not please God well for the Roman state to cooperate with the empire under Heraclius and his line."⁶

The servant of God said, "If he speaks the truth, he must have both Peter's letter to me and mine to him, which may be presented, and I will submit to the punishments set down by the law."⁷

And he said, "I do not have the letter, nor do I know if he even wrote to you. But everyone was talking about this in the camp at the time."

And the servant of God said to him, "If the whole army was talking about this, how is it that you alone accuse me? Have you ever seen me before, or I you?"

And he said, "Never."

Then the servant of God turned to the senate and said, "If it is just to call such slanderers as witnesses, you decide. *For by the judgements you have made, you yourselves will be judged. And by the measure you have used, measure will be made of you*, the God of all says."

And after him they led in Sergius Maguda, who said, "Nine years ago, the blessed father Thomas came from Rome and said to me, 'Pope Theodore sent me to Gregory the patrician to tell him that no-one should fear,⁸ for the servant of God father⁹ Maximus saw a vision in which there were choirs of angels in the

⁶ This refers to events of 633 ("if from a false accusation one may adduce evidence": Sherwood, *Date-List*, p. 40).

⁷ These letters do not survive, if they ever existed.

⁸ Cf. Greek, μή φοβηθῆναι τινα "to fear nobody" (PG 90, 112B). Gregory, governor of Roman Africa, led an unsuccessful revolt against the Byzantine imperial government in 646. He was killed in the Arab incursions of 647. He presided over the dispute between Maximus and Pyrrhus in Carthage in July, 645.

⁹ The Latin *abbas* implies the meaning of "abbot", but there is no evidence to suggest that Maximus was in fact an higoumenos, apart from the *Vita Maximi*, PG 90, 73 A10-B22, where Maximus reluctantly is persuaded to become higoumenos of the monastery of Chrysopolis, which reads as no more than a topos. Anastasius' translation of the Greek ἄββας "father" is therefore misleading, and I have translated in favour of the Greek sense of the term, wherever it occurs.

hac urbe.»

Dicit Dei seruus: «Gratias ago Deo qui emundat me a spontaneis malis meis, per supplicium non spontaneum. Verumtamen, *Vae mundo ab scandalis. Necessitas enim est*

65 *ut ueniant scandala, uae autem per quem scandalum uenit.*

Vere non oportebat ut talia dicerentur in praesentia Christianorum, nec impunitos manere illos qui talia fingunt ad placendum hominibus qui hodie sunt et cras non sunt.

70 Haec ut iste diceret dum Gregorius adiuueret oportebat, qui et notam illi facere debuit suam circa eum deuotionem.

Iustum autem esset, si et uobis quoque uidetur, ut accusator qui hunc praecessit cogeretur abire ducturus Petrum patricium, et iste abbatem Thoman, et ille beatum papam Theodorum. Et tunc praesentia cunctorum, dicerem patricio

75 Petro: Dic domne patrici, scripsisti mihi aliquando super his quae dixit sacellarius tuus, aut ego tibi? Et cum adqueuisset sub supplicio fierem. Similiter et beato papae: Dic domine,

ego tibi aliquando somnium enarraui? Et cum conuicisset me, illius esset crimen, non meum qui uideram. Res enim

80 non uoluntaria est somnium. Porro sola quae sunt uoluntaria, punit lex, si dumtaxat sibi fuerint aduersata.»

Tunc dicit ei Trohilus: «Iocaris abba? Nescis ubi sis?»

Qui respondens ait: «Non iocor sed lugeo uitam meam hactenus conseruatam ut huiuscemodi experimentum

85 praestigiorum percipiam.»

Et dicit domnus Epiphanius: «Deus nouit, bene facit deludens eis si uera non sunt.»

Post quem, sacellarius iterum cum ira dixit ad eum:

«Absolute omnes mentiuntur, et tu solus uerum dicis?»

90 Et respondens seruus Dei audito uerbo cum lacrimis ait:

64/65 Matth, 18,7 68 cf. Sir. 10, 10; I Mac. 2, 63; Matth. 6, 30

75 patrici] patricie a. corr. cod. 80 sola] cod. supra l. m. sec.

82 Trohilus] scripsi gr. nisa et 231, 352, 407, 461; throilus cod.

84 huiuscemodi] huiusmodi cod. a. corr. m. sec.; cf. 227

sky, to the East and the West. [And those in the East were shouting 'Constantine Augustus, may you conquer!'] But those who were in the West were sending forth these words: 'Gregory Augustus, may you conquer!' and the voice of those in the West was louder than the voice of those in the East.'"

And then the sacellarius shouted, "God sent you to be burned in this city!"

The servant of God said, "I give thanks to God who cleanses me from all my voluntary wrongs by involuntary punishment. But *woe to the world because of scandals. For it is necessary that scandals come, but woe to him through whom scandal comes.* Truly such things ought not to be said in the presence of Christians, nor should those remain unpunished who invent such things to please human beings who are here today and gone tomorrow. These accusations ought to have been made when Gregory was alive, and he could have made known to him his devotion to him.¹⁰ But it would be just, if it appears (so) also to you,¹¹ to enjoin the previous accuser to go away and bring back Peter the patrician, and for this man to bring the father Thomas, and for him to bring the blessed Pope Theodore. And then in the presence of all I would say to the patrician Peter, 'Tell us, lord patrician, did you ever write to me about this as your sacellarius says, or did I write to you?' And if he affirmed it, I would submit to punishment. Likewise, (I would say) to the blessed pope: 'Tell us, lord, did I ever recount a dream to you?' And if he accused me, it would be his crime, not mine for seeing it, for a dream is not a voluntary act. But the law punishes only those acts which are voluntary, if indeed they are contrary to the law."

Then Troilus said to him, "Are you joking, father? Don't you know where you are?"

He responded saying, "I am not joking, but I grieve that my life should have been preserved so long that I should experience terrors of this kind."

And lord Epiphanius said, "God knows, he does well in mocking them if they are not true."

¹⁰ Sc. the emperor.

¹¹ Compare the Latin, *si et uobis quoque uidetur* "if it seems also to you" with the Greek εἰ καὶ ὑμῖν παρίσταται "if he is present among you/if it occurs to you" (PG 90, 113A).

95 «Potestatem habetis permittente Deo, et uiuificandi et mortificandi. Verumtamen si isti ueritatem dicunt, et Satanas natura Deus est. Si autem non est, sicut nec est, nec isti ueritatem dixerunt. Denique nec merear cum Christianis uidere aduentum supersubstantialis Dei, factoris uidelicet conditoris et creatoris et prouisoris ac iudicis et saluatoris uniuersorum, si somnium tale aut uidi aut alio referente audiui | excepta hora hac a domno Sergio dilecto imperii.»

f. 29

100 Dein tertium calumniatorem proponunt Theodorum filium Iohannis dudum candidati cognomento Chila, qui gener est nunc domni Platonis patricii dicentem quia: «Collocutione inter nos Rom<a>e facta de imperio, detraxit quod dicebatur, muttiens et subsannationes faciens.»

105 Ad quem seruus Dei dixit: «Nunquam disputaui tecum, nisi semel cum sanctissimo presbytero domno Theocharisto, exarchi fratre, propter primicerium, iussus per litteras super hoc. Quod si repertus fuero mentiens, recipiam.»

110 Et post hunc quartum adducunt, Gregorium filium Photini dicentem quia: «Perrexī Romam ad cellulam abbatis Maximi, et me dicente quia et sacerdos est imperator, dixit abbas Anastasius discipulus eius: Non sit dignus fore sacerdos.»

115 Et statim dicit ad eum seruus Dei: «Time Deum, domne Gregori, nil tale in huiusmodi disputatione conseruus meus locutus est,» et cum semet proiecisset in terram, senatui dixit: «Sustinete seruum uestrum, et omnia dico uobis sicuti dicta sunt, et arguat me si mentitus fuero. Hic dominus meus Gregorius ueniens Romam, dignatus est uenire ad cellulam serui uestri; quo uiso, sicuti moris est mihi, proieci meipsum

120 in terram et adoraui eum et osculatus sum, et dixi ei post sessionem: Quae causa est desiderabilis aduentus domini

99 calumniatorem] kalumniatorem *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 101
dicentem] dicendem *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 102 Romae] scripsi,
rome *cod.* 116 meus] iterauit sed erasis *cod.*

After him, the sacellarius said again to him in rage, "Is absolutely everyone lying, and you alone are telling the truth?"

And in answer, when he had listened to these words, the servant of God said, weeping, "You have the power of life and death, by God's permission. But if those men speak the truth, then Satan is by nature God. But if he is not, and he is not, neither do they speak the truth. Therefore, may I not be deemed worthy to behold with Christians the coming of God who is supersubstantial, the maker and founder and creator and provider and judge and Saviour of all, if I either saw such a vision or heard of it from another except now from lord Sergius, dear to the empire."

Then they brought forward a third false accuser, Theodore, surnamed Chila, son of the former candidate¹² John, and who is now the son-in-law¹³ of lord Plato the patrician. He said, "At the discussion held in Rome between us about the imperium,¹⁴ he¹⁵ detracted from what was being said by his mutterings and derision."

The servant of God said to him, "I never argued with you except once, with the most holy priest Theocharistus, brother of the exarch, when I was ordered in a letter concerning this on behalf of the *primicerius*.¹⁶ If I am found to be lying about this, let me receive the penalty."

And after him, they brought in a fourth, Gregory son of Photinus, who said, "I came to Rome to father Maximus' cell, and when I said that the emperor is also a priest, the father Anastasius his disciple said, 'He is not worthy to be a priest.'"

¹² Originally a military office, the title of *kandidatos* on seals "is usually connected with subaltern offices both in the army and the civil service." (*ODB*, p. 1100). This John does not appear in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (AD 527-641)*, vol. 3b, by A. Jones, J. Martindale, and J. Morris (Cambridge, 1971).

¹³ Or "brother-in-law" (*gener*).

¹⁴ Cf. Greek *περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως* "about the emperor" (PG 90, 113C).

¹⁵ Sc. Maximus.

¹⁶ The *primicerius* was the head of a government department (Lampe, p. 1131). The *primicerius notariorum* was, at the end of the seventh century, the head of the notaries and the chancellery (Darrouzès, *op. cit.*, pp. 355f.) No record of the letter mentioned here survives.

mei? At ille: Bonus, inquit, et a Deo confortatus dominator
 noster, sollicitudinem habens pacis sanctarum Dei
 ecclesiarum, iussionem fecit ad diuinitus honoratum papam,
 125 missa etiam oblatione ad sanctum Petrum, hortatus est eum,
 quo se praesuli Constantinopolitano uniret; quae mitti per
 mediocritatem meam dignatum est pium eius imperium. Et
 dixi: Gloria Deo qui fecit te dignum huiusmodi ministerio.
 Verumtamen sub quo fieri modo unitatem a Deo coronata
 eius iussit tranquillitas si nosti? Et dixisti: Sub Typo. Et dixi:
 130 Impossibile ut opinor est hoc. Non enim patiuntur Romani
 auferri una cum impuris hereticorum uocibus, sanctorum
 patrum luciferas uoces, uel simul cum mendacio ueritatem
 extinguere, aut cum tenebris lumen pariter dissipari. Nil nobis
 quod adoretur erit, si diuinitus ostensorum fiat uerborum
 135 ablatio. Et dixisti: Non ablationem sacrarum Typus efficit
 uocum, sed taciturnitatem, ut dispensemus pacem. Et dixi:
 Est apud diuinam Scripturam taciturnitas etiam demptio. | f. 29^v
 Deus enim per Dauid dixit: *Non sunt loquelaе neque*
sermoneѕ, quorum non audiantur uoceѕ eorum. Ergo nisi
 140 dicantur et audiantur sermones quae de Deo sunt, nec
 omnino sunt secundum Scripturam. Et dixisti: Ne mittas me
 in siluas, ego sancto contentus sum symbolo. Et quomodo,
 dixi, potes sancto esse contentus symbolo, suscipiens
 Typum? Et quid laedet suscipere Typum, et dicere
 145 symbolum? asseruisti. Aio: Quoniam euidenter obtruncat
 symbolum Typus. Et dixisti: Quomodo propter Dominum?
 Recitemus, dixi, symbolum et scito qualiter obtru < n > cetur
 a Typo.
 Et coepisti dicere: **Credo in unum Deum Patrem**
 150 **omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, uisibilium**

129 *Typos* (CPG 7621), ACO ser. II, i, pp. 208, 1 - 210, 15
 138/139 Ps. 18,4 149/151 cf. *Expositionem fidei CL patrum*
Constantinopoli congregatorum, ACO II, I, ii, p. 128, 2-3.

132 mendacio] *correxī*, mendatio *cod.* 135 ablationem] -nem
cod. supra l. m. sec. 137 post demptio signum interrogationis
habet cod. 142 contentus] -ten- *cod. supra l. m. sec.* 142
 quomodo] -do *cod. supra l. m. sec.* 147 obtruncetur] *scripsi*,
 obtrucetur *cod.* 149 Et] e *cod. a. corr. m. sec.*

And immediately the servant of God said to him, "Fear God, lord Gregory, my fellow-servant said no such thing in an argument of this kind." And when he had thrown himself on the ground, he said to the senate, "Bear with your servant and I will tell you everything as it was said, and let him accuse me if I lie. My lord Gregory here came to Rome and deigned to visit the cell of your servant. When I saw him, I threw myself to the ground, as is my practice, and I paid respects to him and embraced him, and I said to him after he was seated, 'What is the reason for the welcome arrival of my lord?' And he said, 'Our good ruler, who is strengthened by God, is concerned for the peace of the holy churches of God, and he sent a command to the divinely-honoured pope, also sending an offering to Saint Peter, encouraging him to unite with the patriarch of Constantinople. His Righteous Authority deigned to send this command through me, in my humility.' And I said, 'Glory to God who made you worthy of this service. But by what means did His Tranquillity, crowned by God, order the union to be made, if you know?' And you said, 'Under the *Typus*.'¹⁷ And I said, 'This is impossible, in my opinion. For the Romans do not allow the illuminating words of the holy Fathers to be carried away together with the impure words of heretics, or for the truth to be extinguished together with falsehood, or the light to be dispelled equally with the shadows. We will have nothing which may be worshipped if the divinely-revealed words are abolished.' And you said, 'The *Typus* does not effect the abolition of holy words, but it effects silence so that we may arrange peace.' And I said 'According to divine Scripture, silence is also a negation. For God said through David, *There is no speech or conversation of which the words are not heard*. Therefore unless speech about God is said and heard, nor does it exist at all according to Scripture.' And you said, 'Don't send me into the woods,'¹⁸ I am satisfied with the holy creed.' 'And how,' I said, 'can you be satisfied with the holy creed when you adopt the *Typus*?' 'And what harm is there in adopting the

¹⁷ The *Typus* of Emperor Constans II (CPG 7621), ACO II, i, pp. 208, 1 - 210, 15, was issued in 647/648 under the direction of Patriarch Paul II. It enjoined silence on the issue of the number of wills and activities in Christ.

¹⁸ This is the idiomatic equivalent of "Don't make matters more difficult for me." (In Greek, Μὴ βόλης με εἰς ὄλας [PG 90, 116C]).

omnium et inuisibilium. Attende, dixi, paululum et disce
 qualiter apud Niceam conuenientium fides negetur. Factor
 enim non esset Deus uoluntate ac operatione naturali
 priuatus, si uolens et non coactus fecit caelum et terram, si
 155 ueritatem profert Daud in spiritu dicens: *Omnia quaecunque*
uoluit Dominus, fecit in caelo et in terra, in mari et in
omnibus abyssis. Si autem dispensationis gratia una cum
 credulitate nequam, salutaris demitur fides, separatio Dei fit
 omnimoda, sed non unitas est huiusmodi species eius quae
 160 dicitur dispensatio. Siquidem cras nefandi Iudaei dicent:
 Dispensemus in alterutros pacem et uniamur, et amputemus
 nos quidem circumcisionem, uos uero baptismum, et non
 iam inuicem impugnemus. Hoc et Arriani aliquando
 praetenderunt in scriptis sub magno Constantino dicentes:
 165 Auferamus dictum unius substantiae et alterius substantiae,
 et uniantur ecclesiae. Et non id admiserunt deiferi patres
 nostri, sed elegerunt potius persecutionem pati et mori quam
 tacere uocem comprobantem unam Patris et Filii et Spiritus
 sancti supersubstantialem deitatem, et haec conhibente his
 170 qui haec praetendebant magno Constantino, sicut a multis
 refertur qui ea quae tunc gesta sunt studiose scripserunt. Et
 nullus imperatorum potuit mediis uocibus suadere deiloquis
 patribus ut conuenirent in ea quae ipsi sectabantur, sed
 expressis uocibus ac propriis et dogmati quod quaerebatur
 175 congruis usi sunt, dicentes liquido quoniam sacerdotum est
 quaerere ac diffinire de salutaribus ecclesiae catholicae
 dogmatibus. Et dixisti: Ergo non est omnis Christianus
 imperator etiam sacerdos? Et dixi: Non est. Neque enim
 astat altari, neque post sanctificationem panis exaltat eum
 180 dicens: "Sancta sanctis." Neque baptizat, neque chrismatis |

f. 30

155/157 Ps. 134,6 165/166 cf. *Ep. Arii et Euzoii ad*
Constantinum imp. apud Socrates, *HE* I, 26, 2 (ed. Hansen, GCS,
 1995), p. 74, 3-5, et Sozomen, *HE* II, 27, 6 (ed. Bidez, GCS,
 1995), p. 89, 9-11; et cf. Socrates, *HE* II, 30, 9 (ed. Hansen,
 GCS, 1995), p. 142, 11-12 169/170 Sozomen, *HE* III, 19 (ed.
 Bidez, GCS, 1995), p. 133; cf. Socrates, *HE* II, 37, 23 (ed.
 Hansen, GCS, 1995), p. 155, 3-7, in quo loco attamen imperator
 Constantius est 180 cf. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and*
Western, p. 538, n. 17

151 paululum a. corr. cod. 160 dispensatio] expectaueris
 dispensationis

Typus and saying the creed?' you asked.¹⁹ I said, 'Since the *Typus* obviously whittles away the creed.' And you said, 'How, in God's name?' 'Let us recite the creed,' I said, 'and find out how it is denied by the *Typus*.'

And you began to say, 'I believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible.' 'Wait a moment,' I said, 'and learn how the faith of those who gathered at Nicaea is denied. For God would not be the maker if he was deprived of his natural will and activity, if he made heaven and earth willingly and not forced, if David speaks the truth in the spirit, saying, *The Lord made everything, whatever he wished, in heaven and on earth, in the sea and in all the abysses*. But if the saving faith is removed together with a worthless belief, for the sake of an arrangement, a complete separation from God is made, but such an appearance of the so-called 'arrangement' is not union. Indeed, tomorrow the unspeakable Jews will say, 'Let us arrange peace with each other and be united, and we will get rid of circumcision, and you will cease baptism, and we will no longer fight against each other.' The Arians also once put this forward in writing under the rule of the great Constantine, saying, 'Let us do away with the saying "of one substance" and "of another substance", and let the churches be united.' And our God-bearing Fathers did not allow it, but they chose rather to suffer persecution and to die than to be silent on a term approving the single supersubstantial deity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and with the great Constantine joining in attacking those who were issuing these words, as is recounted by many who diligently recorded the events of that time. And none of the emperors was able to persuade the God-speaking Fathers with equivocal words to agree with their own sects, but the Fathers used words that were clear and fitting and appropriate to the teaching in question, saying clearly that it is the business of priests to examine and define the saving teachings of the catholic church.' And you said, 'Isn't every Christian emperor also a priest?' And I said, 'He is not. For he doesn't stand at the altar, nor does he raise the bread after its sanctification, saying, "Holy things for the holy." He doesn't

¹⁹ Literally "you asserted" (Latin *asseruisti*).

185 confectionem patrat neque facit episcopos uel presbyteros,
 aut diaconos, neque linit ecclesias, neque indicia sacerdotii
 fert, superhumale scilicet et Euangelium, quemadmodum
 imperii coronam et purpuram. Et dixisti: Et quomodo
 190 Scriptura regem et sacerdotem dicit esse Melchisedech? Et
 dixi: Vnius natura regis cunctorum Dei, natura etiam ob
 salutem nostram pontificis facti, unus erat typus
 Melchisedech. Quod si *secundum ordinem Melchisedech*
 alium dicis esse regem et sacerdotem, et reliqua praesume
 195 dicere, id est: *Sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia, neque*
initium dierum, neque finem uitae habentem, et aduerte quod
 ex hoc oriri ualeat malum. Alius quippe talis repperietur
 Deus incarnatus, *secundum ordinem Melchisedech* et non
 200 secundum ordinem Aaron salutem nostram perficiens.
 Verumtamen quid uolumus per multa discurrere? Inter sacras
 oblationes supra sanctam mensam, post pontifices et
 sacerdotes et diaconos omnemque sacratum ordinem, cum
 laicis imperatores memorantur, dicente diacone: Et eorum
 qui in fide dormierunt laicorum, Constantini, Constantis et
 205 ceterorum. Sic autem et uiuorum memoriam facit
 imperatorum, post sacratos omnes.»
 Haec eo dicente, clamat Mennas: «Haec dicens scidisti
 ecclesiam.»
 Et dicit ad eum: «Si is qui dicit ea quae sanctarum sunt
 210 Scripturarum atque sanctorum patrum, scindit ecclesiam, qui
 adimit sanctorum dogmata, quid monstrabitur ecclesiae
 faciens, sine quibus nec dici ipsam ecclesiam est possibile?»
 Et conuersus sacellarius dixit hominibus exarchi cum
 clamore: «Dicite exarcho, huiusmodi hominem debebas
 215 dimittere uiuere ubi praees?»

188 Heb. 5,6 190/191 Heb. 7,3 193 Heb. 5,6 200/201
 cf. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 538, n. 13

181 patrat] neque manus ponit forsitan supplendum sit e gr.
 presbiteros cod. e corr. m. sec.

baptise, or perform unction, [or lay hands], or make bishops or priests or deacons, or anoint churches, or bear the symbols of priesthood, namely the pallium and the gospel book, as (he bears) the crown and the purple of imperial office.' And you said, 'And why does the Scripture say that Melchisedech was king and priest?' And I said, 'Melchisedech was the single type of the one king of all by nature, God, and by nature also made high-priest for our salvation. But if you say that another is king and priest *according to the order of Melchisedech*, presume to say the rest also, that is: *without father, without mother, without genealogy, nor having beginning of days, nor an end of life*, and see what evil arises from saying this. For another such person will be found indeed, God incarnate *according to the order of Melchisedech*, but not achieving our salvation according to the order of Aaron. But why should we want to prolong our discourse? Emperors are mentioned with the laity in the sacred offerings over the holy table after popes and priests and deacons and every consecrated order, when the deacon says, 'And those of the laity who have gone to sleep in the faith, Constantine, Constans and the rest.' But so also he makes mention of the living emperors, after all the ones who are ordained."

When he had said this, Mennas shouted, "In saying this, you split the church!"

And he said to him, "If he who says this, which is from the holy Scriptures and the holy Fathers, splits the church, what will he who retracts the teachings of the saints be shown to do to the church, without which teachings it is not possible for the church to be so called?" And the sacellarius turned and said to the exarch's men²⁰ with a shout, "Say to the exarch, 'Should you have let such a man live where you preside?'"

²⁰ The secular exarch was the head of the exarchates created at the end of the sixth century in Carthage and Ravenna. However, it seems that here is meant the ecclesiastical exarch, the chief bishop of a civil diocese. This title was given to both metropolitans and patriarchs exercising authority over a wide area (*ODB*, p. 767). Here it probably refers to the Patriarch of Constantinople, notwithstanding Kazhdan's claim that the title was abandoned by the sixth century in favour of "patriarch" (*ODB*, *ibid.*).

Et cum eduxissent eum foras, intromittunt discipulum, a quo, cum exegissent ut diceret contra magistrum quod tribulauerit Pyrrhum, respondit quieta uoce quae ueritatis erant quia: «Nemo honorauit Pyrrhum ut honorauit magister meus,» et iubetis clamare. Quia uero passus non est a decenti monachos reuerenda uoce diuertere, iubetur percuti ab his qui astabant, et pugnis summissum semimortuum reddiderunt. Quibus dimissis ad carceres, uenit ad senem Mennas, dicens in praesentia principum: «Misit te Deus et duxit te huc, ut recipias quaecunque in alios fecisti seducens omnes in Origenis dogmata.»

Ad quem seruus Dei coram omnibus dixit: «Anathema Origeni, et dogmatibus eius et omni consentaneo eius.»

Et dicit Epiphanius | patricius: «Destructa est, domne abba f. 30^v
Menna, quaerimonia quae a te aduersus eum illata est, quoniam et si esset Origenianista, ex quo anathematizauit eum, ab huiuscemodi sese liberauit quaerela. Interim ergo tale dictum super eo ulterius non admittam.»

Et inductus est unusquisque ipsorum in locum, in quo custodiebatur.

Et eadem die circa tactum lucernae, Trohilus patricius et Sergius Eucratas qui erat super imperatoriam mensam, uenerunt ad seruum Dei senem, et sedentes, iusserunt etiam illi sedere, et dixerunt ad eum: «Dic nobis, domne abba, motionem dogmatum quae inter te et Pyrrhum Rom <a> e et in Africa facta est, et quibus ei uerbis persuaseris anathematizare proprium dogma, et tuo pacisci.»

Et enarrauit eis omnia per ordinem, quaecunque retinere memoria ualuit. Addidit autem et hoc dicens: «Ego dogma proprium non habeo, sed commune catholicae ecclesiae.»

212 ut diceret] *add. in mg. m. sec.* 215 iubetis] *sic cod.; Anas. legit κελεύετε pro κελεύεται.* 227 ergo] *sic cod., an corrigendum ego e gr.* 235 rome cod.

Scholia 231 tactum lucernae] id est circa uesperam 232 Eucratas] abstemius: hoc est qui a temeto, id est a uino se abstinet

And when they had led him outside, they sent in his disciple. When they had demanded that he should testify against his master that he had oppressed Pyrrhus, he answered in a quiet voice what was the truth, that no-one respected Pyrrhus as his master did, and he was ordered²¹ to shout. But because he did not allow himself to deviate from the reverent voice that befits a monk, they ordered that he be struck by those standing around, and they left him half-dead from the blows he received. When they had been dismissed to prison, Mennas came to the old man, and said in the presence of the leaders, "God sent you and led you here to receive whatever you did to others, seducing everyone into the teachings of Origen."²²

The servant of God said to him in front of everyone, "Anathema to Origen and his teachings and everyone who agrees with him."

And Epiphanius the patrician said, "Lord father Mennas, the charge which you brought against him has been destroyed, since even if he was an Origenist, he freed himself from such a charge from the moment when he anathematised him. Meanwhile, therefore, I will no longer allow such a remark to be made about him." And each of them was led to the place where he was being guarded.

And on the same day, at about sunset, Troilus the patrician and Sergius Eucratas who was in charge of the imperial table, came to the elderly servant of God, and sitting down, they ordered him also to sit, and they said to him, "Tell us, lord father, of the examination of doctrine made between you and Pyrrhus at Rome and in Africa, and with what words you persuaded him to anathematise his own teaching and to agree to yours."

And he related everything he could remember, in the order in which it occurred. But he added this: "I do not have my own teaching, but (only) that common to the

²¹ Literally in Latin *iubetis* "you (pl.) order".

²² This was an insult often hurled in monastic circles. Maximus in fact wrote against the Origenists who followed Evagrian teachings on prayer and ascetic theology, but, as Louth remarks in *Maximus*, p. 38, "He was a critic with great sympathy for what he criticized" and often used Origenist language and concepts in his rejection of their intellectualism (see Louth, *Maximus*, pp. 66-68).

Neque enim moui uocem quamlibet, ut proprium meum
dicatur dogma.»
Et post totam narrationem dicunt ei: «Non communicas
throno Constantinopolitano?»
245 Et dixit: «Non communico.»
«Quamobrem non communicas?» dixerunt.
Respondit: «Quia sancta quattuor concilia eiecerunt per illa
nouem Capitula quae facta sunt Alexandriae, et per Ecthesin
quae in hac urbe a Sergio patrata est, et per Typum qui
250 nuper, id est per sextam est indictionem expositus, et quia
quae per illa dogmatizauerunt, per Ecthesin damnauerunt, et
quae dogmatizauerunt per Ecthesin, per Typum irrita
statuerunt, et deposuerunt semetipsos totiens. Illi igitur qui
a se ipsis damnati sunt et a Romanis atque a synodo, quae
255 post haec per octauam indictionem facta est, sunt depositi et
sacerdotio denudati, qualia celebrant rogo mysteria? Aut
qualis spiritus ad ea, quae a talibus celebrantur, aduenit?»
Et dicunt ei: «Ergone tu solus saluaris, et omnes peribunt?»
Et dixit: «Neminem damnauerunt tres pueri non adorantes
260 iconam, cum hanc omnes homines adorarent. Non enim
intendebant ea quae aliorum erant, sed intendebant quatinus
ipsi non deciderent a uera pietate. Sic et Danihel missus in
lacum leonum non damnauit quenquam eorum qui non
adorauerant Deum secundum Darii sanctionem, sed quod
265 suum erat intendit, et elegit mori, et non cadere a Deo, et a
sua conscientia flagellari in praeuaricatione eorum quae
legalia sunt natura. Mihique Deus non det | damnare
quenquam, uel dicere quod solus ego saluer. Quantum autem
ualeo, eligo mori, quam terrorem habere in conscientia,
270 quod in fidem quae in Deum est per quemlibet errauerim

f. 31

248 *Satisfactio* (CPG 7613), ACO ser. II, ii, pp. 594, 17 - 600,
20 248/249 *Ekthesis* (CPG 7607), ACO ser. II, i, pp. 156, 20 -
162, 13 249 *Typus* (CPG 7621), ACO ser. II, i, pp. 208, 1 -
210, 15 252/253 cf. *Epistula Encyclica Martini Papae*, ACO
ser. II, i, p. 416, 2-3 259/260 cf. Dan. 3,18 262/263 cf.
Dan. 6,16 270/271 cf. Gal. 1,8

Scholion 248 Ecthesin] id est expositionem

catholic church. Nor have I ever spoken a word so that it could be called my own teaching."

And after the whole account they said to him, "Do you not communicate with the throne of Constantinople?"

And he said, "I do not communicate."

"For what reason do you not communicate?" they said.

He answered, "Because they rejected the four holy councils through the nine Chapters which were made in Alexandria,²³ and through the *Ecthesis*²⁴ which was composed by Sergius in this city, and through the *Typus* which was recently published, that is in the sixth indiction.²⁵ And because what they posited as doctrine in those (Chapters), they condemned through the *Ecthesis*, and what they posited as doctrine in the *Ecthesis*, they made worthless through the *Typus*, and they brought themselves down so many times. Therefore those who were condemned by themselves and were deposed by the Romans and the synod which was held after this in the eighth indiction,²⁶ and who were stripped of the priesthood, what sort of mysteries can they celebrate, I ask you? Or what spirit is present in the mysteries celebrated by such people?"

And they said to him, "Therefore are you the only one who will be saved, and will everyone else perish?"

And he said, "The three youths who did not worship the image condemned none, although everyone else worshipped it. For they did not attend to others' concerns, but saw to it that they should not fall away from true piety.²⁷ So also Daniel, who was sent into the lions' den, did not condemn anyone of those who

²³ The *Nine Chapters* declared the basis for the Alexandrian Pact of Union in June 633, a monoenergist compromise which provided the basis for reconciliation between the imperial church, represented by Patriarch Cyrus, and the Theodosian party.

²⁴ The *Ecthesis* was issued by Sergius in 638, and was a modified version of the *Psephos* of 633, forbidding talk of one activity in Christ, which implied the destruction of the two natures, or of two activities in Christ which presupposed two persons with contrary wills.

²⁵ I.e. in 647/648: see Winkelmann, no. 106.

²⁶ I.e. Lateran Council of 649.

²⁷ Here, Latin *pietate* has to be translated with the sense of "piety" rather than "orthodoxy"; cf. n. 30.

modum.»

275 Dicunt ei: «Et quid facies cum Romani uniti Byzantiis
fuerint? Ecce enim heri uenerunt apocrisiarii Romani, et cras
dominico die communicabunt patriarchae, ac per hoc
omnibus manifestum fit quod tu subuerteris Romanos;
denique te illinc ablato, mox consenserunt his qui hic sunt.»
Et dixit ad eos: «Hi qui uenere, praeiudicium quoquomodo
sedi Romanae, quamuis communicent, eo quod non
280 detulerint ad patriarcham epistolam, non faciunt, et non
credo aliquando quod Romani uniantur istis, nisi confessi
fuerint Dominum nostrum et Deum, secundum utrumque
eorum ex quibus est <et in quibus est> et quae est, esse et
natura uoluntarium et operatorium habere salutis nostrae.»
Et dicunt: «Quod si conexi fuerint his Romani, quid facies?»
285 Et dixit: «Spiritus sanctus etiam angelos anathematizat,
praeter id quod praedicatum est, quid innouantes.»
Et aiunt: «Vtique necessitas est uoluntates dici in Christo et
operationes?»
Respondit: «Omnis necessitas est si dumtaxat pie reuera
290 sapere uolumus. Nihil enim eorum quae sunt, sine operatione
naturali subsistit. Sancti nanque patres manifeste dicunt non
esse nec sciri sine substantiali operatione <sua quamcunque
naturam. Quod si non est, neque cognoscitur natura sine
operatione> quae hanc substantialiter caracterizet, quomodo
295 esse Christum aut agnosci Deum natura ueraciter et hominem
est possibile? Amissio quippe secundum sanctos patres
fremibili, leo non iam leo, et latrabili, canis non iam canis,
et aliud quodcunque, perditio quod se naturaliter
commendabat, non ulterius est quod erat.»
300 Et dicunt ei: «Nouimus uere quod ita sit; uerumtamen ne

291/293 locum non repperi; cf. Ep. Maximi ad Anastasium 31/32

274 dominico cod. 282 et in quibus est] *suppleui e gr.* 285
sanctus] per apostolam forsitan *supplendum sit e gr.* 292/294 sua
- operatione] *suppleui e gr.* 294 caracterizet] *sic cod. cf. Ep.*
Anas. ad monachos 18 et 53 295 esse] *Anas. legit εἶναι pro*
εἰδέναι

did not worship God, in accordance with the edict of Darius, but concentrated on what concerned him, and he chose to die and not to fall away from God and (not) to be punished by his own conscience for transgressing those laws which are natural. May God grant to me not to condemn anyone, nor to say that I alone am saved. But as far as I am able, I choose to die rather than to have on my conscience the fear that I have strayed in any degree from faith in God."

They said to him, "And what will you do when the Romans have united with the Byzantines? For look, Roman apocrisaries arrived yesterday,²⁸ and tomorrow on Sunday they will communicate with the patriarch, and through this it will become clear to all that you have subverted the Romans. And accordingly, when you have been removed from there, they will quickly consent with those who are here."

And he said to them, "Those who have come don't in any way prejudice the Roman see, although they may communicate, because they didn't bring a letter to the patriarch. And I'll never believe that the Romans will be united with them unless they have confessed our Lord and God to be according to each of those (natures) from which, [in which] and which he is, having the power of will and activity by nature,²⁹ for our salvation."

And they said, "What if the Romans make an agreement with them, what will you do?"

And he said, "The Holy Spirit even anathematizes angels who make any innovations to what has been preached."

And they said, "Is it particularly necessary to speak of the wills and activities in Christ?"

He answered, "It is absolutely necessary if indeed we wish to know piously in truth.³⁰ For nothing which exists, exists without natural activity. For the holy

²⁸ The apocrisaries of Pope Eugenius I, who had been elected in August 654.

²⁹ There is no equivalent for *habere* in Greek (PG 90, 121B).

³⁰ The Greek reads more correctly: εὐσεβεῖν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν "to be orthodox according to truth" (PG 90, 121C). The Latin adverb *pie* and the noun *pietas* sometimes have to be translated with the sense of "according to orthodoxy" and "orthodoxy", but elsewhere retain their original meaning of "piously" and "piety".

contristes imperatorem qui propter pacem tantummodo fecit
Typum, non in ademptionem cuiusquam eorum quae in
Christo intelliguntur, sed ad pacem silentium uocum
qu <a> e faciebant dissensionem dispensat.»

305 Et proiciens se Dei seruus in terram cum lacrimis dixit:
«Non debuerat contristari benignus et pius dominus aduersus
humilitatem meam. Non enim possum contristare Deum,
tacens quae ipse nos loqui et confiteri praecepit. Si enim
310 secundum sacratissimum apostolum ipse est qui *posuit in
ecclesia primo apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores*,
perspicuum est quod ipse sit qui per istos locutus est. Per
totam ergo sanctam Scripturam, tam scilicet Vetus quam
Nouum Testamentum, sanctosque doctores ac synodos
315 edocemur, uoluntatis et operationis tam in diuinitate quam in
eorum quibus ut Deus scitur, uel eorum quibus | ut homo
natura cognoscitur, *excepto dumtaxat peccato*, est
imperfectus. Si autem perfectus est in utroque sicut in nullo
320 ex ambobus est minoratus, manifeste totum ipsius adulterat
sacramentum qui non confitetur eum esse quod est, cum
existentibus sibi omnibus naturalibus idiomatibus
<secundum utrumque eorum> ex quibus et in quibus et
quae esse probatur.»

f. 31^v

325 Et cum paululum tacuissent et ad inuicem innuissent, aiunt:
«Vnde potes ostendere quod sanctas synodos abiciant hi qui
sunt throni Constantinopoleos?»
Qui dicit eis: «Iam partim ostensum est per ea quae
Rom <a> e locutus sum ad dominum Gregorium asecretis,
330 et nunc si placet dominatori ut hoc ostendatur, iubeat dari
licentiam indigno seruo uestro, et facio notitiam librorum,

309/310 I Cor. 12,28 et cf. Eph. 4,11 317 Heb. 4,15

303/304 uocum quae] *scripsi*, uocumque *cod.* 304 dispensat]
scripsi, dispensas *cod.* 322 secundum utrumque eorum] *suppleui*
e gr. 328 rome *cod.*

Fathers say clearly that there does not exist, nor is there known [any nature] without a substantial activity. [And if there is not, nor is known a nature without an activity] which characterises it according to substance, how is it possible for Christ to be, or to be truly acknowledged as, God and man by nature? For in fact, according to the holy Fathers, a lion which has lost its ability to roar is no longer a lion, and a dog which has lost its ability to bark is no longer a dog. And whatever else has lost what naturally constituted it, is no longer that which it was."

And they said to him, "We actually know that it is so, but do not grieve the emperor who made the *Typus* only for the sake of peace, not in order to deny any of those properties which are understood in Christ, but arranging, with a view to peace, for the silencing of voices³¹ which were causing dissension."

And throwing himself on the ground, the servant of God said, weeping, "The benevolent and pious lord ought not to be grieved by my humility, for I am not able to grieve God by being silent about what he instructed us to say and confess. For if according to the holiest apostle, he himself *appointed in the church first the apostles, second the prophets, third the teachers*, it is clear that it is he himself who spoke through the latter. Therefore, through the entire holy Scripture, that is, both the Old and New Testaments, and the holy teachers and the synods, we are taught that the incarnate God is capable of will and activity, both in his divinity and in his humanity. For in none of those by which he is known as God, or by which he is understood as man by nature, *with the exception of sin* alone, is he imperfect. But if he is perfect in each such that there is no diminishing of either, he who does not confess Christ to be that which he is – with all those natural and distinguishing characteristics existing in him [from both of those] from which and in which and which he is proved to be – clearly defiles the whole sacrament³² concerning him."

And they were silent for a moment, nodding to each other. Then they

³¹ Or "expressions" (Latin *vocum*).

³² Latin *sacramentum*, which does not give the intended sense of the Greek μυστήριον "mystery" (PG 90, 124B).

quoniam mei ablati sunt, et cunctis hoc manifestum facio
sine qualibet prauitate uerborum.»

335 Et deinde cum alia multa dicta fuissent, in scripturales ac
naturales et artificiales conuersi sunt exercitationes et
theorias, quibus delectati, hilariores effecti sunt, et coeperunt
dicere: «Nouit dominus profecimus, et ex hoc uobis
molestiam ingeremus.»

340 Porro domnus Sergius dixit ei: «Saepe ueni ad cellulam
tuam in Bebbas et audiui doctrinam tuam, et Deus
auxiliabitur tibi, ne sollicitus sis. In uno uero solummodo
contristas omnes, quia uidelicet multos facis separari a
communione huius ecclesiae.»

345 «Est aliquis qui asserat,» ait Dei seruus, «quod dixerim: Ne
communices ecclesiae Byzantium?»

Respondit domnus Sergius: «Hoc ipsum,» inquiens, «quo ipse
non communicas, magna est ad omnes proculdubio uox non
communicandi.»

350 Et Dei seruus: «Nil,» ait, «certius est quam conscientia quae
accusat, et nil eo cui haec testimonium perhibet maiorem
habet fiduciam.»

Ceterum cum audisset domnus Trohilus quod Typus
anathematizaretur in toto occidente, dicit ad seruum Dei:
355 «Bonum est quia pii dominatoris nostri opinio iniuriis
laceratur?»

Respondit seruus Dei: «Deus ignoscat his qui dominatori
facere Typum persuaserunt, et his qui permiserunt.»

At ille: «Qui,» ait, «sunt qui persuaserunt, et qui sunt qui
permiserunt?»

360 Respondit: «Hi qui erant ecclesiae suaserunt, et principes

335 delectati] delectari *a. corr. cod.* 337 ingeremus] *Anas.*
sensum uocis ἔχομεν non intellexit 340 Bebbas] *correxī e gr.,*
bellas cod. 346 quo] *sic cod., an corrigendum quod?*

said, "How can you prove that those on the throne of Constantinople have rejected the holy synods?"

He said to them, "It has already partially been shown through what I said at Rome to lord Gregory the secretary,³³ and now if it pleases the emperor that this be shown, let him order that your unworthy servant be given permission, and I will make a list of books since mine have been taken, and I will make this clear to all without any verbal trickery."

And then when many other words had been spoken, they turned to scriptural and natural and technical³⁴ problems and speculations. They were delighted by these, and became more cheerful, and they began to say, "God knows we have gained profit, and we will bring trouble to you."³⁵

Furthermore, lord Sergius said to him, "Often I came to your cell in Bellas,³⁶ and I heard your teaching, and God will help you, so that you are not troubled. But on one single point you grieve everyone, namely that you make many separate themselves from the communion of this church."

"Is there anyone who claims," said the servant of God, "that I said, 'Do not communicate with the church of the Byzantines?'"

Lord Sergius answered, "The very fact that you yourself do not communicate, speaks loudly to all without a doubt that they should not communicate."

And the servant of God said, "Nothing is more certain than a conscience which accuses, and nothing is more reliable than that to which this conscience bears witness."

However, when lord Troilus heard that the *Typus* was anathematised throughout all the West, he said to the servant of God, "Is it good that the reputation of our

³³ Cf. *RM* 150ff on Maximus' discussion with Gregory in Rome. The *asecretis* of the court replaced the *referendarii* (or imperial secretaries, an office created by Julian and generally thought to have disappeared after 600: see *ODB*, p. 1778), and "formed the upper echelon of imperial secretaries positioned higher than imperial notaries" (*ODB*, p. 204). The term first appears in the sixth century, and there is mention of an *asekretis* at the Third Council of Constantinople (680/681).

³⁴ Cf. Greek *τεχνικὸς* "grammatical" (PG 90, 124C).

³⁵ Anastasius has not recognised the less common meaning of *ἐχομεν* "we refrain (from troubling you)" (PG 90, 124C).

³⁶ Cf. Greek *Βέβλας*. We have been unable to identify this place.

permiserunt. Et ecce sordes a sontibus in insontem et omni
 heresi purum excussa est. Sed consilium date ut faciat quod
 fecit pia memoriae quondam auus eius. Ille quippe sentiens
 quod in uituperium eius in occidente quidam prorumperent,
 365 per epistolam liberum se fecit ab ecclesiae querimonia
 scribens: «Ecthesis,» inquit, «non est mea; neque enim ego
 uel dictavi uel iussi ut fieret, sed cum | hanc Sergius f. 32
 patriarcha composuisset, ante quinque annos prius quam ab
 oriente repedassem, deprecatus est me, cum ad hanc felicem
 370 perueni<s> sem urbem, ut nomine meo proponeretur cum
 subscriptione, et suscepi deprecationem illius. Nunc uero
 cognoscens quod quidam super ea altercarentur, cunctis facio
 manifestum quia non est mea.» Hanc fecit iussionem ad
 beatum Iohannem papam, condemnantem Ecthesin in his
 375 quae scripserat tunc ad Pyrrhum. Et ex eo tempore ubique
 Sergii esse dicitur Ecthesis. Hoc faciat et is qui pie in nobis
 imperat, et permanebit omnino intemerata ab omni
 reprehensione opinio eius.»
 Tunc mouentes capita siluerunt, hoc tantum dicentes: «Omnia
 380 difficilia et perplexa.»
 His itaque et aliis diuersis edictis, adorati et adorantes, cum
 omni hilaritate discesserunt.

 Et rursus alio sabbato adduxerunt eos in palatium, et
 introducunt primo discipulum senis, conuenientibus tunc
 385 etiam duobus pariter patriarchis, et ducunt Constantinum et
 Mennan senis accusatores, exigentes a discipulo quo
 adquiesceret, his quae a se dicerentur.
 Ast discipulus cum fiducia omni ad senatum intrepide dixit:
 «Constantinum introducitis in secretarium palatii? Hic neque
 390 presbyter est, neque monachus, sed tribunus thymelicus.

366/373 *Ep. Herac. ad Papam Iohannem IV* (CPG 9382), PG 90,
 125 A13-B6

369 oriente] o- *supra l. cod.* me, cum] *mecum cod. a. corr. m.*
sec. 370 peruenissem *cod.* 385 patriarchis pariter *a. corr. cod.*

Scholion 366 Ecthesis] id est expositio

pious ruler should be damaged by slanders?"

The servant of God answered, "May God forgive those who persuaded the ruler to make the *Typus* and those who permitted it."

And he said, "Who are those who persuaded him and who are those who permitted it?"

He answered, "Those who were of the church persuaded him, and the leaders permitted it. But behold, defilement is shaken out from the guilty onto one who is innocent and pure of all heresy. But advise him that he should do what his grandfather of pious memory once did. He in fact, when he realised that certain people in the West were breaking out into censure of him, freed himself from the church's accusation by a letter³⁷ saying, 'The *Ecthesis* is not mine, for I neither dictated it nor ordered that it be made, but when the patriarch Sergius composed it, five years before I returned from the East,³⁸ he entreated me when I had come to this blessed city, that it be published in my name with my signature, and I undertook his request. But now that I realise that certain people are disagreeing over it, I make it clear to all that it is not mine.' He made this command to the blessed Pope John who had condemned the *Ecthesis* in his writings then to Pyrrhus.³⁹ And from that time on, it is called everywhere 'the *Ecthesis* of Sergius'. Let him who piously rules over us also do the same, and his reputation will remain altogether untarnished by any reproach."

Then, shaking their heads, they were silent, saying only this: "It is all very difficult and perplexing." After these and various other words had been spoken, they paid their respects to each other and went away in great cheerfulness.

And again on the next Saturday they brought them to the palace, and they led in first the disciple of the old man, with the two patriarchs present together at that time. And they called Constantine and Mennas as accusers of the old man,

³⁷ Letter of Emperor Heraclius to Pope John IV, dated 640/641 (CPG 9382); a *fragmentum* is edited in PG 90, 125 A13-B6.

³⁸ Heraclius was involved in fighting the Muslim invasions in the mid 630s, when Damascus fell (635), followed by Jerusalem (638).

³⁹ Cf. Letter of Pope John IV to Emperor Constantine III CPG [9383] = PL 80, 602-607 & PL 129, 561-566, in a retroversion from Greek by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The letter makes an apology for Pope Honorius and makes a protest against the Patriarch Pyrrhus.

- Innotuit Afris atque Romanis quales mulierculas pascens illuc uenerit. Nam et omnes didicerunt uestutias eius quas exercuit ut lateret, modo quod sorores suae fuerint dicens, modo quod ne communicarent ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae tulerit
 395 eas affirmans, ne uidelicet polluerentur heretica communione. Verum et si rursus sibi defecerint epulae, et inuenerit locum se non agnoscentem, eadem facit turpis lucri gratia et sordidae uoluptatis. Ingensque confusio est saltem loqui cum eo, his qui religiose uiuere uolunt.»
- 400 Deinde interrogatus si Typum anathematizasset, intrepide dixit: «Non solum anathematizaui, sed et libellum feci.» «Ergone,» aiunt ei principes, «confiteris te male fecisse?» At ille: «Non tribuat Deus ut quod bene et secundum ritum ecclesiae feci, dicam factum fuisse non bene.»
- 405 Et super multis interrogatus, cum respondisset secundum quod sibi largitus est Deus, educitur de secretario et introducunt senem, et dicit ad eum dominus Trohilus: «Dic abba. Vide dic ueritatem, et miserebitur tui dominator. Nam si ad legalem inquisitionem uenerimus et inuenerit saltem
 410 unum uerum ex his de quibus accusaris, | lex occidet te.» Et dixit: «Iam dixi et iterum dico, si unum tantummodo ex his quae dicitis est uerum, et Satanias Deus est; si uero non est Deus sed apostata, et ea super quibus accusor falsa sunt et minime subsistentia. Verumtamen quicquid iubetis facere,
 415 facite. Deum colens, non iniuriam patior.» Et dicit ei: «Non anathematizasti Typum?» Respondit: «Multotiens dixi quia anathematizaui.» Et dicit ei: «Typum anathematizasti, imperatorem anathematizasti.»
- 420 Respondit Dei seruus: «Ego» inquiens, «imperatorem non

391 illuc] *correxī e gr.*, illinc *cod.* 396 et si] *-si cod. supra l. m. sec.* 398 saltē *cod. e corr. m. sec. ut uid.* 405 respondissent *a. corr. cod.* 407 dominus] *cod. supra l. m. sec.*

anathematizau, sed chartam alienam ab ecclesiastica fide.»
 Et dicit ei: «Vbi anathematizatus est a Romana synodo?»
 Respondit: «In ecclesia Saluatoris et in Dei Genitricis.»
 Tunc dicit ad eum praefectus: «Communicas ecclesiae huic
 425 an non comunicas?»
 Respondit et dixit: «Non communico.»
 Dicit ei: «Quare?»
 Respondit: «Quoniam foras eiecit synodos.»
 At ille: «Si foras» inquit, «eiecit synodos, quomodo in
 430 diptychis recitantur?»
 Et dicit: «Et qui profectus est nomen, cum dogmata sint
 eiecta?»
 «Et potes,» ait, «hoc ostendere?»
 Et dixit: «Si accepero licentiam et iusseritis, ostendetur hoc
 435 oppido facile.»
 Et tacentibus omnibus dicit ei sacellarius: «Quare diligis
 Romanos, et Graecos odio habes?»
 Respondens autem Dei seruus, ait: «Praeceptum habemus ne
 quenquam odio habeamus. Diligo Romanos ut unam mecum
 440 habentes fidem; Graecos autem ut eadem qua ego lingua
 loquentes.»
 Et iterum dicit ei sacellarius: «Quot annorum dicis esse
 teipsum?»
 Respondit: «Septuaginta quinque.»
 Et dicit ei: «Quot annos habet tecum discipulus tuus?»
 445 Respondit: «Triginta septem.»
 Tunc unus clericorum exclamauit: «Retribuit tibi Deus,
 quaecunque fecisti beato Pyrrho.»
 Ad quem nihil omnino respondit.

438/439 cf. Luc. 6,27

421 cartam *cod. e corr. m. sec.* 424 dicit] *om. cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 429 At... synodos] *in mg. m. sec.* 440 eadem] *scriba hanc uocem inieperat scribens a sed sese correxit*

Scholion 422 a] id est Martini papae

condemned the emperor."

The servant of God answered him, saying, "I did not condemn the emperor, but a document divorced from the faith of the church."

And he said to him, "Where was it condemned by a Roman synod?"

He answered, "In the church of the Saviour and in the church of the Mother of God."⁴¹

Then the prefect⁴² said to him, "Are you in communion with this church or aren't you?"

He answered and said, "I am not in communion."

He said to him, "Why?"

He answered, "Because it rejected the synods."

But he said, "If it threw the synods out, why are they listed in the diptychs?"

And he said, "And what is the use of names when the teachings have been rejected?"

"And are you able," he said, "to show this?"

And he said, "If I obtain permission and you order it, this will be proved quite easily."

And when they were silent, the sacellarius said to him, "Why do you love the Romans and hate the Greeks?"

In answer the servant of God said to him, "We have a commandment not to hate anyone. I love the Romans as those sharing the one faith with me, but I love the Greeks as those speaking the same language as I do."

And again the sacellarius said to him, "How old do you say you are?"

He answered, "Seventy-five."

And he said to him, "How many years has your disciple been with you?"

He answered, "Thirty-seven."

Then one of the clerks exclaimed, "God has made retribution to you for what you

⁴¹ The churches of St. John Lateran and St. Mary Major in Rome.

⁴² The eparch of the city, i.e. the governor of Constantinople, was the successor of the late Roman urban prefect, and was in charge of judicial functions in the capital and its vicinity. He was responsible, as the chief of police, for order, decoration and ceremonial in the capital, and for jurisdiction over prisons (ODB, p. 705.)

450 Cum autem tanta in secretario dicta fuissent, nullus penitus
 patriarcharum quicquam effatus est. Cunque sermo de
 synodo romana motus extitisset, clamat Demosthenes: «Non
 est firma synodus, eo qui hanc celebrauit deposito.» Ad quod
 seruus Dei: «Non», inquit, «depositus est, sed expulsus. Nam
 455 quae sub gestorum serie synodica et canonica facta est actio
 continens eius diligenti relatione depositionem? Verumtamen
 etiam si canonice depositus extitisset, non faceret hoc
 praeiudicium his quae orthodoxe secundum sacras regulas
 sunt firmata, quibus etiam quae scripta sunt a sanctae
 460 memoriae papa Theodoro congruunt.»
 Et dicit his auditis domnus Trohilus: «Nescis quid dicas,
 abba. Quod factum est, factum est.» |

f. 33

Haec sunt quantum memoria retinet quae mota et dicta
 sunt, et tali ea, quae in illos gesta fuere, terminata sunt fine,
 465 dimisso quoque sancto sene a secreto in carcerem. Postera
 uero die, quae fuit dominica, *concilio facto*, hi qui erant
 ecclesiae, persuaserunt piissimo imperatori hoc eos amaro et
 inhumano exilio condemnandos, et ab inuicem diuidendos,
 sanctum quidem senem penes Bizyen castrum Thraciae
 470 prouinciae, porro discipulum eius apud Perberim, quod
 exterius nec passu pedis Romanorum habet imperium, nudos,
 sine prouisione, sine causa, atque omni ad uiuendum
 occasione carentes, non appropinquantes mari ne haberent ex
 misericordibus uisitationem. Et ita sunt nudi et sine
 475 alimentis, solam habentes spem Dei, et hoc omnes
 Christianos rogantes atque clamantes: Orate propter
 Dominum ut consummet Deus misericordiam suam cum
 humilitate nostra, et doceat nos. Nam et ipsi qui cum eo
 nauigant efferi experimentum accipiunt maris, uentis quidem
 480 et fluctibus scapha concussa, sed stabili penitus permanente.

466 Mc. 15,1

458 horthodoxe cod. a. corr. m. sec. 464 tali ea] talia cod. a.
 corr. m. sec. 466 concilio] consilio a. corr. cod. 469
 Bizyen] correxi ut alias (Disp. 593, 595) et in gr., byzohen cod.
 470 prouintiae cod. 480 penitus] poenitus cod. e corr. m. sec

Scholion 453 eo] id est Martino papa

did to the blessed Pyrrhus."

He made no response at all to this man.

But when such words had been spoken in the council chamber, none of the patriarchs said anything at all. And when the topic of the Roman synod was brought up, Demosthenes shouted, "The synod is not ratified, since he who conducted it has been deposed."

To this the servant of God said, "He was not deposed but thrown out. For what conciliar and canonical action was performed under the series of acts, recording his deposition in a reliable account? However, even if he was canonically deposed, this would not prejudice what has been established in accordance with orthodox belief and holy decrees, with which the writings of Pope Theodore of blessed memory concur."

And when he heard this, lord Troilus said, "You do not know what you are saying, father. What is done is done."

This is an account, as far as we remember, of what was done and said, and the actions against them were brought to such a close, after which the old man also was sent out of the council chamber to prison. But on the next day, which was Sunday, *after a meeting was held*, those who were of the church persuaded the most pious emperor to condemn them to this⁴³ bitter and inhumane exile, and to separate them from each other, the holy old man being sent to a camp in Bizya in the province of Thrace, while his disciple was sent to Perberis beyond which Roman rule extends not a step further. They were naked, without supplies, without nourishment, and lacking any means of survival, nowhere near the sea lest they should be visited by people taking pity on them. And so they are (still), naked and without food, having their only hope in God, and asking this of all Christians, with cries: "Pray through the Lord that God might fulfil his mercy with our humility, and that he might teach us." For⁴⁴ even those who sail with him experience savage seas, when the boat is tossed by wind and waves, but it

⁴³ I have followed the Greek ταύτην αὐτοὺς κατακρίναι τὴν ... ἐξορίαν (PG 90, 129A); *hoc* cannot agree with the dative *exilio* in Latin.

⁴⁴ The Greek reads, continuing from the previous sentence: διδάξει ἡμᾶς ὅτι... "and that he might teach us that even..." (PG 90, 129B).

Permittit quippe magnis eos temptari procellis, eorum erga
 se probans affectum, quatinus uoce grandi exclament:
Domine, salua nos, perimus, discantque omnia illi soli
 ascribere, quae suae noscuntur esse salutis, et ne confidentes
 485 sint in se, tranquillitatemque consequantur magnam, uentis
 sedatis et fluctibus. Et *in medium* eos *luporum* dat, et *per*
angustam portam intrare, et per artam incedere semitam
 iubet, et famem ac sitim et nuditatem, et uincula et carceres,
 490 et abductiones et uerbera, et crucem et clauos, et acetum, et
 fel, et sputa, et alapas, et colaphos et ludibria proponit, et
 passionem et mortes multimodas, quorum finis
 splendidissima est resurrectio, ferens secum pacem his qui
 propter illum persecutionem sunt passi, <et gaudium his qui
 propter illum sunt oppressi,> et ascensum in caelos, et
 495 accessum ad paternum et supersubstantialem thronum, et
 sortem quae est *super omnem principatum, et potestatem, et*
uirtutem, et dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur
siue in hoc saeculo siue in futuro. Cuius participes
 efficiamur omnes, orationibus et intercessionibus
 500 superlaudabilis et prae omnibus uenerabilis et gloriosae
 proprie ac natura Dei genitricis semperque uirginis Mariae,
 sanctorumque apostolorum, prophetarum ac martyrum,
 amen.

483 Matth. 8,25 486 Matth. 10,16 486/487 Matth. 7,13
 496/498 Eph. 1,21

493/494 et...oppressi] *suppleui e gr.* 495 accessum] *correxì e*
gr., ascensum *cod.* (cf. 494)

remains firmly steadfast. Indeed he allows them to be tried by great storms, to prove their affection towards him, so that they shout in a loud voice, *Lord, save us, we are dying!* And so that they may learn to ascribe to him alone everything which they know to be for their salvation, and so that they rely not on themselves, and so that they may achieve great calm when the wind and waves have been stilled. And he gives them *into the midst of wolves*, and orders them to enter *through the narrow gate*, and to proceed on the narrow path, and he offers hunger and thirst and nakedness, and chains and prison, and arrests and blows, and the cross and nails, and vinegar and gall and spitting and slaps and blows and derision, and suffering and many kinds of death, the end of which is the most splendid resurrection, bringing peace with it to those who have suffered persecution on account of him, [and joy to those who have been oppressed for his sake], and ascent into heaven, and ascent⁴⁵ to the Father's supersubstantial throne, and a destiny which is *above every principality and power and virtue and domination and every name which is named* either in this age or the coming age. May we all be made sharers of this, by the prayers and intercessions of Mary who is above praise and to be venerated before all, the glorious and ever-virgin Mother of God, properly and by nature, and by the prayers of the holy apostles, prophets and martyrs. Amen.

⁴⁵ Note the reconstruction of the Latin text here, as indicated in the *apparatus criticus*.

**EPISTULA MAXIMI AD ANASTASIUM
DISCIPULUM SUUM**

**Item eiusdem Sancti Abbatis Maximi ad Anastasium
monachum disc*>*pulum suum.**

f. 33^v

- 5 Heri quod fuit octaua decima mensis dies, qua solemnitas
agebatur | sanctae Mediae Pentecostes, patriarcha
significauit mihi dicens: «Cuius ecclesiae es?
Constantinopolitanae, Romanae, Antiochenae, Alexandrinae,
an Hierosolymitanae? Ecce omnes una cum subditis sibi
10 prouinciis adunatae sunt. Igitur si es catholicae ecclesiae,
unire, ne forte extraneam et nouam uiam conuersatione tua
repperiens, patiaris quod non speras.»
Ad quos dixi: «Catholicam ecclesiam Deus omnium esse
praenuntiauit rectam et salutarem fidei in se habitae
15 confessionem, Petrum beatum dicens in quibus se bene
confessus est. Verumtamen discam confessionem supra quam
omnium ecclesiarum facta est unitas, et ab eo quod bene
gestum est nequaquam alienabor.»
Et aiunt: «Licet non habeamus super hoc iussionem, dicimus,
ut efficiaris penitus inexcusabilis. Duas fatemur operationes
20 ob diuersitatem, et unam propter unitionem.»
«Duas propter unitionem <unam> asseritis factas, an
praeter has,» dixi, «aliam?»
«Non,» inquiunt, «sed duas unam propter unitionem.»
«Caruimus,» dixi, «rebus, nobismetipsis sine subsistentia
fidem, et sine existentia Deum fingentes. Si enim in unam
25 confundimus duas propter unitionem, et rursus in duas
separamus unam propter differentiam, non erit unalitas neque
dualitas, operationibus inuicem separatis semper, et
patrantibus inoperatuum et poenitus insubstantium eum cui
inerant. Quod enim ex natura nullum habet qui <non>
30 auferri possit uel aliqua ratione uicissitudinis commutari et

2 discipulum] *correx*i, discipulum *cod.* 7 una] *supra l. cod.*
10 repperiens] *repperies cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 17 habeamus] *habemus*
a. corr. cod. 20 unam] *suppleui e gr.* 25 unitionem] *unionem a.*
corr. cod. 26 separamus] *correx*i, *seperamus cod.* 28 poenitus]
penitus cod. a. corr. m. sec. 29 non] *suppleui e gr.*

A letter of the same holy father Maximus to his disciple, the monk Anastasius.

Yesterday, which was the eighteenth day of the month when the celebration of holy Mid-Pentecost was being celebrated, the patriarch signalled to me,¹ saying:

"Whose church do you belong to: that of Constantinople, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, or Jerusalem? See, all are united, together with the provinces subject to them.² Therefore, if you belong to the catholic church, be united lest by chance you devise a strange and new path by your behaviour, and you suffer what you do not hope for." To those I said: "The God of all pronounced the catholic church to be the right and saving confession of faith held in him, calling Peter blessed in the terms in which he (sc. Peter) confessed [him]³ well. But let me learn the confession upon which the unity of all churches was made, and I will in no way alienate myself from what was done well."

And they said: "Although we do not have an order concerning this, we say that you are made completely unpardonable. We confess two activities on account of diversity, and one on account of union."

"Do you assert that the two became [one] on account of union, or is there another besides these?" I said.

They said, "No, but two (made) one on account of union."

I said, "We have (been) deprived of things by inventing for ourselves a faith without substance and a God without existence. For if we conflate two into one on account of union, and again we separate one into two on account of difference, there will not be unity or duality, with the activities in turn always separated, and effecting him in whom they were present inactive and totally without substance. For what by nature has no movement which is [in]alienable, nor alterable by any vicissitude nor capable of decay, lacks all substance according to the Fathers, since it does not have an activity essentially characterising itself.⁴ For that reason I cannot say this, nor in

¹ In Greek, the sense of ἐδήλωσέ μοι is "made it known to me" (PG 90, 132A). The patriarch Peter (654-666) made his message known through delegates, not in person, on April 18, 658.

² This must refer to the rapprochement made between the papacy after the inauguration of Pope Vitalian (30 July 657) and Constantinople.

³ Literally "himself", Latin *se*, cf. Greek αὐτὸν (PG 90, 132A).

⁴ Latin *se*, cf. Greek αὐτὸ (PG 90, 132B).

intercidere motum, omni caret substantia secundum patres,
 non habens operationem substantialiter se caracterizantem.
 Hoc itaque dicere nequeo; neque enim sic edoctus sum a
 sanctis patribus confiteri. Quod libuerit uobis, potestatiui
 35 cum sitis, facite.»
 «Ergo audi,» dixerunt. «Visum est dominatori et patriarchae
 per praeceptum papae Romani ut anathematizeris nisi
 oboedias, et destinata ab eis perferas mortem.»
 «Quod a Deo ante omne diffinitum est saeculum, finem
 40 accipiat, ferens sibi gloriam ante omne saeculum scitam,»
 illis cum haec audirem respondebam. Et ut cognoscas et
 additamentum orationis et deprecationis facias Deo,
 manifesta tibi quae denuntiata sunt mihi exhibui, rogans
 quatinus haec domno Thio et sanctis patribus qui illic simul
 45 cum eo sunt, nota constituas, eiusdem rei gratia.

Anastasius. Haec iussit mihi transcribere et nota facere
 sanctissimis uobis, quo | et ex his motione comperta,
 communem omnes pro communi matre nostra, catholica
 uidelicet ecclesia, et nobis indignis seruis uestris afferatis
 50 Domino precem, ad roborandum omnes et nos quoque, in
 illa uobiscum perseuerantes secundum pie in ipsa
 praedicatam a sanctis patribus [h]o<r>thodoxam fidem.
 Magnus enim in toto mundo timor habetur, cum haec
 persecutionem consonanter ab omnibus patiat, nisi sua
 55 gratia consuete pr<a>estet auxilium is qui semper
 auxiliatur, semen pietatis saltem seniori Romae relinquens,
 nobis non mentientem ad apostolorum habitam principem
 repromissionem suam confirmans.

f. 34

31/32 cf. Greg. Nyss., *Ep. ad Zenod.* apud Anast. Sin., *Hod.*, II, 4, 76-78 (ed. Uthemann, CCSG 8, pp. 43-44); Anast. Sin., *Opus. adv. monothel.* VIII, 3, 7-13 (ed. Uthemann, CCSG 12, p. 128); Max., *Op.* 27, PG 91, 281 A5-15 56/58 cf. Luc. 22, 32; Matth. 16, 18

32 caracterizantem] sic cod. (cf. *Rel. Mot.* 294 et *Ep. Anas. ad monachos* 18 et 53) 46/58 Anastasius - confirmans] om. codd. gr. 46 transcribere] transscribere a. corr. cod. 47 motione] mo**tione a. corr. cod. 52 orthodoxam] correxi, hothodoxam cod. 55 praestet] correxi, prestat cod. 57 non mentientem] nomentientem a. corr. cod.

fact have I been taught to confess thus by the holy Fathers; do what is pleasing to you since you are invested with power."

"Listen then!" they said. "It seems (just) to the ruler and the patriarch through the instruction of the Roman pope, that you be anathematised unless you obey, and that you endure the death planned by them."

When I heard this, I answered them, "May God bring to an end what has been defined by him before every age, bringing to himself the glory known before every age."

And that you may understand and that you may increase your prayers and intercessions to God, I have revealed to you the declarations made to me, asking that you present what you have found out to the Lord God⁵ and the holy fathers who are there together with him for the same reason.

Anastasius.⁶ He ordered me to transcribe these things and to make them known to you most holy people, in order that when you have found out about the trial from these, you might all bring a common prayer to the Lord on behalf of our common mother, that is the catholic church, and on behalf of us your unworthy servants, for strengthening everyone and us also, persevering with you in it, according to the orthodox faith rightly preached in it by the holy Fathers. For there is great fear in the whole world because this (church) endures persecution by all simultaneously, unless he offers aid by his customary grace, he who always comes to aid, leaving the seed of piety at least in older Rome, confirming the promise he made to the prince of apostles, which⁷ does not deceive us.

⁵ The Greek word order (τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ, PG 90, 132C) suggests that *Thio* may be the abbreviation for a proper name, perhaps Θεόδωρος, which may refer to Theodore Spudaeus, who was involved in collating some of these documents, as discussed in Neil, *Lives*, pp. 103f.

⁶ On the problems associated with the identification of the author of this postscript, see Neil, *Lives*, p. 97. The subject of the following sentence is either Maximus ("Maximus ordered me, sc. Anastasius the Disciple, to transcribe this...") or Anastasius the Disciple, recipient of the letter ("Anastasius ordered me, sc. the compiler of these documents, to transcribe this..."). PG 90, 133-144 makes it clear that the editor thought that the postscript was supplied by Anastasius.

⁷ Or "who".

EPISTULA ANASTASII AD MONACHOS CALARITANOS

Eiusdem sancti Anastasii monachi discipuli sancti abbatis
Maximi, ad commune monachorum apud Caralim
constitutorum collegium.

5 Multa scribere nos etiam praeter uotum tempus prohibuit,
omnia uero in uno nota facimus uerbo sanctissimis uobis. Hi
qui alterius sunt partis, diffinitione immobili ut est, et
propriae maxime professionis constitui paternam non malunt
doctrinam, sed alternis impelluntur opinionibus quas et
10 dinumerare operosum de cetero duco. Modo ergo ab
inexistentia ad inconuenientiam translati sunt, id est ex eo
quod neque unam neque duas dicunt, ad praedicandum duas
et unam, id est tres in uno eodemque Christo uoluntates et
15 operationes traducti, quod neque patrius, neque synodicus,
neque physicus sermo decreuit, sed neque priscorum et
deinceps hereticorum furor eatenus adinuenit, sciens inanem
tanquam uitio proprio corruptam eandem opinionem.

20 Si enim diuersae ex diuersis compositum substantiis
characterizant naturaliter proprietates, utpote nullatenus
adempta naturarum diuersitate propter unionem, sed salua
potius proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam personam et
unam subsistentiam concurrente, quemadmodum sancta
Chalcedonensis synodus ait, et is Deus ex Deo Patre, et
homo ex homine semper uirgine matre, idem ipse existens
cognoscitur, iuxta naturam natus, quanquam incorporaliter et
25 sine causa, corporaliter autem ex hac propter causam,
salutem uidelicet nostram, quomodo possibile est unam
eandemque personam, id est unum eundemque Christum
Dominum nostrum et Deum, super duas etiam alia secundum
30 ipsos proprietate naturaliter figurari, ad certitudinem eorum
ex quibus et in quibus et quae est?

18/21 cf. *Conc. Chalcedonense - Definitio fidei*, ed. ACO ser. II,
i, p. 225, 14-16

2 Caralim] *sic cod.* 18 caracterizant] *sic cod. (cf. 53)* 21
subsistentiam] substantiam *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 22 is] *hanc*
vocem praecedat littera in rasura, forsitan h

Scholion 25 causa] hic causa ponitur pro ea quae rem antecedit
siue pro origine rei

A letter of the same holy monk Anastasius, disciple of the holy father Maximus, to the community of monks established at Cagliari.

Time prevents me from writing at length, although I would like to, but I will briefly make everything known to you, most holy people. Those who oppose (us) do not want the teaching of the Fathers to be established by a fixed definition, as it is, <and> of the most righteous confession of faith; rather, they are compelled by other opinions which I consider it laborious even to enumerate from the rest. Now therefore they have shifted from an impossible point of view to an inconsistent one; from saying, that is, that there are neither one nor two, to preaching two **and** one, that is, three wills and operations in one and the same Christ, which was decreed by neither the word of the Fathers nor by the synods nor in natural speech. Nor did the madness of heretics of old and thereafter reach such a pitch, knowing that the same view was foolish, (and) corrupted by its own vice.

For let us suppose that diverse properties characterise a thing composed of diverse substances according to nature, inasmuch as the diversity of natures is in no way removed by union, but rather what is proper to each nature being preserved and occurring together in one person and one hypostasis, just as the holy Council of Chalcedon stated; and let us suppose that he (sc. Christ) is understood to exist as one and the same, both God from God the Father, and man from a human, ever-virgin mother, born according to nature, although being incorporeal and without cause,¹ but born of her into a body for one reason: namely, our salvation. Given these suppositions, how can one and the same person, that is, one and the same Christ our Lord and God, be fashioned according to nature with yet another property in addition to those two, as they say, for the safeguarding of those from which and in which and which he is?

¹ The scholiast explains, "Here 'cause' stands for that which antecedes matter or for the origin of matter."

Si enim eadem creduntur etiam per aliam, id est per
 tertiam | quae et per dualitatem, uoluntates et operationes
 eius quae secundum naturam sunt, necesse est ut identitate
 exhibitionis, indissimilitas cognoscatur existentiae, et sit
 35 idem duabus una, id est alterutris, <***> tres, siue
 naturales, siue substantiales; uerum naturales quidem non,
 sed secundum illos subsistentiales, aggregentque ob hoc
 aduersus eum iam aut tres substantias, aut totidem
 40 subsistentias, et secundum ipsum aequi numeri proprietates,
 increatam uidelicet et creatam et neutram, id est
 inexistens enim est quod neutrius per naturam
 participatur, ita ut etiam identitate quae ad eam, id est
 tertiam, est, secundum illos inexistentes sint et duae naturae,
 45 et naturales ipsius uoluntates ac operationes. At uero si non
 eadem sed alia, exceptis his ex quibus est credendus, in eo
 per tertiam aiunt, eundem secundum eandem rursus proferunt
 in inexistentiam, uelut is qui medius inter <utramque>
 neutra[m] harum existat, increatam scilicet natura sua et
 creatam substantiam atque uirtutem: aut enim subsistentialem
 50 uolunt hanc esse, aut compositam, aut deiuirilem, aut
 unitariam propter adunationem. Nam non solum, ut dictum
 est, hanc non existentem introducunt, quod secundum nihil
 eorum ex quibus est natura hunc caracterizet, uerum etiam
 a naturali cognatione quam habet cum Deo et Patre, reddunt
 55 externum; minus enim dicendum quia perhibent eum etiam
 a congenita proprietate quam habet ad intemeratam matrem
 et uirginem alienum, quasi secundum neutrum horum habeat
 compositam aut subsistentialem, aut deiuirilem, aut unitariam
 propriam uoluntatem et operationem. Verum Patris quidem
 60 incompositam sine principio habet, et substantialem atque

34 indissimilitas] indissimulatas *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 35 est]
supra l. m. sec. 35 quaedam hic ceciderunt ut uid., quia uerbum
 sit singulariter effertur, tres...naturales...substantiales autem
 pluraliter 37 subsistentiales] correxi, subsistentialis *cod.* 38
 totidem] scriba prius scripserat tod 45 exceptis his] in *mg. m.*
sec. 46 per tertiam] pertertiam *a. corr. cod.* 47 utramque]
 suppleui cum *Sirm.* 48 neutra] correxi cum *Sirm.*, neutram *cod.*
 53 caracterizet] sic *cod.* (cf. 18)

For if the same wills and activities which are according to nature, are credited to him through yet another, that is, through a third, as through the duality, similarity of existence must be understood from identity of appearance; and there must be the same, one with two, that is three² in each of them, whether natural or substantial. But indeed they do not use the term "natural", but "hypostatic", and on this account they now add to him either three substances, or as many hypostases, and properties of equal number accordingly, namely an uncreated one and a created one, and one that is neither (of the two), that is to say, one that is non-existent. For that is non-existent which shares in neither through nature, in such a way that even in the identity which belongs to the third (property), both his two natures and his natural wills and activities are non-existent, according to them. But if they say that it is not the same (will and operation) in him, but another apart from those from which he is to be believed (to be), through the third (property), they again reduce the same one according to the same (property), to non-existence, as one who exists in the middle between [both] (is) the neutral of these two, that is to say, the substance and capacity uncreated by its own nature, and created; for they want these³ to be either hypostatic, or composite, or "theandric",⁴ or unitary on account of the union.⁵ For not only do they introduce, as I have said, this non-existent (property) which characterises him according to none of those from which He is by nature, but they even place him outside the natural relationship which he has with his God and Father. For it is less correct that they hold him to be alienated even from the congenital property which he shares with his inviolate virgin mother, as if, according to the neutral of these, he has either a composite or hypostatic or theandric or unitary will and activity of his own. But in fact, he has from his Father a will and activity which are⁶ not composite, without beginning, and substantial and divine, but from his mother he has a will and activity which is by nature created and human.

² Something has fallen out of the Latin here.

³ Literally "this", standing for "substance and capacity".

⁴ Latin *deivirilem*.

⁵ *Locus maxime perturbatus*.

⁶ Literally "is"; will and activity are treated grammatically as a single object.

diuinam, matris uero creatam natura et humanam.

Deinde etiam diuisas naturas ex quibus ipse est inferunt, quasi per operationem et non per subsistentiam sibi unitas innotescat, si propter unitatem unam operationem
65 dogmatizent, quod hi qui in diuisione corrupti sunt dicunt, affectuosam hanc esse operatione < m > fabulose fingentes. Sic autem et confusio locum tribuentes, et deiuirilem secundum Seuerum male interpretantur, unam hanc sed non
70 duas secundum unionem, diuinam natura et uirilem, significare contententes, et hac Deiuii quandam naturam, sed non uirum factum Deum sibimet subinducunt, praesertim cum hoc praeuidens etiam uere deiphantor Dionysius, non unam uocauerit hanc, sed **no|ua quadam deiuirili nobis**
75 **eum dixerit operatione conuersatum**, ostendens non alteram ab altera disiunctim, sed ambas per alterutras et alterutris connaturaliter adunatas, in eorum ex quibus et in quibus et quae erat certitudinem proferendas et, ut paterne dicamus, **cum alterius communione** horum utrumque, ita ut mirabiles quidem passiones, compassibilia uero proculdubio miracula
80 cognoscantur, per omnimodam coaptationem eorum quae ab eo naturaliter gesta sunt. Dupla enim omnia, et uera omnia, et unita omnia praedicant, in eo qui duplici est natura, ea quae secundum naturam sunt, Dei praecones et patres nostri. Quibus, ut dictum est, suum corrigere nolentes sermonem,
85 adhuc et senioris Romae propriae consentire sectae coegerunt apocrisiarios, unam super duas, id est tres secum praedicandi in eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo uoluntates et operationes, similem scientiae ligno gustum commiscentes, quemadmodum et isti fidem ex bono et malo proferunt
90 affectantibus. Vnde et talibus circumuenientes litteris, ei qui

f. 35

67/68 Seuerus, e.g. *Ep. 3 ad Iohannem higuenum, Doctrina Patrum*, pp. 309-310, XXIV 73/74 Ps.Dionysius Areop., *Ep. 4* ed. Ritter, p. 161, 9-10 78 Leo Magnus, *Tom. ad Flau.*, ed. ACO ser. I, i, p. 14, 27 et cf. pp. 14, 29 - 15, 1

63 quasi] *forsitan corrigendum in quas, cum Combefis* 66 affectuosam] *forsan effectuosam legendum; cf. Opuscula*, PG 91, 121 C3 66 operationem] *correxī cum Sirm.*, operatione *cod.* 73 deiuirili] *e erasum est in cod.* 75 disiunctim] *forsitan leg. sit disiunctam, cum Sirm.* 84 sermonem] *supra l. m. sec.* 88/91 *an Anast. Bibl. non bene intellexit haec, an aliqua uerba ceciderunt?* 88 gustum] *gusto a. corr. cod.*

Furthermore, they even infer that the natures from which he himself is, are divided, as if unity is known through activity and not through hypostasis, if they teach one activity on account of unity, as those profess who are corrupted in division, fabulously imagining this activity to be dispositional. But thus allowing room for confusion, [and] they wrongly interpret "theandric" as Severus does, contending that this signifies one but not two, according to the union, divine by nature and human, and they introduce for themselves by this (definition) some nature of the God-man, but not God made man. (They do so) even though Dionysius, revealer of God, who truly foresaw this, did not speak of "one" but described him⁷ as "changed by a certain new theandric activity for us", showing that one was not separate from the other but both were united together according to their natures through each other and in each other, being brought forth for the safeguarding of those from which and in which and which he was. And as we may say, like the Fathers, each of those had "communion with the other", indeed in such a way that marvellous sufferings and compassionate miracles are recognised as beyond doubt, through the complete adaptation of those things which were assumed by him according to nature. For the prophets of God and our Fathers predicate everything which is according to his nature as double and real and united in him who has a double nature. Unwilling to correct their own speech, as I have mentioned, to that of the Fathers, still they have forced even the emissaries of older Rome to consent to their own sect, and to preach with them one as well as two, that is three, wills and activities together in the same Lord Jesus Christ, mixing the taste like the taste of the tree of knowledge, just as these people offer a faith (mixed) of good and evil, to those who seize it. On this account, they send people to go around with such letters, to him who sent (them)⁸.

Therefore because the affairs of almost the whole church of God, which has been established as catholic and apostolic, are in great danger on account of these things, we pray on behalf of her and we beseech you, most holy people, that you do not despise her being in danger, but that you help her while she is labouring in the

⁷ Sc. Christ.

⁸ Anastasius has not understood this passage well. It would seem to be a reference to the apocrisiaries sent forth from Constantinople with letters from the emperor or patriarch declaring monothelitism to be the orthodox position.

miserat, mittunt.

95 Quia ergo in magno propter haec periculo sunt res pene
totius catholicae et apostolicae Dei ecclesiae constitutae, pro
ea deprecamur et obsecramus sanctissimos uos, ne hanc
despiciatis periclitantem, sed adiuuetis tempestatibus
100 laborantem, scientes in tempore tribulationis dilectionem
quae in Spiritu sancto est nasci, et si possibile est uos
transire citius, quasi alia pro causa, ad senioris Romae pios
et firmos ut petram uiros, qui uidelicet uobiscum tutores
nostri sunt semper et propugnatores feruentissimi ueritatis,
obsecrare hos supplicatoriis uocibus et lacrimis pro omnibus
Christianis, quatinus mercedem a Domino sortiantur,
105 omnibus similiter et si<bi>met absque nouitate recens
inuenta seruantes orthodoxam fidem, et nihil super ea minus
plusue suscipientes uel approbantes praeter quae diffinita sunt
a sanctis patribus ac synodibus, ut boni studii sui
aemulatione, hoc maximum cum Dei auxilio directe
prosequentes opus, cum illis siue nunc, siue in die iudicii
110 Dominum habeant debitorem; quem nimirum habuerunt in
talibus creditorem, non aliud quid praeter se, sed se ipsum
totum, totis uobis atque illis in aeternas delicias et
refectionem donantem; quem et nos habere aduersus
Arrianos, qui continuantur hic, supplicate Deo, beati et
115 nostrae ad Deum deductionis praeuii, cum simus egeni
pauperes et indigni serui uestri.

99 cf. Matth. 16, 18 102 cf. II Ioh. 8 108/109 cf. Matth. 10,
32; Luc. 12, 8

103 sibimet] *correxī cum Sirm.*, simet *cod.* 104 orthodoxam]
horthodoxam *cod. a. corr. m. sec.* 106 synodibus] *sic cod. hic et*
etiam in nota marginalia f. 15'

tempests, knowing that love which is in the Holy Spirit grows in the time of tribulation. And if it is possible, (we ask) that you go across <more> swiftly, as if for some other reason, to the pious men of older Rome, who are solid as a rock, who clearly always protect us like you do, and are most fervent fighters for the truth, to beseech them with supplicatory words and tears on behalf of all Christians, in order that they may gain reward from the Lord, preserving for all, as for themselves, the orthodox faith without newly-invented innovation, and taking up nothing more or less beyond those things, nor approving anything beyond that which has been defined by the holy Fathers and synods. So that, by emulation of the excellent zeal of the Fathers and the councils, correctly pursuing this greatest of works with the help of God, they also may have the Lord as their debtor both now and on the day of judgement; who was plainly their creditor in such things, giving nothing other than himself, but rather his whole self, giving all of you, and them, into eternal delight and restoration. And pray to God, blessed ones and forerunners of our approach to God, that we might hold against the Arians⁹ who are united here, since we are needy paupers and your unworthy servants.

⁹ The monothelites are also likened to Arians in *RM*, p. 6. Arian polytheism, a belief in God and the Son as two separate entities, seemed the logical conclusion of the Severan party's position that there was no distinction between acts of Christ as God, and acts of Christ as man, and that there was no natural will in Christ the man (cf. Maximus, *Opus*. 3, 49B, and 53B, translated in Louth, *Maximus*, pp. 194-196.)